POVERTY ALLEVIATION PROGRAM FOR MINORITY COMMUNITIES IN LATIN AMERICA

COMMUNITIES OF AFRICAN ANCESTRY IN LATIN AMERICA HISTORY, POPULATION, CONTRIBUTIONS, & SOCIAL ATTITUDES SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS with Partial Bibliography

Prepared for: Inter-American Development Bank Washington, D.C.

Prepared by: Cowater International Inc, Ottawa Margarita Sánchez, Field Team Leader/Planner Michael Franklin, Community Specialist/Planner

Preliminary Version

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Table of Contents

Preface

This study attempts to diagnose the status and condition of Black communities in Latin America in order to articulate and define the problem in a way that will best facilitate the search for solutions that we in the economic development arena seek to initiate. This study represents a historical first. It is the first time that the IDB or, indeed, any development assistance institution, has engaged in a comprehensive study of Black communities to assess their economic condition and to lay the groundwork for solution definition. This study is witness to the beginning of a new era in the history of the Americas. In 1994, for the first time since 1967, the leaders of the Americas met in Miami to discuss the future of the Hemisphere -- and for the first time the attendant leaders were all democratically elected. The agenda included trade, environment, economic equity among nations, and human rights issues. The IDB, as a major provider of development capital to the region, was called on to support efforts of the private sector and civil society, to provide inputs to the Agenda by hosting NGO meetings at our Headquarters in Washington.

The Bank has been, from its inception in 1958, a champion of the social sectors in Latin America and the Caribbean. Since the earliest days of its operation, the IDB has shown leadership and innovation. The Bank was the first to finance social sector projects, such as providing potable water, an activity subsequently adopted by other institutions. With the Seventh Replenishment, four areas were viewed as priority: (1) environment; (2) womenin-development; (3) support for micro-entrepreneurs; and (4) low-income beneficiaries. These areas have been incorporated and have become an integral part of Bank operations, and continue to be important concerns for the Bank. Under the Eighth Replenishment, the Bank has been mandated to expand operations in the social areas. The following general areas are seen as crucial for IDB involvement: (1) poverty reduction and social equity; (2) modernization of the State and integration; and (3) the environment. It is against this backdrop, and with the knowledge of the Bank's unique role, that the study was conducted.

Columbus's encounter in the Americas marked the beginning of five hundred years of some of the most brutal history in humankind. The presence and conditions of the African diaspora in the Americas stretching from Canada in the north to Argentina in the south is the living imprint of that history. However, while the Quincentennial of Columbus's encounter resuscitated the Indian as a mythic, there has been a marked silence on the issue of Blacks. The silence on Black communities in Latin America is reflected in the disappearance of the role of Blacks from the pages of history in virtually every Latin American country. Noted

historian George Reid Andrews in his book <u>The Afro-Argentines of Buenos Aires 1800-1900</u>, points out that no comprehensive study of post-slavery racial conditions and policies has been published. Reid Andrews goes on to assert and show that even if the myth of the disappearance of the Black Argentine was to become a reality, their presence will always be felt, as they will live on in the Black saints and virgins in Buenos Aires churches, in the history of the armies, and in the paintings that evoke the past.

As we pursue the eradication of poverty, the establishment of democracies, and the full development of humanity, we in the development assistance community must lift the shroud of silence on the presence of Blacks in the Americas. It is no surprise that the results of the study confirm the Black communities in Latin America to be among the poorest of the poor. Poverty and misery are an immutable fact for the majority of peoples of African descent in the Americas. It is only when we acknowledge the truth that we are able to articulate a problem and to find a solution. The physician cannot cure the ill that has not been diagnosed. We cannot build the future of Latin America on a false premise. The fact is that race is an eigenfactor of an individual's state of development. Race often condemns one to poverty, and poverty is a hellish state to be in. No one wants to be poor. Yet for the average Black child in Barlovento, Venezuela, in Yapateras, Peru, in Chocó, Colombia, this is the life to which they were born and the condition in which they will die. While there are some in the NGO community who say that fifty years is enough and call for the dismemberment of the development institutions, there are those who would respond that fifty years is not enough. We are continually learning from the past, and from those who keep on pushing for a reexamination of the philosophies of development, and we are changing from the inside out. Change may be imposed and forced from without, but the only true change comes from within. This study is evidence of that change. As we have acknowledged the need for gender awareness and environmental vigilance, in implementing new policies and programs here at the ID, so we acknowledge the need for increased attention to community development from the bottom up and the need for civil society to play a role in nation building. The fact is 'development cannot occur without the full participation of all sectors of the society'. Social capital is needed as much as human capital and financial capital. Social capital is needed for individuals to surmount the dilemma of collective action. Social capital is needed for constructive self-reliance; self-reliance and action, based on a vision of self and the future, are the only means by which humankind can realize growth and development. The flourishing of a democratic Latin America and Caribbean will require that all citizens be afforded equal opportunity to participate to the fullest of their potentials. The pursuit of equity and equality in our societies will require enlightenment, empathy, empowerment, and effort from those us in the development assistance industry. We must be enlightened about the societies that we hope to impact. We must have empathy for the

PEOPLE whose lives will be touched. We must empower ourselves, by learning as much as we can so that we can be better change agents, as it will take a lot of effort to change things.

This study marks the realization that the development assistance industry is prepared to be engaged in the process of articulating and defining those actions necessary for engineering the development of Black communities as we enter the 21st Century. Within the framework of the Eight Replenishment, the Bank has received a mandate to support the processes of social investment and reform, to reduce poverty, and promote equity, particularly through programs that incorporate the poorest sectors in the productive process and stimulate a new culture of investment and employment. Firstly, what this means is that fortunately (or unfortunately), Black communities in Latin America, being the poorest of the poor, would now be a Bank priority. Secondly, we have been required to use more direct and efficient means of reaching poor and marginalized communities, which means working more directly with organizations that have direct access to these people, and which have a proven record of working successfully with these communities. These two factors provided the catalyst for this study.

The reality is that racism and discrimination are not problems one can fix by merely dispensing copious amounts of money. And there is no attempt to suggest that. However, modernization of the State, community development, micro-enterprise development, and the reform of civil society are issues that we develop and promote through financing activities aimed at promoting these. We can use money to support and promote the institutional, social, and legal framework that forms the foundation of a democratic society. Judicial reform, labor unions, land titling, environmental justice are all issues that affect the lives and livelihood of the Black communities.

Part I of the study discusses the history, historical contributions, and social structure in an attempt to place the current situation in perspective. One cannot attempt to address a problem without knowing the history of the condition. Part II provides a country by country overview of contemporary social conditions. Taken together the information provided herein will serve as a basis for future research by economists, anthropologists, historians, engineers, et al on the Black communities in Latin America and their needs. It is meant to serve as a starting point for the development of action plans and the execution of said plans by the stakeholders in such ventures. The process of information gathering and writing has been as participatory a process as was possible within the limitations of space, money and time. The consultants have worked tirelessly along with the informants to produce information that is valuable if only because it is information produced in large part by the communities about themselves.

However, this study is only the first salvo in this war on poverty. As the architect of this process, I have been mindful of the realities of the bureaucracies, and the individuals

who populate them, that will have to take ownership of these issues and become engaged, if, indeed, there is going to be accommodation and transformation of the development assistance interventions to include Afro-Latino communities. Throughout the process I have been ever mindful of the circumstances that link myself, an African Caribbean woman, to the communities that were a part of this study. In particular, the direct connections to the peoples in Nicaragua, Honduras, and Costa Rica who migrated from Barbados, Jamaica, and other islands in the Caribbean to build the railroads and banana plantations at the turn of the century, and even earlier from St. Vincent as part of the fight against slavery, and the Caribbean populations who populate the San Andres islands in Colombia and Venezuela.

Human resources are the engine on which any nation must run. Thus, the Black communities, whether large or small, are important to the well-being of Latin America, because a chain is only as strong as its weakest link. The failures of past development approaches which put capital above human resources have proven that. It is fitting now, that at the end of 1996, as we hurtle inexorably towards the third millennium, more than four centuries after the first Africans were brought to this hemisphere, we find ourselves facing the final frontier--- breaking down the wall of indifference, and ending the complicity of silence.

My final word in this preface is about action. This study is evidence of the IDB's commitment to DEVELOPMENT for ALL. But, it is just the beginning. This study is not meant to sit on shelves in offices, but to be read and reread and passed from hand to hand. The contents should be taken out and examined and taken apart and reconstructed, all with one end in mind, that of taking action to lay the groundwork to write subsequent chapters in 20th Century history, wherein Black communities will be made visible. The development of Latin America requires social cohesion and increase in social capital. Our task, then, as development assistance agencies is to create better communities for ourselves and for our children to build a better world, for we only have one world and we are only one race the human race.

Claire A. Nelson, Ph. D. Project Team Leader, IDB

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Challenge

Black Latin American Communities have been marginalized from participation in the economic and social mainstreams of their countries. Regarded as a vestige of former times, the majority of them subsist in conditions of chronic poverty institutionalized and individual discrimination, which results in endoracism.

Justification for Support

Africans in the Americas have a great heritage from which to draw upon. If nurtured and allowed the opportunity to pursue elements of their heritage they will be enabled to make significant and greater economic and social contributions to their countries.

Recommendation

As a means of enriching society and gaining a cultural advantage in a globally competitive world, Latin American governments should devise policies and practices to make Blacks and Indigenous peoples agents of their own development, should reject the ideology of emblanquecimiento and should actively promote pride in Black and Indigenous ancestry to make these minorities self-sustaining rather than the "poor", as casualties of "exclusive" economic policies.

Objective

America, financed by IDB are:
 to assess the Black community needs, situation and priorities in Central and South America;
 to identify projects that will meet the socio-economic objectives of these communities;
 to identify and assess institutional counterparts in each country;

The overall objectives of the Program for Poverty Alleviation of Minorities in Latin

to design a regional training program to provide institutional strengthening to the grassroots organizations that will work to meet the special needs of this marginalized population.

As part of a series of nine country reviews, this summary report describes the historical role, current status and constraints faced by the Black populations in the countries studied, and proposes development projects to improve the economic and social status of these communities.

Methodology

The country studies for the Poverty Alleviation of Minorities in Latin America should be considered as rapid appraisals of the situation, done through self-diagnosis by the communities themselves and corroborated by observations from the consultants and the available historical and statistical data in each country. It was beyond the scope of this study to develop and administer surveys.

In general, government statistical data does not include ethnicity as a desegregating factor and therefore primary statistical information was not available for this preliminary study of the Black population in these countries.

Meetings were organized around Black community groups and key individuals who were informants. The process actively involved the community's own identification of problems and solutions.

Another approach was to glean knowledge about Blacks through existing census and other data. The challenge was to desegregated data from existing qualitative information in order to draw credible conclusions about the target population. This information was then compared with appropriate similar national data, and conclusions drawn about relative poverty issues.

Besides indices relating to education, health and the like, the consulting team was charged with identifying national laws or government policies that impacted the Black community, and included assessments of international cooperation, if any, in the community. Organizational profiles were developed for Black organizations, and supporting Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO's) were to be interviewed.

Country Study Methodology

The study was conducted in two phases: Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, and the Central American nations of Costa Rica, Honduras and Nicaragua. Phase 2 studied Venezuela, Uruguay and Argentina.

Local Black counterpart organizations in each country were defined by the Organization of Africans in the Americas (OAA). Preparatory work for Phase 1 of this mission was conducted in part by CEISociales. The selection of communities to be visited and the itinerary to follow were prepared by the local counterpart, input from CEISociales, and the Community Development Specialist /Planner, Michael Franklin, a consultant to

Cowater International Inc., Ottawa, Canada.

Simultaneously, research work was conducted in Washington by OAA. This work consisted of a bibliographic search in the Library of Congress and materials from the OAA, a review of the academic literature, and identification of appropriate briefing materials. OAA also researched the historical data through examination of primary and secondary sources. OAA staff researchers were Ms. Jameelah Muhammad and Ms. Lori Roland.

The study was conducted between January 1994 and October 1996 by a joint team composed of Cowater International's consulting team: Ms. Margarita Sanchez, the Team Leader/Planner and Mr. Michael Franklin, Community Development Specialist/Planner.

Country Study Limitations

The two three-week periods available to research the average community as well as the development policies and programs that affected them were insufficient to do a thorough investigation. The terms of reference of the project required the use of participatory methodologies throughout the investigation. This was achieved in varying degrees from country to country. Ecuador providing the best case scenario, and Costa Rica the worst.

Community leaders were typically aware of the study and prepared their points on advance. Groups provided their social and economic profile and a list of needs that were priorities for action. Project profiles were developed after having assessed the needs presented by the community and all relevant factors.

Veracity of Information

The perspective obtained from Black leaders was verified during meetings with the community population in order to ascertain whether the leadership's analysis of problems, priorities, proposed solutions and barriers experienced coincided with that of the individual community members. To achieve this, the same questions were posed to all those interviewed - whether community, leaders, NGOs and church, donor program officers, government officials or political representatives. The perspectives described in the community profiles are those which were consistent for all those interviewed. Where contradictory, the perspective of the Black community has been stated as well as the opposing one. Interview methodology followed the guidelines in the workplan of the project.

Part I

Chapter 1

Historical Background of African Communities in Latin America

The role of Africans in the New World, whether as slaves or freemen, was determined by the events that preceded their arrival. Their social position during the colonial era and after emancipation was forged by social practices resulting from Castile's overthrow of eight centuries of Moorish colonialism in Spain and Portugal just before their conquest of the New World.

The proceeding historical background is critical to an understanding of the present Socio-economic realities of a people marginalized by centuries of invisibility and oppression. Pealing back those layers is critical in identifying the needs and aspirations of those populations, cloaked, hitherto, in disinterest and denial.

It is important also for Afro-Latin Americans to understand the historical events that have impacted their collective lives if they are to engage in a process of self-propelled development.

Pre-Columbian West-Central Africa

West and Central Africa of the fifteenth century was a complex, diverse region of thriving kingdoms and empires with centres of learning that engaged in advanced study of medicine, astronomy and science. The region's technologies for mining and working gold and other precious metals were well-known to Columbus and Europeans in general. West-African societies such as Ashanti, Mali, and others traded with the Mediterranean and Arabia while levying takes on commerce. An Arab Spaniard living in Cordoba, al Bakiri, described eleventh century Ghana as being powerful enough to put 200,000 men into the field of war, including some 40,000 bowmen. Mali's glory was at its peak when, in 1324, its king, Mansa Musa, visited Cairo on his way to Mecca. He showered the descendants of his Egyptian ancestors with so much gold that it ruined the value of their money for many years. When another scholar, Ibn Battuta, visited Mali shortly afterwards, he compared the pomp and opulence of its court to those of China, India, Crimea and Sumatra. He described a society in which the king's subjects lived in security noting that the Blacks were, of all peoples, those who most abhorred injustice. By the fourteenth century Islamic influence had already penetrated Western Africa. This region was also peopled by the descendants of Black civilizations of Pharaonic Egypt, a kingdom created when Menes (also called Namer or Min), the Black king of Upper Egypt (current Sudan), made himself the first Pharaoh uniting his kingdom with that of Lower Egypt (current Egypt).

After three or four thousand years of existence, Pharaonic Egypt devolved into a Greek and later Roman colony. The Macedonian, Alexander, bedazzled by the vast intellectual patrimony of the African kingdom he conquered in 322 B. C. E. squirreled away as much of the immense treasure as he could from the Alexandrian library. In a rush of zeal, a Christian mob burnt this irreplaceable monument to the ground, significantly contributing to the ignorance that would characterize the European Dark Ages. The great migrations of Blacks west across the continent, which had begun with the Assyrian and Persian invasions of Egypt, continued with the incursions of the Greeks and Romans.

The Egyptians took with them what they could of the ancient learning to form the new kingdoms in West and East Africa.

The region was also home to tribes and nations untouched by either the enlightenment of Egyptian, Islamic or other African civilization, and whose standards of living were on par with those of Europe. When the slave trade surfaced in the Americas with its disastrous consequences, the deliberate mixing of classes, ethnic groups, religious groups, and languages among the captives was a successful tool to engender and maintain dissent among the Africans in the Americas. Uncertainty and chaos reigned in Africa itself as several leaders colluded with the Europeans to export other Africans. War erupted and Africa was plunged into a third Dark Age. Once magnificent cities fell into decay; the glorious literary tradition was reduced to an oral one; agricultural production, trade and manufacturing declined precipitously; and the continent toiled beneath a yoke of European hegemony.

African Contributions to the Iberian Peninsula

Africa's roots in Spain run long and deep. Many of the cave drawings and skeletons found at the deepest levels of archeological exploration in southern Europe display characteristic Africoid features. There are records of Africans entering Spain following a great drought which occurred three thousand years ago. They entered at Cadiz, built towns and cities, and appointed administrators to their affairs. Their capital was Talika (Italica) in what is now Seville. The ancient world acknowledged the central role of the Black-skinned Africans in the development of human civilization. Martin Bernal is the contemporary scholar who most elegantly addresses these issues. Certainly, ancient writers such as Homer, Herodotus and Aeschylus accepted without question both the Africanness of the Egyptians and their major contribution to human civilization.

The reality of a profound Egyptian/African influence on both the northern¹ and

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Northern Africa was peopled predominantly by Africoids, the Garamantes, who later became infused with Caucasian ancestry as time went on. The largest infusion of white genetic materials occurred as a result of the slave trade after the Moorish invasion of Spain and northern Africa. This today explains the mixed and sometimes Caucasian appearance of some North Africans.

southern shores of the Mediterranean is attested to by a plethora of data. Ornamental scrolls depicting the names of Upper Egyptian kings of the twenty-second and twenty-third dynasties have been found in Almuneca, Spain. Indeed, about a millennium before the Moors, at a time when the Nubian twenty-fifth dynasty ruled Egypt, the Iberian Peninsula experienced a major invasion of a Black army led by the conquering General Taharka, crown prince and son of Piankhi. Cheikh Anta Diop² indicated that Taharka is one and the same as the biblical Tirhakah. In Spanish history, they refer to him as Tarreco.

Among the early colonizers of Ancient Spain were the mixed race Carthagenians. The city of Barcelona, for example, was founded by a Carthagenian, Hamilcar Barca, the father of the illustrious African general, Hannibal.

The Moors in Spain

While these preceding invasions brought some level of enlightenment to the Peninsula, it was the heavily, although not exclusively, Africoid Moorish armies from Morocco and Senegal which finally brought Africa's civilizing influence to the region. It began in 711 A. D. when seven thousand troops under the Moor Tarik landed at Gibraltar and overran the Peninsula.³

Stanley Lane-Poole is a richly documented source of information about the period. In the 1990 edition to this 1886 classic, John G. Jackson focuses on the fact that the Moors introduced rice, sugarcane, dates, lemons, cotton, strawberries, and the silk industry to the Peninsula. They were also credited for bringing science, architecture, and mathematics to Spain, and for raising culture and the arts to unsurpassed levels.

The cities built by the Moors, such as tenth century Cordoba, 4 had raised sidewalks

Diop, Cheikh Anta. *The African Origin of Civilization: Myth or Reality*. Edited and Translated by Mercer Cook, New York, Hill, 1974, p. 20.

Only three hundred of the invaders were of Arab origin. It is worthy of consideration that some of the Moors romanticized by Europe were military men: Othello and Saint Maurice, for example.

For a full and detailed treatment of the Moors, please see, Ivan Van Sertima (ed.), *The Golden Age of the Moors*, Transaction Publishers, 1992.

for pedestrians and paved streets which for ten miles were lit by street lamps. There were over one million people living in 200,000 common homes and 63,000 palaces for nobles. There were 800 public schools, including universities, 900 public baths, 4,000 public markets, and 80,000 shops. There were also 5,000 mills. Women received an education in all the professions and religious tolerance was a hallmark of the rule.

Flora Shaw highlighted the advanced civilization of the Moors telling us that many houses in Cordoba were kept cool by:

ingeniously arranged draughts of fresh air drawn from the garden over beds of flowers chosen for their perfume, warmed in winter by hot air conveyed through pipes bedded in the walls. Bathrooms supplied hot and cold water, and there were tables of gold set with emeralds, rubies and pearls. ⁵

With the fall of Granada, the last Moorish outpost, in 1492, Spain under Ferdinand and Isabella, the Catholic kings of Castile and Aragon, brought closure to nearly eight centuries of its *reconquista* (reconquest) campaign. The success was a mixed blessing, for it plunged the Peninsula into a bloodletting Inquisition. Over the next two centuries, first the Jews and then the Moors were expelled in an attempt to erase all traces of Non-Christian influence. A true ethnic "cleansing of the blood" purged the Moorish and Hebrew ancestry that had percolated the veins of Spanish and Portuguese society, and had changed its genetic character, much in the way that five hundred years of European dominance would later change America's populations. Large numbers of highly sophisticated and educated Moors and Jews fled Spain to establish themselves in the Capitals of European countries. Their family coat-of-arms were emblazoned with images of Africoid Moors, and their surnames often bore the word Moor or some allusion to it. Some of Europe's royal families are descendants of these displaced Moors and Jews, as are some of Europe's most important cultural contributors. For example, Johannes Morus, Vizier of Sicily, and the seventeenth century Saint Maurice serve as examples of the degree to which they had influenced Europe.

Columbus' voyage to Africa and the Americas produced its most significant returns the very year of the defeat of the Moors in Granada. At that time, it was only to be expected that Africans would suffer in the Americas the same fate as their Moorish counterparts in Spain. The experience of nearly eight hundred years of Moorish colonization engendered in the Spanish an antipathy to all things Moorish, and by extension, all things "Black." Such attitudes were a catalyst for institutionalization of laws and practices that would prevent such influences from ever returning. These practices denied rights to equality and retarded advancement of Africans in Spanish colonial society in the Americas.

Slavery, Slave Laws and Punishment

⁵ Shaw, Flora. A Tropical Dependency, p. 41.

Post-1492 slavery for the American continent was unlike any other institution devised by man. Slavery was primarily an economic phenomena that sprang from capitalism. It was the essential factor of production that made colonization of the Americas fabulously profitable for Europeans. The wealth that slavery brought to the coffers of Europe primed it for world supremacy. For Africans, however, it was a brutal institution which brought torture, family separation, human degradation, and destruction to hundreds of millions of lives.

The exact number of slaves brought to Spanish-speaking countries is unknown. Estimates vary between Philip Curtin's 925,000 and Arthur Helps' 6,000,000. What is known is that many others died in the infamous Middle Passage between Africa and the New World, some opting for suicide over slavery. In the end, hundreds of millions of people of African descent all over the Americas were either born into slavery or would suffer the delimiting effects of having slave ancestry. In terms of the scope, protracted nature of the events, geographic area involved, numbers of innocents, level of brutality, psychic damage, and the resulting consequences to all involved, the European slave trade ranks perhaps as the greatest tragedy in human history, a crime against humanity, for which no apologies have ever been tendered or compensation paid to the victims.

The legacy of the slave trade meant that severe colonial laws were in force to control and restrict every aspect of life: dress, religious practices, rights to assemble. Laws prohibiting Blacks from cohabiting with Indians were important. Spanish authorities considered Blacks warlike and a bad influence on the Indians. It was also felt that Black-Indian relationships would threaten Spanish dominance. The Spaniards, therefore, tried to prevent any communication between the two groups, causing division and instigating war.

There were severe penalties for these who did not obey these laws. Violations resulted in one hundred to two hundred lashes in public, the loss of an ear, or hanging. The most hideous forms of punishment, like maiming and castration, were usually reserved for runaway slaves who had been recaptured. Jaime Jaramillo⁶ points out that:

while in the centuries of conquest and colonization a voluminous and complete legislation protecting Indians emerged, the laws of the Indies which relate to Black people scarcely include one or other humanitarian norm, and are composed entirely of penal disposition, characterized by their particular severity.

Resistance, Rebellion, and Maroon Societies

African resistance to slavery is as old as the system itself. Colonies of maroon resistance formed in many parts of the American continent. A few Africans managed to throw off the yoke on the slaveship itself, killing their captors and swimming to shore. The colonial

Jaramillo Uribe, Jaime. *Ensayos sobre la historia Colombiana*, Vol. 1., Editorial Temis, Bogota, 1968, p. 31.

process in northern Ecuador began in 1530. Twenty-three African men and women mutinied on board a slaver, escaped to the Esmeraldan coast, and formed a *zambo* society that coexisted with the Indigenous population. The original Garifuna, Black Caribs, from the island of Saint Vincent are also an example of a *zambo* society. They came into existence as an ethnocultural group in this same manner in the XVII century, but were shipped out to Central America in 1797 by the English. The Zambo-Miskito Indians in the Mosquitia of Honduras and Nicaragua are another *zambo* society. Their ancestors are most likely Jamaicans who liberated themselves. Self-liberated Africans tended to form their own maroon communities (*palenques*) in isolated, hard-to-reach places where they learned to survive with the help of the local Indigenous populations. The present-day Black communities that most strongly maintain their cultural traditions and African physiognomy are those that descend from the maroons.

Unpopulated areas of Venezuela were ripe for establishing maroon communities. Well into the colonial period, African communities had been established along the coast and then in the central littoral; in the east; south of Lake Maracaibo; in the mountain ranges of Coro; in some regions of the plains and the Andes; and the valleys of Barlovento, Aragua, El Tuy, Yaracuy, and El Tocuyo. The Venezuelan scholar, Miguel Acosta Sanguines, reports that these Maroons were "everywhere." Partly as a result of these communities, Venezuela has one of the largest populations of African ancestry in Latin America.

Rebellions were frequent in the slave labour camps, and among free Blacks. In 1530, the first of the post-1492 Africans, so-called *bozales*, were brought into Venezuela to the Buria gold mines near Barquisimeto. The first recorded rebellion in this country took place about twenty-two years later, led by an African man named Miguel. He threw off the yoke of chattel slavery, crowned himself king, and waged a guerrilla campaign to free the other enslaved Africans and extend his domain. In 1555, nearly three years into his rebellion, King Miguel's authority collapsed when his stronghold at Barquisimeto was overrun by the Spanish. His short-lived victories, notwithstanding, set the tone for race relations in a country where vigorous resistance to racist violence would became a way of life. Similar scenarios emerged throughout all of Central and South America.

Maroons contributed significantly to the colonial economy, helping the local Spaniards to circumvent the mother country's trade monopoly. The colonials opted to forego this advantage, fearing Black rebellion. Instead, they learned to quell such rebellions with violence. Another Venezuelan example was the case of Andres Andresote, who emerged as a leader of Blacks. He fought to protect the lucrative contraband trade in cacao on the Orinoco, a trade which his group controlled. The illegal trade was initially looked upon favourably by the white plantation owners, because they got better prices from the Dutch buyers than from the Caracas company monopoly. The white population eventually turned on Andresote after a series of military successes on his part. The local whites reasoned that these successes would spark more slave revolts and further maroonage. After two years of struggles Andresote fled to Curacao, where he established a guerilla base. The colonial regime negotiated terms for amnesty. Once the arms had been laid down,

Andresote's amnesty was drowned in blood.

The experience of Ecuador's maroon communities is worth noting because it amounted to a virtual Black colonization of several provinces, including Esmeraldas. For centuries the Spanish were unable to establish a foothold in the province. The zambo population and their Indigenous neighbours were eventually led by Juan de Illescas, a zambo who emerged as king over all of present-day Esmeraldas, Imbabura and Pichincha.

Successive groups of Blacks would later arrive in the region. These included self-liberated or ship-wrecked Africans, Black soldiers from the wars of independence and, later, Jamaican and Colombian labourers. Despite brutal efforts on the part of the Spanish to reenslave these Africans, Esmeraldas remained free for most of its history. It was not until the eighteenth century when Pedro Vicente Maldonando y Sotomayor cut a trail from the high sierra capital of Quito that the Spanish would exercise any modicum of control over the area. When slavery was abolished it was natural that many Blacks would migrate to the region.

Free Blacks in Colonial Society

The existence of a free, intermediate group of Blacks who were neither maroons nor slaves created an uncomfortable situation for the colonial powers. This class of free artisans, cobblers, and bricklayers, joined by a smaller group of educated Blacks, was deemed a threat to the superior social and economic position of whites. Some free Blacks had already achieved the status of Creoles by hiding or denying Black ancestry and circumventing the laws. To manage this class effectively, the Spanish colonial administration implemented a system of *castas* [castes] based on race. This system was a natural extension of Spanish racism expressed during the Inquisition.

Contrary to a widely held view that racism and anti-Semitism were not factors in the Spanish Inquisition, Leslie Rout believes that in establishing and consolidating its imperial rule, Spain attempted to graft upon its colonies the ideas and institutions then prevalent in the kingdom of Castile:

Among these was the concept of "purity of blood" which maintained that bloodlines were infallible determinants of physical beauty and psychic character. Logically, then, those of "unclean" origins were carriers of biological deficiencies and were unfit to occupy positions of moral and political authority. In Spain, this notion referred to Moors and Jews. In the New World . . . [to] people of mixed blood in general and African blood in particular. ⁷

For over three hundred years few European women came to Latin American. As a

Leslie Rout, *The African Experience in Spanish America: 1502 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 126.

result, new classes of children of mixed racial ancestry were born--a sign to the Old World of debauchery and profligate sexual behaviour of in the New. In fact, most children born in the New World to Spaniards were illegitimate. All children who were not either slave or white were referred to as *castas*. Colonial society developed for them and their offspring a complex, hierarchical system which described and categorized them by their percentage of Indian and/or Black blood. The ranking was based on proximity to whiteness so that mestizos were determined to be "persons possessing reason," whereas mulattoes, zambos and pure Blacks did not "possess reason," and on this basis were prevented from holding important offices within the society. Their conduct and behaviour were prescribed by law and custom. They were not, for example, to sit with non-*castas* in church, or to kneel on soft padding to pray. There were laws which denied them ownership of land, the right to borrow or lend money, to attend universities or visit libraries, and laws which limited access to all but the lowest ranks in military and religious life. 8

It becomes easy to see why colonial society guarded as a precious commodity what little white ancestry there was, why Black ancestry was a family secret of major importance, why people readily explained away their physiognomy by claiming the notorious "Indian grandmother," and why this white ancestry was passed on to the children of *castas* and whites alike as a rare family heirloom.

Marriage laws were carefully enforced by law and custom. In 1514 Spain sanctioned marriages between whites and Indians. However, céduals in 1527 and 1541 discouraged unions with people of Black ancestry. In 1776, Spain applied to the colonies provisions of a law made two years earlier that gave parents the rights to prevent the marriage of their children with anyone of "unclean" blood. The law exempted parents who were "mulattoes, Negroes, coyotes, and individuals of the *castas* and similar races. "

In 1783, Spain issued another edict permitting the cleansing by fiat of certain specified *castas* of unclean blood. Thereafter, Spanish kings sold *cédulas de gracias al sacar*, certificates of whiteness, to persons of African ancestry. There was no evidence that possessing one of these *cédulas* meant tangible changes in treatment by law and by society. There was also no evidence to suggest that benefits would extend to the children of the grantee, thus the mechanisms and behaviours to hide African ancestry were important.

Black Roles in The Wars of Independence

Apart from having been the backbone of the colonial and the new national economies and of having played a fundamental role in the evolution of culture, Africans and their descendants also played a critical role in the struggle for independence, having had unsung heroes on both sides. It was the Afro-Latin American maroons and rebels who first showed that

⁸ Martin of Porres was, for example, a brother, not a priest.

successful struggle against Spain was possible.

Bolívar, while exiled in liberated Haiti, received substantial assistance from Alexander Petion in the form of arms, munitions, strategy, officers, and men. *Pardos* (people of African descent) and Blacks composed the majority of Bolívar's army. This reality has never been fully reflected in the murals, paintings, or sculptures which suggest that the fighting was done by whites.

The dubious racial origins of the criollos, a matter of reproach by the Spanish-born colonial rulers, was an important element in the break from Spain. The swarthy skin and features of the Great Liberator, Bolívar, made him an object of derision in Spain and France.

The war of independence was more than a military conflict, it was a social and racial one as well. The power vacuum that resulted from the collapse of the *Junta Suprema* in Seville threw Latin America into instability. The Creoles moved instinctively to seize control, and more so to prevent the *pardos* from ascending to prominence. The onset of violence saw Bolívar and Francisco de Miranda's forces defeated by Royalists, whose army included Blacks. Laureano Vallenilla Lanz⁹ relates the concerns of a certain royalist Captain Montalyo:

zambos and mulattoes were fighting to destroy their white . . . masters . . . and it will not take long before they start to destroy the white Europeans who are also their masters.

Montalvo proposed to the king that Spain seek permanent loyalty by providing, en masse, certificates of *gracias al sacar* or legal whiteness. The king refused, and in the year 1820 he modified an earlier constitution to exclude from rights of citizenship anyone who possessed any degree of African ancestry on any side of the family. Those decisions proved fatal to the Spanish as Black support for the Royalists quickly evaporated.

Bolívar's reticence to include Blacks in his army melted away in the face of Royalist defeats, his pragmatism prompting him to recognize that without Blacks initial defeat would become a permanent condition. So, in 1816, on his third campaign, he incorporated Blacks, and in the following year succeeded in obtaining the support of José Antonio Paez, a leader of the *llaneros* whose allegiance had formerly been Royalist. On February 6, 1819, Bolívar's revolution recruited an initial 5,000 enslaved Africans from Colombia to fight in the wars of independence. The practice was followed all over the region. Slaves would be given their freedom after having provided two years of military service.

Among those who took advantage of this option was Lieutenant Leonardo Infante. Famous African military men of African descent who fought with Bolívar included the *pardo* Jose Laurencio Silva, Chief General of the independent troops, and the founder of the

9

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Vallenilla Lanz, Laureano. Cesarismo democrático: estudios sobre las bases sociológicos de la constitución de Venezuela, Caracas, 1961, p. 9.

Colombian navy, Admiral José Prudencio Padilla, a Colombian who fought in Venezuela. After leading an uprising of Blacks and *pardos* in Cartagena de Indias, he was charged on the most tenuous evidence with attempting to murder Bolívar, and executed in 1828. Interestingly, Lieutenant José Bolívar, Bolívar's right hand, a former slave and butler on his father's estate, was killed during that alleged foiled murder plot as he slept in Bolívar's hammock during the attempt itself.

The participation of Blacks was a critical factor in the defense of Argentina until the European immigration at the end of the 19th century. They constituted a majority of conscripts in the Argentinean armed forces where Black legions were led predominantly by Black officers. José de San Martín, whose military campaigns are the stuff of legends, commanded troops who were predominantly of African descent. San Martín is credited with expelling the Spanish from Chile in the bloody battle of Maipú. His charge to his Black troops before this great event was that he would enslave or re-enslave anyone of African descent who remained alive if the battle was lost. Only 150 Blacks are known to have returned to Buenos Aires.

The case of Uruguay serves well to illustrate the motives, nature, and extent of the participation of people of African descent in Latin America's armed struggles.

Support to Artigas for Argentinean Independence

Although Blacks were used as cannon fodder by all armies, they played a decisive role in the struggle for independence, both as militiamen and as trusted aides of the Uruguayan *caudillos*. Freedom was always a strong motive, drawing Blacks into the armies. With abolition of slavery as their collective aim, slaves and *libertos* alike participated as volunteers or conscripts. Blacks constituted the greater number of soldiers in Artigas's independence army. Their courage, sacrifice, intelligence, and skill contributed significantly to the creation of the Uruguayan state.

As early as 1810 the sixth battalion had been created, called "Pardos and Morenos." Two years later they would become immortalized in the bayonet charge of the Battle of Cerrito. Fighting against impossible odds, with their leader dead, the Black battalion nevertheless charged to take Cerrito, losing most of its men. One of the known Black officers, Captain Videla, refused to be taken prisoner despite being gravely wounded. Instead, when the enemy demanded his allegiance to the crown, holding a bayonet to his breast, Captain Videla responded *viva la patria*. These were his last words. Another regiment, the *Libertos Orientales*, saw almost continuous service between 1816 and 1820.

Illustrating their motive for fighting, throughout the wars there were some cases of desertion of Blacks. For example, around 1817 about one hundred Blacks defected to Brazil, because that nation had promised freedom to slaves.

In 1820, when Artigas, defeated as a result of the betrayal of some of his closest Creole aides, went into exile to Paraguay, his followers and supporters were Blacks and mulattoes, the ancestors of one of the most visible Afro-Paraguayan groups today, the Camba Cua. His last companion and most trusted soldier was a Black, Ansina, who effectively led

armies into battle. Uruguay remembers him today only as a servant who prepared Artigas's *mate* (a bitter herbal tea). Some in Artigas's Paraguay contingent were actually with him from the beginning in Quintana, where the "Chief of the Banda Oriental" first formed his army of patriots with a fistful of Blacks.

War against Brazil for Uruguayan Independence

In 1825, when Brazil declared itself an independent kingdom, a group of dissidents known as the "33 Immortals" crossed the River Plate from Buenos Aires in the hope that the departing Portuguese would agree to give the government of the Cisplatina to Argentina and not to Brazil. Among the "33" were two Blacks, Dionisio Oribe and Joaquín Artigas.

After losing several skirmishes against the "33," the newly established Brazilian crown declared a war which lasted three years. It finally ended when another Uruguayan *caudillo*, Fructuoso Rivera (trained under Artigas), led an Indigenous, gaucho, and Black army of 1000 soldiers drawn from the local population of the north and took the province of Misiones from Brazil. Realizing the future cost of a larger war, Brazil relinquished its claim on the Cisplatina. Rivera refused to relinquish command to Buenos Aires and declared the Banda Oriental del Uruguay an independent country.

The War against Rosas and Argentinean Annexation

The empire building aspirations of the Argentinean president Rosas led to the invasion of Uruguay with the intention of its annexation to the Argentine provinces. The siege of Montevideo, from around 1843 to 1851, was perhaps the longest event of this war, if not the most important. Of approximately 4000 defenders who manned the citadel walls between 1845 and 1846, nearly 700 were enslaved Blacks. Free Blacks made up a significant number of the rest.

In 1846, Argentinean forces under the Uruguayan General Oribe abolished slavery and drafted as many Blacks as could be found. This strategy of luring Blacks from one side to the other was used by all parties. If nothing else, the practice illustrated that Blacks were mere pawns. Their desire for freedom was used as a tool to achieve Spanish Creoles' aspirations.

Independence Movements and Abolition of Slavery in Central America

The Central American states suffered none of the violent independence upheavals that Mexico and South America did. However, it was the Mexican revolution that made it possible for Central America to declare its independence from Spain in 1821. And here too, Central America benefited from the presence of Afro-Mexicans and other men and women who fought the war against Spain. Among the generals were several Blacks, including José María Morelos and Vicente Guerrero, who became Mexico's second president. Both have

states named after them. Other Black generals included Juan del Carmen, Juan Francisco Gómez, and José María Alegre.

When Central America severed its political connections with Mexico in 1823, the Central American Federation, composed of Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and El Salvador, proclaimed a free society and left each province to work out of the details of indemnity payments to slave holders. When the Federation dissolved in 1839, very little had been accomplished with the indemnity program, and some Blacks were still enslaved. But slavery as an institution had exhausted itself, and it simply died, leaving Africans on the periphery.

Conclusions

The background history of the arrival of Blacks in the Spanish American colonies provides the basis for understanding the forms of racial discrimination that evolved in Latin American culture. Such forms are quite different from those found in other European colonies. The almost eight centuries of the Reconquista campaign engendered in the Spanish ethos a hatred of Black/Moorish ancestry, which was not shared by other European kingdoms. There was a great need to purify the new Spanish kingdom of all traces of the previous Moorish domination in order to consolidate the power of the Catholic Kings. The witch-hunt against Jews (the financiers of the Kings) and Moors (who represented the standard of governing at the time) was a basic instrument for consolidating power not only psychologically, but financially as well, since the crown retained the expropriated assets of those expelled. Thus, the fear of possessing Black ancestry was well-founded in colonial days, as having it could result in social ostracism or exclusion from any job in the colonial administration. There was great pressure, then, for Blacks to marry into the Indigenous strain in order to de-Africanize their features, and thus qualify in the next generation for marriage into the white race. The specific forms of racial discrimination observed in Latin American countries are discussed in Chapter 3.

African Populations in Latin America

People of African descent are well-established throughout Latin America. In Central America, there are four major ethnolinguistic African populations: **colonial Spanish-speaking Blacks** (*negros coloniales*), who were brought as slaves to work on the Pacific coast and in the central regions; the **English-speaking "Creole" Blacks** (*negros antillanos*) of the Atlantic coast, including the Bay Islands of Honduras, the Southern Autonomous Region of Nicaragua (RAAS), Livingston in Guatemala, San Andres and Providencia islands, which belong to Colombia, Limon province in Costa Rica, and throughout Panama; the **Miskito-speaking descendants of Miskitos and Blacks**, who inhabit the Northern

Autonomous Region (RAAN) of Nicaragua¹⁰ and a large area of Honduras; and the **Garifuna**, who speak their own language of the same name and who live principally on the north coast of Honduras and in a small area of the RAAS.

In South America, small Black communities dot the Peruvian coastline, and many Blacks live in Lima and Callao. But African communities in south america become notably strong in the Chota valley of Carchi and Imbabura, Ecuador, then spread out into the lush regions of Esmeraldas, moving north and east along the Pacific into Colombia, a region with an almost entirely African population. Colombia's Atlantic coast also has a predominantly mixed-African population, particularly in the city of Cartagena, and the river plains of the Atlantic departments (states). The Black belt extends into Venezuela from the city of Maracaibo all the way down into La Guaira and Caracas. People of African descent area a majority in Brazil, Panama, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic. The entire coastline of Brazil is peopled with an African-ancestored population. Many Uruguayan, Bolivian, and Paraguayan Blacks live close to their capital cities.

A symptom of the economic distress is the movement of millions of Africans into the large cities from rural areas affected by violence and economic crisis. Millions of others are moving across national boundaries. In Venezuela, for example, the largest group of undocumented and unwelcome workers are the Black migrants from the Atlantic coast of Colombia. They are principally engaged in the agricultural sector. In Caracas, thousands of Blacks from the Dominican Republic sell fruit and ice cream to the native population or work as domestics in the houses of the middle and upper classes. At night, they return to the dangerous "cerros" that ring Caracas. Dominicans are to be found as far south as Buenos Aires, where they work as domestics or as prostitutes, and live in cramped, often windowless, quarters. Black Peruvians migrate to the Southern Cone, principally Uruguay and Chile, where they complain of severe discrimination and hardships. Ecuadoreans typically migrate to Colombia.

For years the United States provided an outlet for many Black Central Americans. This has changed due to U. S. immigration policy. The remittances that were a part of the survival mechanism of these populations are greatly reduced or have dried up. This will have a definite impact on the physical appearance and the overall standard of living in many communities.

The chart below is intended as a guide to the degree of African ancestry in the

13

The Miskito are a mixed Indigenous and African people whose descent is matrilineal. Though their appearance may be quite African, the Miskitos who inhabit the North Autonomous Region (RAAN) of Nicaraguan's Atlantic coast have preferred to negotiate their interests through the Indigenous movement.

countries studied. This population group amounts to approximately 150 million persons. The upper estimate of Black populations tends to include persons who are mixed. Many do not identify themselves as Black and often deny an African heritage out of fear or ignorance. Although many of these individuals do suffer the consequences of their Black ancestry, their societal positions are more intermediary. The population included in the lower estimates are those of uncompromisingly Africoid appearance, who suffer the full effects of poverty, in part because of racism and endoracism. In other words, this lower estimate should be viewed as the target group for Poverty Alleviation by donors.

ESTIMATES OF NUMBER OF PERSONS OF AFRICAN DESCENT Latin America

Country	Lower - Upper Estimates	Total Population	Total Population of African Ancestry: High Estimate	Total Black Population Lower Estimate: Target Group	Observations
Argentina	NFA	-	NFA	NFA	Caucasians make up a significant minority, especially in the principal cities. Non-white "morochos" and "cabecitas negras" are the majority and display African and Indigenous features. African ancestry is denied.
Bolivia	2 %	7. 9 million	158000	158000	Predominantly Indigenous, with some African and white ancestry.
Brazil	46 % - 70 %	158 million	111 million	73 million	Predominantly Africoid with important white and Indigenous elements.
Chile	NFA	1	NFA	NFA	Predominantly mestizo, with more important Indigenous than white elements.
Colombia	30 % - +50 %	33 million	17 million	10 million	The majority are of African, Indigenous and lesser white ancestry. Bogotá is mestizo. The CIA estimates the Black population at 21 percent.
Costa Rica	2 % - undet.	3. 3 million	NFA	66000	Predominantly mestizo with some important Black and white contributions from the colonial period. There are 66,000 people of Jamaican ancestry.
Cuba	34 % - 65 %	10. 5 million	6. 8 million	N/A	Afro-European, heavily Africoid, but with an important white element
Dominican Republic	90 %	7. 7 million	7 million	N/A	Afro-European, heavily Africoid.
	5 % -		1. 1 million		The Black population of

Country	Lower - Upper Estimates	Total Population	Total Population of African Ancestry: High Estimate	Total Black Population Lower Estimate: Target Group	Observations
Ecuador	undet.	11. 6 million	(10 %)	550000	Ecuador in the mid-1800s was 29 %. Today, the population is predominantly Indigenous with a significant zambo, African and mestizo element. There are few real whites. Britannica Yearbook puts an upper estimate of Blacks at 10 percent.
El Salvador	NFA	-	NFA	NFA	Predominantly Indigenous and zambo, there are some important mestizo elements. African ancestry is denied.
Guatemala	NFA	•	NFA	NFA	Predominantly Indigenous, some mestizos. African ancestry is present but of little importance.
Honduras*	2 % - +50 %	5. 6 million	2. 8 million	112000	Predominantly Indigenous or zambo with a white strain. More Indigenous-looking in Tegucigalpa than in San Pedro Sula and the Atlantic coast in general.
Mexico	. 5 % - 10 %	90 million	9 million	450000	The colonial population was always predominantly Indigenous with an important zambo/African strain. Black genetic contributions are probably equal to or greater than white.
Nicaragua	10 % - +50 %	4. 6 million	2. 3 million	599000	Significantly more zambo than mestizo and with a mix of all three in many. A majority of Nicaraguans are likely to have Black ancestry.
Panama	14 % - 77 %	2. 5 million	1. 9 million	350000	Predominantly African, zambo or "pardo" with a white strain. 14 percent relates to the Antillanos.
Paraguay	3. 5%	4. 6 million	162000	162000	Predominantly Indigenous with an important zambo

Country	Lower - Upper Estimates	Total Population	Total Population of African Ancestry: High Estimate	Total Black Population Lower Estimate: Target Group	Observations
					and mestizo strain. Some zambos.
Peru	5 % - undet.	23 million	2. 3 million (10 %)	1. 1 million	Predominantly Indigenous, with much greater African than white contributions to the genetic pool. Britannica Yearbook puts an upper estimate of 10 percent on Blacks.
Puerto Rico	23 % - 70 %	3. 5 million	2. 4 million	N/A	Afro-European with important white and lesser important Indigenous elements.
Uruguay	3 % - 6 %	3. 1 million	192000	96000	Predominantly white with significant Black and Indigenous ancestry going back to colonial days.
Venezuela	15 % - 70 %	21 million	14 million	3. 1 million	Predominantly "pardo," African ancestry being the most significant element followed by the Indigenous and white.

Total Estimated population of African descent in Latin America: approximately 150,000,000

Total Estimated target group for poverty alleviation: approximately 90,000,000 (excludes Argentina, El Salvador, Guatemala, Dominican Republic, Cuba, and Puerto Rico.

Notes*

Upper and Lower estimates for Honduras are extremely difficult to determine.

Sources:

Britannic Yearbook. "Estimate of the Black Population in Latin America," The Organization of Africans in the Americas (OAA), Washington, DC, 1994. "Afro-Latin Americans Today: No Longer Invisible," Minority Rights Group, London, 1996. Latin American census Data, Black Organizations. The African Experience in Spanish America: 1502 Present, Leslie Rout, 1976. The United States Department of State from the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in telephone interviews.

Key:

Pardo - Colonial description of people of predominantly African ancestry mixed with Europeans and Indigenous people, Mestizo - mixed White/ Indigenous ancestry, Zambo - mixed Indigenous / African ancestry.

NFA - No Figures Available, Undert. - Authors were unable to satisfactorily determine high estimate, and they do not regard current estimates as realistic, N/A - Not Applicable.

Chapter 2

Historical Contribution by Africans and their Descendants

Some 150 million people in Latin America, approximately a third of the entire population, are descendants of enslaved Africans brought forcibly over a period of four hundred years.

These original slaves and their descendants have left their indelible mark on the physiognomy and character of the entire region. Their forced labor created wealthy colonial economies. Their intelligence and courage helped bring freedom from Spanish tyranny. Their ability to survive under the most daunting circumstances and to adapt have been a lesson for humankind. Yet, there are few monuments to the countless millions of salves who came, toiled, and died in the Americas, or to the Black fighters in the wars of independence.

The following is a brief synopsis of the contribution that Africans and their descendants have made to Latin America. The presentation is not meant to be exhaustive, and any emphasis on a given country is merely intended as representative. Contributions by Black Brazilians are beyond the scope of this presentation.

Black Contributions to the Defense of Latin America and the Freedom Struggles

Black contributions to the independence struggle were detailed in Chapter 1. In Latin America, Black soldiers were part of all the internecine wars before and after independence, and played a critical part in winning the wars against Spain. Blacks were almost always put on the front lines. It must be pointed out that Blacks first began the struggle against their enslavement by rebelling, and forming Maroon communities. The experience in Haiti, the continent's most successful Maroon community, showed the Creoles that victory was possible and that Black fighting tactics were formidable weapons against European hegemony.

Black Economic Contributions: During the Colonial Era and Beyond

Slave Labour: Plantation life and Mining Activities

Enslaved Africans were the principal work force in the mining, agricultural and artisan sectors since the colonial period. Their knowledge of the extraction process was a key element in the development of the gold-mining industry. African labour was also responsible for the great success of the cacao and coffee plantations. Colonial economy depended upon Africans for the production of indigo, tobacco, sugarcane, and its derivates, such as hard liquor and molasses which were exported. By contrast, the scarcity of slave labour resulted in depressed mining economies in Honduras and in Ecuador. Thus, Africans

created wealth for the Spanish through their physical labour and knowledge. Cartagena in Colombia was a transhipment port for African-born slaves, and its economy depended on acclimatizing these arrivals, teaching them the Spanish language and ways, and breeding a new generation that was then sold to countries further south.

Slave Labour: Urban Life

Africans in colonial Latin America, whether as *estancia* gauchos, suburban *pardos*, or enslaved domestics or artisans, provided services which raised living standards for the white colonial population, which had as a consequence, considerable leisure time compared to their European counterparts. Blacks constituted an artisan class of builders, brick-layers, painters, shoemakers, tailors, carpenters and Blacksmiths. It was they who constructed many of the buildings which still stand in Quito, Lima, Buenos Aires, Montevideo, and the old capitals of Central America. Susan Baca reports that in colonial times the African presence in Lima included more than seventy percent of the population¹¹

These Blacks were skilled in such trades as metalwork, dressmaking, construction, and other crafts. As semiskilled labourers, they were involved in coastal fishing, in food-preparation and processing, in services such as porters and vendors, and even as armed watchmen with Lima's police force. Blacks achieved master status in many trades, occasionally without opposition. In Lima, 100 out of 150 master tailors were Blacks, mulattoes, or mestizos; 40 out of 70 master shoemakers were Blacks or mulattoes. Their work improved the quality of life for the colony as they were bricklayers, carpenters, hatmakers, and even fine art painters.

Baca, Susana, Francisco Basili, Ricardo Pereira. Del Fuego y del Agua, el Aporte del Negro a la Formación de la Música Popular Peruana, Editora Pregon S. R. L., Lima, 1992, p. 94

Town councils all over Latin America and the militia utilized slaves as *pregoneros* (town criers) and *verdugos* (hangmen). Particularly in urban settings, Blacks provided, and continue to do so, a disproportionate share of household services: cooking, cleaning, childcare, water-fetching, waste disposal, coachmen and the like. They worked in the abbatoirs, and were itinerant vendors. Enslaved Africans were used with wasteful ostentation in such tasks as carrying carpets for kneeling in church. Black women provided sexual services for their white masters and suckled white children. Throughout much of the colonial period and until the start of the twentieth century Blacks provided all forms of entertainment for their white masters. This included classical European music performed by free Blacks who had studied under European masters. There were also many cases in which the only source of income for white families came from their small cadre of slaves who sold items in the streets, or who performed other trades for pay which was then handed over to the master. J. Torre Revelio, in his *Crónicas del Buenos Aires colonial*, cites the testimony of Cayetano Cattaneo, who declared that the River Plate economy was dependent on Black slaves for they were, "the only ones that worked."

Even allowing for the hyperbole, Blacks undoubtedly were a chief cornerstone on which this region and most of Latin America was built.

Post Emancipation Economic Contributions

After emancipation and manumission, many of the ex-slaves continued to bear the economic burden of several countries, becoming share croppers who paid as much as 50 percent of their wages to the former masters in exchange for the use of the land. Living through wars and many economic booms and depressions, these Africans survived by small plot farming, which fed not only their families but also adjacent towns. Food produced by Africans was an important element in food security as their agriculture assured a steady supply of cheap products to the region for many years. *Ultimately, we cannot calculate the economic value of the forced labour provided by generations of Africans, or of their heavily discounted post-slavery economic support to Latin America*.

Black West Indians on Central America's Atlantic Cost

Tortoiseshell Trade

During the colonial era, the Atlantic coast of Costa Rica and Panama operated as one geographical zone within the British economic sphere of influence. Beginning in the seventeenth century the Miskito of Nicaragua engaged in a policy of raiding the area to steal tortoiseshell and to abduct Indigenous people to sell as slaves to the British. This resulted in

Torre Revelio, J. Crónicas del Buenos Aires colonial, Buenos Aires, 1943, p. 27.

the depopulation of the coastal areas by the eighteenth century. Jamaican and San Andres fishermen had begun at that time to make seasonal trips to the Talamanca coast and Bocas del Toro in Panama in search of tortoiseshell which they sold to the British in Jamaica.

Settlement of the Atlantic Coast of Central America

Finding the coasts sparsely inhabited, Black West Indians eventually brought their families and settled along the Talamanca coast in Costa Rica and Panama, and the Bay Islands of present-day Honduras. They engaged in fishing, farming, and trade outside the direct control of whites. They established well-developed societies, brought Jamaican teachers and preachers to educate their children, operated their own schools, traded their produce among themselves and exported some to Jamaica. They also bought consumer goods from the Caribbean, and throughout the century maintained their social contact with relatives in the islands.

All in all, they created a self-sufficient settler economy with its own system of water transportation among the communities in the Talamanca coast, Limon and the Caribbean. When the tortoiseshell trade declined, they became subsistence farmers and fishermen. Upon the arrival of the railroads they provided the labour for opening the roads, clearing forests, and transporting materials. Persons of African ancestry were responsible for the development of a significant area of the Atlantic in Nicaragua, Honduras, Costa Rica, and Panama.

Railroad Construction

Many other Black Jamaican immigrants went to Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica to provide labour for building the railroads. When the work ended many acquired land for farming. Other Jamaicans had come earlier as mercenaries to the Central American region to fight the civil wars that raged between 1830 and 1850. The railroad that linked the meseta central to the Atlantic was vital to the growth of coffee exports, a mainstay of Costa Rica's economy at the time.

Banana Economies

It was Black West Indian migrants who had settled in Bocas del Toro in Panama that started the banana industry on this coast. Unemployed railroad workers, with nothing else to do, began growing bananas on small plots and sold them to the merchant ships docking in Panama and later in Limon. West Indians had produced bananas on their island farms and were thoroughly familiar with the technology. It was not until 1904 that the United Fruit Company was finally able to assert a monopoly over the private companies that purchased fruit from these small farmers. Additional workers including Black middle managers,

developed the banana industry. In Costa Rica, with the considerable input of West Indians, by 1913 production had reached a peak of 11 million stems, an increase of 8 million stems from the 1900 level of less than 4 million. Over 47,000 acres were under cultivation. Bananas continue to be an important export crop for Honduras and Costa Rica.

Cacao Production

When railroad work ended, Black workers settled on the coastal lands and engaged in small scale farming until outbreaks of disease forced the banana plantations to close down. In the mid-twentieth century cacao production became profitable, and most of these farmers engaged in its production. Many farms today still cultivate cacao although crop disease destroyed most of the trade in the Atlantic area by the 1970s.

Construction of the Panama Canal

Blacks from the West Indies played a major role in the construction of the Panama Canal, because of their willingness to work hard, and because they spoke English. However, more than 5,000 of them died in the process.

Black Contributions to the Arts

Latin Americans with European ancestry have traditionally regarded the artistic practices of Blacks and Indigenous peoples as inferior. Pareda Valdez, for example, referring to the earliest antecedents of the Afro-Uruguayan dance in his *El Negro en Uruguay* states that dances like the *calenda*, *bámbula* and *chica* manifest the "lascivious savage with great ardour, and with great accentuated primitivism." He regarded *candombe* and *samba* as refinements because cadence and a slower rhythm had substituted the "frenetic contortions, lasciviousness and frenzy" of the earlier forms. The fact is that these and other dance forms evolved from African dances and consequently manifested the peculiar African genius for expressing a powerful sensuality without deteriorating into vulgar sexuality.

There is a basic difference between the way that Africans have contributed to the culture of the Americas, and the way in which Creole Europeans did. White Creoles typically replicated European cultural traditions rather than transforming it. Nor did Europeans attempt to overtly incorporate non-European cultural elements. Africans have

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Pareda Valdez, *El Negro en Uruguay*, p. 152.

traditionally manifested an ability for cultural flexibility and adaptation. ¹⁴

The Afro-Uruguayan *llamada* dancers are an example of how house slaves parodied the elegant European dances of their masters, accentuated their refined graces, learned the musical instruments that brought satisfaction to the master's ear, and then slowly switched to their African tradition. Africans combined all appropriate elements from the local cultures to create new music, dance, and other artistic expressions on an African base. This is the essential genius of the Black artistic contribution to Latin American culture, one which reflects the African experience in each country. In Peru, for example, the musical forms created include the tondero, lundero, marinera norteña, pava, and conga. Poetry in songs such as the decima and the cumana has Spanish roots that have evolved into new forms through post-1492 African and Indigenous influence. Today, African descendants in northern Peru are among the best known performers of these forms. Similarly, African traditional dance forms have been extempore performances of the New World. The better know Peruvian forms are the zamacueca, marinera limeña, habanera, igna, alcatraz, the festejo, and the yunza (very popular in the south). Dance forms related to work practices include a sacá camote con el pie (dig out the yam with the foot), and la pisa de uva (grape stepping). As is the case with the songs, they show the strong influence of Indigenous, post-1492 African, and Peninsular (guitar) elements. Musical instruments which were developed by Africans and are used today include el cajón, la cajita, el cencerro, la quijada, semillas, cascabeles, la carrasaca, la tablita, and la matraca.

Venezuela is perhaps the South American country with the most intense permeation of African culture. It can be felt in the music, instruments, dance, vocals, and theatre. Venezuelans take pride in their characteristic "chispa, sabor y ritmo" (spark, flavour, and rhythm), which flow from their African legacy. Popular music, barrio dancing, popular theatre, and choral groups are the Afro-Venezuelans' special contributions to national culture. The variety of drums that enrich the Venezuelan musical tradition are of African origin, and their rhythm is the fundamental element in all regional music, although the lyrics may be from another ethnic lore. The national dances, the *joropo* and the *tambor*, are examples of this symbiosis, as is also the *tambor* national dance. African instruments in Venezuela are many and include the *cencerro*, *marimba*, *laureles*, *carángano* and *manafurruco*.

In sung poetry Afro-Venezuelans, like Peruvians and Uruguayans, excel at the *décimas*. Venezuela's manner of speaking, the use of onomatopoeic expressions and words, many names of places, the use of the "hmm hmm", the rhythm of verbal expressions are all

14

It was act of religious tolerance and adaptation that created Pharaonic Egypt when Narmer (also know as Menes or Min), the Nubian king, united his kingdom with that of the Lower (Delta) region by making their two separate gods, Amon and Ra, a new god, Amon-Ra.

an African gift to the Venezuelan personality.

Costa Rica's dance and music as well as musical instruments such as the *marimba* and *quijongo* from Guanacaste, all have significant or dominant African elements relating to form. Africa has left its mark on the national aesthetic in subtle ways such as movement and gestures, rhythm and cadence.

In Argentina and Uruguay too, tango, which is their musical contribution to the world, was an African dance that evolved at the turn of the century from the *milonga*. The *milonga* was a manifestly African form that retained characteristic drumming enhanced by clarinets and trumpets. The rhythm was faster than the tango but reminiscent of its melody. Tango began as a male dance that emerged in the African sector of the town, in the "*prostíbulos*" of Buenos Aires and Montevideo. The reprobate sons of wealthy Creole families learned the popular dance. But it was not until the writer Guiraldes took a tango troupe to Europe that it came into vogue. Tango returned to Buenos Aires as a sophisticated European version played with classical instruments by white musicians.

The acknowledged African musical contribution to the River Plate is the *candombe*, which used to be the coronation ceremony of the Congo kings, and the *llamada*, a processional dance with popular participation through the streets of the Barrio Sur and Barrio Palermo of Montevideo. ¹⁵

In Uruguay, the *candombe* and the *llamadas* are maintained through the carnival tradition by the *comparsas*, groups of disguised revellers, that now have Black and white members. In Argentina, however, the custom seems to have disappeared. Its traces are left in the *murgas* of white dancers who were trained by Black artists in earlier times.

Candombe is the name of the original collection of African dances that each African ethnic group preserved through slavery and abolition. The dances incorporated Afro-Brazilian and Afro-Cuban influences in the 1940s. The percussive element, however, retained its pristine Africanness. There are four specific types of drum, the *chico*, the *repique*, the *piano*, and the *bombo*. Each is played with a specific rhythm, intertwined with improvisations in song by one of the players. The four units can be multiplied to form entire orchestras.

The *llamadas* are the calls to come out to parade. In the Uruguayan *llamada* there are four distinct dancer figures, two old and two young. The older female is the *mama vieja*, the typical mammy of the plantation who loyally nursed and cared for the family; the older male is the *gramillero*, a parody of a European doctor with the coattails and long white beard combined with the wisdom of the African doctor, herbs and all. The young male is the *escobero* (broom holder), the exotic dancer who paces the dancers with his broom. Finally, there is the young female clad in feathers in the style of the Cuban or Brazilian vedette who

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Guía de atractivos y servicios turísticos de Uruguay, SATIUS/GUIATUR, December 1993. Pages UA 26-27.

dances to the tune of the drums in a style more Afro-Brazilian than traditional West African.

Argentine Blacks also made a contribution to the so-called "música culta." Carlos Posadas, an early 20th century musician, was trained in Belgium in the classical violin and returned to Buenos Aires to be part of the symphony orchestra as well as to train many white violinists. His son, also named Carlos Posadas, was not only a renowned classical violinist but also a composer of many tangos. Afro-Uruguayan musicians known for their crossover appeal to "música culta" include Santiago Luz, a trumpetist and Pedro Ferreira, a clarinetist.

African contributions to Latin American Cuisine

What Africans did with food products in the kitchen showed their ingenuity at transforming the remnants from the master's table into a true culinary art. Particularly noteworthy was their skill at using the inner parts of animals. In Venezuela, such preparations are known as the *riñodada*, *tere tere*, and *mondongo*. In Peru, savoury dishes are made from the brains, stomach, kidney, liver, heart (*anticuchos*), and lungs of the cow. Argentineans and Uruguayans consider meat dishes such as *asado* and *achuras* most typical of their ethnic food. The *achuras*, or leftover pieces, are the innards of the cow including stomach, intestines, and liver which African slaves learned to spice well.

Among the foods introduced by Africans to the region is the *yam*, popular in Venezuela and in Colombia. Coastal cuisine is typically of African origin. The special ways of preparing fish make travel throughout Central and South American coastal towns a gourmet's delight. Coconut milk, plantain, cassava (*yuca*), and fish are combined in a myriad of ways, giving each country its own distinct flavour. Venezuelans have a special manner of stuffing fish and cooking it in *tropacho* leaves or preparing dried fish with chili; they also have *hayaca* and *boyo*. In Honduras, Garifuna fried fish and *tapado* are typical dishes.

Among the stews found throughout the region is *Mondongo* (tripe or chitlins). Venezuelan examples of stews are *apira*, a stew made with green pawpaw, and coconut-based stews with beans or chicken. Juan de Dios Martinez, a Venezuelan cultural historian from Zulia, has traced over 400 traditional recipes from Black rural communities which are still in use. The Uruguayan and Argentinean stew known as *locro* is another meal which has an Indigenous base (corn soup). Similarly the Indigenous-African culinary combination is present in other dishes known to have been developed by Africans in Uruguay: for example, *mazamorra*, a porridge made of maize and other gains cooked with sugar, water, and *chicha*, which is made from fermented maize. The *empanada*, a turnover made of wheat dough and stuffed with spiced ground beef or other meats, is a truly Afro-Uruguayan dish.

Blacks have also contributed to the desserts of the region. In Venezuela there is a rich variety of sweets that include the *buñuelo* (a molasses candy), sweet breads and desserts made of plantain in combination with coconut, ginger, spices, milk and eggs. The *cocada*, a

coconut sweetmeat, is found in every country, albeit with national variations. Sweets made of candied guava and other fruit are found in many countries -particularly delicious are those of Ecuador and Uruguay.

The Jamaican presence in Nicaragua and Costa Rica has also added to a rich gastronomic (and agricultural) diversity. Jamaican food is quite distinct from the Costa Rica normal fare, however, and the use of vinegar-preserved Jamaican peppers and vegetables as a condiment has caught on all over the country, as has the typical *gallo pinto*, or "rice and peas," now served in Costa Rican and Nicaraguan restaurants and homes. Yams, dasheens, yampi and cassava bread are now known to many Costa Ricans and so are plantain tarts, "hard dough" bread, and "Johnny cakes. " Many Costa Ricans will travel to Limon just to eat delicacies such as "run-down," ackee and salt-fish, and calaloo. These are but some examples of the many instances of Jamaican influence on contemporary Costa Rican cuisine.

Religion

Elements of the Yoruba-based Brazilian Orisha religion have been adopted by whites and have been spread across Uruguay and Argentina among a predominantly white population. Dissemination has been done mainly by white priests and priestesses who have studied under African-ancestored Brazilian religious leaders and have established profit-making sanctuaries where prayers for various ailments and improvements can be bought.

Cain Hope Felder, Charles S. Finch, and Ian Smart¹⁶ are some of the scholars who show Christianity's African roots. Africans who arrived in the New World after 1492 recognized and embraced these roots. Some blends of Euro-Christian and traditional African elements can be encountered in the Venezuelan way of celebrating the important *saint's days*. St. John the Baptist Day, June 24th, is perhaps the most characteristic. It is an occasion when, seemingly, all Venezuelans flock to the African communities on the coast to celebrate. Another is St. Benito Day in December, which takes devotees to Gibraltar, in Zulia, where the main saint's image is located. Others include the *parranda de San Andres*, los *diablos danzantes*, etc. In this regard it should be mentioned that one of the most popular religious expressions in contemporary Guatemala is the celebration around the veneration of the image of *Cristo Negro de Esquipulas*.

Etymology

The following is a small sampling of words contributed by Afro-Latin Americans to their regional lexicon.

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Smart, Ian. *Amazing Connections: Kemet to Hispano phone African Literature*, Original World Press, 1996. Smart argues for example that the primary sacraments in Christianity, bread and wine, have an origin in Nile valley religions.

Cachimba A shallow well for fresh water

Candombe Dance
Candonga Deceit

Catanga Species of fly

Catinga Bad smell

Dengue A type of fever disease

MalomboDanceMarimbaXylophone

Matungo An old useless horse

Milonga "easy women". Now known as a dance

Mondongo Tripe soup or stew

Mucama Servant

QuilomboProtected area for BlacksQuitandaSale of fruits and vegetables

Literature and Fine Art

Latin America has produced its share of writers, painters, artists, and musicians of African descent. Smart asserts that *africanía* is not merely a presence in, but is the essence of Spanish American -and, indeed, Spanish-literature. The *Poema del Cid*, the very first work written in Spanish (*castellano*, to be precise) is rooted in a preexisting tradition of African heroic or epic literature that had been brought to the Peninsula by the Moors. There is strong evidence to suggest that the original picaresque novel, *Lazarillo de Torres*, may have been written by a Moor. Whoever the author was of this quintessentially Hispanic literary work that first appeared in 1554, he or she clearly recognized and affirmed the central role played by *morenos* in the development of Peninsular culture and civilization.

Spanish American literature from its very beginnings reflected Africanness. In the classic Argentine epic poem, *Martin Fierro*, the central actions are triggered by the Black presence. Blacks also influenced the plot of the first Latin American novel, *El periquillo sarniento*, an early nineteenth century Mexican work. A century earlier another Mexican, Sor Juana Ines de la Cruz had composed "Black" poetry. In the late nineteenth century the African Colombian, Candelario Obeso, composed some of the most powerful Black poetry ever written in Spanish. *La muerte de Artemio Cruz*, one of the best known twentieth century Spanish American novels by the Mexican Carlos Fuentes ends with mesmerizing revelation that the central character, Artemio Cruz, the quintessential modern Mexican, had Black ancestry.

Of course, writers like Manuel Zapata Olivella from Colombia, the Cubans Nicolas Guillen and Marcelino Arozarena, the Panamanians Gerardo Maloney and Carlos Guillermo Wilson, the Ecuadoreans Nelson Estupiñan Bass and Adalberto Oriz, among many others, have all, in the tradition of Guillen's poetic persona, the *Bayswater negro*, spoken "en negro

de verted" (in authentic Black).

Uruguay has produced a fine crop of outstanding writers. Among them is the soldier poet Ansina, loyal friend and follower of Artigas, who wrote many poems. Contemporary writers include Alfonso Perera Valdez, Cristina Rodriguez Cabal, Julio Cesar Gonzalez, Sara Prieto, María Julia Vica, Beatriz Santos, and Tamara La Cruz in Montevideo, as well as Elemo Cabal from Melo. Contemporary dramatic writers include Jorge Emilio Cardoso, who immortalized the eviction from Barrio Ansina in a theatrical play, Francisco Watini, a storyteller and poet, and Miguel Duarte, a storyteller and poet.

Afro-Uruguayan contemporary fine art painters of international renown include Ruben Gallosa, Milton Da Luz, Daniel Gonzalez and Julio Olivera, all of who have their paintings in international collections. More locally known are Rosario Cheverri, Tomás Olivera, and Ciba Guerrero. Honduras and Costa Rica also have their share of outstanding fine art painters known only to local connoisseurs.

Storytelling

This is another well developed African art form alive in Venezuela and in Central America, storytelling. The stories of Uncle Rabbit and Uncle Tiger are well known to children in the Caribbean basin and are based on the stories of the hare and the lion from Africa.

Medicine

Medicinal knowledge was also well preserved by Africans, who in fact, as Charles s. Finch demonstrates in "Science and Symbol in Egyptian Medicine," created a medical literature well before the Greeks. The use of herbs to cure different ailments is part of the oral tradition that Afro-Venezuelans use to this day. During colonial days there were many traditional healers among Africans, and many *pardos* became medical doctors as well. Medicine was not seen as a profession that conferred status or prestige: consequently, comparatively few Creoles or whites practised it. The spiritual realm of traditional medicine was also believed in strongly to this day there is popular belief in *mal de ojo* when confronted by uncertain situations and the need for prayers by those who hold that traditional knowledge. Modern science is now asserting an overlap between religion and medicine.

We might add briefly in this regard that *santería* is part of the national character in Cuba and other Latin American countries. There are, of course, many traditional superstitious practices which come from this source, for example, secrecy about a baby's expected birth date, lighting candles for special occasions, being careful not to sleep on certain things, using traditional cures, the fear of being given the "bad eye", and, the use of medicine women/men for divination.

Carnival

The carnival parades and festivals have been enriched by Afro-Latin Americans. Well known are the Brazilian displays, and equally so were those of Argentina, until a dictatorship stopped them. Afro-Uruguayans are the lightening rod in celebrating carnival in that country. *Candombe* participants in Uruguay dress in colourful military-inspired costumes, which are intended as a powerful reminder of Black sacrifice during the wars. Many whites mistakenly view this as clownish imitations of Spanish military traditions.

Carnival traditions there were enriched in 1896 by Cubans who fled there to escape war at home.

Environmental Health

Generations of rural Blacks living in the Pacific and Atlantic basin of Central America, Colombia and Ecuador developed viable economic systems that did not conflict with those of the Indigenous people and did contribute to the valuable preservation of the rain forest.

African presence in Ecuador has to date assured preservation of the tropical forest and mangroves in Esmeraldas, Ecuador, and generated long-term economic advantage. Blacks have made an economic contribution through the harvesting and cultivation of export products: wood, tobacco, rubber, cacao, tagua, bananas, and now fish and shrimp. African and Indigenous traditional inhabitants have also achieved the replication of the hardwood species and the preservation of one of the most unique tall tree mangroves in the world. Independently, they developed a strategy for survival that involved a well-timed and diversified subsistence economy based on harvesting through hunting, fishing, agriculture, and wood extraction.

The return on investment derived from African settlements in Esmeraldas by the nation and the private sector has been enormous. Companies purchased primary products from local producers for prices at or below the cost of production, reselling them at world prices. But neither the government nor the private sector has done much to reinvest in the physical or social infrastructure of this province.

Work Attitudes

Afro-Ecuadoreans reflect a work ethic that is specific to their culture and shared by Blacks throughout the continent. This work ethic makes sense in the context of a past in bondage. Blacks have developed a strong sense of what constitutes dignity in the work place. It relates to respect shown by employers and co-workers, fair working hours, and fair wages for the hours of work. They do not take kindly to exploitative working conditions-i. e. extensive working hours for fixed prices, working in gangs of migratory workers, or living in subhuman conditions while on the road, or accepting abusive treatment from contractors. Afro-Ecuadoreans often cite with admiration the great endurance of Indigenous peoples who migrate from the high sierra regions to work on shrimp farms and construction. However, as

a result of the horrors of the forced labour experience in their past, Blacks will never accept such jobs, no matter how desperate they may be. Perhaps the extended family system and the fall back position offered by the province of Esmeraldas allow them to keep their dignity more so than Indigenous peoples who come from much poorer provinces.

In Costa Rica, a major contribution of Jamaicans to the Costa Rican way of life, has been the trade union movement, which started among Black workers on the banana plantations. Evidence points to Black resistance resulting in numerous strikes and work actions -in 1913 in Barmouth and Siquires, as well as in Sixaola. This latter resulted in armed governmental intervention. In addition, the 1918 strike in Talamanca left two people dead and many wounded. Blacks were driven from their lands with the assistance of the Costa Rican government, and their vegetable gardens were destroyed to bring an end to the strike. Another strike in 1919 dragged on for nine months. The Panamanian intellectual, Gerardo Maloney, has penned a poem to celebrate the general strike organized by West Indian Panamanian workers on the Panama Canal in 1920.

Sports

The one area in which Blacks have been allowed to contribute without many impediments is sports. Throughout the region, men's national soccer teams have had a disproportionately large number of Blacks. Blacks also play basketball, baseball, and engage in boxing. Women typically are involved in volleyball. Afro-Uruguayan sport stars were more prominent some decades back. -Among them were Isabelino Grondin, Obdulio Jacinto Varela, Cochocho Alvarez, and the Andrade brothers, Leandro, Jorge and Victor, who left their indelible mark on soccer and athletics. Well-known boxers included Juan Baptiste Burgues and Santos Pereira. Colombia has also contributed its share of boxers and baseball players to the world.

Conclusions

Whatever else Latin America may be, it is also African to its core. Starting with its Iberian roots forged in the enlightenment of eight hundred years of African Moorish rule, the African genetic and cultural legacy has been inextricably woven into the tapestry of the region's blood, character, and institutions. Simón Bolívar himself, at the Congress of Angostura, urged his people to accept that Latin America was not European.

Despite this urging, more than one hundred and fifty years ago, Latin America is yet to recognize its debt to its African population. Instead, the region has pushed its Africans into invisibility and defined away their contributions. Latin America appears to be deeply embarrassed about its Black and other non-white ancestry but, paradoxically, the region and its inhabitants liberally take from Black heritage.

Chapter 3

Analysis of Social Attitudes Towards Afro-Latin Americans

Defining Racism in a Latin American Context

To understand the impact of social attitudes on the advancement of a people, it is necessary to define and understand the dynamics of their socioeconomic environment. After completing the study of Black communities in nine Latin American countries, it is now possible to identify the common elements which have been attributed to the marginalization and poverty of African descendants in the region. These factors provide a tentative definition of what "racism" or "racial prejudice" is for Latin America. The definition is based on the observed negative impact that race has on people of African ancestry in the countries studied.

Latin American countries do not limit the movement or choices of Blacks through overt means backed by legal instruments. On the contrary, Latin American societies promote the idea that *racial democracy* or harmony exists by definition. For example, a 1964 government publication on being Venezuelan entitled *Manual de Venezolanidad para Extranjeros* extolled the country as being:

egalitarian . . . [without] racial differences, no prejudices . . . [a country where] social equality is not only established by law but lies at the heart of the Venezuelan as part of his manner of being and feeling.

Such beliefs are supported by constitutional clauses stating non-discrimination based on race, gender and religion, or simply clauses affirming the equality of all citizens under law. However, there are no effective forms of legal protection, no recourse in the legislation, nor any institution that can uphold that constitutional right. Latin American racism functions by means of:

J	pre-existing historical bias;
-	invisibility;
J	economic disenfranchisement;
J	dislocation or displacement from an African past; and,
-	subtle expressions of discriminatory social behaviour, the so-called "solapado
	complex.

The outcome of these mechanisms is a Black population (i) bound by racial ancestry, socially and economically marginalized, and (ii) which internalizes and reinforces this mistreatment by reproducing discriminatory behaviours against itself, a condition referred to as *endoracism*. In general, the community lives in chronic poverty, and very few members successfully improve their situation by their own efforts. The most accepted method is to improve one's economic and social condition through *emblanquecimiento* or whitening and Europeanization.

Pre-Existing Historical Bias Against Blacks

Latin America's racial philosophies were defined by several nineteenth and early twentieth century thinkers who laid the foundation for modern Latin America. They considered Blacks an inferior species that needed to be eradicated if possible, or at least segregated from civilized people. Some believed that the Black genetic presence could be destroyed through miscegenation, and that superior white genes would eventually come to dominate.

Domingo F. Sarmiento, president of his native Argentina from 1868 to 1874, a man who created his country's education system, believed that enlightenment was genetically inherited rather than learned. He praised the United States, linking its success to its white genetic pool and its subordination of what he termed the *servile races*. Sarmiento believed that Blacks were musically talented, childlike, stupid, malicious, possessed of a *primitive imagination*, and had made no contributions to Argentina. He contended that the only hope for Argentina lay in the importation of large amounts of Europeans and an eventual diminution of the nonwhite population.

Juan Alberdi, father of the Argentine Constitution, was no less prone to anti-Black sentiments and actions. He declared openly in that:

to populate is not to civilize but to brutalize when one populates with Chinese and with the Indians of Asia, and with Negroes from Africa. ¹⁷

Unlike Sarmiento, however, Alberdi felt that race mixture would result in a bettering of the stock. He assumed that white genes were dominant and superior to all others. Alberdi believed that the Englishman, rather than the North American, was the "most perfect of men." These views also led to promoting importation of large numbers of Europeans. They were granted all the privileges of citizenship in the Argentinean state with little attendant

32

Juan Alberdi, *Bases y los puntos de partida para la organización política argentina*, 4th. Edition, Buenos Aires, Argentina, p. 18.

responsibility.

In 1903, Carlos Bunge presented the first study of racial types by an Argentinean. He proclaimed that Blacks were servile, rabble, corruptible, vain, and swollen with ambition.

Jose Ingenieros, probably the most influential of all Latin America's sociologists, declared that history was not a class struggle but of white racial supremacy arising out of race conflict. He maintained in his work, La Locura, that the result of intermixing was:

rickety, simian offspring with all the defects of the noble race accentuated by the inferior blood.

To Ingenieros, Blacks were

beings who seem to be closer to anthropoid apes than to civilized men . . . [and that] all that is done in favor of the inferior races is antiscientific. At most, one might protect them so that they die out agreeably.

Ingenieros was among the most widely read authors in Spanish. The impact that these and other similar pronouncements had on policy toward Blacks in Argentina and the rest of Latin America is open for academic study and debate.

Certainly, almost all Latin American nations endeavoured to improve their genetic stock by whitening, ¹⁸ and all attempted to reduce the size of the Black population and make Blacks invisible. The following quotes serve to illustrate the historical view of Blacks and to represent the opinions of countless other important voices in the region:

The Negro is a robber from the moment he is born and forever the victim of a lascivious nature that is bequeathed by African blood. (Javier Prado y Ugarteche)

. . . in South America, civilization depends upon the . . . triumph of the white man over the mulatto, Negro and Indian.

(Francisco Garcia Calderon)

The Peruvian José Carlos Mariategui provided the definitive view of Blacks in national culture. Mariategui, known as the "father of the Latin American left, the Gramsci of Latin America, and the premier Marxist of Latin America" declared, comparing the Chinese with Blacks in Peru:

the contribution of the Black, who came as a slave, appears to be even more worthless and negative. The Black brought with him his sensuality, his superstition, and his primitive nature. He is not in a condition to contribute to the creation of any culture,

33

¹⁸ As late as 1952 Chile announced that it was doing just that.

instead to obstruct it through the crude and living influence of his barbarity. ¹⁹
Mariategui further added that:

Mariategui, Jose Carlos. Siete Ensayos de Interpretación de La Realidad Peruana, 955, p. 257.

The Black has always looked with hostility and distrust at the Sierras where he has not been able to acclimatize himself physically or spiritually. When he has mixed with the Indian, it has been to bastardize the latter, communicating to the Indian the Black's flattering domesticity and his morbid psychology. For his old white master, the Black has retained a sense of being an addicted freed-slave. Colonial society which made the Black a domestic--in some limited instances an artisan or worker--absorbed and assimilated the Black (even to the extent of) infecting (colonial society) with his hot tropical blood. ²⁰

These unflattering attitudes towards Blacks have also been projected by Peru's literati. Among them is the former Peruvian presidential candidate, Mario Vargas Llosa. In the novel *La Ciudad y Los Perros*, Vargas Llosa's white character Alberto speaks out: "You could tell in his eyes that he is a coward, like all Negroes. "Vargas Llosa's other novels treat Blacks with similar contempt, while the mulattoes' primary preoccupation is to escape their African ancestry by whitening.

Invisibility

This is an act of minimizing or erasing from the individual and collective memory any genetic, cultural, and other contributions of Blacks to the nation, and/or of attributing the same to Europe and Europeans. The instrument for Black invisibility is the socialization process. All society's institutions: church, government and family among them, are pressed into service for this goal. Invisibility is maintained by the lack of information on Black contributions and experiences in the history books, in the national statistics, and publications. The public perceives that Blacks contributed nothing to national development and are incapable of participating in the life of the country. The result is a population that maintains derogatory stereotypes about Blacks, and which condones its own discriminatory social behavior. The costs to Latin America which accrue from the destruction or underutilization of its Black human resources are incalculable. Decisions to make Blacks invisible, therefore, are, beyond the issues of human morality, an unsound economic practice, one which may carry attendant political costs in the future.

35

²⁰ Ibid. p. 251

Invisibility in the Arts

The music and dance which today symbolize the region are mostly the product of Blacks. Yet the *tango*, *milonga*, *candombe*, *salsa*, *samba*, *merengue*, *cumbia*, and similar forms are often referred to as *latino*, implying a mestizo Creole origin, with little or no regard to their true originators, the Blacks.

Invisibility in Historical Relevance

In the wars of independence in both the northern and southern parts of South America, the majority of troops fighting were of African descent. Yet murals, monuments, history texts and national lore avoid mentioning their contributions.

The African ancestry of Latin America's first presidents has been likewise the subject of denial and embarrassment. Bernadino Rivadavia of Argentina and José Flores of Ecuador were African-ancestored. The Solanos in Paraguay were also of African descent. It is important to note that besides these, the depth of Black ancestry in many countries precluded the possibility of having leaders who did not descended from enslaved Africans. Of Ecuador's presidents, for example, at least one-third are of African descent, as are many of the country's most prominent poets and authors.

Scholarly research on Black Latin Americans is very limited and confined almost to anthropological themes. Few scholars are Black, except perhaps in Brazil. Projects like UNESCOs "Slave Route," designed to bring the African diaspora closer to Africans. The project appears to be heavily dependent on white anthropologists who have been criticized by Blacks for being alienated from the Black community, and for exerting too much influence on the project. Many Black North American scholars on the project have shown no history of working with the Black Latin American communities.

Immigration as Tool for Genetic Invisibility

Invisibility also results from historically favouring European immigration while discouraging or prohibiting Black immigration. Until the mid-twentieth century, many Central American countries had blocked the migration of Blacks to their shores either through constitutional means or through promulgation of laws. In South America, too, the practice of encouraging white immigration was highly developed and proven to be more successful. The heavy influx of whites prompted by government fiat or state policy was intended as a means of eradicating the Indigenous and African genetic presence.

White populations in Latin America, which today constitute the ruling elites in most

countries, tend to overestimate the purity of their white ancestry. However, the shortage of white women for the first three hundred years of colonization resulted in the creation of a new class of Creoles descended from white men, Blacks, and Indians. Over generations, many of these individuals have simply declared themselves white. History cannot be erased, even if it is made invisible by the introduction of millions of Europeans in this century. Thus, the oldest Latin American aristocracy shares with the region's most disenfranchised citizens, Blacks, a common bloodline to Africa, with both groups being infused with the blood of European immigrants, albeit in differing degrees.

This desire for individual whitening or the need to impress upon Europeans and North Americans the possession of white ancestry resulted in official claims minimizing or denying a Black presence. For example, in the Dominican Republic, the government euphemistically applies the word *indio* to describe people of Euro-African descent. Costa Rica and Argentina have, for most of this century, claimed to be white. Yet, their majorities are clearly mestizo with predominant Indigenous and less important Black elements. Venezuela, Ecuador, and Colombia have typically portrayed themselves as being mestizo, that is, an Indigenous/white mix with minor Black "cultural" elements. The reality is that both Colombia and Venezuela have populations in which the majority are of African descent. Ecuador, whose Black population in the 1830s was thirty percent, has a significant Black strain. Despite all the evidence, Latin American countries merely define away their "undesirable" populations to the degree that it is possible without risking international ridicule.

Invisibility in Culture

The integration of minorities and immigrants into the national culture is an unstated policy in all Latin American states. National cultures are derived from a foundation of Creole Spanish elements that have incorporated Indigenous and African traits without crediting them. This policy of integration is implemented through the educational system, using curricula that present the European Creole experience as the country's history, only highlighting the Indigenous and Black populations for roles they played in that history. This has resulted in the invisibility of Blacks, and in assigning them a subservient status in the national mind. This also perpetuates social prejudices and discriminatory behavior learned in the domestic realm.

National development policies are also built on the assumption of integration. Accepting national culture means adopting its priorities and the roles it assigns to each social group. Those who cannot become role models (i. e. , as physically white as possible, with the social traits and aspirations of the European Creole group) become marginalized by the

process and are penalized with invisibility and nonparticipation, giving rise to a permanent underclass marginalized from the economy.

Invisibility in the Media

Invisibility is also manifested in the absence of Blacks from television screens, except in rare instances when they are portrayed in servile or unflattering roles, or as entertainers or athletes.

Invisibility in Census Statistics and Development Programming

Most countries in the region do not collect data by ethnic group, either in the census or in periodic governmental surveys. It is therefore extremely difficult to determine the real condition of Blacks. Other more cumbersome means must be used to collect such data. Those few countries, such as Colombia and Brazil, that collect data collection containing ethnic information have made it a collateral rather than central issue in the process, and this is reflected in the results. Uruguay is the only known country beginning to incorporate race as a factor in its household surveys.

The impact of inferior statistical data on Black communities is continued invisibility as a target group. This stifles development programming for some of the most needy communities in the region. Essentially, the current status quo denies Blacks an opportunity to become a target group for donor agencies because they are lumped together, unjustifiably, with the rest of the population.

Economic Disenfranchisement

Economic disenfranchisement is a long term process that limits choice and retards upward mobility, producing and reproducing poverty. The specific mechanisms for creating these results are national policies that limit investment for social or economic infrastructure in geographic zones with Black or predominantly Black communities. This represents a more institutionalized form of racism. In geographical zones with Black majorities there is no infrastructure for basic services. They are isolated in terms of communications and transport, and the only investments made are for enclave economies such as bananas, mining and logging concerns, and the government services that relate to them. This kind of discrimination may also be manifested in quotas for the admission of Blacks to universities, as was the case in Managua in recent years.

National policies also: (i) prioritize credit and technical assistance for Creole agriculture and large businesses, preventing Blacks who possess land from utilizing traditional production methods as a viable economic factor of production and often forcing them to sell land cheaply; (ii) prevent Black communities from keeping part of the tax base generated in their communities or from participating in economic decision-making about their regions; (iii) fail to recognize as valid considerations, in structuring agrarian reform, the peculiar Black patterns of land use whereby farmers plant fields that are some distance from the house, and then let the land lie fallow for some years. Non-recognition of this practice makes it impossible to provide land titles to Blacks; (iv) favour the creation of national parks on land which Blacks have preserved for centuries, in some cases having Blacks evicted without compensation despite their historical claims, then sometimes selling the same land to corporations or private individuals; (v) favour non-Blacks over Blacks in the granting of titles, in some countries employing the military to shore up claims disputed by Blacks; (vi) lead to the exclusion of predominantly Black communities from development programs through the choice of development priorities and through Black invisibility in census and in population data; (vii) preclude any judicial mechanisms for reporting on and penalizing discriminatory behavior in employment. This has the effect of condoning discriminatory practices against Blacks, thereby perpetuating notions of the inferiority of Blacks. For example, establishing "good appearance" criteria as a euphemism for whiteness can be a first requirement for employment.

Economic disenfranchisement began at the abolition of slavery, when neither social nor economic compensation was awarded to the population which had been brutally kidnaped and transplanted to an entirely new continent. Once granted their freedom, ex-slaves were supposed to take part in normal economic life without any education or resources and in a social environment that both stigmatized and feared them. In Uruguay and Peru, the problem of economics was particularly acute because of the lack of virgin lands where Blacks could go to settle and work. These Black city dwellers continued in their previous occupations, now in a state of freedom, but with all the expenses and very little pay. These results have led society in general, and many Blacks in particular, to explain their inferior status in society only in terms of their economic incapacity without acknowledging the other historical forces at play.

Blacks have remained locked into their stereotyped economic roles: women as domestic servants in private houses, men as sweepers, janitors and low-skill construction workers. This is due to the practice of excluding Blacks and not preparing them for full participation in the economic life of the country. For example, in Uruguay, between 1900 and 1956, the National University graduated only six Blacks, a pattern replicated all over Latin America.

Dislocation or Displacement from an African Past

Over the centuries, the Western world has invented an image of Africans as a people without a culture, ancient knowledge, or socially acceptable behavior who were somehow "less than human". This was in order to justify the profitable slave trade in humans under subhuman conditions during a time when "civilization" was being brought to the New World through Christianity, and when the Church was the ultimate judge of the morality of nations and individuals. The hypocrisy of these powers and their defamation of Africans was never publicly denounced or retracted, even when the abolition of slavery was advocated and enacted. The lie about Africa and its nations continues to this day, and thus racial prejudice continues to plague the societies.

Spanish prejudices, perhaps a retaliation against nearly eight centuries of Moorish conquest, were inherited by all Latin American countries when they became independent. In spite of the abolition of slavery, the social stigma attached to Black skin and African features has remained part of the culture, through unconscious and conscious behavior that is passed from one generation to the next. At the same time, around the 1850s, the independent countries under liberal governments created the illusion that there was equality among the races, genders, and religions by enacting legislation allowing the free coexistence of all. Yet socially, the dominant classes continued to exclude those that deviated from the class ideal: being white, wealthy, and Spanish.

Latin American societies, in effect, prevent those of African ancestry from learning about their African past except in the context of slavery or servitude under European descendants. Beginning by separating them from their Africanness, then by naming them for the color of their skin, the dominant social group, ensures that Blacks learn nothing about Africa, or Africans in the Americas from their history books. School texts do not teach African or Afro-American history, culture, or their contributions to the world, except in their roles as "Black" slaves.

Since colonial times, Africans have been curtailed in their cultural expression. Their celebrations, music, and dance were considered "vulgar and base," because it moved those watching and released their inhibitions. Most importantly, African culture was feared as a powerful means to communicate and mobilize the Blacks towards slave rebellions.

The Catholic Church, fearing African culture/religion, was instrumental in containing it within its sphere of influence, allowing celebrations only on the established Roman feast days and by limiting African organization for religiocultural purposes to the *cofradías* controlled by priests. This curtailed level of acknowledgment of the power of African culture is what remains as socially acceptable in modern times.

The areas of music, dance, and athletics have been determined by the dominant white

minority who control Latin American societies to be acceptable roles for Black excellence. Distinction in any other area such as the professions, the literary and scientific arena, or commerce evokes surprise. As a result, Black children are subject to the self-fulfilling prophecy of low achievement placed on them by their teachers and messages from the broader society. Successful Blacks view performance requirements for them as being higher than those for other ethnic groups. Because few support mechanism exist, Blacks have to be emotionally and psychologically very strong in order to survive in non-traditional Black occupations.

These historically held attitudes have had the effect of: (i) reinforcing European-created stereotypes, negative ones for what "Blacks" are supposed to be, and positive ones for "whites. " (ii) reinforcing the negative self-images that African-Americans have of themselves because of their Black skin. (iii) alienating Blacks from others of African ancestry, thus disrupting and preventing the creation and operation of self-development Black organizations, and, (iv) providing the European descendants' model of modern life as a reference point, one which fails to value Blacks.

The combined effect is acute cognitive dissonance, and creation of dysfunctional individuals of African ancestry who display endoracist tendencies or behavior. (Please See Section below).

The "solapado" (hidden) Complex

Black Latin Americans often speak of a racism that is "solapado" (i. e. , behind the lapels of a jacket), which means subtle or hidden, even when the evidence of discrimination is overt. When discrimination occurs at an individual level and is so imbedded in social behavior that the perpetrator or victim often does not consider it racial discrimination, this is called the solapado complex.

Examples of this were encountered in every country studied. They include such socioeconomic phenomena as the lack of opportunity in fields that do not fit the social stereotype, resulting, for example, in a paucity of Black taxi drivers, bank clerks, government clerical staff, in cities like La Ceiba in Honduras, Cartagena in Colombia, or Bluefields in Nicaragua, all of which have a majority Black population.

In the *solapado* manner, racist behavior and actions are such a part of the living routine that Blacks and whites alike have come to accept them as the norm. Thus, Blacks internalize the mistreatment, finding justification for the racist behavior that maintains the status quo. The following are some examples of these behaviours: (i) Black parents regard the constant deprecation of their children's hair and features by other children at school only as cruel childish acts. Despite the pain it causes their children, many parents explain away this

behavior as a natural part of growing up. However cruel it may be, parents do not consider it as verbally abusive racist behavior that is learned by children from unenlightened parents or those around them, or which should be changed. Most parents do not complain to the school authorities about it: for those that do, the teachers also do not consider this as abnormal behavior; (ii) Blacks visiting restaurants and other entertainment establishments are refused entry or are not provided prompt or respectful service and decide to leave on their own accord; (iii) Black parents are told that school spaces for their children are filled when, in fact, they are being reserved for nonBlacks; (iv) the society refers to African-ancestored citizens as "negritos" or "negros" and suggests that it is a term of endearment. Yet no person with European features is ever bombarded with references to his/her race in everyday conversations and life. In this context, there are countless negative references to some aspect of Black physiognomy--or attributes to Blacks' supersexual prowess and physical abilities. These exist in newspaper cartoons, television programs, and in the course of daily conversation to create merriment;²¹ (v) Africa, or whatever is discussed about Africa, is in a context of the vulgar, profane, primitive, or distressed; (vi) Other behaviour with negative economic consequences includes personnel recruitment practices such as demanding "buena presencia" [a good appearance], which means being as white, blonde, and blue-eyed as possible, as a prerequisite for applying; or accepting applications over the telephone and then saying that the position is filled when the Black person arrives to apply. This is not an uncommon experience, recounted by many individuals who suffered these painful experiences repeatedly all over Latin America.

Constantly calling attention to a person's Blackness, particularly in negative situations, results in a reinforcement of low self-image and in greater self-hate for not fitting the norm, which is white. This spurs Blacks and other nonwhites towards altering their physical features and reinforces a determination to become white.

Overt Racism

Racism appears to be increasing as Blacks assert their identity. Several entertainment and eating establishments ban Blacks. One Peruvian hotel stated publicly that Blacks smelled bad and that their odor meant added costs in cleaning up. Newspaper advertisements in Peru place jobs openings specifically requesting Blacks as cooks and chauffeurs. In most Latin American countries, newspapers run cartoons with Blacks as primitive cannibals. A popular

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African construction workers in Argentina noted that they were frequently the objects of derision and curiosity in the showers, and suffered from abusive sexual comments in the streets. Black women also noted similar abusive behaviors toward them.

comic book found in Latin America features *Memin Pinguin*, a little Black Mexican boy who closely resembles a monkey. The authors believe Memin Pinguin to be among the most offensive publications anywhere. In most countries, Black faces are to be found almost exclusively on food products, almost never on beauty products, which are typically advertised by "whites."

A number of sayings characterize some views towards Blacks. The following are a small fraction of those collected.

Uruguay

A Black dressed in white at a party is said to be "a fly in milk"

¡Que morocho bárbaro! [what a tremendous darkie]

Cabecitas negras [little Black heads], referring to dark-skinned mixed descendants of Africans

Argentina

Negro de mierda! [shit nigger]

Negro che -- A Black person who is folkloric

Negro vos -- A Black person who is rowdy and drunken

Negro usted -- An educated Black person (there is no equivalent categorization for whites)

Tocar la mota -- The act of touching a Black person's curly hair for good luck

Peru

A white man dressed in white is a doctor. A Black man dressed in white is an icecream vendor.

A white man running is an athlete. A Black man running is a thief.

Salen feo bien trumpudos. [They come out ugly, very mouthy]

Blacks only think until mid-day.

Venezuela

A white man running is an athlete. A Black man running is seller of (illegal) corn liquor.

How long does it take a Nigger to throw out the garbage? Nine months.

Endoracism and Emblanquecimiento

The psychologist Ligia Montañez in her book, *El racismo oculto de una sociedad no racista*, describes the preponderant modality of Venezuelan race relations in terms of an endoracism which affects all elements of the nonwhite population. This phenomenon was found in all the countries studied. It affects Blacks living as minorities in a predominantly white/mestizo milieu, particularly in large urban areas. Blacks living in predominantly Black areas, where their population and culture have predominated historically are less affected by endoracism.

Endoracism characterizes the greater portion of the mixed-race population²² through a perception process in which the individual:

values only those white features to which he/she claims possession;
devalues nonwhite features in him- or herself;
values others whose white ancestry is in evidence;
devalues others whose Black ancestry is in evidence.

In the nonwhite population, endoracism manifests itself as self-hatred and discriminatory behaviours towards those who are darker. When whites and others express these same discriminatory behaviours towards other racial groups, their actions constitute *racism*.

Endoracism, a distortion of being, is the result of violent, sustained assaults on the individual and collective psyches of people of African ancestry. It constitutes the necessary psychological preconditioning required to effectively socialize Black children into *emblanquecimiento*, or whitening, and reinforce the value through social conditioning.

Endoracism expresses itself in an alteration of physical features where possible (straightening hair, lightening skin, modifying body language and fashions), and by marrying individuals who are less Black to achieve whiteness in the next generation. Grandmothers and mothers are cited in Peru as saying, "I got you out of the kitchen, don't go back to the yard," an apt expression from slavery which is replicated throughout the region. Socializing behaviour also will favor changes in speech patterns and the company of whites and other similarly acculturated Blacks. Endoracists minimize their dealings with darker persons, relatives, or those faithful to their culture because such persons are potential causes for embarrassment with employers or social peers.

To accommodate this, Latin America's racial structure is pyramidal, with whites (and those who look white) at the top, while Africans and their descendants share the base with Indigenous people. In between are successive socioeconomic layers of people of mixed race

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It is worth noting that endoracism does not only affect Blacks, but also mestizos and whites who do not conform to the societal ideals of wealth, whiteness, and an Anglo-Saxon heritage.

aspiring be white, with each layer possessing greater white ancestry and discriminating against the darker layers below. The reward for whitening is a higher position on the social scale for having achieved a greater level of whiteness than before. Those individuals who opt against participating in the integration policies of the society are ostracized, ridiculed as being "*inculto*" or maintained in marginal positions if employed.

Conclusions

Latin Americans typically say that there is no racism in their countries. This assertion is based on searching for discriminatory evidence that fits definitions of racism in terms of segregation in the United States and South African apartheid. In those countries, legal barriers are created to impede the wellbeing and advancement of Blacks. The status quo is enforced through violent coercion by state and citizenry alike. *These models, however, are irrelevant in explaining the Latin American experience*. All models, South African, United States, and Latin American, however distinct from each other they may be, have resulted in the exclusion and marginalization of Blacks.

For example, infant mortality on the Pacific coast of Colombia is 191:1000, higher than the Colombian norm, as well as that of South Africa, Haiti, and African Americans in the United States. The impact of Latin American forms of racism and discrimination, therefore, are not benign.

Historical legacies of discriminatory behaviour on the basis of race have been accepted as the norm. National policies that stress cultural integration through national investment and the lack of antidiscriminatory legislation have resulted in structural poverty (i. e. , lack of basic services) in zones of Black habitation. For individuals of African ancestry, poverty, lack of access to upward mobility, and feelings of endoracism have stimulated *emblanquecimiento*.

The strategies employed by Blacks in Latin America to overcome racism have been to whiten themselves through intermarriage, social relationships, and cultural behaviour, abandoning their African heritage in order to improve their socioeconomic status. Those who cannot be white maintain their cultural isolation, rely on their family for support and protection, and pursue their traditions of rural subsistence and self-reliance.

Besides the unjust nature of Latin America's socioracial order, the creative and other investments in whitening do not generate returns adequate enough for the process to be considered a viable economic or social engineering tool. On the contrary, the process may be said to result in a net loss for society by creating a marginalized and poor class of all those culturally and genetically unable to fit into the Euro-Creole ideal. This marginalized class of the poor represents a sizeable cost in human resources, in funds for social programs, and

policing. The world today, and Europe in particular, is filled with examples of the social instability and wars caused by the intolerance by monocultural societies of ethnocultural minorities.

The benefits of an integrationist monocultural system that excludes ethnocultural minorities accrues mainly to a privileged minority that fits the role model. This elite sits atop an inverted pyramid whose social position is being maintained by unnatural means: these race-weighted values:

fail to maximize talent and hard work;
needlessly expend scarce human and other resources;
stifle creativity; and,
hamper diversity at a time when these characteristics ought to be highly valued tools
for competing with the rest of the world.

Proposed Solutions

As a means of enriching society and gaining a cultural advantage in a globally competitive world, Latin American governments should reject the ideology of *emblanquecimiento* and should actively promote pride in Black and Indigenous ancestry. They must begin to address those policies or practices in their societies which may be injurious to Blacks and other minority ethnic groups. Steps to begin this process at a national government level, with support from multilateral financial institutions, are recommended below.

Recommendations to National States:

As a first step, Black communities requested of this mission that it make the following recommendations to their nation states. In order to develop visibility and respect for the Black ethno-cultural group:

Statistical departments should (1) include appropriate questions to identify the ethnocultural situation of informants in their census and household surveys, and to correlate this factor to socioeconomic data. (2) Ministries of education should require in their history and social studies curricula for primary and secondary school to include the history, achievements, and contributions to nation building of Blacks in their country, in Latin America, in Africa as in the rest of the world. (3) Ministries or departments of culture should fund public education campaigns in the mass media to undo harmful stereotypes about Blacks. As part of this campaign

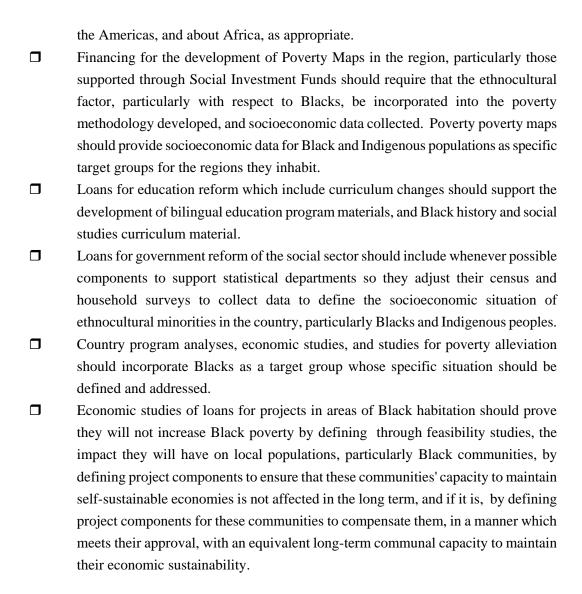
government and private sector should make monuments to Africans' contributions as soldiers and slave labour in the creation of their nations; public museums, galleries and national buildings should begin to reflect the historical presence and contributions of people of African descent through their art, artifacts and educational displays. (4) Post office departments should begin to issue commemorative stamps reflecting the prominent Black individuals, the contributions and the history of Black communities in their countries.

- To address discriminatory barriers to Black advancement, Latin American governments should first reject the notion that a state of de facto racial harmony exists. It is recommended that: (1) appropriate actions be taken to develop judicial processes and procedures including punitive measures for addressing discriminatory behaviour that maintains or promotes negative racial stereotypes, or that denies access to employment and to public social spaces. Argentinean antidiscriminatory legislation could be a starting point. (2) Governments should create offices of ethnocultural minorities, including a division of Black affairs with interministerial mandates to investigate and recommend action on issues brought to its attention by the community, and on the impact that policies and proposed legislation may have on this community. Said divisions should have adequate budgets and should be staffed mainly by Black professionals with credibility in the community. Colombia's example could be constructively used as a starting point.
- Governments and the public service must begin to address the issue of discrimination in the work force. They should set the example by reviewing their hiring practices at all levels of government and remove any racially discriminatory barriers that prevent competent Blacks from participation in positions of authority in all areas of the civil service and statutory bodies, including the diplomatic corps, the armed forces, and upper ranks of the civil service, to ensure their reaching a level at least in proportion to their representation in the general population. There are examples to start from in public service commissions of Canada and the United States.

Recommendations to Donors:

Multilateral institutions have the capacity to promote the economic and social advancement of Black minorities in Latin America by incorporating some steps into its process of loan and grant approval:

Financing for the Textbook Program should require that any history and social studies textbooks contain accurate and comprehensive information about Blacks, in



Part II

Central America

Diagnostic of Black Communities in Costa Rica

Socioeconomic Profile

Population and Distribution

The degree of Black ancestry in Costa Rica is much greater than is shown in current estimates, which only include those persons of Jamaican descent.

According to UNICEF data, the Black population in Limon Province constitutes 29. 2 percent, or 62,094. The national census estimates the Black population to be at 1. 9 percent or 58,666, which provides the lower ceiling in the estimates. This does not include Afro-Costa Ricans living in San Jose and other parts of the country, nor emigrants to the United States.

The population is distributed mainly in the cantons of Limon, Matina, Siquirres and Talamanca. The bulk of the population, which is 90 percent Black, lives in Limon in neighbourhoods such as Pueblo Nuevo, Roosevelt and Bella Vista. In the Siquirres and Matina cantons the Blacks are concentrated in communities along the Old Railway Line and the banana plantations. In Siquirres there is the district capital itself where 30 percent of the population is Black. In smaller numbers they are also found in Cimarrones, El Cairo, Pacuarito, La Francia, La Germania and La Herediana. The oldest land holdings are in Talamanca in communities such as Old Harbour (Puerto Viejo), Cahuita, Hone Creek, and Manzanillo.

Economic Profile

Afro-Costa Ricans that have a secondary and skilled education in Limon are currently employed in the oil refinery and in the Port. Those with less means and less education, or who cannot continue past high-school, work on tourist boats and await a chance to migrate to the USA. The bulk of the male population in the province are independent small farmers who also engage in a variety of paid activities to make ends meet, or are wage agricultural workers.

Communities in Talamanca, which is the poorest canton in the country, depend on tourism, commerce, fishing, and farming (to sell to the tourism operators). Black

hectares. They grow a variety of products such as cacao, fruit trees, wood trees (grown in a forest section to prevent erosion, maintain water levels, and manage water flow), tubers, plantain, banana, and sometimes nutmeg. Farms are generally operated at subsistence levels because of lack of markets, limited capital, and because of lack of labour (they compete with the banana companies that pay more). Many farmers are also fishermen. Banana companies have had a negative impact on the local economy; the aerial spraying of insecticides destroys pollinating insects for the plant species, and the use of chemicals and farm waste dumped in the rivers, are destroying the coral reef and reducing fish stocks.

Since the 1970s tourism has become an important factor in the local economy, even though tourism in the Atlantic coast is patronized by low-budget individuals. With tourism also came a drug trade that has claimed many young lives.

The Black population remaining in the Atlantic region of Costa Rica are mainly those who have not been able to emigrate, because they are tied emotionally to the land, or because they do not have a sufficiently high levels of education, or sufficient funds to migrate to the United States. The majority of these are the poorest and most disadvantaged, typically either agricultural labourers or semi-skilled and skilled workers in Limon. Only a few professionals have remained. They hold political and administrative positions in the provincial and the national government.

Poverty studies indicate than on average 43 percent of all independent farmers and 22 percent of all agricultural workers live in poverty. These categories are found to be the poorest of the poor in Costa Rica. These studies also show that the employment categories in which Black communities are employed require from 61 percent to 82 percent of monthly income just to purchase the basic food basket, and 116 percent to pay for essential services. Thus, the bulk of the Black population in Limon Province is part of the poorest in Costa Rica.

Education

Illiteracy rates for the Black population in Limon (7. 5 percent) are more than double the national average (3. 3 percent). This is also reflected in rural illiteracy and it is more acute for Talamanca (22 percent). On average 19 percent of the school age population does not have an education, only 63 percent complete primary school, 16 percent secondary school, and 2 percent attend university. The rates of school desertion and repeating are the second highest in the country.

Compared to the rest of Costa Rica, the present educational system has placed the Black population at a disadvantage. Students have difficulties in learning because of the

often ridicule and defame their culture. Costa Rican education results in loss of identity by making people ashamed of not resembling the rest of the country.

The educational handicaps for Blacks in Costa Rica are specific to their situation, and place them in this sector as the second most disadvantaged province in the country. The lack of language immersion or bilingual education programs, the lack of historical and economic data on Blacks in the existing curriculum, and the basic premise of the educational system, which is to turn the students into mainstream Costa Ricans, are all barriers to developing the full potential of Afro-Costa Ricans.

Women's Issues

For women, the main constraints to advancement are low levels of education and skills for employment, and lack of day-care centres for their children. A larger percent of Afro-Costa Rican women work, compared to women in other parts of the country. Their education is limited and so are their employment opportunities, which are typically in domestic work for tourism, education, packing, and as sales clerks in restaurants and stores, lottery sales, beauty parlours, bakeries, etc. Educated Black women who are professionals find few local employment opportunities and usually migrate to the capital. The proportion of female heads of households in Limon is greater than the national average, as is the economic participation of women and their unemployment rates.

Relative Poverty

Health indicators show that the Atlantic region has the highest incidence of infectious diseases and of infant mortality in the whole country, with rates at least 18 percent or higher than the others.

In education, this region ranks as the second to last in the country. Housing indices show a better comparative situation, ranking fourth in terms of basic services. Nevertheless, the road infrastructure is in the poorest condition in the country.

In addition, the changes in national indicators over the ten-year period between 1973-1984, showed that the regional health situation had improved by six percentage points in the decade, yet it is still the worst in the country; education which ranks as the second poorest in the country changed the least (1 percent point), and housing although ranking fourth and fifth had nevertheless experienced the highest rate of deterioration. Overall, the Atlantic region's cantons remained within the same levels of poverty over the ten-year period. They have never experienced conditions better than "LOW Poverty" anywhere in its cantons, and this

Indigenous populations predominate.

The only other region performing as poorly in the country over the ten-year period is Brunca, which displayed a decrease in its overall standards and has also never risen above a "LOW Poverty" status. Brunca is a neighbouring region to Talamanca, and also has a high concentration of Indigenous population compared to the rest of Costa Rica.

National Laws, Political Representation and Government Policies and Programs

National Laws

The present situation of Afro-Costa Ricans has resulted from the treatment that the Nation has given them since they settled on the Atlantic coast. Laws enacted at different times controlled their options in life. For example, until 1960, they were denied citizenship even though community members had been born in the country since the eighteenth century, and the majority arrived in 1890s. Until 1949, custom (perhaps law also) prevented Black access to the Pacific and so prevented them from following the employment opportunities when the banana companies moved to the Pacific. In the 1970s, legislation to create indigenous reservations, national parks, and the maritime coast line for tourism ignored the traditional lands occupied by Blacks. This resulted in expropriations of Black land without compensation. Laws that currently threaten the Afro-Costa Rican position are the Cockles Indigenous Reserve land demarcation and the Agrarian Reform, which gives titles for traditional lands to mestizo peasants from the interior.

Political Representation

Although the Black population has achieved significant political representation through established political parties (the governor of Limon is a Black woman, the vice-ministers of Rural Development and Finance are also Black, and there are also some Black ambassadors), the impact of this representation on the institutional legislation and policies which affect their lives is negligible. The reasons for this are the lack of financial clout in the community to form its own political parties. More importantly, the weak sense of identity and common purpose dissipate the vote of the Black population. Another limitation is perhaps Black politicians' considerable lack of commitment to their natural constituency.

Government Policies and Programs

country, government policies have been characterized by their reluctance to adapt to regional specificities. Even though the government divided the country into regions for development purposes, the policies for the Atlantic are similar to those of the rest of the country. This applies to agrarian policies, housing, health, nutrition, infrastructural growth, as well as education and culture.

The educational system study plans reflect a distorted vision of the Costa Rican nationality through the systematic exclusion or stereotyped incorporation of other cultures (i. e. Blacks or Indigenous) within the national community. This tends to negate its multiethnic and multi-cultural character.

The current Liberal government (1994-1998) aims to be selective in its action to mitigate the impact of poverty on vulnerable groups that were more affected by the policies of the past. Poverty alleviation is a priority and since it predominates in rural areas, Rural Development and the National Plan to Combat Poverty have become important programs.

Yet the problems of poverty of the Afro-Costa Rican community are caused by insufficient and inefficient facilities in health and education, and by the lack of adaptability of programs to the specific cultural nuances of the population (i. e. bilingual education).

The Program to Combat Poverty will be implemented through existing channels and programs, aimed at identified target groups. Since the infrastructure in the Atlantic region is weakest, it is expected that the program will not serve Blacks well. Among the Afro-Costa Rican low income population, only some are aware of programs and few are registered in the SISBEN screening system for the qualifying poor. Childcare services and education are sorely wanted, but additional infrastructure and additional training programs suitable to the job profile of the province are needed. Unless the Combat Poverty program is prepared to make new investments in adapting the national approach to the specific needs of the Atlantic region, it will become another meaningless program for the Afro-Costa Rican population.

Problems such as the titling of lands have their own peculiarities for the Afro-Costa Ricans. These are not only related to titling, but also to changes in legislation.

In the near future more economic grief is expected. JAPDEVA is the most important employer of the Black community, second only to the oil refinery. The privatization of the Port and JAPDEVA will have a major economic impact on the Afro-Costa Rican population, because it is such an important employer and its multiplier effect in the local economy in the city of Limon is extremely high. The expected rise in unemployment also makes it urgent to develop economic alternatives for this community, some of which may include the establishment of private companies by current employees that can provide the same services to the port on a contract basis. Support with the organization and legal aspects of running a business would be required by the workers, and their trade unions could be the vehicle for

Organizational Profile of the Community

Limitations in the logistical support for this country study resulted in few organizations identified within the Afro-Costa Rican community. The oldest, the United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), was founded when Marcus Garvey, the Jamaican leader, visited this community in 1922. The other three organizations identified were a Women's Organization established by Black professional women (Asociacion de mujeres Afrocostarricenses) NEFTA, FUDECA, a NGO that is developing new productive activities that are viable for the community, and the fledgeling Proyecto Caribe that claims to support business development. They are described in the country report. There are indications that other Black groups exist, and any additional research on this country should seek them out.

At the community level, only one women's group was identified in Cahuita in which eight Black and mestizo women have worked for four years to finally establish a bakery business. After receiving training from Instituto Nacional de Aprendizaje they sought funding from JAPDEVA to establish the project.

NGOs not led by Blacks were not identified during the mission, nor were any referred to by the informants.

International Cooperation

Costa Rica is now considered a middle income less developed country, and as such it is expected to deal with its problems of poverty using its own national resources. Few donors have programs for poverty alleviation, and most are ending their development assistance. The IDB has the largest portfolio in Central America for Costa Rica, and only a small portion of it is designed for direct social development projects, mostly it is to assist in the restructuring of the sector and improving the cost-effectiveness of its services.

The IDB can make a positive impact on this community by implementing minor adjustments in its Technical Cooperation grants that have components for the Atlantic coast. These require two initiatives: affirmative action in requesting that these components take into consideration the cultural specificity when they are designed, and by ensuring that biases of the Costa Rican government against the Province of Limon are not replicated through its programs.

Through the Canadian Embassy Cooperation, the Regional Embassy Fund will support a limited number of small initiatives proposed by NGOs and NGIs from the region that respond to "regionalization" interests within Central America. Within this latter program it

communities in the Atlantic regions of Central America, and in particular their efforts at making economic links and exploring Caribbean markets for their Central American products.

The National Bamboo Project, sponsored by Habitat and others, is considered very relevant to improve the economic prospects of Black communities in the Atlantic of Central America, since it provides opportunities for cultivation using permanent harvesting (a strategy these communities have always preferred), and opportunities to develop industries for processing of bamboo and construction of low cost housing.

Conclusions

Historical conditions of abandonment seem to continue to prevail in the Atlantic region. The situation of Limon province shows institutionalized discrimination by the state towards a race and culture which were felt to be alien to the mainstream of the country. There was no attempt to understand it or to use its potential to improve skills in the rest of the country (i. e. bilingualism, eco-sensitive farming, self-reliance for remote locations, etc).

In reality the Black populations which inhabit the Atlantic coast have been used by the Costa Rican government as a labour pool to work in environmental conditions that at the time were detrimental to the rest of its population. The Black population was kept in that geographical area until more socialist governments took power in 1949, although still ignoring its special presence and needs thereafter.

To date, the government investment in Limon is still based on the needs and cultural perspective of the Central Region, with invisibility for the Black population. Investment is for the port and the refinery and for cantons with large Latino-mestizo populations. The only other population treated worse than Blacks is the Indigenous people. These facts serve to infer the inherently racial and cultural supremacist nature of the policies which the Costa Rican government has put into place throughout its history as an independent nation. These policies are designed to benefit the miscegenated descendants of Spanish farmers who originally settled in the Central region.

It is important in a future within a free market economy and with a state that is less involved in direct funding, that the Afro-Costa Rican community be helped to recover its self-reliance capacity. To achieve this, methodologies of participation and economic development are needed which will help this population to make their farms produce economic surpluses, their small businesses become profitable, and to explore and develop new markets among Caribbean countries with whom they have the most affinity. This would help Costa Rica to look at a regional market which it has so far ignored, and which the

Proposed Solutions

In light of the findings on the Afro-Costa Rican community, its NGOs and the decreasing		
international cooperation available in Costa Rica, it is recommended that:		
	Donors support the Afro-Costa Rican community by:	
	providing training to existing and newly formed Black NGOs in community	
	organization relevant to its ethno-cultural specificity, in organizational development	
	and management, and in management and operation of credit programs for small	
	enterprises so they can take advantage of available credit for small businesses or micro-	
	enterprises;	
	providing technical cooperation to study the regional Caribbean and Afro-Central	
	American market to identify products to grow and/or process or manufacture,	
	recommend the most viable product mix for a fruitful regional trade, and define the	
	marketing and distribution strategy to follow;	
	including the Bamboo Project of Costa Rica in the Regional Training Program for	
	Poverty Alleviation as an economic option to be studied which could result in viable	
	local construction enterprises within the Black community. Bamboo could also be a	
	useful income-generating crop to farm in their lands for eventual supply to the	
	construction companies.	
	ddition, it is recommended that international support be sought to:	
	provide education/communications support to help the Afro-Costa Rican community to	
	become more cohesive and well informed about their present situation, and the social	
	and economic options open to them; and to encourage them to organize for their	
_	collective economic benefit;	
	establish a fund for pilot economic activities to support the development of	
	ecologically and economically sustainable farming strategies and to develop viable	
	small enterprises based on the resources available to this ethno-cultural community.	
	The funding should be available as a start-up phase until Black NGOs are capable of	
	operating credit programs to finance these proven enterprises, using funds such as the	
	IDB's Small Projects Program, and eventually funds from Commercial Banks.	

Diagnostic of Black Communities in Honduras

Socioeconomic Profile

Population and its Distribution

The number of persons with African ancestry in Honduras is the sum of those belonging to the Garifuna, Creole, English-speaking and Miskito ethnic groups. Evidence of major genetic contributions by Blacks is observable everywhere throughout Honduras, but less so in the capital of Tegucigalpa, in the hair texture, facial features, and darker skin tones of the mestizo population. This is especially true in departments such as Yoro, Olancho, Comayagua, and Cortes. In the Atlantic coastal regions, in cities such as San Pedro Sula and La Ceiba, the populations tend to be an Indigenous-Black mixture (zambo) with some white strains rather than mestizo.

Today, the Garifuna constitute the largest ethnic minority in Honduras. Estimates on their population range from 98,000 to 300,000. It is generally agreed that an additional 50,000 to 100,000 Honduran Garifuna live in the United States, New York being an important destination. The rural population inhabits the Atlantic coast of Honduras in more than forty small communities from the Guatemalan border to Gracias a Dios. The majority of Garifuna, however, live in the cities of La Ceiba, Cortes, Tela, Trujillo, San Pedro Sula, and Tegucigalpa.

Economic Profile

Garifuna rural communities have control over the natural resources that can be the basis of their economy. Traditionally, they depended on fishing and harvesting of forest products for their subsistence. In modern days, labour has become the main source of subsistence, and migration from rural areas to the cities and abroad is a major economic strategy.

The issues of economic survival for the Garifuna have a rural and urban dichotomy. The urban population exists because of their inability to develop a sustainable rural economy and their desire for modern goods. Education and jobs are the magnets of the cities and the

the lands and to fish.

The rural economy faces serious obstacles, including the loss of traditional lands to peasant colonization, agribusiness, and tourism development; loss of marine resources to foreign fishing fleets in the Atlantic coasts; inability to join the market economy because of the lack of telecommunication, accessible roads, or maritime and air transport that are affordable.

Increasingly labour migration starts with adolescents who work seasonally in the fishing fleets from the Bay Islands, and eventually join merchant fleets or go to the United States. Education is seen as a requirement to get better paying jobs or to migrate to the United States. All migrants send financial support to the family that remains in Honduras.

Blacks also migrate to study in high school, technical institutes and, if possible, university. San Pedro Sula is considered a transition point for those without sufficient financial means to study. Work tends to be in restaurants, as messengers, in factories, and in other low or semi-skilled jobs until they gather enough funds to attend university (locally or in Tegucigalpa) or to migrate to the United States where they can earn higher wages for their skills. Tegucigalpa has a high proportion of Garifuna professionals.

Urban trading experience has been minimal. Women and children sell coconut bread, oil, and cassava cakes next to hotels and tourist resorts. Self-employed urban males work in the informal sector doing car washing or selling snacks. All are low income earning and low skilled occupations.

Land Tenure

The economic prospects of the Garifuna have dimmed in the face of land expropriation. In their established communities along the Atlantic coasts, they have used and developed the lands in their own cultural style. However, as soon as the holdings have become important national economic assets, they have been usurped, and the communities have either had to move or maintain only a beach head. Following are a few examples of these minorities experiences:

- ☐ In 1995, in support of a national tourism strategy, lands were expropriated in Tela for the creation of an ecological park and a tourism investment strip. Triunfo de la Cruz is also facing invasion and confiscation of land to build tourist condominiums.
- ☐ In the departments of Colon and Gracias a Dios, the communities' land holdings are larger. With the national goal of modernizing agriculture, these communities and those on the island of Roatan have had to fight off peasant settlers who invade their traditional landholding in search of land titles from the Agrarian Reform Program.

Communities rarely have a proper legal ownership title although they have occupied and used the land for almost two centuries. The main constraint to legal ownership is the Honduran legal definition of "social function," and "proof of occupation" which leave no room for the traditional ecological practices of the Garifuna. Rotating agriculture, managed harvesting of forest products, or letting the land lay fallow for more than 1. 5 years before reusing it are typical practices. The definition for occupation of the land also does not fit the Garifuna. They are shore-dwelling fisherfolk as well as agriculturalists and visit their lands daily but do not inhabit it permanently. Lack of fencing also means that there is no indication of limits and occupation. Communal ownership is also a major problem, as the Agrarian Reform Law issues titles to "private" holders.

In short, the concept of "use" and "possession" versus a "right to harvest a determined sector of land" are culturally different. As it currently stands, the law favours Creole definitions allowing land of trees as "proof of use" and defines "social function" as continuous agriculture in the same lands, or its use by cattle. The lands in the ecologically fragile, deciduous, humid forest cannot sustain this type of use because their fertility depends on the continuous falling leaf mass. The Miskito and Garifuna know that implementation of the law will result in serious erosion and eventual desertification of the coasts.

Education

Educational facilities are sparse. A majority of the communities have primary schools. Most schools provide education up to third grade in a one-teacher school, and the rest up to sixth grade. Middle school (grades 7-8) are available only in some communities, and children have to walk or take a boat ride of up to 45 minutes every day to reach their schools.

There are no high schools in the communities, and Garifuna attend secondary schools in larger cities like Cortes, Tela, and La Ceiba. The latter is the educational Mecca for the departments of Colon, Gracias a Dios, and the Bay Islands. There is only one public high school in La Ceiba. Most Garifuna have to pay fees in private high schools in addition to bearing the cost of migration, food, clothing, and support for the relatives that house them during the school year.

Garifuna believe that the education system is deficient. It does not provide accessible high school education, nor does the curriculum include the technical trades which are needed locally: construction, carpentry, furniture-making, electricity, and agriculture. The curriculum does not offer a bilingual education program which would help young Garifuna-speaking children to learn better in their primary school years.

Health facilities in Garifuna communities consist of clinics in some areas, staffed by nurses who have no regular supply of medicines to treat the most common diseases. In the more isolated communities of Colon and Gracias a Dios, the closest hospital is in Batalla and is operated by the Bahai. Clinic nurses tend to be Garifuna from the localities and are trained to deliver early childhood health programs and teach preventive health. Through experience they function as doctors, treating machete cuts, malaria and dengue fevers, snake bites, and the endemic diseases of the communities: respiratory illnesses, diarrhea, parasites, and high blood pressure.

Seventy-two percent of children show signs of malnutrition in each community, and infant mortality in some communities is estimated to be as high as three in every ten. These rates are lower than among the mestizo population because the traditional diet is rich in seafood and fruit.

The odd case of AIDS patients who need plasma or blood transfusions is also seen as migrant workers return home to die. The self-denial regarding AIDS in communities is a source of concern for the public health nurses, as is the risk of contamination when patients do not disclose the nature of their disease. During 1996, there have been AIDS programs supported by USAID and delivered through the Garifuna organizations, Fraternal Organization of Blacks in Honduras, OFRANEH, and Organization for Ethnic Community Development, ODECO, to some Garifuna communities.

Gender Issues

Garifuna, like other Black communities are matrilocal. There is a tendency for men to form more than one home, so there is a high concentration of female-headed households, with more than one generation living in the home. Often this includes adult unmarried sons. There is also a tendency toward teenage pregnancy, which leads to the problem of single parenting.

Basic Services

Garifuna communities have had their own water sources for a long time, consisting of wells which operate with hand pumps. Since latrines are rarely used, the contamination of the wells has not been a concern in the past. Nevertheless, the high incidence of gastrointestinal diseases is attributed to contaminated water sources. The Ministry of Sanitation and USAID have been providing potable water systems by mobilizing community labour to make dams

particularly since people say that there has been no instruction on how to install, use, or maintain them to avoid bad odours and water contamination. There are communities in Colon and Gracias a Dios which still have no potable water systems and latrines.

Access roads to rural communities are poor or non-existent, even though they are in the most prosperous regions of the country. In Colon and Gracias a Dios, there are communities that can only be accessed via the beach or by air transport. Most have dirt roads that are impassable when it rains, which happens frequently.

Telecommunication is underdeveloped, consisting of a single radio telephone station, and no postal service. A transport boat administrated by nuns in Sangrilaya carries goods from La Ceiba to Gracias a Dios, when the boat is in good order. This is the lifeline of these eastern communities. There is a daily airline service between Batalla and La Ceiba, and this is the most reliable means of communication, although it is too expensive for the majority of the population.

Electricity is a relatively new service and still not available to most communities in the Colon-Gracias a Dios area. Some communities have mobilized their migrant relatives in the USA to purchase diesel plants for them, but without knowledge of maintenance these systems soon stop working.

Relative Poverty

Rural Garifuna communities are located in what is considered to be the most productive region of the country. The departments that harbor Garifuna are in the least poor quarters of the Honduran poverty map, and as such receive less social investment for basic services, schools, health centres; there are pockets of poverty in these departments, their basic needs are unmet, their health is preserved more by their self-reliance than by the presence of an effective health service, and road communication and public transport is poor despite the relative proximity to important economic centres.

The production strategies of the communities achieve only a low subsistence economy. They remain stagnant from the lack of investment capital. The financial contributions from relatives abroad are invested in housing (to which they return upon retirement), education for the young, and supporting those families that are without a male head. In the worst cases, in communities near La Ceiba, residents have sold the communal landholding privately, and now display a "welfare" tendency to depend on the financial support of relatives in the United States, rather than engage in any productive activities such as fishing, or trading.

National Laws

Current Laws affecting the future of Garifuna communities are the Agrarian Reform Law, which encourages colonization of the lands they traditionally use and which remain untitled particularly in Colon, and those to implement a Tourism Development Strategy, which is resulting in the expropriation and sale by uninformed individuals of the coastal lands in Tela, La Ceiba, and Trujillo.

Political Representation

Politically, the Garifuna individuals have been reluctant to become involved in community *patronatos* (the government's channel of community representation in municipal affairs). Nevertheless, since 1990, there have been two Garifuna mayors elected, one in Limon and one in Iriona. In the upcoming elections for 1997 there is evidence that the political parties are seeking Garifuna candidates for their electoral lists. It remains to be seen if this is truly significant and if the Garifuna want to launch themselves into the national electoral scene.

One of the most effective tools for political influence are the Garifuna organizations. Through lobbying, in alliance with the Indigenous movement, the Garifuna have been able to make their concerns known to the current liberal government, particularly in terms of their cultural visibility, bilingual education in the curriculum, the land defence committees, and the upcoming bicentennial celebration of their arrival.

Government Policies

The current liberal government has given priority, at least in writing, to the development of ethnic minorities and has set an informal target of ten percent of foreign aid to be used in support of these populations. It is not known if these targets have been achieved.

The government has also formulated a tourism development strategy and the planning department is aware of the need to benefit ethnic minorities in affected geographic zones; however, at a grassroots level, it has made little impact in including them in those plans. The first result has been the expropriation and purchase of Garifuna lands in Tela without including the community in the future economic development plans.

There are many issues that affect the development of Black communities in education, economic development and culture. The demands of Black organizations are still largely unmet.

Nevertheless, in the Central American region, the current government of Honduras has

For example, there is a bicultural education officer in the Ministry of Education, although little progress has been made in terms of implementing a bicultural curriculum and program. The Ministry of Culture supports the permanent existence of the Garifuna Ballet and promotes its use by the community, not only for cultural performances but also for education, development of youth, AIDS awareness, and community development.

Garifuna municipalities have an allocated annual budget in the Honduran Social Investment Fund (FHIS) for projects submitted by them. The least progress has been made in the land issue, perhaps because it also requires the consent of the private sector which wants land for its expansion in agribusiness and tourism.

For the communities themselves, the gains have not yet reached the grassroots in a manner that impacts their quality of life. They are disconnected from the political leadership that has negotiated these gains. Garifuna organizations do not have sufficient credibility at the grassroots levels, and seem to be ineffective in communicating with the majority, or in making headway in the morass of divisiveness that exists among themselves and within the communities.

Programs

The Fondo Hondureño de Inversion Social, FHIS, is the main source of municipal funding accessible to these rural communities. Through the mobilization of the Garifuna as part of the Indigenous movement, they have been given special attention as poor Indigenous municipalities. In 1995-96 the FHIS provided ODECO, a Garifuna organization, with staff to mobilize Black municipalities in the Bay Islands and Colon, to prepare and present projects to the FHIS.

Organizational Profile of the Community

Grassroots Organizations

The most frequent type of organizations found in the Garifuna communities are cultural, formed by women and youngsters. They perform traditional songs and dances for tourists, but most perform on their own days of celebration. Among young men, there are soccer groups that challenge each other.

Black Non-Governmental Organizations

Since 1977 they founded OFRANEH to represent them in discussions with government and at national fora. OFRANEH has delegates in most communities. Nowadays there are at least three other well-established NGOs led by Garifuna professionals that are mobilizing development resources to reach their home communities: ODECO, Centre for Community Development, CEDEC, and Centre for Ethnic Development of the Community, CEDECO. There are also Black university student organizations in the National University, at Tegucigalpa and San Pedro Sula campuses.

Since the study was conducted in May 1995, new Black organizations have emerged, and some have formed a coordinated unit Coordinadora de Organizaciones Negras de Honduras, led by ODECO to hold discussions with the government.

Among the new organizations is ONECA, the Central American Black Organization. Honduras has been a prime mobilizer in its establishment in December 1995. It has its headquarters at ODECO in La Ceiba, Honduras. Its membership consists of a few organizations from each Central American country; one of its first tasks is to visit the region to promote additional membership.

Another new organization established in 1995 at the inauguration of CEDECO and the Tegucigalpa affiliate of OFRANEH, is the Afro-Honduran Chamber of Commerce. CEDECO's President Mr. Roy Guevara was also elected president of the Chamber. It brings together micro and small business entrepreneurs, mainly Garifuna, and will provide them with technical support to improve business viability, and also to facilitate collective marketing and export promotion of their products.

In terms of local development, the existing organizations' record for effective project implementation still shows a lack of institutional maturity. The organizations most frequently used as donor channels have been OFRANEH and ODECO, both of which recently have implemented AIDS prevention programs, health initiatives, and agricultural projects in small communities. They could benefit from institutional strengthening to improve staff selection, project administration, and program development skills, and to negotiate project benefits to help their institutional sustainability.

The mission findings from community informants, urban and rural, were that the Garifuna in general have no faith in politicians, *patronatos* or NGOs, whether Garifuna or otherwise. Their experience has been that promises are made but not delivered. They feel they are used as an excuse to get project funds that later are spent elsewhere. They would prefer that external support be given directly to the interest groups in the communities.

peoples, and the preservation of their culture. Rescate Cultural is based in La Ceiba and has used NGO channels to enter the communities, OFRANEH was selected for the Garifuna. The UNDP cautioned that all Garifuna organizations should be studied, and their credibility at the community level must be verified before making such a choice.

European NGOs (Dutch and Irish) have funded small projects through ODECO since 1992. These have been in agriculture, health, and education. In 1995, USAID provided ODECO with funds for implementing a component for AIDSCAP. In addition, the FHIS authorized a promoter for community mobilization and project generation in the Bay Islands and Colon. Until 1995, ODECO had been a small organization taking careful steps. Since then it has invested much of its senior talent in organizing Black organizations at a national and Central American level. It has accepted new project commitments, has hired new staff, and there are early warning signs that this enormous addition of work, with only one president as decision-maker, has overtaxed the organization in La Ceiba.

In the early 1990s Garifuna communities benefitted from cooperative promotion projects funded by the Canadian NGO, Société des Jardins. These projects involved women in traditional agricultural activities like cassava (*yuca*) planting and processing. Few of these cooperatives remained in existence at the time of the study.

NGOs involved in peasant promotion have also begun to assist women in the Garifuna communities. Consejo para el Desarrollo Integral de la Mujer Campesina (CODIMCA) has a Garifuna extension officer, whose presence has resulted in opening programs in eight Garifuna communities in the last two years. These programs provide mills for cassava, encourage vegetable and traditional herbal gardens, as well as plantain growing.

Patronatos are elected community bodies, and there is apathy towards voting and politics. A few *patronatos* are well respected because they coordinate their work with other groups in the community. Although the *patronatos* should be included in any intervention, they need not be the channels to the grassroots.

Donor Lessons Learned

The most important lessons learned are that a credible contact is needed to enter a community, that the project idea must meet an identified need, and contact must be directly made by the donor, once there is assurance of financial support. It is very important to identify the leaders of the potential target group.

The type of organization that may develop and the incentives needed to achieve results are two challenging issues. When people group they choose to work with those they trust the

is most effective, these tend to be members of their immediate and extended family, or those within the same age group.

Thus, when production groups have the majority of members with the same last names, this should be regarded as a strength. While it may be viewed as nepotism in other places, among Garifuna it is the preferred way to group. For donors, this cultural bias must be positively acknowledged and the validity of its use needs to be accepted.

Conclusions

The Garifuna rural communities live in conditions of poverty that are chronic and can worsen in light of national development plans to use their traditionally held lands for organized tourism, agricultural colonization, and agribusiness. Urban migration which follows results in integration into the mainstream economy only for a few of the well-educated, and in marginal employment in the informal sector or in low paid employment as cooks, car washers, or clerks for the remainder. Migration to the United States has been the tool for economic advancement in this community.

cooks, car washers, or clerks for the remainder. Migration to the United States has been the tool for economic advancement in this community.

In their own perception, the priority needs of the rural Garifuna were listed as follows:

Protection of their remaining land holdings, to use them to provide local jobs.

Education: access to local high schools, a bilingual/ bicultural education, and training in trade skills as well as an academic program.

Health: public hospital facilities that are more geographically accessible.

Basic Services: potable water where it is unavailable, and a highway in Colon to link those coastal communities that are now isolated part of the year or always.

Information: knowledge of how projects are funded, how they are planned; knowledge about agriculture and marketing. They want their leaders to be knowledgable in these things, and they want their leaders to share the information with them.

The communities need capital and business advice to invest in businesses that can make the best use of their cultural assets, the lands, the sea, and their own human resources.

Proposed Solutions

In the context of Poverty Alleviation donors should:

Consider the Garifuna as a target group. Within it, the most critical agents for development are women in rural and urban areas, because their multiplier factor is large, they have a high dependency ratio, and play a strong cultural role in the family

Investigate the situation of the Bay Islands and English-speaking mainland
communities to incorporate them to this program.
Make economic development of rural communities a priority to ensure the economic
and ecological sustainability of their communities. Economic development has as a
pre-requisite sorting out the legal rights to the lands.
Pay particular attention to the most vulnerable groups: children who are at risk of
malnutrition, infant mortality, and low educational standards; young teenage mothers
with low educational levels; and young men at risk of becoming unproductive and prey
to the drug trade in the region.
Strengthen organizational capacity at the community level and among Garifuna NGOs.
An effective method of communication at the grassroots level is essential for prompt
implementation.

Diagnostic of Black Communities in Nicaragua

Socio-economic Profile

Population and Distribution

The Britannica Yearbook places the total number of persons of African descent at about 10 percent, including the descendants of enslaved Africans from the colonial period. However, this may underestimate the real number. Africa is a significant contributor to Nicaraguan demographics, perhaps even more so than Europe. Another important economic group is the Miskitos of the RAAN, who are also of African descent. They prefer, however, to negotiate their interests as Indigenous people. This report essentially focuses on the Creole and Garifuna of the Region Autonoma Atlantica del Sur (RAAS).

Existing regional statistics indicate that the Black population amounts to about 37,000 in the RAAS (37 percent of the population) and about 1. 1 percent (1600) in the Region Autonoma Atlantica del Norte (RAAN).

Creole and Garifuna populations predominate in the municipalities of Pearl Lagoon and Corn Islands. They are significant minorities in Bluefields and Kukra Hill (43 percent), and in Desembocadura del Rio Grande (7 percent) where the Miskito are a majority.

Economic Profile

The richest natural resource of the RAAS is the sea, where catches of shrimp and lobster represented 53 percent of the gross exports from Nicaragua in the first three months of 1995. Forestry resources are less significant and contribute far less to jobs and to concession revenues. Access to this wealth by the rural population is through artesian fishermen selling to the larger processing plants and export companies. 45. 5 percent of lobster exports are from fishermen with boats that can go to sea, while shrimp is the most accessible resource to lagoon fishermen, representing 7 percent of total exports. Fish are a poorly tapped product in the Atlantic coast and a minor volume of total exports.

The economic life of the Black Creole population in most rural communities is based on fishing. Men are the main fishermen, often forming fishing cooperatives. In Garifuna communities, however, particularly in Orinoco, women also fish with hook and line in the

Nicaraguan markets for their products, and their volumes are insignificant.

Fishing is complemented with subsistence agriculture which consists of maize and corn, cassava, dasheen, and rice. Fruit trees are abundant in Garifuna communities, but vegetables are scarcely produced anywhere. Farms are far from the communities, requiring half an hour or more to reach them by boat, walking, or mule transport from the river's edge. Most communities farm near rivers and lagoons where the soil is more fertile, with each community knowing where its farming lands lie. To date, no Creole or Garifuna communities have obtained titles for the farmlands, although most have legal title for their houses.

The incomes derived from fishing are seasonal and dependent on the prices that companies are willing to pay. Most families also engage in petty trading of baked goods or receive regular remittances from a family member who has migrated to the United States. The option of occasional paid employment is not available in the RAAS.

Unemployment in the RAAS is quoted at a staggering 90 percent, while Managua's is 60 percent. Residents of Bluefields are more vulnerable to the negative impact of unemployment because they have no access to farming, and only a few engage in fishing. A very high proportion of Bluefield's families receive financial support from relatives abroad and from youths who work on tourist and merchant boats. Migration has been the strategy most widely used to overcome a stagnant economy.

The low salaries paid to civil servants, teachers, and nurses have caused a loss of incentive for education among many of the poor who cannot afford a university education. The desire to have money has increased with modernity, and drug trading has become an attractive option to both young and adult males on the Atlantic Coast, especially Bluefields. One legacy of the contra war in the Atlantic region has been the thousands of exiles or former soldiers who returned as drug addicts. They constitute an entire generation of unproductive males who live in rural communities and Bluefields. They sell drugs and recruit youths into the addiction.

Drug addition is the biggest concern of elders and adult women in the communities and in Bluefields, yet it was not mentioned in the list of priorities of the government authorities interviewed. It appears to be a hidden problem that no official body wants to resolve. The communities view addiction as an extremely serious problem which threatens to engulf more and more of their youth. The danger continues to spread, reaching down to even the smallest fishing communities; fishermen are increasingly being forced to take drugs in payment for their catch when they sell on the high seas. They are then obliged to sell the narcotics locally in order to obtain money.

Education

The path to economic improvement for Creole communities has been education. In the last century, generations of families, whether rural or urban, have educated their children. It is therefore no coincidence that there are more primary schools in Black rural communities, and that the few high schools in the RAAS are in Creole communities, since they tend to value them most. There are still insufficient numbers of schools in rural areas, and most of them are concentrated in Bluefields.

The biggest impediment to education is money to continue studying after local schooling is completed. As in other countries, completing primary school and attending secondary school means migrating from the home town and requires relatives and money to achieve it.

The most important learning constraint is language. Children are English-speaking when they enter school and are faced with total immersion in Spanish with teachers who do not speak their language. This is considered to be a prime cause of low retention and the high drop-out rate. Creole communities desire the Program for Bilingual Education (PEBI) to be extended to all primary schools everywhere. Currently, it is confined to one public school in Bluefields. The children who have successfully completed their education in the Spanish system are unable to communicate professionally in English, since their technical vocabulary is in Spanish. The international competitive edge that the community once had through bilingualism has is lost in this way. The communities want the PEBI to overcome this deficiency by giving more prominence to English in the higher grades. Another need voiced is for libraries in rural schools so that children will have reference books to complement the teacher's education.

In the communities of Pearl Lagoon, only 50 percent of the children entering primary school successfully complete Grade 6. Only half of those children go on to high school. In total, only five percent of all children entering the school system graduate from high school: of these, the majority are female.

Early teen-age pregnancies are another cause of delay in education. However, at Pearl Lagoon High School, a night school has been added to provide these mothers with the opportunity to complete secondary education: these make up part of the five percent who graduate. This is not done in most high schools and results in the loss of motivated human resources.

The health profile of these communities is very similar and determined by their water-based way of life. Children suffer most commonly from respiratory infections and gastrointestinal diseases. Adults often suffer from hypertension and arthritis. In Orinoco and the vicinity, they also suffer from kidney pains. Malaria is present everywhere and dengue fever is seasonal.

Health centres and health posts in some communities are ill equipped. Only Bluefields and Kukra Hill have regional hospitals, and for a rural inhabitant, serious illnesses could be deadly because of the difficulty and high cost of water transport. Pearl Lagoon has two doctors in its clinics and a health program from AMC (Accion Medica Cristiana). The AMC program operating in the communities in this municipality provides water tanks, chlorine, dry latrines, medical attention and health education.

The most persistent complaint in the communities is the lack of medicines at the health posts which means costly expenditures for a population with very limited cash.

Basic Services

The categorization of the RAAS as the second poorest department in Nicaragua is largely due to the poor quality of its basic services. 97 percent of the population has no access to even partially potable water. Communities rely on hand dug wells and rain water for their drinking water, as they did in the past. This results in a high incidence of parasites and diarrhea. Some people boil and chlorinate their water. There are few latrines and no sewage treatment or disposal systems. Even in Bluefields, the untreated effluent goes into the lagoon where people collect rain water to drink.

Electricity is a recent commodity. Although Bluefields has electricity, most communities do not. There are generators or plants that often break down due to lack of spare parts or proper maintenance: those that do work belong to the processing plants that sell electricity to the neighbouring communities like Corn Island and Kukra Hill.

There are few roads linking the RAAS. The longest road links El Rama with Bluefields, and constitutes the land route to Managua, which is reached by river from El Rama. Kukra Hill has roads to link the sugar plantations. There are small dirt roads linking some communities with each other. But the main form of transportation are the canals linking lagoons and rivers which join the coastal communities of the RAAS.

Transportation is expensive and infrequent. For families who have unmotorized canoes or low-powered motors, travelling to Bluefields takes many hours. The transport of produce, whether seafood or agricultural, is a problem which prevents production of a surplus.

Few communities are linked by the telegraph or by telephone. Mail is usually brought

through radio and television which is beamed from Costa Rica and San Andres, Colombia. Nicaraguan media signals rarely reach the coast.

Relative Poverty

According to the Poverty Map developed for the FISE, the indicators used (chronic malnutrition, access to water and displaced population) place the RAAS as the second most disadvantaged in the country. The RAAN is fourth.

Data for maps is limited. In the RAAS, the two municipalities with the largest Black populations, Pearl Lagoon and Corn Island, have no data. The departmental average is assigned to these municipalities by the FISE. This mission visually verified the poor basic infrastructure and living conditions of Black communities.

Data Needs

The politization of data is more perceptible in Nicaragua than in other countries in the region. Census for the region contain ethnic data, but the lack of clarity is used to maintain higher percents for some ethnic groups. This was the case in the RAAN: data is represented for the small ethnic communities, but not for the Miskito (assumed to be 90 percent). In the RAAS, there are details on the Miskito and mestizo minorities, but not for the Creoles who are assumed to have fewer numbers in those areas where they actually predominate.

Ethnic census data will be important in the establishment of municipal boundaries because these are supposed to ensure that traditional communities are kept together. This will also have electoral implications, as is the case in the RAAN, where the Yamata Party's power base is the Miskito. It is important to them that their vote is not diluted by the addition of mestizo communities to their electoral zone. Creoles are similarly concerned with their capacity to elect their own leaders.

To support the self-determination of traditional coastal communities, it is important to provide technical and legal support in electoral boundary definition and in the legalization of traditionally held lands. This entire process is referred to as the "ordenamiento territorial" of the Atlantic: without it, the autonomy process is severely hampered.

National Laws, Political Representation and Government Policies and Programs

National Laws

The Agrarian Reform legislation, which encourages colonization of the Atlantic lands, is resulting in mestizo peasant immigration to the region. The introduction of cattle grazing and deforestation and the granting of the lands traditionally used by Blacks to these colonizers is a cause for concern.

The Law of Regional Autonomy, mentioned earlier as being important to the future equitable development of the region, followed the priorities of its local population. Its implementation to date has been withheld by the Chamorro government. The result has been the governing of the region by the priorities of Managua, although these are implemented by locally-elected governors. The locally-elected assemblies are powerless to influence the decision making.

Political Representation

The Black population of the RAAS is politically active during elections. The Pearl Lagoon community created the Movimiento Autentico Autonomo Costeño (MAAC), a regional party which won all seats to the regional council in the RAAS. At a local level, the lack of regulation of the Autonomy Law has been used as an excuse to prevent municipal elections. Mayors appointed by the central government do what is best for Managua and not the region. They ignore the voices of the regional assemblies.

The elected RAAS assembly has been rendered ineffective by the inadequate information they receive on the financial affairs of the region and by their lack of control or input on how the regional revenues should be spent. Exercising its democratic rights through the vote has not given the RAAS and the local ethnic populations a democratic opportunity to govern themselves.

The fact that there are Black mayors in Corn Island, Pearl Lagoon, and Bluefields, or that the regional governor is also Black, has not resulted in expected benefits for the majority of the Black population. These Black officials have apparently been easily coopted by power and money to safeguard the interests of others and display little loyalty to the community which elected them.

As was the case in Costa Rica, this is another instance where the lack of esteem for a Black identity hampers political representation by Black elected officials. Since their rise through education and access to white collar jobs, Black Creoles have increasingly lost their African sense of community. Denial of the African heritage began with gaining mulatto status from white plantation parenthood. Whiteness and education through the Moravian Church opened the door to respectability in the Atlantic society, and even today, people have difficulty interchanging the words "Creole" with "Black" or acknowledging "Creole"

Government Policies

National development policies that give extraction concessions to foreign companies for the fisheries and wood resources and for agrarian colonization of the Atlantic region are detrimental to its Black population.

The stagnant regional economy derives no benefit from the fishing concessions because there is no significant multiplier effect. The salaries and fish purchases from these companies are too small, and the medium and larger Nicaraguan companies do not spend their funds locally. In addition, the tax share of the fishing concessions going to the RAAS is not being invested in its people, but rather on real estate and other inert investments. Thus, the present economic strategy pursued in the RAAS provides no local economic expansion.

According to the governor of the RAAS, 50 percent of the operational budget is spent on education, part of it on personally selected scholarships, and the rest on the improvement of schools. Only 35-50 percent of the monthly regional income is actually spent. The balance is invested in purchasing real estate or businesses which are then leased to entrepreneurs for fixed fees.

Government Programs

Traditional poverty mechanisms like the social investment fund (FIS) have not reached the RAAS. The central office has found it difficult to operate in the RAAS due to its cultural differences, language, lack of trust in the veracity and capacity of local organizations, and the high cost of operation.

In spite of this, Black populations are not suffering as much as the Indigenous minorities of Rama and Sumo Indians. The Miskito have benefitted from the political alliance with the Chamorro government. They have received millions of dollars of USAID funds for their forestry sector and FISE projects for basic services (the USAID regional office offered to administrate the FISE for the RAAN).

Organizational Profile of the Community

Grassroots Organizations

The Sandinista legacy of grassroots organization did not reach the RAAS in the same degree as in the Pacific region. The Creole community has church fellowship groups among the

also been encouraged, particularly by the project supported by the APN (a Norwegian NGO). Some women's groups that want to engage in projects were also found: the Orinoco women's fishing coop; in Halouver, a group once involved in raising chickens; and in Pearl Lagoon, there is a group interested in starting rooming houses for eco-tourism.

Black NGOs

Among the Black NGO groups in Bluefields are the **ACWA** (Association of Caribbean Women of the Atlantic) which wants to promote Black consciousness and develop organization among Black women in Bluefields and the Pearl Lagoon area; and **ABN** (Association of Black Nicaraguans), founded in 1986 by senior Black professionals that want to provide political education to Blacks and to support sports programs for youths in order to prevent drug abuse.

In Managua, there is **AESCA** (Atlantic Student's Association) which includes students from the Atlantic Region (RAAN and RAAS) of all ethnic origins who are studying in Managua. The association helps meet the students' collective needs, makes agreements for placements in the universities, facilitates pre-registration, and seeks scholarships.

Other NGOs

There are very few supportive NGOs still operating in the RAAS. The largest is FADCANIC (Fundacion para la Autonomia y Desarollo de La Costa Atlantico) in Bluefields, which supports development of all the ethnic groups in the region and has offices in Puerto Cabezas for the RAAN and in Managua. Others are: CIATS (Centre Inter Eclesiastic de Estudias Teologico), a church organization that works with farmers in Pearl Lagoon; CIDCA, a publishing division of the University of Central America that issues a magazine with historical, social, and economic issues relevant to the Atlantic Coast; and AMC (Acción Médica Cristiana), which supports a Dutch-funded health program in Pearl Lagoon.

International Cooperation

During the Sandinista Government, there were many donors, particularly international NGOs, supporting the development of the RAAS. However, most left after the change in

government and given to private enterprises from Managua. The uncertainty about the fate of projects without a legal regional autonomy makes donors reluctant to return.

Since 1990, only a few Scandinavian donors have continued development assistance programs in the RAAS. The government of Denmark has improved the marine transportation infrastructure; the Norwegian NGO APN support fisheries development; and the government of the Netherlands operates a marine environmental research project.

Other donors, including the IDB, have been reluctant to invest in the Atlantic because of the uncertain nature of the Autonomy Law; the scarcity of organizations in communities of the region; the difficulty of programming with populations used to paternalistic donor behaviour; and the perception that personal security is at risk in the region.

Donor Lessons Learned

The mission held discussions with FADCANIC and Accion Popular Noruega (APN), organizations that have programs in many rural communities in the Pearl Lagoon Municipality in the RAAS. In their experience, donors would be wise to consider that:

- although personal security has not been an issue in the region, there is a high investment to be made in transportation and time to work with these communities;
- for Pacific residents, it is a cultural shock to work in the living conditions of the Atlantic. It is also difficult to deal with the feeling of distrust they produce in Atlantic residents: it is easier for foreigners to be accepted than for mestizos from other parts of Nicaragua.

Conclusion

The situation of poverty in which the Black communities (Garifuna and Creoles) are found today has external and internal causes. Externally, the economic and political policies of the Nicaraguan government have resulted in little infrastructure and social investment in their region. The lack of infrastructure is an obstacle to their participation in a cash surplus economy. Their conditions of chronic poverty are likely to continue and worsen if the policies of granting more concessions for the extraction of seafood are maintained, because the valuable shrimp and lobster species are at risk of extinction. Since little of the revenue earned from the tax concessions is invested in the human resources, transport and economic infrastructure of the region, they will have no alternative economy when they deplete their natural resources.

Internally, the Black community is unable to make optimum use of its political opportunities because the elected individuals act according to the interests of the political

gaining their electoral votes. The breakdown of the culture in rural communities and in Bluefields is evident. The migration of youth to find employment; drug addiction and trade; early teenage pregnancies; a breakdown in communication between generations; poverty; and a value system in which money and power are primordial, are strong pressures to overcome.

The one bond which strengthens cultural traditions has been "autonomy". Young students in Bluefields and Managua, field extension workers, NGO managers, and regional council members all share a strong feeling of commitment in seeing that autonomy becomes a reality. Autonomy cuts across ethnic boundaries while forcing individuals to claim ancestry to one of the historical communities. For the first time in the Atlantic, it is worth something to be Black or Indigenous.

It is recommended that donors target:

- Black communities in the RAAS and RAAN as a vulnerable group and worthy of support. Women are the target group that most needs economic support and also offer the greatest mobilizing potential. Young males are the group most at risk because of the temptation of riches from the drug trade and because they are actively sought by other addicts as new customers. Senior citizens in Bluefields are another vulnerable group because of their lack of incomes and access to farming or fishing to subsist: however, they do have valuable assets to contribute: education, experience and organizational capacity.
- Although it has not been a stated request of the Black community, this mission sees that, in the near future, it will be important to retain historical and cultural knowledge of the Creole identity to have access to the privileges that autonomy grants to the original groups; thus, in the context of ensuring the economic and social sustainability of this minority group, this is the area that also needs support.
- ☐ The environmental risk to the renewable resources that are the basis of the short and long-term economy of the Atlantic makes it imperative that any support for economic development includes a close scrutiny of its environmental impact on renewable resources.

Proposed Solutions

Given the lessons learned by donors who have implemented programs in the RAAS, it is recommended that:

Any project initiative in the Atlantic region include in its pre-investment phase sufficient funds to become familiar with the beneficiary communities, regional and

Given the present lack of knowledge about the relevant cultural aspects, that pre-
investment also include the development of appropriate participatory methodologies for
the beneficiaries in question. This includes using advisors who operate well in the
beneficiary's language, are responsive to the culture, and are technically capable of
bringing relevant cultural nuances into the methodologies for management and
implementation of the projects.
IDB collect and disseminate information on programming in the Atlantic to enhance
the programming capacity of all donors, to dispel misconceptions, and encourage more
investment.
National projects for Nicaragua support:
- Strengthening the process of autonomy.
Local according development in Diode manifoldities and amonging into now

- - Local economic development in Black municipalities and expansion into new markets in the Caribbean basin.
 - Communications program to strengthen Black communities.
 - Recovery of drug addicted human resources.
 - Strengthening capacity of regional universities.

South America

Diagnostic of Black Communities in Argentina

Socioeconomic Profile

Population

Colonial and post-colonial Black presence in Argentina was significant. Data from the 1778 census of the provinces showed their widespread distribution in high proportions, being as high as 64 percent in Tucuman, with the highest concentrations in provinces like Salta (46 percent) Santiago de Estero (54 percent), Catamarca 52 percent and Cordoba (44 percent). In Buenos Aires itself the census showed a stable Black population wavering between 29. 7 percent (7,236 persons) in 1778 to 26 percent in 1838 (14,928 persons). Fifty years later when the Buenos Aires population increased seven fold due to European immigration, the census of 1887 recorded only 8005 Blacks (1. 8 percent of the population). Scholarly research and Black oral tradition explain the decrease in numbers as being mainly through miscegenation, with the offspring declaring themselves non-Black.

Estimates of the size of the current Black Creole population are often controversial. One estimate is based on the presence of three hundred trunk families which, given traditionally high fertility rates, would total approximately 8,000, while other estimates are based on the sighting of over a million Blacks and mulattoes for the last carnival in 1956 and of large zambo populations seen in the last two decades in the northern provinces of Argentina. Based on those community observations, the Buenos Aires Black community could number at least 8,000 while zambos (Indigenous/Black mestizaje) would be an additional number in the provinces.

The Black immigrant communities are self-estimated as:
 □ Cape Verdeans: self-estimate at 8500
 □ Uruguayans: 50,000 mainly living in Buenos Aires Capital and Province. Many of them are still undocumented.
 □ Brazilians: anthropologists' estimate 2,000-3,000 Blacks based on attendance at their cultural events.
 □ Peruvians: Afro-Peruvians self-estimate around 300. Most of them are undocumented.
 □ Dominican Republic: Self-estimated at 3,000 to 4,000, mainly women trying to

Africa: from Mali, Nigeria, Angola, Liberia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, French Guinea (Konakri), estimated at less than 300. Mostly young men arriving in the last few years and working without documents.

Distribution

Zambos are reported in the northern provinces of Tucuman, Misiones, and Salta, and could be in others, based on their colonial presence. The Cape Verdean community has settled in Buenos Aires (Avellaneda), Ensenada, La Plata, Santa Fe, with a few in the southern region of the country.

In Buenos Aires, Blacks (Creoles and immigrants) have been seen in different barrios, in San Miguel, Don Torcuato, Aedo, Umbanda, Partido de Moron, Villa Tesei, La Boca, El Sur, and Lujan. African immigrants live in Adrogue, La Boca, Villa Dominico, and Barracas. In the General San Martin Barrio low income housing was facilitated and Black families moved there. Immigrants also live in Palermo, Santelmo, and downtown Buenos Aires near the Congreso, in buildings that have become rooming slum houses. In Buenos Aires Province, Blacks live in Liniers, Chascomus, Moreno, and Merlo.

Economic Profile

In Buenos Aires, Creole Black Argentineans are employed mainly in transport (drivers), construction, military, factories, the wine industry and shipyards for men; and as domestic hourly (cleaning, washing, nannies, etc) and factory work for women. Most employment is in the form of low-wage contracts for four to less than six months. Anything longer requires payment of social benefits. The majority of Creole Blacks work without benefits, insurance, or pension, mainly in the underground economy.

Rural Creole descendants, the *zambos*, are among the most disadvantaged of rural agricultural workers. They harvest tobacco, cotton, yerbamate, and sugar in the northern provinces of Misiones, Salta, Jujuy, and Tucuman.

The most visible Blacks in Buenos Aires are mainly immigrant workers, the majority being undocumented, supporting the industrial and construction sectors as low paid workers and maintaining quality of life for the wealthy through their domestic services. They are paid lower than average wages and have no social benefits or job security. Most are laid off every three to six months.

The presence of thousands of undocumented workers, among them Blacks, has made it easier for employers to avoid the labour laws, and difficult for trade unions to maintain a

showing its growth in the construction and industrial sectors, and they make Argentinean products more cost competitive in the global markets.

Education

Among the Cape Verdean community, parental attitudes towards higher education result in lack of incentives to complete secondary schools, to enter university or academic fields and professions. Strained economic circumstances mean that parents can support only primary school education and a short stint in secondary school. The youth, seeing high unemployment among professionals, feel no incentive to invest in higher education when low paid jobs are the end result.

Similarly, Creoles in the 1960s did not finish primary school, because they had to work, since families were large and poor. Now most complete primary school, but a few advance to a secondary or professional education. The exception has been the middle class Black families from the turn of the century. With a tradition of education, they constitute today's Creole Black professional class.

As the Argentinean economy becomes demanding of a higher skilled labour force, a secondary education has become the minimum requirement for the lowest paid jobs. Blacks in general are being left behind in the trend to globalize the economy. They are becoming more marginalized as their qualifications lag behind, but at the same time, youth feel no incentive to improve even their basic secondary education.

Health

For the older members of the Cape Verdean community, the major health concerns are hypertension and heart trouble. The younger generation suffers from asthma, respiratory problems, and skin allergies such as rashes and itchiness of skin. They say that the water and air in Dock Sud (Avellaneda) are contaminated, and that their main water source, the Riachuelo river, is so polluted its water has no oxygen.

Basic Services

Most Black families, Creole, Cape Verdean or Uruguayan, are large, usually with a minimum of from four to nine. Sons and daughters live with parents until they get married. With difficult economic circumstances, separated or unemployed spouses are likely to return to their respective parental home.

benefitted from the Peronist boom. These tend to be ample houses for families of more than five persons, including grandparents, sons/daughters and grandchildren. The houses do not have all the conveniences and heating is expensive. They use gas stoves and the houses tend to be humid. Water is piped to the house, but most have outdoor bathrooms, and many also use outdoor toilets. Most have septic tanks rather than sewage connections.

Black immigrants live in very crowded conditions in rooming houses. They pay exorbitant rents for small rooms because their undocumented status prevents them from accessing proper apartments for rent. Many persons join in to rent a room, some only use it on week-ends or days off. Each room has access to a common bathroom and a clothes washing facility, and the tenants must pay separately for electricity and heating and the use of the telephone. The newest immigrants have the worse kind of housing, and the most expensive. One room visited by this mission cost \$200 per month plus \$32 for hydro and water, \$4 for telephone, and \$15 for heating fuel. It was a windowless room 6'x 6'x 6' in size, rented by eight women, three living in it all the time and the rest arriving for week-ends. These types of rooms are available in imposing older buildings in the streets of the downtown core, which appear to be office buildings or apartments.

Renting an apartment has become difficult nowadays, as landlords demand guarantors that must provide collateral for the rent. Few individuals can find friends or family willing to do this. This trend was observed also in Uruguay.

Gender Issues

As in other countries, most Black women are found in economic roles that limit them to domestic service. A smaller proportion of younger women are factory operators in low paid work. The few that emerge as professionals have had strong family support favoring their education.

Cape Verdeans tend to form traditional families and the older women worked in the home. Younger women who are married also work and say that male attitudes are changing. In economic roles, women lean towards administrative clerical work while men engage in technical trades.

Migrant women are the most disadvantaged. They tend to be either single women or mothers who left their countries to work and send money for the sustenance of their children, who live with the grandmothers. Women from the Dominican Republic were found in the most desperate conditions because they had little access to stable work and had to rely on occasional prostitution to make ends meet, an option they disliked.

The main constraints for all women are their limited education and skills that limit

family responsibilities. Opportunities for women in Argentina appear to be in forming small enterprises for more professionalized service to traditional customers in domestic and factory work.

Relative Poverty

The preliminary information gathered in this study indicates that poverty is the rule rather than the exception for the various Black communities. However, the data available both from community self-assessment and from poverty maps are inadequate to make any judgement regarding the extent and relative poverty. In addition, the mission does not have any community self-assessments for the population of the interior of the country.

National Laws, Political Representation and Government Policies and Programs

National Laws

Article 16 of the Argentinean Constitution guarantees equality and forbids discrimination on the basis of gender, race, religion, social or physical condition, political or labour ideas, or any other consideration. Law 23. 592 was approved on April 10, 1988. It provides that,

whoever arbitrarily prevents, obstructs, restricts or in anyway diminishes the full exercise, upon an egalitarian basis, of the rights and guarantees fundamentally recognized in the National Constitution, will be forced, upon demand of the injured party, to leave without effect the discriminatory act or cease its execution and repair the moral and material damage it caused.

The law also provides that if the act is recognized in the penal code as criminal, its penalty will be raised from one third to one half if motivated by discrimination. The penal code punishes discrimination done through acts of propaganda based on theories of the superiority of a race based on their religion, ethnic origin or colour, penalizing them with imprisonment from one month to three years. Argentina's adopted definition of discrimination is based on UNESCO's convention on Discrimination in Education.

Anti-discriminatory legislation in Argentina is one of the most comprehensive found in any country studies, and includes the adoption of United Nations Conventions against racial, gender, and employment discrimination.

Political Representation

Argentinean Blacks use their right to vote. The older generation were devoted Peronistas and always supported that party's favourites as they had benefitted from jobs and housing in the Peron era. Few Blacks however participate as candidates for election. One noted exception was the election in 1961 of Mr. Pereira as municipal counsellor, from the district of Mataderos.

Government Policies and Programs

The renewal of democracy in Argentina has resulted in the creation of definite legislation and the establishment of programs to protect the rights of individuals. Since the 1988 legislation, a number of programs to safeguards identity rights have been established. This has the potential to benefit Blacks if they dare to come forward to denounce acts of racial discrimination that abridge their right to equality.

The opening of the MERCOSUR has also impacted Blacks who are part of the immigrant wave of undocumented workers. On the other hand, domestic Blacks are affected negatively by the competition from immigrant domestic labour.

The National Program to Struggle Against Discrimination, Ministry of the Interior has programs to confront discriminatory behaviour. Discrimination can be on the basis of ten different elements: race, religion, nationality, physical appearance, ideology, labour opinion, political opinion, gender, economic position, and social conditions. The goal is prevention, and to create consciousness, as well as to respond effectively in combatting discriminatory behaviour.

One of the tasks currently underway is the preparation of draft legislation that will typify discriminatory conduct as a criminal act and will apply punishment to the authors of such acts. This agency provides telephone service to receive and follow up on discriminatory acts denounced by individuals. This has been in operation for one year. When a complaint is made, the office will intercede between the two parties, then the Ministry of the Interior will demand legally that the behaviour cease and will legally punish the discriminator. To date, the majority of racial incidents reported have been directed against Jewish people. There has so far been only one complaint filed by a Black person insulted by her employer. The latter was made to apologize and the former promoted to a better job category.

Comision del Derecho a la Identidad, Sub-Secretaria de Derechos Humanos y Sociales, Ministerio del Interior, was established to follow up on the cases of children who were either born in captivity to jailed mothers or were taken from the parents who were disappeared or jailed and then given to their captors in adoption. The office helps young

disappeared children.

The aim of this commission is to strengthen democracy and one way of doing this is by strengthening respect for minorities. The office indicated that they could help illegal immigrants obtain their documentation without which they are unable to exercise their basic human rights. To do this, the undocumented migrants would have to form a group and submit a project proposal for action. The office would provide technical advice to seek their immigrant documentation. This is being followed up through Miriam Gomes from the Cape Verde Association who mediates with the immigrant African youths.

SIEMPRO (Sistema de Informacion, Monitoreo y Evaluacion de los Programas Sociales), Secretaria de Desarrollo Social opened in January 1996. It is designed to offer a social programming data base that uses the micro-data from the Census and the Housing Surveys done every six months. Currently data is collected for twenty-eight urban clusters which consist of provincial capitals and a few rural pockets. This department provided the poverty maps used for this study.

Organizational Profile of the Community

The strongest, oldest organizations identified among Black communities in Argentina were the mutual aid societies of the Cape Verdean Community in Avellaneda and Ensenada.

Among the Creole Afro-Argentinean community, the depth of research does not enable us to confirm or deny the existence of organizations or groups at the grassroots, although historically there were a wealth of mutual aid societies in the last century. The last known cultural institution was the Shimmy Club which organized parties at the Casa Suiza until the mid 1970s.

Black immigrants tend to know each other by country although they do not have organizations as such. The African immigrants are being encouraged to form a group in order to obtain their legal documentation.

Sociedad de Socorros Mutuos Union Cabo Verdeana was established in August 13, 1932, as a nonprofit civil association to support social needs through mutual help to members of the Cape Verdean community and to preserve their cultural roots. The society owns the building in Avellaneda, where they have a library, a hall, lounge, and offices that are rented for parties, as well as a gym and a cafeteria. The society in Ensenada has a similar purpose, programs, and assets.

Nowadays their mutual aid program provides subsidies upon the birth or death of a family member and medicines for a member's prolonged illness. Members gather on Saturdays to cook meals. The elders have groups that meet regularly. They would like to

The members are concerned about unemployment of young people, and would like to establish a retraining program of courses to modernize their skills in accounting and administration, using computers, faxes, and the modern equipment of an office. They also want to provide language training in English and Portuguese, which are the business languages in Buenos Aires. The target population are twenty to forty years old. They feel that such courses would help them to increase their salary levels and open up a wider range of potential jobs.

International Cooperation

IDB Argentina: A current IDB program exists for street children to which NGOs can submit projects. There is another Fund being planned to support the most vulnerable populations which will operate similarly. The qualifying populations will be the handicapped, youth, seniors, indigenous people, and female heads of households. The Fund is designed for implementation by grassroots organizations associated with NGOs that provide them technical support. Another Fund is being planned to support Civil Society and the Intendencia.

The IDB microenterprise program has given priority to rural projects in order to stop the rate of urban migration to Buenos Aires. It has a high rate of female participation and operates in the northern provinces. As far as it is known, it has not presently benefitted Black groups.

Canadian Embassy Fund: The Canadian Embassy has a fund for Uruguay and Argentina. It supports human rights, AIDS and drug prevention, children and Indigenous peoples. It works in the northern Provinces. To date, the fund has not received projects from Black communities.

Conclusion

After this initial rapid appraisal of the situation of Blacks in Argentina, it is possible to say that there is a need for further study to identify the location and specific needs of Creole Afro-Argentineans, to help Black immigrants to resolve their situation in a self-reliant manner, and to strengthen the Cape Verdean community so they can adjust their educational and trade skills to a rapidly changing economy.

The Cape Verdean community is the strongest and most organized Black community

retraining and to introduce business enterprise acumen and develop self-reliant job creation in their communities.

In addition, Miriam Gomes, who kindly acted as this mission's counterpart, is a valuable asset in further researching the situation of these minorities as she is respected by the Creole Afro-Argentinean informants who are the leaders and could mobilize their own community to identify its needs and desire for self-development.

Proposed Solutions

That a further in-depth study of the Creole community in Buenos Aires and the
northern provinces be conducted to define how it can be assisted;
That Argentine he included as a target group in the Degional Training Program and

That Argentina be included as a target group in the Regional Training Program and any other Poverty Alleviation Initiatives for the Black community.

Diagnostic of Black Communities in Colombia

Socioeconomic Profile

Population and Distribution

As with most countries in Latin America, in Colombia the degree of Black ancestry has been underestimated. The 1852 census put the figure at 21 percent. In 1942 the census established the number of Blacks at 26. 4 percent. That figure did not include many "mestizos" with Black ancestry. The 1993 census, however, concluded that Blacks and Indigenous peoples together constituted 2. 75 percent or 0. 93 million people. A recent government document, *Plan de Accion Para La Poblacion Afro-Colombiano y Raizal* established the number to be 1. 1. million or 3. 2 percent.

A majority of Colombians are of African ancestry, even in the department of Antioquia which regards its origins as "Jewish." Indeed, the Antioquian base population is very light-skinned mulatto with very little Indigenous ancestry. That African reality is easily observable today in the faces of Medellin's "white" population. A large population of Blacks also lives on the Atlantic coast of Antioquia in the province of Uraba.

The Atlantic coast departments of Cordoba, Bolivar, Cesar, Atlantico, and Sucre are home to Blacks of mixed ancestry, although small communities of relatively unmixed Africans exist in places like Cartagena and the communities of San Basilio, San Onofre, Puerto Caballos, as well as specific neighbourhoods of Baranquilla and Santa Marta.

The Pacific coast is predominantly Black, most of its residents living in thirty-three municipalities in the departments of Chocó Valle, Nariño and Cauca on the littoral. Seventy-three (73 percent) percent live in three cities of Tumaco, Quibdó and Buenaventura.

Cali also has a large proportion of Blacks and the surrounding towns are typically Black, Afro-Europeans and zambos.

Economic Profile: Rural Activities

In rural areas, Afro-Colombians are small peasant producers of plantain, cotton, rice and food crops. In plantation areas, they load bananas to/from boats and are the fruit cutters in farms. In Cali, they are responsible for the sugarcane harvesting to this day. The Pacific

considered only in the context of being a producer of primary raw materials for export to Colombian and foreign markets. The local population on the Pacific, mostly Black, has not benefitted from the economic program led by the government. There is little investment in infrastructure to benefit an economy that could be generated and managed by locals.

Mining of various minerals has always generated an important source of income for many residents of the Pacific Coast. Mining concessions enjoy uninterrupted rights to exploit thousands of acres and a cheap labour market. The dredging of the river beds by foreign companies to extract gold sediments have created irreversible harm to the edges of some rivers, polluted the waters with mercury, and destroying subsistence agriculture and a food source for many Pacific coast people.

However, one benefit of the presence of gold is that the population is relatively expert at jewellery making and creating pieces of great beauty. However, these manufacturers presently rely on an unstable local market and have little access to training or marketing assistance.

Timber mining and other forestry concessions have been granted to national and international firms. The product of these concessions are taken out of the region. Blacks have limited employment in the industry and are poorly paid. The work is backbreaking and results in incapacitation of many men by the time they are in their late thirties and early forties. Over one million hectares of land have been devastated, including almost all mangroves and caoba.

Economic Profile: Urban Activities

Prestige Occupations

Discrimination against Blacks in white collar jobs is frequently reported. Prestige occupations in the Black community tend to be limited to Afro-Colombians of mixed racial, particularly white, ancestry. Typically, Blacks have difficulty obtaining jobs in which they are visible to the public, jobs such as clerks and sales persons. Neither stores nor the ecotourism industry will hire them. In the case of Cali and Cartagena, one observes many light-skinned mulattoes working as secretaries, clerks, bank tellers and bank managers -- occupations which do not include Blacks of dark skin. This also appears to be the case in Bogota and Medellin. The lighter the skin colour the better the position. For example, in the Port of Buenaventura, candidates for higher management positions are still recruited outside the city.

There is a noticeable lack of participation of light-skinned Blacks as well as of their darker relatives in positions of prominence within Colombian society. There are no Black

few have held positions in the diplomatic corps. Blacks are under-represented in the supreme court, high offices of government, ministries and the like. Their successful participation in electoral politics has occurred only in areas where they constitute the local majority of the population: Chocó, Buenventura, and the cities in the Pacific coastal region.

The Afro-Colombian professional class is quite small, if one were to exclude the light-skinned class of Cali, Cartagena and Medellin and of the other important cities such as Quibdó, Baranquilla and Santa Marta. Darker-skinned Blacks enter the fields of teaching, law, dentistry, police force, and medicine in comparatively small numbers. They are limited by economics from entering higher education, particularly the country's best educational institutions. Few Blacks enter the social sciences: in fact, there are almost no Black Afro-Colombians studying history, culture, sociology or anthropology of Black Colombia, or the Black world in general. More often, it is the light-skinned Afro-Colombian, who may no longer perceive of him-/her-self accordingly, who is afforded the economic opportunity to attend a university.

Domestic Work

Domestic work constitutes the major source of employment for the majority of dark-skinned Black women. In fact, a majority of immigrants to the cities from the Pacific coastal region are young Black women seeking employment. In Cali and Cartagena, immigration from the Pacific coast is quite high for both sexes. Black domestics receive half the vacation time and half the salary of others.

Construction Work

The major source of occupation for Black men in urban centres is construction work: typically, they are over-represented in the lower wage categories. Workers will often remark that Blacks do the dirty work by laying out the foundations, but that others do the "cosmetics." Most Black men are found as helpers, the last rung of the construction hierarchy. This kind of work is unstable: typically, the man does not work more than half of the year. Wages are less than those in manufacturing. At ports, they are a large pool of low-cost labour that loads and unloads the boats.

Street Vendors

A large number of Blacks of both sexes are involved in the informal sector, particularly in

as ambulantes (itinerant vendors) and are to be found in the markets, business districts and working class neighbourhoods of the cities. A number of young men in Cali and Bogota who sell fruit have complained of harassment by business people who say that the police and itinerant vendors are blocking their businesses and taking businesses away. Blacks tend to concentrate in this activity because:

they have experience in food preparation and a reputation for being good cooks; the activity requires little capital investment:

they have experience in food preparation and a reputation for being good cooks;
the activity requires little capital investment;
Blacks have access to the "raw materials" such as fruit, fish, plantains;
it is the only option left when all formal sector opportunities are closed.

Education

For the Pacific coast, PLAIDECOP indicates that illiteracy at the urban and rural levels is twice the national average. (43 percent of the rural population and 20 percent of the urban population is illiterate compared to the national average of 23 percent, 4 percent and 7. 3 percent respectively.) Less than half of the region's children attend primary school, and the majority of these children do not complete their primary education.

Informants reported that Black school children had high drop-out rates at all levels and had difficulties in attending school because of various factors, including cost and transportation. In Turbo, for example, for every 100 students in primary school, 20 enter secondary school and only one graduates.

Health

According to PLAIDECOP, the Pacific coastal region presents social indicators that compare unfavourably with the rest of the country and is "one of the most depressing regions of the country". Levels of earnings indicate that this is an area of extreme poverty and very high unemployment.

PLAIDECOP deduces the infant mortality rate for the Pacific region at 191\1000 and says life expectancy is well below the national average. There is an increasing problem of malnutrition, a trend that is reversed in the rest of Colombia. 60. 9 percent of the population in the region has unsatisfied basic necessities, and the index for quality of life is 50. 1, while the national average is 71. There is a also a lot of alcohol abuse among men and young women. 95 percent of the youth use perico (bad quality cocaine that is snorted).

Relative Poverty

The level of earnings in the region indicates that there is extreme poverty, and the rate of unemployment is very high. The average annual income is \$500, 44 percent of the national average. Many communities, including some outside Buenaventura have problems with the lack of titles for their land. PLAIDECOP considers the Pacific Region as one of the "most marginalized from the economic and social processes of the country and the least integrated physically into the national territory."

There has been little or no infrastructural development of Black communities, urban or rural. The regions have few roads in rural areas (although in urban areas, they are typically unpaved); insignificant river transport; poor sewerage; inferior housing; schools and hospitals; ill-equipped universities; poor communication facilities; and inadequate electricity.

According to the self-diagnosis of community leaders we met, the majority of the Afro-Colombian population lives in conditions of extreme poverty in zones which are underserviced for health, education, potable water, sewage disposal, and electricity.

The diseases affecting the population are due to the unsanitary living conditions and include malaria, dengue and gastrointestinal diseases, skin grains, and respiratory infections. Unlike the rest of Colombia, malnutrition rates are actually increasing among the Black population.

In the Pacific Region, people have more access to land than in other parts of the country. In Uraba, farms are small, and plantain is the basis of the economy. The terms of trade for the small farmers are not very favourable. The market infrastructure of the region in which they live is very poor: the few roads are not paved, and public transportation particularly river and ocean transportation is infrequent. Producers are forced to sell at the price they are offered without much bargaining power. In rural areas of the Pacific coast region, people are isolated from communications media. In the Atlantic Region, there are communities with small parcels of land, who experience similar trading conditions.

There is a large Black population in the Antioquian and Cordoban Uraba regions that share the symptoms of poverty and underdevelopment with their compatriots in the Pacific region. They are part of an economic network surrounding Atrato River. Turbo is the northernmost economic pole of the Pacific Region: however, the Uraba is given few resources by their own departments and national government. Its Afro-Colombian residents are among the least advantaged and most abandoned.

In Cartagena, it is difficult to establish Black organizations. Dark-skinned Blacks on the Atlantic Coast constitute a large minority. However, because of a predominantly light-skinned mixed Black majority, those with more pronounced African ancestry appear as a racially discriminated minority.

values and structures, reflected by a higher incidence of female heads of household, child employment, a greater tendency of having children without adult supervision, greater violence, and a larger proportion of its youth engaged in criminal gangs and drug use. The social conditions in Cartagena are similar to those of Buenaventura, another port economy.

This has resulted in the majority of the population living in poor quarters and squatter areas, where they are exposed to higher levels of racial discrimination than in rural areas. Their lack of financial resources reduces their access to education and limits the scope of their economic participation to menial unskilled occupations in construction, housework, and the informal sector. Due to lack of local access, limited family resources and lack of jobs with which to self-finance an education. Continuation rates of all entering primary school range from 1 percent in Turbo to 20 percent in Cartagena .

In spite of the lack of government investment in their zones, the Afro-Colombian population seek solutions to their poverty through increased access to economic activities. Whether in the Pacific or the Atlantic coastal regions, rural or urban, people have requested:

credit for agricultural activities;
more micro- and small-enterprises that can provide local jobs to women and youth;
less discrimination in accessing jobs in the formal sector; and,
less harassment for those whose only source of income is informal sector street
vending.

Institutionally, people feel the neglect of the national government for their municipalities. Even if they act to elect municipal governments that have their interests in mind, these municipalities do not have access to the resources needed to finance projects of local interest. In addition, their rural isolation leaves them unaware of funding opportunities through programs such as the Plan Pacifico, the Afro-Colombian Development Plan, and the Red de Solidaridad Social.

If the disadvantaged position of Afro-Colombians, particularly dark-skinned Blacks, is to be eliminated, then discrimination, employment, and income generating issues must be considered a crucial aspect to any policy.

National Laws, Political Representation, Government Policies and Programs

National Laws

Opportunities were opened for Afro-Colombians by the 1991 Constitution and Law #70, which officially recognized them as an ethnic minority with certain ancestral rights. These opportunities, however, are very specific and require meticulous legislation in order to take

A department of Afro-Colombians Affairs was established as part of Law #70 to encourage other ministries to target Afro-Colombians in their plans and to strengthen the organizational process of the communities. Part of its responsibilities will be to oversee the implementation of the Afro-Colombian National Development Plan which was prepared by a specifically appointed commission within the Department of Planning.

Law #136, established June 2, 1994 under Constitutional Article No. 318, regulates Juntas de Accion Local. JAL's main role is to audit the works of the municipalities. They are also seen as the mechanisms for needs identification and they participate in the formulation of projects for the communities.

Political Representation

Overall, the political experience of Afro-Colombians to date would seem to indicate that community organizational leadership, congress representatives, and the various movements need to rise above their personal interests, power struggles, and desire for quick financial success. These stakeholders need to form a united front to negotiate the best possible deal with the government for the community as a whole. Because of the number of people affected, the crisis of African identity present in Colombia in zones outside the Pacific region needs to be addressed in order to strengthen the visibility of the Afro-Colombian community.

Internally, the gap between the educated leadership and the grassroots needs to be decreased. The majority of the Black population remains unaware of Law #70 and its potential benefits and has not participated in the preparation of the Afro-Colombian National Development Plan. The worst constraint faced in the preparation of a National Development Plan for the Afro-Colombian community has been the limited capacity of Black organizations to build grassroots participation from the communities. Grassroots leaders need to demand their proper space at the Bogota negotiating table. The national leadership needs to visit the communities, to keep community leaders informed, and to gain a better understanding of them, their interests, and their concerns.

Government Policies and Programs

Afro-Colombian Development Plan

The present government is preparing a National Development Plan for its current term, and the Afro-Colombian Development Plan will become part of it.

is its definition of who is Black: there are questions about the numbers of people who are supposed to be covered by the Plan. The Blacks who qualify by legal definition are only in the Pacific region and San Andres/Providencia: no mention is made of the Black communities living throughout the rest of the country. This reliance on Pacific Region data to generalize about the rest of the Black population is called "the Choco-anization of the Black Colombian problem." The overall tone of the Plan is that no actions are being developed for Black communities outside the Pacific littoral, with the possible exception of the "raizales" of the Atlantic islands.

The under-estimation of the population size is also a frequently denounced element. This practice results in a process of development planning which allocates less financial resources to municipalities based on their "official" population count. According to the Afro-Colombian Plan, the target population is only 1. 1 million people. The most conservative estimates made by this study are over 1. 6 million, excluding the Atlantic region (except for Cartagena) and Medellin and Bogota. The Afro-Colombian leadership estimates the Black population at 15 million people.

Another major concern is that large numbers of Blacks, perhaps as many as tens of thousands, do not have Colombian identity cards (*cedulas*), which impedes their voting rights and other activities. This has also not been addressed in the Plan.

Plan Pacifico

The Plan Pacifico is the Colombian government's most quoted project initiative that could benefit the Afro-Colombian population. This \$71 million project, funded by the IDB and the Government of Colombia, will fund municipal social sector projects and will conduct studies in the economic and environmental sectors. Municipalities are responsible for submitting proposals to the Plan Pacifico.

The more advanced Departments of the interior, utilizing their professional teams, can prepare project proposals faster than the Pacific municipalities, which lack the necessary resources. The project's need to disburse funds and resources is also in their favour. The interior departments are also represented in greater numbers on the decision-making committee of governors and municipalities.

It is recommended that IDB carefully monitor the implementation process of this project if it is intended to benefit the Afro-Colombian communities.

Red de Solidaridad Social

elsewhere in Colombia. It is only those communities in conditions of extreme poverty which may receive assistance through the upcoming program of the Social Solidarity Network. An analysis of the impacted programs is provided in the main report.

Since the IDB will be providing significant funds to this program, it is recommended in this report that the planning missions carefully look at the ethnic factor among targeted populations to ensure inclusion of this very vulnerable target group in the program.

Organizational Profile of the Community

Afro-Colombian Organizations

There are at least six main organizational movements among Afro-Colombians. Each of these has been able to attract individual Black organizations from different parts of Colombia, with the exception of the one from Choc, which is regionalized.

Chocó has a large number of producers' and women's organizations that were created to voice their respective economic interests. They became important spokespersons during the constitutional reform and during the development of the Law #70.

TABLE: Black Organizing in Colombia

Type of Organization	Mission
Cultural Organizations	These are culturally-oriented groups which focus typically on music and dance. They do not find ready support form the government.
Movimiento Nacional de Comunidades Negras	Work at the moment is mainly political: however, the organization is beginning to address poverty issues in communities across Colombia.
Organizations from Chocó	Their agenda is to protect their land, secure financial resources for social and economic development, and have adequate representation in the decision-making institutions in their Department.
Organizations from Uraba	Their agenda is to protect their land, secure financial resources for social and economic development, and have adequate representation in the decision-making institutions in their Department.
UNOAFRO	The purpose is to strengthen Afro-Colombian organizations, promote constitutional rights, and take collective action to eliminate racism and

J. 5	racial discrimination. Affiliate organizations tend to be branches of the Cimarron group. This is the least prominent but the most controversial of movements.
Organizations from the Atlantic Coast	This mission was unable to study these organizations.

Juntas de Accion Local (JAL)

Buenaventura is the only city in Colombia that has implemented Law #136. It has 12 communes, and each one has a JAL with seven elected members. The JALs are a new mechanism that can become an example to other municipalities and a useful leadership training ground for Blacks to learn to act effectively in their communities within the existing political context. The JALs could be a model of good governance for Black communities. The elected members of the JAL need workshops to learn about the municipal council, their responsibilities as auditors of the municipal work, and how the municipality works. This is an important need that the IDB could fulfil through its regional training program.

International Cooperation

National System of Co-Financing

International Cooperation programs in Colombia operate through the National System of Co-Financing which is explained in detail in the report. The most significant observation regarding this system is that the poorest municipalities (700 of them in Colombia, including all those with Black majorities) find it difficult to raise the funds needed for their share of co-financing.

Most of the Black municipalities (in Pacific and rural areas) are therefore in no position to participate in international cooperation programs because of their inability to raise sufficient contributions.

Multi-lateral and Bi-lateral Programs

Afro-Colombians' statistical invisibility has resulted in their being ignored as a target group for poverty alleviation programs, except in the Pacific region. In addition, the vulnerable position in which they are placed because of racial discrimination remains officially

allies to:
 become better informed about the new laws and their potential benefits;
 become more informed about projects such as the Plan Pacifico and the Red de Solidaridad Social so that they can actively seek their funding;
 strengthen grassroots organizations so that they can become the vehicles for local economic and social development;
 promote accountability among the educated leadership for their behaviour and to encourage them to present a united front in dealing with the Government; and, encourage the large movements to work with the grassroots communities.

more common goal will the community begin to pull itself from poverty. To make racial democracy a reality in Colombia, the Afro-Colombian population needs help from strong

Given the fragile conditions of the Afro-Colombian community and the lack of solid data on the magnitude of their population and their needs, it is recommended to donors involved in poverty alleviation program, that they become proactive in first determining if there are Black populations in their target zones; and that they study the situation of those populations well, before discarding them as a target group, because they are most likely to be vulnerable groups in need of development assistance.

Conclusions

Black populations in Colombia are abandoned by society and their government despite their major demographic, economic, and cultural importance to the country. Colombia, like others in Latin America, is embarrassed about the degree to which it is Black, and it penalizes those who would interrupt an unconscious modern ideal of whitening. This has resulted in a lack of infrastructural investment in Black communities to directly benefit Black populations. Thus, Afro-Colombians are limited in the roles they play in the economy and society by their poverty and the prevailing social attitudes.

Because Law #70 was promulgated, Colombia has embarked upon a series of programs to change the inferior status of Blacks. The country's Minister of the Interior has stated that "Colombia owes its Black citizens a debt" and notes that the Black population is perhaps nearly 40 percent. The country has advanced much further than other Latin American countries in admitting the problems of the Black population.

Programs such as the development plan for the Black communities, however, have failed to accomplish a broad vision of the potential political and economic power of the Black population. The planning limits its projections to the Pacific coast which has a

On the Pacific coast, there is an immediate need for more systematic land titling efforts to protect the few remaining areas and to develop adequate programmatic remedies to alleviate poverty.

Overall, immediate assistance requires (a) credit for agricultural activities; (b) microenterprise training and credit, especially in urban areas; (c) government action to reduce invisibility and discrimination; (d) reduced harassment for those whose only source of income is the informal sector; (e) a concerted effort to eradicate the violence which plagues Black communities, and, (f) appropriate training for all sectors of the society.

Proposed Solutions

Recommendations to the Government:

- Government authorities must begin to address the issue of discrimination in the work force. The Colombian government could set the example by reviewing its hiring practices at the highest levels of government and remove any racial discrimination barriers that prevent Blacks from participating in positions of authority in the government, the diplomatic corps, and the armed services.
- that a government campaign for the mass registration of individuals without identity papers and voter registration be undertaken;

Recommendations to the IDB:

In light of the self-diagnosis of the Afro-Colombian population, verified through rapid appraisal visits to sample communities throughout the country, it is recommended that:

- the Afro-Colombian population become a target group of poverty alleviation programs, and that studies be sponsored to collect the statistical data required to validate these observations;
- the IDB plan a national project to address the economic development needs of this ethnic population, taking into consideration the regional differences in terms of natural resource base, the different communities' sense of identity, and the level of skills of the communities;
- a mass communication network of public radio stations be developed for the purpose of informing the grassroots of the Afro-Colombian community;
- intermediary NGOs of this community be strengthened in their capacity to work with community groups and to deliver development programs;
- a job-retraining program be promoted in sectors of the economy that are booming,

development, provided jointly with the construction companies. Domestic workers
would also benefit from training programs;
once the National Development Plan is approved, that the Afro-Colombian plan
should be evaluated to see how support can be provided for those who fall outside
the criteria of the Plan Pacifico or the Red de Solidaridad Social;
a Revolving Credit Fund be established with the necessary technical assistance for
supporting innovative pilot experiences for agricultural production and processing in
the Pacific region, for urban micro-enterprises among women and youth, and
community enterprises that can generate income for needed social services for the
aged;
a Revolving Infrastructure Fund be established to provide long-term unsecured
financing to municipalities for the installation of potable water and sewage disposal
systems in poor Black housing complexes;
the Regional Training Program for Minority Communities include the Juntas de
Accion Local as a pilot target group to receive training in project management and
in the performance of their own responsibilities and, if possible, a small project fund
to conduct activities for youth at risk.
That missions planning the Red de Solidaridad Social conduct further investigations
of the rural and urban Black populations in the North Atlantic departments because:
- Blacks as an ethnic group are among the poorest and most unserved
communities in the region, and suffer from racial discrimination in the
delivery of services; and
- the Red de Solidaridad Social constitute the only major project that can
provide assistance to this under-privileged ethnic minority living outside the
Pacific region.
The operational plan of the project indicates that during the disbursement period
"missions from the headquarters should be sent at least once a year to monitor
progress of the program and review the following year's Plan of Action". Given the
constraints noted, it is recommended that these annual monitoring missions be
tasked in their terms of reference to review:
- The process of project formulation and approval, to ensure that the true
interests of the Afro-Colombian communities are reflected in the allocation
of funds and in the type of projects being submitted and approved. The
NGOs, community leaders and municipal authorities should be interviewed
regularly to see if they have sufficient technical support and access to the
funds approved.

Chapter 9

Diagnostic of Black Communities in Ecuador

Socioeconomic Profile

Population and Distribution

The visibly Black population of Ecuador is mainly concentrated in the Province of Esmeraldas, as far as the Chota Valley and along the River Mira in Imbabura Province. Almost as many members of the group live in the Province of Guayas in the town of Guayaquil. There are smaller numbers in provinces of El Oro, Los Rios, the City of Quito and Loja, and more recent community enquiries show that there are Blacks almost everywhere in Ecuador.

The overall number of the Black population in Ecuador cannot be given with certainty, due to the lack of racial data in the national census: high estimates place the population at 10 percent, while conservative estimates based on figures from some in the Afro-Ecuadorian community and from officials of the FISE range from 3. 5 to 5 percent of the overall national population (a total of 385,000 to 546,000). It must be noted, however, that Ecuador's population contains a significant African genetic presence. By the mid-1800's about 28 percent of the entire country was of African descent, a contribution conceivably greater than that of whites.

In Esmeraldas, 50 to 83 percent of the predominantly Black population lives in rural areas. However, despite higher fertility rates among Black families (6 to 12 members compared to 4. 6 in the national average), out migration and new colonization by mestizos from poorer provinces is resulting in declining Black populations in Esmeraldas. Migration is motivated by lack of access to higher education and sale of lands.

Economic Profile

Chronic unemployment (70 percent in Esmeraldas) and underemployment rank as the most urgent issues to be solved in the Afro-Ecuadorian community. In the city of Esmeraldas, Black workers tend to be unionized. In the nation's expanding economy, they are at a disadvantage when new investors bring work crews from the Sierra to set up new shrimp

people can access does not provide a subsistence income.

Urban Labor Profile

Urban Black women's occupations are predominantly in housework, especially in laundries and as housemaids or nannies. Families supplement their incomes with child labor in petty vending, shoe shining, newspaper selling, making and selling of foodstuffs in the informal sector, and those women who are chronically unemployed may be forced to engage in hidden prostitution. Working women in Guayaquil barrios expressed a strong need for daycare in their neighborhoods, preferably operated by Blacks who would take better care of their children. There are high proportions of female-headed households in the urban communities.

Poorly educated urban youth without job opportunities form street gangs. These gangs engage in petty drug trading and delinquency such as robbery. This is seen in Guayaquil, but it has also extended to Esmeraldas and San Lorenzo through returning youths. One of the barrios in Esmeraldas had to be invaded by the Marines to wrestle it from youth gangs last year. The police, it was said, were incapable of entering the area. A youth sports program has been introduced as a preventive measure by the city council.

Black men work as guards, construction workers, informal sector traders and at odd jobs. In the army, they are common soldiers. It is difficult to find permanent work; there seems to be a common practice in Ecuador of hiring temporary workers in order to avoid paying social benefits.

Among the educated Afro-Ecuadoreans, both university students and graduates as well as secondary school graduates, the main problem is the lack of access to white collar work. Racial discrimination in the selection process was denounced with great frequency. This, added to the scarcity of jobs, makes their situation desperate.

Rural Economy

The rural economy is diversified. A rural household works as a unit and income is derived from cutting wood, farming cash crops like plantain, cacao, corn and sugar, and planting household food. Men do the primary physical work. Women may supplement their income making crafts from tagua, palms, and gourds. Women want to have additional job opportunities to earn their own incomes. Working women heads of households rely on the collection of shells and crabs from the mangroves, which are being destroyed by the new shrimp farms being introduced.

The rural subsistence economy has little technology. Wood is rolled in logs,

Storage facilities with freezers and ice are not available. Catches of fish and shells have to be sold immediately at poor terms of trade for this reason. Families have no surplus or savings to capitalize their productive resources.

The bleak situation of the rural communities results in migration of children to the towns, to study or just to escape. The results of a UNICEF study in the border areas, including street children in Esmeraldas and San Lorenzo, were so alarming that a program for vulnerable children was started in these areas.

Esmeraldas' forest and mangroves are the last unspoiled environments in Ecuador, the last source of precious and hard woods and estuaries for shrimp farms in the country. In the 1990's, there has been a large increase in commercial exploitation of wood and of building of commercial shrimp pools.

The situation in the cantones of Eloy Alfaro and San Lorenzo, the last bastions of Black residency, is highly volatile. Events came to a head in Concepcion, near the Santiago River, in November 1994, when protesting communities occupied a forest area to prevent the wood company from extracting more wood from their commune. The Navy stationed in Limones was sent to dislodge the local residents after an unsuccessful attempt by the National Police.

Another example concerns efforts to retain possession of traditionally held lands in a battle to save the mangrove reserves in the Limon area. This followed a shrimp consortium's purchase of 2,400 hectares in mangrove reserve lands which hold some of the tallest mangroves in the world. The company was given environmental clearance by the highest authorities of the INEFAN (Forestry Department) in Quito, who ignored the negative technical report of their own Esmeraldas office. A public protest ensued lead by environmental NGOs. Threats of resignation came from the Governor of Esmeraldas against the government's abuse of the environmental law. The response of the central government was to dismiss the director of INEFAN in Esmeraldas province, to refuse the Governor's resignation, and to allow pool construction by the shrimp consortium to continue.

An informal coalition of peasant leaders has emerged, spurred by the ease with which the Central government overruled protests, bypassed due process within the provincial bureaucracy and completely ignored the law to protect the mangroves. These peasant leaders have reportedly been receiving death threats from the shrimp and wood companies.

These peasant leaders from San Lorenzo and from the Santiago River made a special appeal to this mission to call for an international human rights campaign to support them as they follow what they increasingly feel - in light of recent events - are futile legal processes to protect their right of land possession.

Education data that give a hint of the profile of Afro-Ecuadorians is taken from the Province of Esmeraldas, for the cantones they have historically inhabited, and is provided in Table 1.

TABLE 1: EDUCATION INDICES FOR ESMERALDAS:

Location		% of BOYS	% of GIRLS
Esmeraldas	Literacy:	9. 2	9. 9
	Enrolment Levels:		
	Primary school	51. 5	49. 9
	Secondary	26. 1	26. 5
	University	6. 4	6. 6
Eloy Alfaro	Literacy:	15. 4	19. 2
	Enrolment Levels:		
	Primary School	51. 4	50. 1
	Secondary	17. 2	16. 1
	University	2. 6	1. 9
San Lorenzo	Literacy:	17. 8	20. 9
	Enrolment Levels:		
	Primary school	54. 7	27. 6
	Secondary	17. 3	25. 3
	University	2. 4	2. 0

The importance that Afro-Ecuadorians attach to education was very evident to this Mission. In addition, university education has been universal in Ecuador for some time, resulting in the greatest number of Black professionals encountered in the countries studied.

Typically, the educational profile is that of primary education acquired in a school

by boat to the nearest primary school. Secondary schools are available in the larger cities, and often the mother and children will move to Esmeraldas, San Lorenzo or Guayaquil to access middle primary and secondary education. The father remains on the farm.

The needs most frequently voiced in all cantones visited was for additional primary schools in communities that do not have one; improvement of school facilities for communities that do have them; for more secondary schools to avoid migration to Esmeraldas and San Lorenzo; and most of all, for a better system of supervision of teachers so there is less absenteeism. Parents suggested a solution to the absenteeism of teachers that come from other regions: that the Ministry of Education hire local graduates and provide them with training to teach primary school.

In Guayaquil, the educational problem faced by families is the lack of access to "good schools". Racial discrimination is strong in the school system, and different methods are used to prevent Black children from attending the better schools. Examples cited included: charging high amounts for the "list of books and materials" for the school year so poor families desist; teachers that refuse to admit Black children into their class and therefore the school; and for those who do enter, there is teacher neglect of Black children. Women in Guayaquil want to establish their own school, managed by a board of Black parents, which hires Black teachers (since many of them are unemployed) and adds to the curriculum components of cultural affirmation to raise the children's self-esteem.

In Guayaquil and Quito, there are many Black university graduates that can be usefully employed for the development of their less advantaged community.

Health

Predominant diseases among the Black population of Esmeraldas are malaria, uterine cancer, hypertension, vertigo, sexually transmitted diseases, respiratory problems (from pollution), malnutrition, anemia, cholera, dengue and typhoid.

Health indices for the province of Esmeraldas expose its disadvantaged position compared to other parts of the country. UNICEF considers this province among the worst off. Infant mortality rates range from 40/1000 for Canton Eloy Alfaro to 90/1000 for San Lorenzo, to the poorest region in the country, Chimborazo, has an infant mortality rate of only 26/1000. Although chronic malnutrition rates for cantones with Black residents are lower than for Chimborazo, the acute malnutrition rates for children under five is worse than for the poorest provinces in the coast and sierra regions. Maternal mortality rates are also among the highest.

Afro-Ecuadorean women state their health concerns as being: a shortage of health

their communities; and lack of treatment for predominant diseases.

The health system has broken down in the rural areas of Esmeraldas. From 1990-93 the Ministry of Health supported a coalition between the Catholic Church (as administrator and supervisor) and OCAMES through which doctors, paid by the ministry, were based and made regular visits by boat. The ministry stopped paying salaries in 1993, and the region was left without services. For emergencies, communities must go by boat to Borbones or Limones.

According to UNICEF, the underlying causes of high maternal and infant mortality in Ecuador are inadequate levels of services given by the public institutions, particularly the Ministry of Public Health; the low level of education of the mothers; and the deficient care that the children receive.

In Guayaquil's marginal barrios, the health infrastructure is also precarious. Access is usually to the clinics of the Catholic churches which may have laboratories, a doctor, and dentist. The main problem for the community is lack of funds to pay for the service. Environmental sanitation is also a problem that results in bad health. There are no sewage disposal systems in these land-filled areas: rubbish and contaminated garbage collects all around; housing is located over water which is used as the waste disposal system; and there is a high incidence of flies and mosquitos transmitting dengue, malaria, and diarrhoeal diseases. Potable water service is faulty in the land filled areas where Blacks live, and often the pipes will break, introducing contaminated water into the flow.

Communities need effective and operational health services in rural areas and the poorer sectors of Guayaquil need trained community health promoters to conduct preventive health education and deal with common emergencies and diseases.

Basic Services

Esmeraldas and the cantones with Black populations have no real access to potable water, sewage and sanitation facilities, electricity and access roads. The sewage infrastructure is difficult to install because of the high water table in the communities. Electricity is not available for zones where there are no roads; the majority of Black communities are affected.

Transportation is mainly by boat, and the few access roads are in poor condition. Communications is very poor; there are few telephones or postage. The majority of communities interviewed in Canton Eloy Alfaro requested connection to the main grid of electricity and access roads to Maldonado and Playa de Oro. In Muisne, they also requested 24 Km of access roads and connecting bridges.

production to market, low standards of health and a very poor quality of life for the rural homes, which results in youth migration to the cities in search of modern life.

Relative Poverty

Ecuador at the time of this study was in the process of defining its methodology for measuring relative poverty. To prepare a consolidated poverty map, the CONADE used those of CIESE, MTRH and the IDB. Chronic poverty is defined as having basic needs unsatisfied with an income below the defined poverty line. Recent poverty is defined as basic needs that are satisfied with incomes below the defined poverty line.

Based on CONADE's consolidated poverty map data, some conclusions can be drawn: in Black cantones, the rural population is in greater poverty than the urban; in Esmeraldas Province, a much greater proportion of the population has been affected by chronic poverty than by recent poverty; the opposite is the case for Imbabura. At a national level, chronic poverty levels are higher for cantones with Black communities than for the cantones defined as the "poorest" by the maps. Nevertheless, in the composite indices of CONADE, Esmeraldas and its cantones place in the third quartile while the "poorest" are supposed to be in the fourth. This placement results in less government and donor resources being allocated to Esmeraldas to alleviate its poverty.

The IDB and the World Bank are cooperating with CONADE to develop social indicators and poverty maps that can be more valid and will also measure the impact of social policy between two periods of time.

The statistical picture of poverty was confirmed by the self-diagnosis of the Black communities. It is only the resilience and internal capacity of the Afro-Ecuadorian community residing in Esmeraldas and Chota to produce, to be educated and to integrate into the modern economy, that has so far prevented the entire community from falling into extreme social marginalization and extreme poverty.

National Laws, Political Representation and Government Policies and Programs

National Laws

The Ecuadorian government has laws which could provide protection to the Black community's rights to equality and for their land assets. They are as follows:

A constitutional right to equality regardless of race. The effectiveness of this constitutional right is very limited, since there is no legislation designed to deal with

the issuing of land titles. Law for Agrarian Development which was amended in 1994. This recognized the rights of ethnic groups to communal property, and for their cooperatives, organizations and associations of small farmers to be the legal entities through which credit and technical assistance can be channelled. This is the first law that recognized Afro-Ecuadoreans as an ethnic community, and their right to collective ownership. The law could protect lands if it was regulated and the process for collective land titling was defined. This has not yet taken place. Decrees that allow the state to donate land to those who have occupied it for ten years. This law has been used to obtain titles in urban and rural areas and has benefitted many of the rural migrants who take over places that later become landfilled sites in Guayaquil and Esmeraldas city. Forestry laws that protect from commercial exploitation declared forestry and mangrove reserves in Esmeraldas. This is the single most important law for the community at the moment, yet recent experiences in condemning the use of these

mangrove reserves for shrimp farms were ignored by the law, and the government, through INEFAN, has publicly asserted the right of companies to use those lands regardless of the law.

The experience of the community so far is that the existence of legislation is no guarantee for the protection of their rights, because in practice the system bends towards the interests of large companies.

Political Representation

There are few elected Members of Congress with African ancestry, and of those, none identify culturally with the Afro-Ecuadorean community. In addition, their ability to represent the communities' interests is hampered by the political compromises acquired during the electoral process.

Although both Esmeraldas Province and Guayaquil have sufficient Black populations to elect their own candidates to congress and mayoralties, the reality is that few Blacks with distinctive African features have ever been elected to municipalities and to congress.

Two constraints to the above were mentioned; the first is the difficultly of joining established political parties and become a decision-maker within it; the other, is the weak sense of identity among individuals of African ancestry who are in a position to be elected.

promises to the electorate; clearly, for Blacks, this is lacking. In addition, the conflict of interest between the Black community that resides and lives off the Esmeraldas' mangroves and forest, and the private companies that finance electoral campaigns, results in a dilemma for Esmeralda's congress representatives that must act on issues of land claims, forest protection, and labour laws.

The lack of trust by Blacks of other Blacks with political clout and the belief that it is 'better to elect a rich person because they will steal less' are attitudinal barriers within the race that prevent their own Black candidates from being elected.

There are Blacks in government jobs in Esmeraldas, although high ranking positions in the province are held by non-Blacks. Middle management and clerical positions are accessible in Esmeraldas, but in other parts of the country, it is difficult.

In their present electorally unrepresented position, the Afro-Ecuadoreans who are in government have limited capacity to benefit their community. To the extent that it is possible, they have been successful in mobilizing the provincial authorities to protect their environmental interests, but provincial efforts have been incapable of influencing the improperly informed decisions of the central government.

In 1996, a new government was elected in Ecuador, and the winning candidate was supported by a coalition that included Afro-Ecuadoreans. The community expects to make some critical gains from having exercised for the first time their electoral power as a group.

Government Policies

There are two government strategies that have impacted very negatively on the Afro-Ecuadorean population. In the long term, this may likely result in a negative impact on the rest of the country. One is the necessary structural adjustment and stabilization program; the other is the stress on export industries of wood and shrimp.

The structural adjustment and stabilization program in Ecuador in 1995 imposed a war tax in addition to a greater tax load for a wider sector of the population; downsized the public sector, increasing the number of unemployed; and entered into the common market with Colombia, resulting in a loss of jobs in the private sector coupled with rises in the cost of living. Conditions of living are very difficult for all. As the informal sector swells, the Indigenous people respond with greater internal migratory work at very low pay rates, while the peasantry migrate to settle more lands (specially in Esmeraldas).

Afro-Ecuadoreans have responded to the tougher economic conditions by selling their lands and the rights to logging and increased urban migration. Their destinations are Esmeraldas, San Lorenzo, and Guayaquil. Hundreds of thousands of Esmeraldans have decreasing land assets and in urban migration to live in conditions of unemployment and increased poverty.

Export promotion has increased the rate of wood extraction and the establishment of commercial shrimp farms. Having exhausted the natural resources of the southern coast, increased exports now mean exploitation of the last humid forest in Northern Esmeraldas. In Cantones Eloy Alfaro and San Lorenzo, wood companies are already extracting trees at very high rates, and Black rural dwellers are being pressured into selling their extraction rights and their lands to the companies. The shrimp farms which are being established in the San Lorenzo area are destroying the last tall mangroves in Ecuador, resulting in loss of livelihood for women shell collectors and fishermen. In the long term, for short-term profit the companies desire the extinction of the source of shrimp larvae and fish stocks in the country. In addition, *colonos* arriving with the opening of the Ibarra-San Lorenzo highway are staking claims on lands that are Afro-Ecuadorean by right of traditional possession. The lack of titles to these lands has made it difficult for communities to protect their assets from these new threats.

The Afro-Ecuadorean community feels that this is a critical moment in their history. The biggest threat to their capacity for sustainability and subsistence is the rapid loss of their natural resource base; the land, the wood in the forest, and the mangroves with their sea life. The land of these cantones is unsuitable for commercial agriculture, cattle ranching or any kind of intensive mono-cultivation. Without the managed maintenance of this natural resource base, Afro-Ecuadoreans and the nation as a whole would *lose valuable species of trees, tall mangrove stands, and the entire symbiotic fisheries industry*, including fish stock, shrimp, shrimp larvae, and shells. The destruction of the forest will also end the hard wood industry, including processing, exports, construction, and the businesses that service it.

These government policies are aiding in the loss of livelihood for hundreds of thousands of inhabitants which will increase migration to urban centres all over the country and add to the numbers of the critically poor. The likely short-term result will be an increase in social costs to the municipalities that receive the migrants and their tax payers and a rise in delinquency. National stability will therefore be at much greater risk, and labour migration to other neighbouring countries and the industrialized north will become a survival strategy for these poor.

Government Programs

FISE (Fondo de Inversión Social de Emergencia) was established to provide an incentive for the integration of the poorest sectors into development. It supports social initiatives and social infrastructure, support production, social services, or institutional development. Its purpose must be to solve a problem of social marginalization, and it must demonstrate that it affects a group of people, that the community or institutions will also contribute to the project, and that it can continue to exist beyond FISE support. The method of selection and approval is very sophisticated, requiring a rationale and justification, proven feasible implementation, detailed budget and schedule of implementation and supporting technical studies. Communities cannot do it by themselves and require a professional or technical help to prepare the studies and project proposal. The cost of this technical assistance is not included in the grant, and it is not within the means of the poorest to pay in advance.

The most important limitation to using the FISE funding is the poverty and lack of professional capacity within the poorest of the Afro-Ecuadorean communities. Funds are required to pay for consultant travel and time to do feasibility studies; plan projects; and to travel and follow-up the approval in Quito. Lack of titles for land is also a constraint to any infrastructure project (i. e. day care centres, factories, etc). The Esmeraldas governor's office begun the promotion of the FISE in March 1995 and has offered to enlist DINASE to form a technical support team to give planning support to groups in the province. The constraint of the high cost of travel in rivers and isolated poorest communities will remain.

The Secretaria Nacional de Asuntos Indigenas y Otras Etnias is a government institution responsible for the affairs of minorities. Its role is to represent their interests and secure government funding for their needs. Two known projects have benefitted the Black community in Canton Eloy Alfaro, Esmeraldas which are valued under \$30,000. The impact of this institution on the Black community at the time of the study has been negligible. Afro-Ecuadorean groups or individuals in the communities did not know of its existence when interviewed.

Special Permanent Commission for Afro-Ecuadorean Affairs was established in Congress in 1994 to prepare legislative projects for the benefit of the Black community. Six congresspersons are members, only two of whom have African ancestry. The presidency of the commission was disputed and transferred from the representative of African ancestry, Mr. Miguel Ramirez, to Mr. Homero Lopez Saud, of Syrian extraction (both from Esmeraldas). After discussions held with three of the members of the commission, including both presidents, this Mission was left with the sense that there is a large gap in understanding between the majority of poor Blacks in Ecuador and these elected congressmen who prepare legislation for their benefit. The living conditions, historical conditioning, and day-to-day limitations experienced by Blacks in Quito, Guayaquil and other cities are not well understood by them or by the public at large. In addition, supportive action on their part for issues of land claims, illegal deforestation, and protection of the mangroves was also lacking

Organizational Profile of the Community

Grassroots Organization

There is a significant amount of organization among the Afro-Ecuadorian community, particularly in comparison with Peru and Colombia. There are many community-based organizations in Esmeraldas, Guayaquil and Quito, organized by women, farmers (OCAMEs), artisans and other producers (i. e. shell collectors and fishermen). There are also some second tier cooperatives, mainly in Esmeraldas Province.

The tradition of peasant organization was introduced to the region by the Catholic Church which supported the establishment of both peasant and women's groups: through Catholic NGOs, it supported their projects. The drawback has been the paternalistic institutional development approach of the Church which has left these groups with weak leadership skills and no capacity for economic or administrative sustainability. Many groups in Esmeraldas have moved beyond the influence of the church to act on issues that threaten their livelihood. The Black groups in Canton San Lorenzo, Quito and Imbabura are the most dependent on the Catholic Church for leadership, training and financial support. In Guayaquil, the groups organized through the Church have been left with little technical support and no leadership or project funding.

Black women from groups and communities have met twice in 1995 and 1996 in national workshops organized by FCUNE to discuss their common problems and seek solutions. In 1996, Black women from other Latin American countries were also invited, in this way linking the concerns of Black women everywhere. Black women's groups in Guayaquil include ASOMUNE and the Group of Nuestra Señora del Cisne.

The backbone of Afro-Ecuadorian organizations in Esmeraldas are peasant organizations and women's producer groups which have coalesced as special interest coordination groups to increase their bargaining power and to seek common solutions to the problem of land takeovers by settlers and private companies. These coordination groups were formed independently and are found on the Cayapas and Santiago Rivers, in Limones and San Lorenzo. Their activities are concerned with lending support to peaceful public protest against the destruction of the mangroves.

The most important needs of community organizations were project funding and training in leadership formation, organizational development, and project planning and management for income generation. In every meeting, the issue of direct funding was discussed as was their desire to work directly with donors and to maximize funds for

Afro-Ecuadorean NGOs

There are NGOs that play strong political roles for the protection of Afro-Ecuadorian interests and others that help form or strengthen community based groups. ASONE and the Voluntarios Afro-Ecuatorianos are valuable resources in political organization, and NGOs like FCUNE, Bereju and the Foro Permanente de Mujeres (not a Black organization) play strong roles in the organizational development of community groups.

As was the case with community organization, NGOs also need support in organizational development; project planning and management; identification of sources of project funds; and institutional support to set up proper facilities and for transport to visit the groups they support.

Supporting community groups and the NGOs that can reach them would be maximized in Ecuador since at the moment they are working towards the same goal as was proven by their well coordinated presentations to this mission.

Grassroots Organization

The development programs reaching isolated rural Black communities in Esmeraldas have been those of the FEPP (Fondo Ecuatoriano Populorum Progressio), funded by the German government; UNICEF: and the work of the Comboniano missionaries of the Catholic Church. The Limones parish has publicly denounced mangrove cutting nationally and internationally, and the local priest has received death threats in response.

The Canadian Embassy Fund has reached one group in Concepción, but the bulk of its support has been in the cantones with less Black population, in Quininde and Muisne. This has also been the case for most donors, which include GTZ, Misereor, CARE, and SUBIR. For groups in Guayaquil, Imbabura, and Quito, the Catholic Church has been the conduit for international cooperation, and these projects have not proven sustainable.

UNICEF has been working in Quininde, Muisne, and Esmeraldas city for many years now, promoting health programs, community organization and their full participation in programming. Many useful lessons on how to work with Afro-Ecuadorian communities have been learned through their programs. They will soon begin a program for vulnerable children in border areas that will have a component for San Lorenzo.

The *Fondo Ecuatoriano* Populorum Progressio-FEPP, a Catholic NGO, is implementing a program financed by the German government in Esmeraldas province. In Canton Eloy Alfaro, they use an integrated rural development approach that promotes local

seeking an optimum and viable combination for its environment. They have tried pasture, cattle, and food crops, and the program also provides health, nutrition, and training in accounting.

The FEPP has accompanied the communities in their public protest against the destruction of woods and mangroves and works with Church authorities to promote participation of the Afro-Ecuadorian community in developing amendments to the Agrarian development law. The lessons they have learned are likely to be very useful for any program entering this region.

The Inter-American Development Bank's assistance is perhaps one of the most significant in Ecuador. Many of its projects have great potential to improve the productive role of Afro-Ecuadoreans, to protect their environment, and to improve the basic services in their regions. To date, however, none have been designed for this target group, and direct benefits from the existing interventions have not been derived by Afro-Ecuadoreans.

Donor Lessons Learned

Although direct international support for Black communities is not frequent, there have been a few intensive projects that provided good lessons in implementation methodologies and strategies for economic development.

The FEPP's words of wisdom to this mission were that initial results of their integrated rural development program show that it is cost-effective to support projects in the Black zones, but donors must be prepared for high investments in river transportation and in long term leadership development. There must be programming flexibility to respond adequately in each community. Integrated rural development is needed but economic activities must be the immediate focus.

The PROANDES program of UNICEF in Ecuador has used culture as a determining factor in their local programming. Indigenous and African cultural inputs are significant in their Sierra and coastal programs. The lessons they shared with us included the realization that development work required in-depth recognition and respect of the community's culture by the donor; clarity about the donor program and its policies; a hands-on organizational strengthening approach; direct participation of community representatives in decision-making as another stakeholder in the inter-institutional setting; being open with financial budget information; community sharing of rights and obligations; direct implementation roles by the community; and most importantly, donor representatives arriving physically at each one of the communities involved and "listening, listening and listening" to information on their problems and aspirations.

International Cooperation investment in Ecuador is large, particularly from the IDB. But for Afro-Ecuadorian, there are gaps that result in their virtual exclusion. The first is that there is no current program which supports the initiation of new economic activities, particularly small industries compatible with a forest and seafood resource base, that use human labor rather than technology detrimental to a delicate environment.

The second gap is the noticeable lack of donor advocacy for a long-term viable national economy and for the protection of the natural resource base that would make it possible.

For multilateral financial institutions (MFIs), the large debt of Ecuador, which requires long-term servicing, results in a coincidence of interests with the Afro-Ecuadorian population in terms of conservation and resource management. The capacity to pay in the long-term is directly linked to the preservation of the natural resource base that currently feeds the export economy and which is thus essential to a sustainable Ecuadorian economy.

Donors, and MFIs in particular, have the necessary leverage and financial strength to raise these issues with government and industry, and are also likely to have a longer ranged vision than the short-term profit view which is normally promoted to the central government but which is mainly in the interest of export companies.

Proposed Solutions

Include Afro-Ecuadoreans as a target group of the program. Women, producer groups and Black NGOs should be priority agents of development because of their
high multiplier effect, high dependency ratio and high level of grassroots organization.
Provide financial and legal support to settle land claims and assist Afro-Ecuadoreans
to obtain legal title to their lands;
advocate with the Ecuadorian government and give public support for the
implementation of environmental protection legislation in Esmeraldas, in
coordination with other donors (articularly UNICEF) which will result in
preservation of forest and mangrove assets under control of the Black communities;
Provide financial support for organizational strengthening and the coordination of
communities that are engaged in the protection of their natural resources in
Esmeraldas;
Support a program of economic development and technical assistance to develop
ecologically sustainable small industries and businesses based on the resources of

Support expansion of basic services (access roads, potable water and sewage
systems, improvements to the school and health services) in Esmeraldas, particularly
in the northwestern cantones, through existing programs;
Continue to support the development of accurate indices to measure poverty.
Ensure that the extent of the poverty of Afro-Ecuadoreans is accurately captured and
that these communities receive their fair share of resources available for poverty
alleviation programs.

Diagnostic of Black communities in Peru

Socioeconomic Profile

Population and Distribution

The exact size of the Afro-Peruvian population is not known. Organizations and individuals within Peru's Black political movement indicate that the percentage of Afro-Peruvians, that is, people of some degree of African ancestry, is between 10 percent and 13. 5 percent of Peru's 22. 9 million people. They are quick to point out, however, that the majority is likely to be mixed with Indigenous ancestry. The lower figure of 10 percent seems to be supported as a possibility by the Britannica Yearbook. Several Black Peruvian scholars estimate the number of "visible" Afro-Peruvians at between six and eight percent, or 1. 37-1. 6 million, but admittedly the number is speculative.

The Afro-Peruvian population appears to be concentrated in three main zones: Yapateras and the surrounding areas in the north, Chincha and Ica as far as Nazca in the south, and Lima. They are found in the northern province of Piura in the communities of Yapateras, Talandracas, Chapica, Morropon, and Zaña. In the southern coast they live in larger numbers in Cañete, in Ica: Chincha, the communities of El Carmen, San Jose, El Guayabo, Tambo de Mora; in Nazca in the communities of El Ingenio, La Banda, Changuillo, Cahuachi, and in Acari. There are other settlements with smaller populations elsewhere on the Pacific coast which were not visited by the mission.

Economic Profile

In contemporary times, rural Afro-Peruvians are mainly farmers of small holdings or labourers of larger farms. The Agrarian Reform of Peru in the 1970s resulted in the acquisition of small plots of land for rural Afro-Peruvians, where they cultivate cash and subsistence crops. They want to preserve their land resources for generations to come.

In Lima and other coastal cities, Black males are employed in the security business, in construction or as unskilled labourers, and women work in households as domestics. A relatively small proportion of educated Blacks are employed in lower ranking civil service jobs, as nurses, teachers, and secretaries. A few work in NGOs as lawyers, managers, or project officers. Some are self-employed businessmen. The urban Blacks tend to be

poorest sectors, and many others in areas where there are government housing development programs.

Collectively the Afro-Peruvian community possesses few financial resources, which effectively limits their access to professional and technical education, their ability to significantly reenter the entrepreneurial sector, and their participation in the managerial levels of society.

While unemployment rates in Peru are relatively low, 8. 3 percent for men and 12. 2 percent for women, the under-employment rates are high. Unfortunately there is no breakdown by geographic region. The self-diagnosis of the Afro-Peruvian community indicates a consistent need for employment opportunities for women and youth.

The rural economies, both in northern and southern Peru, are agricultural. In the north, the staple crop is rice supplemented with seasonal fruits particularly mangoes, and in the south, it is cotton supplemented with *ciruelas*. There are commercial crops grown by large farmers which are not part of the peasant economy: asparagus in the south, and sugar in the north. Most Afro-Peruvians have 2-4 hectares of land for a cash crop as well as subsistence food crops.

Education

Communities reported that education is seen as a means to improve their lives. While these communities stated that no preference was given to boys over girls, boys were more likely to be sent to urban centres for further education.

- ☐ The rates of illiteracy for departments with Black population are highest in Tacna in the south (25. 7 percent) and Piura (11. 8 percent). Girls have greater rates of illiteracy than boys everywhere, with a gender gap as small as 1. 2 percent in Lima and as large as 3. 3 percent in Lambayeque.
- ☐ There is a deficit in school services throughout the coast, with 37. 3 percent having no service in Piura, 31. 7 percent lacking it in Lambayeque, and even Callao has a deficit of 27 percent, while Ica has the lowest deficit at 8. 6 percent.
- There are no figures for the number of graduated professionals in the community, nor for their employment rates after graduation.

Health

According to FONCODES, there is an established health infrastructure in the provinces that caters to Black populations and includes hospitals (except in Morropon), clinics, and health

northern departments of Piura and Lambayeque are the most underserviced in terms of hospital beds on the coast, with the Pisco and Chincha provinces of Ica also poorly served. All coastal departments show low doctor/patient ratios, except for Lima. Communities such as Talandracas are located 10km or more from the district centres. There are no local facilities that are operated by health personnel, nor are there any preventive health education programs to train the local population.

Potable water is scarce, especially in the most remote communities. All villages pump their water from underground wells. There are no means of testing the water to know whether it is contaminated. The limited available wood due to the desertlike environment of the Peruvian coast means that water is not boiled on a regular basis.

In Lima, among the poorest communities, drug addiction is emerging as a health problem for Black youth. The lack of economic opportunities makes the petty drug trade an attractive economic option, and drug use soon follows.

Among the provinces with Black populations, the highest infant mortality figures are seen in Piura, with 93/1,000, Lambayeque and Tacna are a close second, with figures of 68 and 64/1,000 respectively. Lima and Callao have the lowest figures at 45 and 41/1,000 respectively. When compared to Ecuador's Esmeraldas province, which had what was considered to be a nationally alarming rate of 76/1,000, we can see that the situation in Peru is even worse.

The survey an chronic malnutrition conducted among children in school attendance in 1993, shows very high levels of chronic malnutrition among children. Children of the Morropon district in the North are the most afflicted with an average of 70 percent of the children being malnourished. In general, the northern provinces are worse (over 50 percent) than the southern ones (over 30 percent), and rural areas have more malnourished children than urban centres, sometimes by differentials of over 20 percent within the same province. Boys are more disadvantaged than girls by differentials ranging from 3-7 percent.

Basic Services

There is a low percent of housing with access to electricity, potable water, and sewage in areas with Black communities. Once again, Morropon is the most disadvantaged district, lacking access to water (56. 2 percent), sewage disposal (75. 1 percent), and electricity (88 percent). Caraveli and Camana have a serious lack of potable water (51. 2 percent and 61. 5 percent respectively). Cañete in Lima Metropolitan, as well as Piura, Pisco and Chincha also have a quarter or more of their population without access to potable water. Electricity is absent in the far north and the far south, affecting Piura and Arequipa the most.

Rural/Urban Dynamic Among Afro-Peruvians

In rural areas, Afro-Peruvian farmers participate in the cash crop economy, and produce for their own subsistence. In the south farmers grow cotton and in the north they grow rice. Their poor and isolated conditions have resulted in a survival strategy which demands that they grow the food they need to subsist so their children will not suffer malnutrition, it also enables them to save for their children's education. In spite of their participation in the production of cash crops, they do not benefit from agricultural credit or technical assistance programs. They have difficulty legalizing their land, and the access roads to markets and public transportation means are of very inferior conditions compared to other communities. This results in poor trade exchange for their products because few buyers will come to their areas, and they are forced to sell at the prices dictated by the buyers.

In urban areas, there is a limited educated class of Black professionals employed in the mainstream economy, and their economic impact on the Afro-Peruvian community is dispersed and invisible.

What is visible is the large numbers of urban poor. In urban poverty conditions the family structure breaks down, with a high incidence of female headed households with 5 or more children, sometimes from different fathers. Yet, even within this crumbling family structure, mothers give high priority to finding the means to educate elder children, with the expectation that with education they will be able to find work and help the others. Young males, however, are having difficulty in the urban setting, and delinquency and drug abuse are claiming them in increasing numbers. This is a grave concern among urban disenfranchised mothers. The impact of urban poverty can be seen already in the lower educational standards of adult females in poor barrios.

In general, rural populations are not as worse off as the Lima population, because when they have some land they use it to feed themselves part of the year, and the health condition of children appears to be better than that of their urban counterparts. This is not the case however, for the more isolated rural areas, such as Talandracas and Chapica del Carmelo in Piura, which have less access to water and services and whose inhabitants have already lost in many cases the use of their land, by renting it in an attempt to eliminate debt caused by poor agricultural harvests. These people are in conditions of extreme poverty, their children are not being educated and are being sent at very young ages to work in households in towns or cities. The extent of poverty is unknown as are the data on the number of small groupings of Afro-Peruvian farmers who exist in virtual isolation along the Peruvian coast.

Statistics show that the provinces which are the farthest from Lima (whether north like Puira's Morropon or south like Tacna) show the highest indices of infant mortality, chronic malnutrition, the highest number of children working and lowest school attendance. They also have the poorest infrastructure for basic services, education, and health delivery systems.

Coastal poverty figures in Peru are not as acute as those in some parts of the Sierra, they are nevertheless worrisome on an international scale. The infant mortality and malnutrition figures of 60-93/1000 are within the medium and low range for quality of life in the Human Development scale, making Peruvians in these provinces targets for international poverty alleviation programs.

Within Peru, their relative poverty is categorized as "poor" in Morropon which has worse indices than Ecuador's poorest vulnerable groups, and "regular" for the other provinces. While the situation in the Sierra departments is even more appalling than in the coast, development programmers need to be made aware of the very absolute and real need to act in the coastal provinces too, and among Afro-Peruvians in particular.

National laws, Political Representation and Government Policies and Programs

National Laws

Peruvians enjoy a constitutional right to equality regardless of race, gender, or religion. This, according to popular opinion, guarantees that there is no racism in Peruvian society. There is, however, no legislation to guarantee this constitutional right, and when abuses of racial discrimination occur there is no institution to which abuses can be taken nor any law to punish the discriminatory act.

The Agrarian Reform laws of the 1970s benefited Afro-Peruvian peasants, providing access to plots of 2-6 hectares. This has enabled them to produce for their own subsistence and educate the present generation of Afro-Peruvians.

In Peru, the distribution of financial resources for physical infrastructure and investment is centrally controlled. Whether it is FONCODES funds for social investment or for specific projects, adequate representation in the legislature is essential to ensure that applications are given attention. Even though Afro-Peruvians have municipal representatives in the few communities where they are a local majority, they still do not have any elected members of Congress, and this has resulted in the total absence of any investment in any of their communities from FONCODES.

In Peru, unlike in other Andean countries, there are no government departments responsible for Afro-Peruvian affairs, nor are there legislative commissions or committees looking into legal projects to benefit this ethnic community.

There are no Black elected officials to the Central Government. For the first time, the April 6, 1995 elections provided voters with choices of Black candidates for Congress, campaigning under a "Black Banner." They were unsuccessful.

There are some Black municipally elected officials in communities like El Carmen and Yapateras. There is an appointed sheriff of La Banda. In Lima, Julia Barrera was a member of the municipal council for many years, although she says that in those days she had no consciousness of the collective needs of Blacks and worked for the popular sectors in general. Thus, at local levels, there is little participation of Afro-Peruvians in government. And only recently, have they begun participating as members of a community, acting on their collective interests.

Identity and Development

Afro-Peruvians stated a need to deal with issues of identity. The importance of standing as a group is key to their capacity for self-management, and the issue of identity is a critical attempt to solve it. Effective programs to reinforce and strengthen African identity are needed to strengthen the community 's internal links and develop its political awareness as a unit.

Government Policies

Among the government policies to have a positive impact on Afro-Peruvians is the availability of "free" primary and secondary education in rural and urban areas. This has been the single most important route to improving lifestyles in this community in the last two decades.

The second influential policy was the Agrarian Reform program in the 1970s which gave access to many rural Afro-Peruvians to small plots of land for subsistence production.

The pooling of central government resources into FONCODES to undertake all social investment in infrastructure has a negative impact by denying municipalities financial resources to improve their infrastructure. Thus Afro-Peruvian communities that have a voice in municipal affairs cannot act to improve their situation.

The prevailing social attitudes towards Blacks in Peru have a negative impact on

planners, and in lack of action by donors and poverty alleviation programs to support their economic potential. The lack of ethnically desegregated data in the national census promotes the invisibility of Afro-Peruvians in any development work undertaken in the country. This was confirmed by the limited knowledge expressed by Peruvian NGOs on Afro-Peruvians' situation and by lack of NGO and government development activity in Afro-Peruvian communities.

The use of poverty maps which establish indices of poverty by mixing indices of rural and urban populations in a zone also prevents any focus on the pockets of poverty, and results in the exclusion of Afro-Peruvian communities on the coast and in Lima from poverty alleviation programs. Poverty alleviation programs do not consider the coast as a zone of critical poverty nor Africans as a vulnerable group, and thus little focalization has been done by donors and government to invest in social and economic programs for them.

Government Programs

Since 1990, the government of Peru has been following an economic liberalization process which has obtained visible results in terms of growth of GDP (7 percent in 1993), recovery in its agricultural and fisheries sectors, and a rise in petroleum outputs and in the mining sector. The economic policies that made these advances possible include measures to increase the tax base (a general sales tax was introduced) and improvements in tax administration. Tax reforms of December 1993 reformulated treasury transfers to municipalities by basing them on poverty levels. The new measures were aimed at strengthening resources of local governments in the poorer regions and facilitating increased responsibility of municipalities in the provision of public services. Stronger fiscal revenues were expected for 1994 as a result of higher tax revenues and privatization receipts that would allow increases in public salaries and higher spending on infrastructure and in the social sectors. A social stabilization plan was developed to concentrate on alleviating poverty for the lowest income groups.

Apart from the policies of economic liberalization and alleviation of poverty, there is no national development plan for Peru, neither in the short-term nor the long-term. There are no mechanisms to deal with the root causes of poverty or to help economically stagnant communities to become dynamic. The main funding mechanism for physical and social infrastructure in the country is FONCODES, the multidonor fund created to alleviate poverty by providing temporary job opportunities in the building of social infrastructures for the poorest.

There is consensus among bilateral donors and international NGOs that the Peruvian

about the capacity of grassroots organizations to implement projects.

Among Black communities, the only programs that have reached Afro-Peruvians to a limited extent are the *Comedores de Madres* and the *Vaso de Leche* programs, from the

government institution, PRONA. The ones from Caritas have not been accessible, even

though they operate in some of their regions.

A further constraint to development programming is the fact that the Peruvian census does not gather information by gender or race, claiming that its policies are not discriminatory.

FONCODES: The main barrier to funding social and economic development for the Black community stems from the centralized nature of government investment which is done through the FONCODES.

This multidonor fund has become the only source of funding for public works and social development. Municipalities have lost their funding for public projects, receiving only their administrative budget with great cuts, and must apply to FONCODES for funds to cover work projects, including work on access roads, potable water and sewage installations, health and educational buildings, etc. The main barriers to accessing the available resources are exclusion from the "extremely and critically poor" areas identified in the poverty maps, administrative procedures, and the lack of electoral weight.

- ☐ FONCODES funding is based on the poverty map which it has developed. The main weaknesses of this map are:
 - poverty regions mix rural and urban populations which distort the data of the worse-off population by averaging their indices with those in urban areas with better economic means;
 - there is no gender desegregation, distorting the actual poverty condition of female headed households;
 - indices chosen for poverty exclude many.
- There are administrative barriers, including the required proof of land possession for approval of most project. Many in rural areas do not have formal papers of possession as they cost money and necessitate political influence. In addition, project proposals must be technically sound, requiring professional help and money for their preparation and submission.
- FONCODES has become a tool to gain electoral votes. Although many Afro-Peruvian communities had applied, only one application (for a mestizo community) has received funding. Applicants have been told on more than one occasion to contact their legislative representative if they want a project approved. Afro-Peruvians, who have no electoral clout, are left at the margin of this funding process.

The choice of indicators for poverty results in poverty maps that mask pockets of extreme poverty in coastal departments. Afro-Peruvian communities are casualties of this system, which makes them invisible and therefore unlikely targets of special poverty alleviation support.

In addition, the vote-attracting nature of the project approval process of FONCODES puts this community at a disadvantage because they do not have Black representatives in the legislature, and because their statistical invisibility does not make them an attractive pool of potential votes.

Thus, neither by their justification as being extremely poor, nor by their status as voters can the Afro-Peruvian community access the only resources available to alleviate poverty.

Organizational Profile of the Afro-Peruvian Community

The capacity to form community organizations by Afro-Peruvians is very limited when compared to the rest of the Peruvian population. There seems to be a traditional reluctance to form organizations based on their ethnic roots.

Women's Organization

In recent years two of the main Peruvian NGOs have worked with communities to encourage organization, and women have been the first to respond. Efforts have taken place in rural areas more than in Lima or Callao. Women's groups are formed with the intention of operating *comedores populares* (popular diners), *Vaso de Leche* programs (glass of milk) or *Clubes de Madres*. Government institutions such as PRONA provide these groups with basic food supplies. The ingenuity of these groups are used to add the missing elements, and meals are produced and sold for minimum fees.

Potential groups were being created in Yapateras, Talandracas and Chapica del Carmelo in Piura with the encouragement of the Women's department of the MPDHN. In Lima the effort is also just beginning and only one group seems to be formed. Much of this work is now being accomplished by Cecila Ramirez's new women's organization.

Community Organizations

In September 1994, at the initiative of leaders in Yapateras, the first meeting of Black communities in the north of Peru was held. The meeting's conclusions called for the

reinstatement of Yapateras as a district, and the creation of a board of directors with members from all the communities of Yapateras, Paita, Piura, Capote, Chiclayo, Zaña, and Morropon. A similar meeting for southern Peru is being planned by the *Movimiento Francisco Congo de Ica*, with support from the same organization in Lima. In Ica, the mission met with representatives of nine communities, from both rural areas and barrios in Ica. Their associations were formed through the promotional efforts of Movimiento Francisco Congo of Ica.

Thus, although there is reluctance among the general population to organize on the basis of their racial origin, organization is nevertheless happening in rural areas through the promotion of educated leaders, particularly women. Incentives to strengthen organization are important at this stage, and economic projects have been defined as the most powerful magnet around which to group.

Lima, with the majority of the Afro-Peruvian population, remains, as the difficult mass to identify and organize, the greatest challenge to the Afro-Peruvian leadership.

Community NGOs

There are four organizations managed by Afro-Peruvians that are legally registered to benefit the Afro-Peruvian Community. These are in order of age: *Movimiento Francisco Congo of Lima, Movimiento Francisco Congo of Ica, INAPE and the Movimiento Pro-Derechos Humanos del Negro*. Two new organizations have been formed since the writing of this report: Mundo Ebano and a new women's organization created by a well-respected Black community worker, Cecilia Ramirez.

International Cooperation

Inter-American Development Bank

The annual budget for the Peruvian program was US\$ 400 million for 1995. According to the IDB office in Lima, the two programs most appropriate for the Afro-Peruvian population are FONCODES, in which the IDB makes a social investment loan, and the Small Projects Program.

The Small Projects Program is highly suitable to meet the productive needs of the Afro-Peruvian population both in urban and rural areas. It has supported NGOs and Chambers of Commerce with rotating funds and institutional strengthening for those who manage the projects. The rotating funds are used for loans to micro-businesses and peasant

into existing lines of credit with traditional banks. The NGOs which have received funds operate in geographic areas close to foci of Afro-Peruvians such as Piura, Ica, Lima, and Zaña. Yet, these small projects have not benefitted these communities so far.

Analyzing the reason for the low impact on Blacks, a few facts come to mind. In Lima, few Afro-Peruvians are business people or engage in the informal commerce sector. Micro-credit programs work with established micro-businesses and therefore Blacks, who would need to start such businesses, would not qualify for support. The second factor is the lack of established credit granting NGOs in zones with high concentration of poor Afro-Peruvian populations. We found none that work at stimulating this population to establish micro-businesses. Thus, there is little likelihood that Afro-Peruvians micro-businesses would be found to qualify for existing micro-lending programs.

Canadian Government Programs

The Canadian program has two priorities: poverty alleviation which is implemented through the Fondo Peru Canada, and Women in Development.

The Fondo Peru Canada is a counterpart fund established through an agreement between the government of Peru and Canada on April 8, 1988. Purchases made by Peru for Canadian food products, mining, oil, and telecommunications equipment are paid in Peruvian currency to this Fund which is used to support development and poverty alleviation projects with potential for sustainability.

By 1993, this Fund had supported 100 projects with a total value of \$37 million. The projects supported are rural and urban. In rural areas, it supports small enterprise projects that make efficient use of land, natural resources, improve production and productivity. They also have to encourage entrepreneurship among peasants and small agricultural businesses. In urban areas, the Fund supports micro and small enterprises to generate employment, improve incomes and activate urban economies. Projects must pay close attention to management training, integration of women in activities, and protection of the environment. Applications must be made by the grassroots organizations, NGOs, or local governments who are the implementing agent.

This program has the objectives and methodologies which would be most useful to rural Afro-Peruvian communities. It already works on the northern coast, in Lima and on the southern coast (although not in Black districts).

There are however operational constraints for access of Afro-Peruvian communities to its funding: it works with sophisticated NGOs and with communities which have incorporated a technically efficient administrative system and have accumulated project implementation experience. This implies that qualified NGOs should have targeted Afro-

problem it would be necessary to begin the process of supporting promising Black NGOs and communities with demonstrated commitment to working as groups.

The Women in Development will be covered under an Andean regional project of \$4 million for five years. This project will support Colombia, Ecuador and Peru and is still in the planning stage.

CUSO

The program of this Canadian NGO concentrates on three activities: (a) work and structural adjustment impacts on production; (b) micro-enterprises and their impact on women; and, (c) human rights and alternative development. They have not worked with Blacks as a special target group, although they could provide technical support through Canadian cooperants to Black groups working in their areas of concentration, particularly to benefit women.

World University Service Of Canada (SUM CANADA)

WUSC is implementing a project of gravity fed potable water systems in conjunction with the Ministry of Health. This program has benefitted some of the communities with a majority Black population in Ica. According to the beneficiaries, this program has given them experience in organizing communal work in decision making on water system management, and in the collection of fees to support the system.

Oxfam UK

This organization has worked in Latin America for the last 35 years. It has regional offices in Recife for Brazil, in Lima for Colombia, Ecuador, Chile and Peru, in Managua for Mexico and Central America, and in The Dominican Republic for the Caribbean, Guayana, and Surinam. Oxfam's program priorities enable it to take chances on new organizations representing target populations. It began working with Black minorities in its program in Colombia, where it supported Black efforts at organizing in Chocó by funding legal advisers that helped include the population's concerns in the 1991 constitution.

Oxfam supports efforts to consolidate Black organization in the Andean countries, that can later be joined to efforts in the Central American and Caribbean region. They consider that Blacks in the Andean region are important players in the social process and have much to contribute to alternative economic development. Thus, Oxfam will continue to support the process of organization as a movement by strengthening local organizations. In

such as travel costs for key individuals to attend events, and travel costs for exchange visits.

Diakonias

This Swedish NGO operates the Swedish Government's counterpart fund for social development in Andean countries. They operate a regional office in La Paz, Bolivia, from which all programs are managed. Diakonias has provided financial support to several Black organizations.

Icon

This is a Dutch NGO that has also provided strong support to the MPDHN to become an established organization with operating programs for women and human rights issues. It manages its funding from Holland and it was not possible to interview its officers.

Conclusions

The only support received by Afro-Peruvian organizations and communities to date has been from foreign NGOs (Diakonias, ICON and Oxfam UK) that are known for taking risks in supporting emerging organizations.

Although there is a wealth of international cooperation projects in micro-credit, micro-enterprise, social investment, etc. , Afro-Peruvians are not participating in any of these. The main reason for this is that those programs are implemented through Peruvian NGOs, which to date have not made Afro-Peruvians one of their target groups. In addition, Blacks have been reluctant to organize themselves in the past, and their NGOs had not worked in the field of development until very recently.

In terms of program development, the Peruvian census figures do not segregate gender or ethnicity, resulting in the invisibility of specific vulnerable groups. This promotes the idea that vulnerable groups are "mestizo" peasants or popular sectors. It is only through special studies funded by donors that the vulnerability of other groups such as women heads of households and Indigenous peoples have been highlighted in Peru. This is the first study to highlight the Afro-Peruvian population. It is the lack of statistics that has caused the neglect observed on the part of Peruvian NGOs, government department, and donor programs.

The lack of action to date by traditional Peruvian NGOs, the latent racial prejudices in the society and the recognition of their identity as key to their future progress has resulted

development workers or people who understand and respect their need for cultural specificity, and through their own Black organizations.

Proposed Solutions

Base	ed on an assessment of their socioeconomic situation, the following are the proposed
solu	tions of the communities interviewed.
	Afro-Peruvians and their organizations need to improve their knowledge of project
	planning, management, and (sources of finding).
	Training of leaders among Afro-Peruvian youth is important to the process.
	Micro-enterprises are the way to improve the economic situation of Afro-Peruvians
	to rise from their present below-subsistence situation to producing surpluses.
	A program of scholarships is needed to assist financially in primary and secondary
	education and to provide financial support for higher education of Afro-Peruvian
	students.
	Drug addiction is a major urban problem for Black youth. Programs for prevention
	and treatment are needed.
	Strengthening the effective participation of Afro-Peruvians in the electoral process is
	important. This could be through exchanges with others who have been through it (i
	e. in other countries) and through greater financial support.
	Programs for Afro-Peruvians must be implemented by institutions which have Black
	staff and understand the Black issues.

Diagnostic of Black Communities in Uruguay

Socioeconomic Profile

Population and Distribution

Around six percent of the population of Uruguay is considered to be mulatto and Black, according to the latest Household Survey of the Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE), which for the first time included a racial ancestry question. This figure, which calculated approximately 189,000 people, is consistent with the Afro-Uruguayan community's own estimate of 180,000 based on a 1989 survey.

The bulk of the Afro-Uruguayan population lives in Montevideo. Historically, they resided in the urban core in Barrios Reus, Sur, and Palermo, but dispersed after the eviction of 1982 to neighbourhoods in the inner and outer core, and in peri-urban marginal areas. Traditionally, places of residence have been the states along the Brazilian border where many of the Brazilian slaves sought refuge in Uruguay at the end of the last century.

Economic Profile

Afro-Uruguayan economy is based on employment and self-employment in the formal and informal sector. Their labor profile is as low skilled workers in construction, cleaning, domestic service and janitorial, work. Their income levels barely maintain the extended household, and many members have to work. There is high unemployment among the youth who are under-qualified even for the most menial jobs because they only have primary education. It is difficult to find employment for males over 40 years old. Most people work in the underground economy, in "ghost" cleaning companies or construction. Women continue their traditional jobs as domestic servants, and provide hourly cleaning services for other homes. Adults and seniors work to an advanced age, in order to maintain the subsistence of the extended household.

There is a body of professionals in the middle income segment, often employed in the public service, and another group of skilled workers who are self-employed: plumbers, auto mechanics, electricians, carpenters, musicians. In the informal sector there are many Barriers to progress for the educated exist due to prejudices among employers who prefer to hire Blacks for invisible positions. As a result, Blacks say they are required to perform far beyond the average in order to compete and retain their jobs. Self-imposed barriers to advancement exist and are a consequence of historical discrimination. The mission sensed a very cautious, timid and risk-avoiding attitude among Blacks; that minimized chances of individual racial confrontations requiring a violent or rude response.

Education

Since the government made it compulsory the bulk of the population has a primary level of education and a minority has secondary school. A few have a university education. The main barrier to education in the past has been the lack of income to pay for tuition, school books, and transportation. With current economic hardship, the family's need for additional income from working youth has increased. In addition to these barriers, student dropouts indicated their frustration with learning, with the low expectations of teachers who single them out for racial stereotyping, and the taunting of other students. School attendance is unpleasant and children "give up" easily. The extension of secondary education has not been achieved among Afro-Uruguayans because school books are not provided. Skills such as beautician, seamstress, and waitress for women, and carpentry, plumbing, auto mechanics, and electricity for men is designed to provide short training and quick income.

Some proposed solutions include scholarships for secondary education and university to cover tuition, materials and transport; after-school educational support programs to overcome the lack of education among parents; professional development programs for teachers to improve their attitude towards Black students; and inclusion of Afro-Uruguayan history in the primary school curriculum in order to change social attitudes and develop respect for Blacks among the overall population, beginning with the teachers and classmates.

Health

The most visible health problems of the Black population include respiratory diseases, asthma, high blood pressure, and elderly diabetes. Dental care is a problem for all family members. There are high levels of cigarette consumption in the community, including the youth.

Health services are accessed by the majority of interviewees from government hospitals and clinics in peri-urban areas. Workers are enrolled in mutual insurance programs

families do not qualify for government social assistance because the government bases coverage on household income, not taking into account the Afro-Uruguayan extended family. The family's combined incomes are above the government limit. Many Afro-Uruguayans work in the informal economy and have no occupational insurance coverage.

Social problems are common in the marginalized Black community. Teenage pregnancies are a current problem. Alcoholism has been present for many generations in many families, making Black teenagers of both genders a high risk group for substance abuse. Prostitution of women and adolescents of both genders is a problem, as observed by informants, and AIDS deaths have been reported in the hospitals for Black residents in certain areas.

Gender Issues

Black women play a dominant role in the financial support of their families because many man are absent. They may be divorced, separated, or adolescent single mothers. There is a higher proportion of females in the extended family. Girls have equal priority in primary school and tend to stay longer and perform better in middle school. However the need to work or premature pregnancies results in low rates of retention. Women interviewed in groups want to improve their education and start their own businesses.

Elder Population

Women tend to live longer. Both genders remain productive past the sixty year mark because of the economic need of the extended family or because of being widowed without family support or pensions. Older women work as domestics or care for the elderly.

Basic Services

The most pressing problem for Black families in urban areas is secure housing. They historically have lived in the urban core, crowded into older buildings which are now in very poor condition or in peri-urban areas in dilapidated housing. In the interior, the poorest Blacks live in peri-urban slums with no indoor plumbing, potable water or toilets. Electricity and telephones tend to be accessible to most. Roads and transport are not a visible problem.

Relative Poverty

government definition of homes with "unsatisfied basic needs" (NBI homes). Progress made in poverty programs, as reflected by the indices of the overall population, are not reflected to the same degree among Afro-Uruguayans. In addition, according to their self-analysis, the majority of their community lives in this condition, unlike the general population.

Developmental entry points to the community could be housing programs that provide rental housing for low income families. Women are a key agent within the family and have a large multiplier effect as beneficiaries. Adolescents are a high risk group for replicating poverty in the next generation because of teen-age pregnancies, their low level of educational attainment, and their high unemployment rates. Men over 40 years of age are the most disadvantaged in the labor market because they are unemployable in the formal sector and have difficulty finding work in the informal sector. Self-employment strategies are a priority among these heads of households.

National Laws, Political Representation and Government Policies and Programs

National Laws

The only legal recourse against racially discriminatory behavior is Article 42 of the penal code which penalizes open aggression due to differences in color, race, or religion. This law was originally designed to curtail aggressive behavior against Jewish people. There is no legal recourse to subtle discriminatory behavior that denies access to employment or services in public places or institutions.

Political Representation

In 1937, Afro-Uruguayan intellectuals founded an Indigenous Peoples Party (IPP) to elect Blacks to congress. They met disaster at the polls since Afro-Uruguayans did not support the idea of a race-based party nor the attempt to confront racism.

Many Afro-Uruguayans today still regard Black self-interest as morally wrong and bad politics. Black organizations that are not cultural are held in suspicion, and Black political activity is avoided by the Black collective. Because of this passivity, political parties have had no incentive to promote Blacks in public roles at federal or local levels.

The size of the Afro-Uruguayan population is sufficient to make its collective vote significant in the same way as the more vocal but less numerous Jewish and Armenian collectives in Uruguay. Prominent members of the Black organizations, were unsuccessful candidates in the elections in 1996. The ability of Black politicians to influence the process

acknowledged that their placement on the electoral lists made them unlikely to win any seats in the Legislature.

Government Policies and Programs

The economic adjustment policies that are designed to improve the overall economic climate of the nation are hitting Afro-Uruguayans through increases in unemployment and less access to social services. Because of their low level of formal education, the gap between themselves and the minimum educational requirements for employment is increasing. At the same time, the economic improvements in the private sector are often achieved by using underground companies for many of the incidental services. These underground companies pay lower wages, offer no job security and do not provide any social benefits to their workers.

In the past, national policies and programs have been effective at making Blacks almost invisible in their jobs and their places of residence, in the educational system, in the political machinery, and in the statistics.

Currently, the Government has several programs and institutes working to improve the economic situation of minorities. Some of these programs, with added political will, could make a significant impact on changing the situation of Afro-Uruguayans.

- The Instituto Nacional De Las Migraciones was established by the government to foster cooperation in a multi-cultural society and is used by ethnic collectives to voice their concerns to government ministries. To date Afro-Uruguayans have not taken advantage of this service.
- ☐ Instituto Nacional de la Juventud, INJUP, has an employment training program for individuals 18-25 years of age which operates in Montevideo. This program provides skills upgrading in certain areas and has an apprenticeship relationship with established companies. The waiting lists are long and most Blacks do not know of its existence.
- The Fortalecimiento del Areas Social (FAS) is supported by the IDB. It developed a data base for poverty studies using the INE Census and Household Survey data. The program supports ministries with social services, helping them to access and use the data base to deliver their services more cost-efficiently.
- INE feels that the inclusion of racial questions in the national census would result in bad quality data. it proposed instead the use of the Household Survey which is more likely to yield important correlations between race and other variables such as income. It included racial identification in the Household Survey in 1996. If successful, this

a data base to identify poor Afro-Uruguayans for social programs.

☐ The Educational Reform Process is a national initiative that has been reluctant to consider the Black community's request for inclusion of Afro-Uruguayan's history in the educational curriculum.

Organizational Profile of the Community

The oldest Black organizations, the Club Uruguay in Melo (1922) and Asociación Cultural y Social del Uruguay Negro, ACSUN (1941), were created to provide a social space for the Black community because segregation restrictions existed. These organizations were the training ground for leaders of the NGOs that currently exist. Current Black organizations in Montevideo are Organizacion Mundo Afro, which has cultural and quasi-development programs and has led the establishment of a South American Regional Network; Centro Cultural Afro-Uruguayo (CECAU), led by a group of professional women which has recently begun a multi-service program in a poor barrio; FundAfro, which was created by the Catholic Church to channel international funding for Black community development, and Asociación para el Desarrollo del Arte y la Cultura Afro-Uruguayos (ADACAU), and Centro Cultural por la Paz y la Integración (CECUPI). Both promote the recovery of African culture in diverse ways. Afro-Uruguayan NGOs have active Boards of Directors and individual dues-paying members who attend their functions.

The oldest grassroots organizations are the *comparsas*, which are cultural groups that perform during established festivals like Carnival and *Llamadas*. Many of the *comparsas* now include white members. The Escuela de Candombe in Melo has a youth artistic group which trains youth to perform in festivals and at Carnival time.

More recently, grassroots groups have been formed by women to strengthen their own capacities and community. In Melo, the Black Women's Group has existed since 1988 to focus on programs for the poorest Blacks in their towns. They have been nurtured by Movimiento Paulina Luisi, a mainstream women's NGO in Melo: however, the Group's desire to focus on the Black community is propelling them towards a more independent relationship. Two women's groups in Montevideo were also met, one in Barrio Villa Española and another in Barrio Pulva de Moroñas who want to improve their economic prospects through self-help. These two groups have been nurtured by the Women's Program of Mundo Afro.

This Network was founded in November 1994 by Mundo Afro in Montevideo, Uruguay. Although it is organized in sub-regions that match the regional trading blocks, only the Andean and Southern Cone sub-regions are currently active. Country membership has expanded little in its two years of existence and at report writing was on a decline. The Andean region is coordinated by Peru's Movimiento Pro-Derechos Humanos del Negro: the Southern Cone works with Mundo Afro in Montevideo. Efforts to fundraise for coordination meetings and to set up a regional training program in Montevideo have taken up the bulk of the coordinators' energies, leaving the objectives of inter-regional communication untouched.

Inclusion in the network has been selective. All other Afro-Uruguayan organizations appear to have been excluded from the founding session and the current membership because they are not "developmental" (in Mundo Afro's criteria). In the past year, newer groups were required to be observers for a year before being accepted. Due to a lack of funds, some groups have to cover the cost of travel to the countries where the coordination meetings take place at the otherwise, risk not being accepted as members. There is a limited information flow to members and a lack of clarity regarding the objectives of the network. Concerns have been voiced by some members regarding the monopoly of power, information, and funds by the two sub-regional coordinators because it runs counter to the purpose of a network.

Given its current limitations, the mission concluded that to become a supportive channel for development of Black communities, this regional network would have to:

- Add to its objectives the creation of national networks, calling for the connection of all interested grassroots and NGO organizations, whether cultural or developmental.
- ☐ Establish a code of ethics regarding fundraising, programs, and information sharing, in order to dispel any distrust that new organizations may have about its concentration of power.
- Realize that new members want tangible benefits in terms of information that can strengthen their own local activities. Specifically, this means information about existing Black organizations, their programs, how they are being implemented, sources of project funding, sources of training, project proposal preparation, and sources of technical assistance.

The Latin American regional network is still in its infancy. It is a good regional foundation for action towards the uplift of the communities of African descent, an option that can be cost-effective and accelerate the development of this ethno-cultural group. *To* promote its positive growth, it is important for financial supporters and members to foster

community. Financial and technical support must be well guided if this type of embryonic network is to succeed.

International Cooperation

There are few international donors in Uruguay, which is considered a middle income country. Multi-lateral financial institutions support the reform of the public sector in order to make it more cost efficient and better coordinated in the delivery of social services. In the long term, this could improve the future of Afro-Uruguayans.

European NGOs from Holland and Belgium have supported small projects of Fundafro and Mundo Afro.

The Instituto Afro-Latinoamericano is a newly established international NGO created to develop commercial relations between the countries in the Southern Cone and Southern Africa. Although it operates as an international NGO, the board of the institute is composed of the member countries' Ministers of External Affairs, private sector companies and some NGOs. It is now establishing offices in Montevideo for Latin America and in Namibia for the SADC (Southern Africa Development Community).

Conclusions

the l	ong term economic prospects of Afro-Uruguayans should be aimed at providing:
	Universal secondary education textbooks and transportation passes provided for
	students who fall below the poverty line.
	A poverty line calculated on the basis of income per capita within a household, so
	that extended families are not penalized for their aggregate income total.
	Housing programs that build rental units for low income families near school and
	health facilities, and sources of work.
	Skills training and upgrading programs for the very unskilled in industries that
	provide a better than the minimum wage.
	Legislation and an enforcement system that penalizes discrimination while equal
	access to economic and social benefits and respect providing for international human
	rights.

Government policies and programs that intend to ease the immediate poverty and improve

To implement such programs, the present constraints within the Black community and in the methods of program delivery, must be overcome. They are:

	Lack of first-hand knowledge about the poorest Blacks by Afro-Uruguayan
	organizations or other Uruguayan NGOs and institutions.
	Expressed reluctance to group because of the tensions and jealousies that usually
	arise in organizations.
	Poor Afro-Uruguayans are reluctant to ask for services for the poor.
	Institutionalized Black poor are a minority among Afro-Uruguayans.
Dro	posed Solutions
FIU	poseu solutions
	The ethno-cultural factor of Black ancestry should be used to analyze poverty data in
	Uruguay. Programs that combat poverty should consider Afro-Uruguayans as a
	priority, and new programs should be formulated that take into account their cultural
	particularity.
	IDB in its programs for Uruguay should encourage policies that improve the climate
	of racial prejudice, particularly in the educational sector among teachers and in the
	school curriculum and textbooks.
	Economic development activities should become a priority for action the IDB.
	As a pre-requisite for economic development, the Afro-Uruguayan community
	should be provided with educational support in the form of scholarships for middle/
	secondary and university education, funding for after-school educational support
	programs for Black students, and training programs for small business development,
	particularly among Black women.

Diagnostic of Black Communities in Venezuela

Socioeconomic

Population and Distribution

Venezuelan racial ideology is layered in a series of myths about the racial make-up of the country as well as the nature of race relations. Venezuela's domestic and international image is of a country living in racial harmony, made up of mostly Mestizos (Indigenous/European mix) whose culture also includes influences from Africa.

In the mid-1800's, nearly 70 percent of the population of Venezuela was "Pardo", or "persons of African descent". This fact was recognized by Simón Bolivar in the Congress of Angostura in 1819:

Tengamos presente que nuestro pueblo no es europeo, ni el americano del norte; que más bién es un compuesto de Africa y América que una emanación de la Europa. ²³

During the colonial period relatively few white women immigrated to Venezuela, with the result that the small white upper class population was soon miscegenated. These whites, known as Criollos, included Simón Bolivar, whose, ancestry included both Blacks and Indians. Estimates of the size of the "pure" Black or African population are as high as 15 percent. Mr. Juan de Dios Martinez, of the University of Zulia, believes it is higher, estimating that Maracaibo and Zulia State alone could account for almost 800,000 Blacks. He and all other informants estimate the number of people with African ancestry in Venezuela at 60-66 percent. The States of Miranda and Zulia as well as the Distrito Federal are heavily "negroid", as Venezuelans would say. Nevertheless, phenotypically African populations are scattered throughout Venezuela in every state.

Economic Profile

Translation: Let us keep in mind that our people are not the European, nor the North American; it is rather a mix of Africa and America than an outpour from Europe.

restructure itself. What is required are enterprises in new sectors that can generate urban and rural employment. A revival of agriculture is already seen by many as a necessary strategy for rural communities as their purchasing power disappears. The shortage of lands and the advancing real estate boom make this option very difficult, yet imperative one, not only for Black communities, but also for Venezuela's own food security.

By 1948, Venezuela began restructuring its economy from being agrarian to being petroleum-based. Blacks with land or those from oil- producing states began selling their lands, moving to towns, and seeking employment in the oil industry. In those states, petroleum and its derivative industries constitute the primary source of employment, as is the case in Maracaibo. However, Blacks function mostly as low-skilled workers, and few are skilled technicians or engineers. Fewer still have become managers. Even within the skilled classes, pay differentials exist between Blacks and non-Blacks of the same grade.

The urban Afro-Venezuelans who completed a secondary and technical or university education are employed in the formal sector and constitute a small middle class (in terms of values, but in economic terms they are in the lower income segments). They tend to choose the professions more favorably disposed to hiring Blacks. Skilled jobs held by Blacks are typically in government services such as teaching and nursing or social work, all of which employ an important number of Blacks, women in particular.

Nevertheless, Blacks appear to be excluded from management positions. They are not represented in equal proportions in the upper echelons. Such is the case with the teaching profession, in which the majority of teachers in the unions are Black, but there are very few Black professionals in the upper ranks of the Ministry of Education. Blacks are not represented in the upper ranks of the military services, diplomatic corps, or the Catholic church. Among the majority of Blacks, unemployment is reportedly very high, particularly among adolescents.

Where image is important, such as in banks, in reception areas or in airplanes as flight attendants, Black women do not find employment opportunities. According to Dr. Juan de Dios Martinez of Zulia University, there are perhaps between 7 and 15 Black secretaries in the State of Zulia, where he estimates that 66 percent of the total population is Black.

Rural economies which depend upon agriculture or fishing are depressed. Difficulties in land titling and access to credit exacerbate circumstances, and many Blacks move into the cities to find work. The informal sector economy among Afro-Venezuelans consists of production and sale of foodstuffs, particularly traditional sweets and sweet breads, and casual day labour.

A new presence in Venezuela's workforce are undocumented Black immigrants from

Caribbean nations as Trinidad and Tobago, the Dominican Republic, and Haiti. In Caracas, there is a strong presence of immigrants from the Dominican Republic, Haiti, and Colombia. In the State of Bolivar, they came mostly from Guyana and the Eastern Caribbean to work in the mining sector. They have now formed long-standing communities with a distinctive culture and language. Colombian, Dominican, and Haitian migrants represent a significant portion of Venezuela's informal sector. In Caracas, they sell fruit from shopping carts on street corners and are also itinerant ice cream vendors. In Zulia, they sustain the agriculture and livestock sectors and are the main labour force in factories that produce milk products. The following facts about these undocumented migrant workers (estimated at 150,000 in Zulia in 1994) are acknowledged in the press:

- they are the main factor in the development of the agro/livestock industry in Zulia and other states;
- they replaced the Venezuelan agricultural work force that migrated to the cities since the 1950s;
- some of them came with their families and others have formed families with Venezuelan spouses.

Surplus income comes from grants from the Consejo Nacional de la Cultura (CONAC) and has resulted in the establishment of Afrocultural foundations in many small towns. These are important employers of cultural workers (teachers, artisans, musicians, and instrument makers) that teach these arts to the young and old and spin off into other economic activities such as festivals, public performances of the groups, and the manufacture and sale of traditional artifacts, including musical instruments.

Lastly, the increase in tourists to the local Patron Saint's celebrations and the beaches has once more increased informal street vending (sweets, liquor, and lotteries), as well as the lodging and restaurant sectors. There are negative consequences to this seasonal tourism, particularly the introduction of prostitution, drugs, and theft.

In rural coastal, towns there are also a few fishermen, usually younger men. Chuspa, Municipio Vargas, Distrito Federal is one of the few fishing cooperatives that sell to traders and restaurants. The European Economic Community has begun an Andean Regional Project to support artesanal fisheries with fishing supplies and improved storage and marketing. The Chuspa cooperative will be one of the pilot groups in Venezuela.

Lotteries, bingo, and betting on horseraces are very popular in urban and rural Venezuela and represent a hope for improving the incomes of the poor. The betting and lottery outlets are easily found in any rural or urban location, not only in Black communities. It was difficult to assess whether the money invested by the community in the games of

things about games of chance is the observation made by teachers from small settlements that playing becomes an addiction that takes time away from household management and productive work, resulting in a lower quality of life for the children in the household (meals are not prepared, their personal hygiene is disregarded, nutrition deteriorates as does adult supervision.)²⁴

The inhabitants of small inland rural settlements have a more difficult economic situation. They generally rely on seasonal farm work in the cacao and coffee farms (in the state of Miranda) or the sugar estates (Zulia) to make ends meet. Children and women work during the seasonal harvests, preventing children from attending school. A large proportion of the homes are headed by women. Some homes may have a *conuco* to help in subsistence food production, but most informants report that these small rural settlements are critically and chronically poor. The human capital is also poor because they are functionally illiterate and are unskilled. Services in terms of schools and clinics are not locally available because the settlements are too small. Roads are not paved and become impassable during the rains. Access to water is difficult and usually comes from rivers or wells. To have their basic needs supplied in education, health, and work, they have to invest more time and effort than their counterparts in small towns or in cities. They also receive a lower economic return for their work, since the agricultural worker is poorly paid. This accounts for urban migration (mainly of the young) and for the high incidence of undocumented immigrants in agriculture.

Cultural Economic Development

Cultural development is an important asset of the Afro-Venezuelan community. In the 1970s, a number of young men began independently to search for their "African roots" and to recover traditions that were being lost with the death of the elders in their communities.

There are many individuals who have dedicated their work to specific themes, have undertaken research, have opened Casas de la Cultura that provide classes and marketing outlets in their town, and have formed musical and dance theatre groups. Through their collective work, most aspects of cultural development have been explored, and the community is now poised to move forward with the development of economic enterprises that are profitable.

What they lack is the know-how to change from being "cultural services subsidized

²⁴ This was reported for small settlements in the Municipio Acevedo in the state of Miranda.

CONAC grants received by the Afrocultural groups, they never charged fees for public appearances. As times became economically difficult, they began to charge for travel costs to hotels and other entertainment businesses, but they have encountered great resistance. Without intending it, they made "Black" entertainment "free", while European theatre and concerts were "for a fee". Apart from poor entrepreneurial management skills, particularly in marketing and distributing their goods and services, this public attitude towards not paying for Black entertainment is the biggest constraint they face.

Tourism and its Impact on Barlovento

Blacks from the area say they have a difficult time benefiting from job opportunities in the industry. By the end of 1980, many tourism projects were completed in Miranda, around the city of Higuerote, and towards the other coastal areas. With the establishment of resorts, a variety of artificial waterways were created, diverting water from several rivers and causing stagnation in some natural bodies of water. Water treatment plants have not kept pace with tourism, which resulted in several beaches being contaminated with waste.

Tourism is seen by Black townships as a threat to their way of life because there are no economic benefits from servicing tourists, who use very little local food supplies or other local commodities. Local residents do suffer from its negative impact: housing has become scarcer in Higuerote and more expensive for local residents; there is a greater flow of drugs; delinquency has increased; teenage pregnancy rose; there is growing prostitution by both sexes; and an increase in sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV. Youths are lured into these activities by the promise of easy money.

There is a pressing need for the Afro-Venezuelan community to develop its own tourism options. The pattern of tourism promoted for Barlovento by the Chambers of Commerce consists of packaged tours for foreigners, who are taken to condominium-style facilities and to specific locations for entertainment and shopping. This leaves very little opportunity for small businesses to access the tourist and creates very few spin-offs for the local economy.

Land Tenure

The Agrarian Reform Law (ARL) was meant to be a "just system of ownership, land tenancy and exploitation of the land based on equitable distribution of the same, adequate

constitutes, for the man that works it, a base of economic stability. . . "

The ARL was not implemented smoothly across all geographical regions, because certain states exhibited high levels of "tenencia irregular", an inability to receive title to lands considered *baldías* or in the hands of large landowners. These irregular tenancies were in those areas with the greatest concentration of Blacks: Miranda, parts of Sucre and Aragua, and south of Lake Maracaibo. In communities visited by this mission, residents observed that the National Agrarian Institute (IAN) displayed reluctance to title significant numbers of Blacks, and provided only provisional title status. This was despite the fact that Blacks had occupied the lands in question, in some cases as far back as the colonial period, and had been working them.

Land Use: In 1983, Decree 1. 473 established 210,073 hectares of land that would be protected for agricultural production in the area, but this has not occurred. Property set aside for agricultural uses has been illegally given over for alternate uses despite the fact that Blacks applied the intended use of the land and had worked it for generations. An example of one such community is El Paují where a large portion of the lands zoned for farming used by this community was disputed by a company that plans to build a housing complex. It is claimed that IAN did not provide the community with effective legal counsel and as a result, the company forced the community to settle the dispute, accepting 18 of the 800 hectares taken.

Community Stability: ARL was intended to bring social and political stability to communities affected by providing land to the landless. We observed that the communities visited have exhibited high levels of "provisional" entitlement and many have conflicts with IAN. Credit problems and delays in titles have resulted in low productivity and earnings, general uncertainty, loss of credibility by IAN and other agricultural organizations, and the alienation of youth from agricultural activity. Lack of training and assistance in commercializing non cacao products have exacerbated these trends.

Education

The education profile of Black Communities, and of Venezuela in general, is one of the most disturbing found in this study on Poverty Alleviation for Minorities in Latin America. The human resources of the Black Communities, are undeveloped, and there is little motivation among the general population to improve itself through education.

The network of services for education is well-established in the states with Black Communities, so that every settlement of at least 1,000 people has a primary school, and every parish has a secondary school up to at least grade nine to service all its villages. To

support themselves in a larger town. The poverty of Black Communities makes this a very difficult venture. Most Afro-Venezuelan professionals interviewed came from families who struggled to send them to a boarding school or to a relative in a larger town, where they studied and found jobs to support themselves.

According to a report by the *Centro de Informacion y Documentacion de la Cultura Barloventeña (CIDICBA)*, only 10 percent of students in the region finish high school and only 1 percent will go to university. According to Garcia, education in the Black Community of Barlovento is "casi debajo de lo peor" (almost below the worst. He points out that many educators receive their jobs as political favors and are not necessarily the most qualified. The detriment to children is in worsening standards of output from teachers and students alike, as well as the racist remarks frequently heard in classrooms which jolt the self-esteem of the children, remarks such as "esos carajitos son brutos, necios y feos" (those little sons of. . . are dumb, stubborn, and ugly).

Compared to our findings from other countries of Latin America, the low value placed on education as a means of social and economic improvement is uncharacteristic of Black Communities and is probably explained as part of the Venezuelan national profile. Only in Buenaventura, Colombia, where the port became an employer of workers with low levels of education, was this same phenomenon encountered. The final outcome for that Black Community has been high levels of drug traffic and consumption, illegal migration to the USA, delinquency, and high rates of mortality for youths.

Motivation and a purpose for education are important needs for Black children and youth, and care needs to be given to this aspect of their welfare.

Health

The national health delivery system reaches the Black Communities in the same manner as other rural communities in the most prosperous states. Those that are closest to the largest cities or are parish capitals have a small hospital or clinic or are the site for a health ambulatory service. At least one doctor is on hand. Often these doctors are doing their required period of social service, and there is also a nurse. Villages that are more distant appear to have a dispensary operated by a nurse with a supply line to the nearest parish hospital.

The entire health system suffers from supply problems, the distant villages and the housing groups in rural areas being more severely affected. The most disadvantaged population groups are the *caserios* (small settlements) which are too small to have services and are located in areas of difficult access.

Residents must attend hospital facilities in Caracas. Health workers rarely want to enter these barrios, particularly those known to have gang shoot-outs. All of them have some Black populations.

Children suffer from fevers, diarrhea, and other common diseases. Among adults, high blood pressure and its attendant complications are the biggest health threat, but most of those diagnosed are under regular treatment. The rural folk we met were older than the national life expectancy age. The self-profiles of the Black Communities described their situation as healthier than the national average.

It is the communities in Zulia along the southern shore of the lake that illnesses related to the unhealthy conditions of the polluted lake shore and the swampy conditions of the communities are reported. Skin rashes, asthma, rheumatism, occasional outbreaks of dengue and too-frequent diarrhea are observed. The water sources are not potable, and difficult economic conditions militate against boiling of the water or the purchase of filters.

Family sizes in the Black Community tend to be larger than the average for Venezuela. The 1990 Census shows 2. 37 children per woman as the national norm. For the communities visited and the marginal barrios, family sizes were reported to be four children or more, and they were larger in the preceding generation. Of course, the larger the family, the heavier the economic burden.

Maternal mortality in rural communities is a rare event. However, in Miranda state, abortion was named as a cause of young women's deaths. This seems to be on the increase, particularly since birth control pills and IUDs are no longer freely provided by the Health services. The problem of teenage pregnancy, illegal abortions and maternal deaths are cited in the Venezuela's Report to the IV World Conference on Women in Beijing as an growing national problem for all women. Teenage pregnancies in Venezuela have increased from 96. 8 per 1,000 in 1986 to 109. 75 per 1,000 in 1991. Table 5 shows that the percent of teenage mothers for the states estimated to have high Black populations is lower than the national norm, confirming the observations made in the Black Communities that this is not a large problem. It would appear that only recently has teenage pregnancy become an issue in the rural Black Communities in the more tourist oriented parts of Barlovento and Zulia, which in the past have had a tranquil way of life.

There is insufficient information on the health conditions of the Black populations residing in the hill barrios of Caracas or Maracaibo. Clearly, however, the lower quality of housing construction, the lack of water and proper sanitation, and the danger of avalanches when it rains make living conditions unhealthy.

The communities visited in rural areas of the Distrito Federal, Miranda and Zulia were established towns not far from main highways, provided with electricity, piped water, and septic tanks or pipes disgorging to the swamp by Lake Maracaibo or to a river. Although these basic services exist, many towns and most small settlements are isolated because of poor access roads, infrequent and costly public transportation, and lack of telephone or post office communications. People keep informed through watching television or listening to the radio. Lack of garbage collection and disposal is a common complaint in rural communities and a problem that is stimulating the emergence of citizen groups.

Housing in these communities is generally of cement blocks and metal sheet roofing and is well finished and painted on the outside. This type of housing has been an improvement brought about through government housing programs. A shortage of affordable housing for young couples is the only problem mentioned by these communities.

The basic need which most affects quality of life for all communities, including Afro-Venezuelans, is water. Although aqueduct systems have been installed in most larger settlements, the water sources are of poor quality or are drying up. This is a permanent problem in the Distrito Federal, affecting more critically the marginal settlements in the upper hills and La Guaira.

The most glaring contrast to the national norms is rural Distrito Federal which, despite a low population, has only provided electricity to 34 percent, water to 26. 6 percent, and sewage pipes to thirteen percent of its households. Rural Distrito Federal consists of the Caribbean coast in Municipio Vargas, which is where African communities remained after emancipation. These are communities that do not have a paved road. Bridges for the rivers were built only in the last decade. Although towers for telephone communications were built years ago, the telephone system has never been installed.

The undeveloped piped sewage network and treatment systems are characteristic of the country. Most rural areas in Venezuela use septic tanks. The lack of sewage treatment facilities has resulted in the pollution and near death of important rivers such as the River Tuy. This negatively affects many Black Communities in Barlovento whose beaches have become condemned because of high bacterial count, which negatively affects the tourism potential of the coast.

In general, for the Black Communities we visited, the infrastructure for basic services that were most lacking were those that enable communication and exchange of goods between rural communities and cities. The most pressing needs are for:

paved or	well	kept	roads	linking	the	rural	production	areas	to	the	towns	with
markets;												

telephone or post office to link communities to the rest of the country;

frequent and cost-effective public transport to access schools, markets, social services, and jobs for rural residents.

Relative Poverty

Venezuela's most recent poverty map is based on the census of 1990. Poverty rankings are based on unsatisfied basic needs and were made for the states and for municipalities. The methodology employed was designed by ECLAC. This methodology measures structural poverty but does not measure changes in the income levels of the homes, thus it does not capture the new poor or the depth of chronic poverty caused by a recessive economy.

The observations made by the mission and the information gathered from communities, although insufficient, suggest that while small rural towns do not show evidence of as much structural poverty, the drop in purchasing power of the *bolivar* and the lack of economic opportunities has deepened the level of poverty of Black families in the last five years. Comments made by informants also lead to the observation that they have reached the end of their reserves, and that communal assistance to each other will no longer be a possibility. The custom of giving away produce from the *conuco* and later receiving an equivalent when in need will soon be a thing of the past. According to rural residents in Zulia, what little there is will have to be used or sold in order to meet household's basic cash needs.

In Caracas and La Guaira, the hardship caused by the devaluation of the *bolivar* in April 1996 was evident. Those employed in the public service or tied to fixed incomes have to watch their budgets. Many already have more than one job or are looking for a self-employment opportunity to augment their family budgets. Strategies for coping in an urban setting include economizing on rent by having extended families living in a house (more than one couple of the same family in addition to the grandparents). Single adults tend to stay in the family home helping to defer expenses by pooling their salaries. Adolescents who are not studying are urged to find a job.

The concluding observations of the mission regarding Blacks in Venezuela are that:
the majority of the Black population in Venezuela is urban and lives in Caracas and Maracaibo in marginal areas in conditions of poverty;
only a small proportion of the Afro-Venezuelan population is well educated, and even those have low incomes and are becoming poor;
the Afro-Venezuelan population in the rural towns may not suffer structural poverty (i. e has basic services), but it is poor due to lack of incomes and decreasing purchasing power;

the poor in rural areas;

in Zulia and in Caracas, there is a significant Black population of undocumented migrants that have no legal residency rights and live in very poor conditions in the most marginal barrios and rural human settlements (bateys in Zulia).

National Laws, Political Representation and Government Policies and Programs

National Laws

Although every Venezuelan has a constitutional right (Article 61) not to be discriminated against by virtue of race or gender, there are no legal instruments or institutions to oversee the implementation of this right. Discrimination in employment, in social treatment, and in the application of legislation are everyday occurrences experienced by Blacks in Venezuela, but there is no legal or institutional method to demand their rights.

For Black immigrants who work in Venezuela, the constitution says that they have the same rights and responsibilities as Venezuelans (Article 45), and that their children born in the country have the right to citizenship. Yet in the application of immigration laws, the process of documentation and granting residency is delayed for years for these individuals. Since their residency is not granted, they cannot obtain citizenship if they wish to do so (Article 36, granting special treatment for Latin Americans). For those men who form families with Venezuelan women, the constitution does not grant Venezuelan women equal rights with male citizens. It does not grant citizenship to their spouses, while Venezuelan men are guaranteed it for theirs (Article 37-1 and 38).

Political Representation

Until the 1980s, Blacks have undertaken no political development as a group because of the prevailing societal and political attitudes that there are no separate racial or ethnic groups in Venezuela. Consequently, no pressure groups have evolved to advocate for Black interests. Afro-Venezuelans vote, join political parties, risk their lives in political debate and disturbances, and participate in the political process as part of groups representing trade unions, farmers, and educators, rather than as a separate group focused on Black interests. As a result, there is little evidence of a strong Black presence in Venezuelan politics.

Government Policies and Programs

the *bolivar* devaluate from Bs 290 per US dollar to Bs 450. At the same time, gasoline prices were increased. These measures set off price increases in transport, air fares, and food costs. The measures also exacerbated a long and bitter teachers strike against the Ministry of Education for higher salaries. Nevertheless, the exchange rate stabilized at around Bs 450 per US dollar within the first week.

The Social Agenda of Venezuela was launched to ameliorate the impact of economic measures on the poor. To be a success, says the Minister of Planning, other measures must be adequately implemented, these other measures include the:

... creation of a Ministry of Industry and Commerce and of the Bank of External Commerce, opening private investment to the tourism sector, further opening of the oil sector, relaunching the program of concessions, accelerating the process of privatization and opening up of the mining sector, completing changes to the Income Tax Law, approving reforms to the Tax Code, and improving the process of modernization and automation of the customs system. ²⁵

²⁵ "Negocian con la CAF Desembolso Rápido por \$200 millones", *El Nacional*, May 2, 1996.

Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank and the Corporación Andina de Fomento are prepared to provide credits. A figure of US\$1,400 million for Balance of Payment Support and US\$ 746 million for programs and projects was quoted in the press. ²⁶

International Cooperation

UNESCO

To date, the only international support reported by organizations has come from UNESCO's project "La Ruta del Esclavo." This is a program established as part of the Decade for Culture (1987-1997) that provides funds for projects in Africa and the Americas for groups researching, documenting, publishing, and performing cultural aspects of Africa and its diaspora resulting from slavery. It funds conferences, magazines, movies, projects. . . It has established regional committees for the approval of projects in America and in Africa, with representatives from both continents and UNESCO.

Little is known about this project in most countries. This is the first time that the mission encountered a group that has benefitted from it, the Fundación Afroamerica. To find out about it, its director had to invest considerable personal resources to go to Paris and familiarize himself with UNESCO. This is a very difficult thing for others to do.

Control of the decision-making in project approval is heavily weighted towards academics (university professors in African studies) and those involved in UNESCO committees in the United States, the Caribbean and Africa. There is no representation from the grassroots groups or organizations that are the ultimate beneficiaries nor of continental Latin Americans, and this could be a reason for the lack of awareness about this funding source at the grassroots.

Canadian Embassy - Local Initiatives Fund (LIF)

This fund managed by the Canadian Embassy has a very small budget for Venezuela, around \$200,000 last year. The program's priorities are women and children, and Environmental initiatives are also of importance. Since the funds are limited and the needs are great, a top limit has been set for projects of \$20,000.

To date, no Black groups have been funded, although there is an environmental

⁶ Ibid.

which many participants are Black.

The LIF demonstrated great interest in supporting initiatives of Afro-Venezuelan groups, in particular the Union de Mujeres Negras, and learning more about the situation of this community in the context of the growing poverty in Venezuela.

Inter-American Development Bank

The Bank's program for Venezuela is investing in the country's efforts to restructure its economy. The level of investment and type of programming were discussed in the Section 1.

5. 2 - National Government Policies and Programs. Balance of payment support, participation in the Agenda Social, and other economic programs are the present priorities.

The Bank's lending for the Social Agenda demonstrates its commitment to the policy of achieving social development and stability for the region. Many of the programs that will benefit from these loans are directly supporting Afro-Venezuelans. Of particular interest in the future are the youth training and employment programs, because they could be a vehicle for economic development strategies that specifically pull the Afro-Venezuelan community from the cycle of poverty in which they exist.

The Small Project Fund which supports micro-lending programs has also reached the Barlovento region in a rather small way. Through the Grupo Social CESAP, a national NGO, a micro-lending service exists for entrepreneurs in the whole region. The program provides information, diagnosis, training and loans to start or maintain a business. It has operated in this area for five years and it services 55 enterprises of which 40 percent were new. Initially, the capital for this program was provided by FONCOVIN (Bs 300 million for a national program, with a three year agreement). In 1996, they made an agreement with the IDB. In this agreement, no loans can be given to businesses whose operations are detrimental to the environment.

Conclusion

A scan through the sources of funding and technical support accessible to the Afro-Venezuelan community shows that there has been little available, and the main source has been the government's CONAC which almost singlehandedly accounts for the establishment of Afro-cultural foundations. UNESCO's program Ruta del Esclavo has been beneficial to one Foundation and has allowed Venezuelan contact with Africa and the Caribbean region, and the regular publication of a magazine that keeps Afro-Venezuelans in touch with the cultural leaders of other African diaspora. The only existing women's NGO has benefitted

groups within their community.

The proliferation of cultural foundations demonstrates the responsiveness of the Afro-Venezuelan community to sources of funding that are opened to them. They match their economic needs and cultural strengths and develop activities that can be funded.

The lack of international development support is evident in this disadvantaged Venezuelan group by its lack of developmental NGOs. If sources of funds and technical support for economic development and social development were made available, they would probably respond with eagerness to that challenge. These have not been forthcoming, or if they have, at least the community is not aware of them.

Proposed Solutions

It is recommended that Venezuelan Blacks, both national and undocumented immigrants, be included as a target group in any Poverty Alleviation initiatives with the areas of priority for action being (a) strengthening identity and organization; and, (b) economic and social development.

- ☐ As part of strengthening group identity:
 - make an appraisal of the socioeconomic conditions of Blacks in the marginal barrios of Caracas, La Guaira, and Maracaibo in order to develop suitable initiatives for this large group;
 - support the development of curriculum material and teacher training to create knowledge of and respect for the African identity in Venezuela, and incorporate these materials into the national education program.

The regional training project for Minorities in Latin America could include for Venezuela the following objectives:

develop Afro-Venezuelans with skills to manage and commercialize profitably the cultural products and services that exists at this time.

develop Afro-Venezuelan promoters that will strengthen the sense of identity of Afro-Venezuelan youths and will also develop their entrepreneurial and management skills to sell their cultural and technical services.

develop Afro-Venezuelan leaders (particularly women and youths) with skills in diagnosis of social and economic conditions, and in programming to manage and

those proposed by the Barlovento region.

implement community-based solutions.

- pilot initiatives to commercialize cultural activities should be supported, particularly

Part III

Analysis of Results

The results of studies in the nine countries show that there are similarities in the socioeconomic profiles of the communities, with significant similarities in the following subregions:

Central America

Black communities were able to isolate themselves in areas along the Atlantic Coast, where they developed a self-sufficient way of life, but were unable to integrate very well into the economies of their countires .Presently, they find it increasingly difficult to maintain this way of life since they are losing their lands to rural colonization or to large companies in the lumber, fishing, or tourist sector. Legally they have no rights with which to defend the natural resources that they have traditionally used, because the laws promote rural colonization, companies, and tourism. Although they have a constitutional right to equality, there are no laws or institutions to penalize the abuse of this right.

Those who have become modernized and attempted to integrate themselves into the society, have done so through education at the cost of much sacrifice for it is expensive to live in areas where there are secondary schools and universities. They had to change their lifestyles in order not to be ridiculed by other students and teachers or to be discriminated against when they apply for jobs or try to attain higher income levels. Those who can migrate to the United States. They leave in fishing or tourist boats, and, once abroad, they send money to their families.

The majority of Blacks who arrived during the colonial period married Mestizos, Indigenous people, or White settlers to lessen their negritude. At the same time they adopted Creole culture and values, while distancing themselves from their Black ancestors. In all the countries they have been integrated with the Mestizos

Colombia and Ecuador

These two countries share many similarities with Central America. Large numbers of Blacks settled along the Pacific Coast, where they established separate communities. They often set up their communities close to indigenous groups, utilizing the resources of the forest, sea, and rivers in a subsistence economy. Though in reality, they sell part of the resources to

violence from company and landowners against the traditional residents of these lands, which they try to expropriate. Characteristically, the lands zones traditionally inhabited by Black communities in both countries have become dangerous zones where violence reigns unchecked.

The difference with Central America is that the Black Community in those countries is very large and a large percentage live in cities; marginalised and in extreme poverty. The level of poverty is so grave that some resort to prostitution, drugs, and delinquency. There is a high percentage death rate among young men due to ethnic cleansing, as is seen in Buenaventura and Cali. The majority of the population which is clearly Black lives in Guayaquil and Esmeraldas in Ecuador, in Cali, Buenaventura, Cartagena, Turbo, and Quibdo in Colombia. There is , as well, a large Mulatto and Mestizo population in these and other large cities in both countries.

Peru, Venezuela, Uruguay, and Argentina

These countries share similar characteristics as regards the development of the Black population. Peru and Venezuela have Black rural communities that have maintained their cultural identity in spite of the strong migration of young people into the cities where they become modernized.

At the same time, the four countries share a strong tendency towards racial and cultural integration. Venezuela has integrated the most Blacks into their society. Their culture, way of speaking, and forms of entertainment reflect their African root. Venezuela, however, also practices a lot of endoracism and "emblanquecimiento" (which are the two sides of the same coin and the result of government policy to create a "white" race and culture).

In these countries, the immigration of Europeans was encouraged in order to whiten the culture and the physical appearance of the people. Uruguay and Argentina have experienced the most negative effects of these policies: the numbers of Blacks have diminished, and since the colonial period they have not been able to excel economically or socially. They tend very much to make themselves inconspicuous in their appearance, where they work, and where they live. In Argentina the Black Creoles seem not to exist, for they do not wish to be in the forefront. There are similar patterns in Peru, but they have a larger population of Blacks and there are rural towns where the culture is maintained. In Lima, however, those who exist in extreme poverty live in hidden slums. Others who have progressed economically have spread out into different suburbs where they form an invisible minority. At the same time the Afro-Peruvian is quite timid and cautious, showing similar

racial confrontation. In Peru, racial discrimination against the Blacks is more pronounced and violent, as is seen in the newspapers, on television, and in everyday life.

Response from the Black Community

The first obstacles that this community faced during the colonial and Independence period were racial, social, and economic discrimination, which has impeded their economic progress and cultural expression.

The community's response was to form maroon settlements, developing self-sufficiency and a strong unity among themselves.

Among the Black Community, those who live in rural areas isolate themselves culturally, maintain their racial identity, oral traditions, and work in the neighbouring plantations apart from maintaining their own farms, which they use to support themselves. In this way, they serve as a flexible labor pool and at the same time practice subsistence farming. They have to integrate themselves into the labour force to improve their quality of life: to pay for education, transportation, and consumer products.

Those who live in the cities are skilled artisans, but they do not always find work. Formal education has become a means of making progress in areas that are not prohibited by law. White values are instilled in their children so that they do not have to endure the same restrictions. The importance that is placed on education and family loyalty has been maintained in almost all the countries. Within the last decades, the value of education has diminished in areas where the economy has grown and well-paid jobs are available, for example in the ports and in the petroleum industry, without high educational requirements. The heritage of the African American Diaspora seems to be: family loyalty, the ability to be self-employed in difficult times, and the capacity to adapt in order to survive from one generation to another. All this is ingrained in their culture which incorporates the role that each gender and age group plays and how they relate to others outside their race.

A less constructive contribution has been the legacy that American Creoles have attributed to the Black Community. They view with distrust black leaders and black organizations that do not have cultural, and in some cases, cultural-religious objectives. They have little desire to work with other members of the Black Community to resolve conflicts, and they deny their genetic and cultural African identity.

Rural communities are the mouthpiece of African culture and racial identity that still remains in this continent. The women in general, in the cities or towns, are the mouthpiece of the culture, its strength, prejudices and aspirations which are passed on from generation to generation.

changes in its manner of survival:

The natural resources that enabled rural subsistence, and supported those in the cities, are being lost through expropriation of land, over-fishing, and through a lack of financial resources.

Black youths feel alienated from their ancestor. They encounter the same trials that adolescence experience in general, but on a greater magnitude because of their poverty: teenage pregnancy, irresponsible fatherhood, a disregard for formal education as a means of economic advancement. In search of ways to make quick money, they sell drugs which leads to addiction, male and female prostitution, and delinquency.

There is a lack of trust in black political leaders, as they are viewed as opportunists who seek to benefit themselves at the people's expense.

In conclusion, poverty among the majority of the Black population is becoming even more extreme and critical as the economic situation worsens for the world in general.

Barriers to a better way of life

This study shows that the determining factors that prohibit a better quality of life, are institutional and personal. The institutional barriers include:

- a development philosophy and criteria for public investment that exclude Blacks;
- an education system that does not give credit to Blacks for their role in the development of the nation;
- a legislation that does not protect the right to equality.

The personal barriers include: -discriminatory practices within the home and school; - endoracism and "emblanquecimiento" within the Black community.

To begin to eliminate these barriers and to be able to move forward using own criteria, action must take place at two levels: the institutional and the individual.

Action on the institutional level.

To change institutional barriers, there is need to influence government, which implies having a clear and coordinated political involvement, financial clout, and creating public pressure to achieve specific change. These changes consist primarily in:

1. being aware of the implicit racism in the Creole-Mestizo development philosophy to be able to fight against it on the personal level. It is therefore necessary to (a) reintegrate the role of the Blacks into the history books; (b) introduce it into the

change, and (c) conduct censuses of the Black community to validate it as a social group.

2. the participation of Black Community leaders in legislative assembly, the executive branch, and in the municipalities. This way they can influence legislation and its execution in order to protect the right to equality and ensure that the national resources benefit the Black Community. This implies that those who become involved in politics have to adopt the goals of the Community, above those of the party , and to maintain their personal integrity so that the Black public will have faith in the electoral process.

Action on the Personal Level

Each person has within himself the power to eliminate personal barriers, beginning with endoracism which is the factor that influences all the other barriers. Their invisibility, social behavior, and lack of political power engender weakness within the Black Community. If the Black Community does not have respect for itself then others would not have respect for it either.

Action, therefore, has to begin within their Community. Blacks have to learn to love themselves simply for who they are and to appreciate their strengths and talents. It is necessary to:

- educate themselves about the African Diaspora and its vital historical role;
- analyse the dynamics of subtle discrimination and endoracism within family and personal relationships, and in this way resolve personal conflicts so as to be strong in facing the outside world.
- identify other members of the Black Community with similar vision and needs, be able to work together towards specific objectives and resolve common problems;
- help the youths and children gain a clear understanding of who they are, where they come from, and how they can progress with greater resolve;
- overcome (especially in the case of women) fears, complexes, endoracism, and the inadequate response to their children. Desiring to meet immediate needs, they adopt timid measures, which alleviate their problems for the moment but holds them in the grips of poverty for the rest of their lives. There are no gains without risks; these limitations do not have to be repeated in the next generation.

Response to the Community-- Recommendations of the Study

Desperation arises as one searches for solutions. Since it is assumed that each person seeks his own interests, there is a distrust for politicians, group leaders, and other members of the Community. After interviewing individuals in the rural and urban areas as to how they wish to resolve their situation and how they would like to be helped, the predominant response was that they wanted jobs, a better economy, an increase in salaries, and direct support, but not through organizations since these keep a greater part of the resources and their situation do not change.

In light of this, economic projects are recommended for all the countries. Attention should also be paid to strengthening grassroots organizations that were created to achieve specific goals. Furthermore, investments should be made in development or cultural groups that already exist. In this way each one has the opportunity to make an input in the Black Community.

In response to the needs arising in all the countries, the following projects at the national level are recommended by the study:

- funds for economic development and to strengthen the groups and organizations involved (Honduras, Nicaragua, Ecuador, Peru, Venezuela, Uruguay, and Argentina);
- funds for legal support in obtaining land titles and to strengthen the groups that try to protect the land rights;
- funds for ecological protection and the development of self-sustainable local communities, and to strengthen the groups that work to this end;
- funds for tourism development (Venezuela);

Secondly, the education sector needs to be developed. There should be:

- scholarships for education at the secondary, technical, and university level (Peru, Uruguay, Argentina).
- funds that go towards diversifying skills for domestic workers and other unskilled workers (Colombia);
- radio communication projects, the development of education programs and selfsustainable radio stations (Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Colombia);
- the creation of a publishing and editing company to produce in Spanish work by Afro-American and African writers.

Thirdly, in the area of social development, there should be:

- social development funds to support disadvantaged women and youth, and to expand social programs within the Black community.

Areas that need strengthening in the Black Community

Certain weaknesses need to be corrected to facilitate self-development and access to external donors.

Organization

Without an organization of those who wish to resolve a specific problem, there is no way to channel funds. There is a need to encourage the creation of grassroots groups of those who wish to resolve the same problem in the same manner.

As Blacks, suffering from economic and social paralysis, there are possibilities of progressing with external support. This will take place when there is collaboration among members of the Community in terms of objective and work strategy. If this is accomplished, they will soon realise that working as a group, they can progress with or without external help.

To overcome the obstacle of disunity among themselves, each must be prepared to modify his way of thinking. The painful lessons learnt in the past from working together in groups should be considered when forming new groups. Without organization, external resources will be unavailable and efficiency will not be improved. If people do not work together, nothing will change.

Existence of intermediary NGOs to supervise funds and activities

Traditional donors have supported NGOs to facilitate them as administrative supervisors and technical advisors. The NGOs in the Black Community have never benefitted from this process. They are still novices in this area. There is need to improve their technical capacity and to be open and trustworthy to the Community. Anything less would prevent them from being used as channels for development.

One of the most notable traits the study uncovered has been individuals' reluctance to become part of an organization, whether it be political or developmental, since they believe they are being used by the NGOs to obtain money from which they never benefit. The fact that there are black organizations does not imply that individuals are going to participate in their activities. The lack of faith in leaders is significant and the lack of desire to work together in groups is a tradition.

weakness, the inability to follow plans agreed upon with Donors and, in many cases failure to follow through on financial agreements. As a result, Donors are sometimes cautious, in some regions, where they have to channel funds through NGOs that are led by Blacks.

It is preferable to intermediaries who share the same culture as the individuals in the community, but if the community does not have confidence in them, other NGOs who can be effective in communicating with the community may be used. This places a lot of pressure on the black organizations that exist because it is necessary for them to be effective and have credibility within their community.

The strengthening of black NGOs require willingness on their part to adopt the goals of the Community and to conduct themselves in accordance with the standards of that society, to be open by divulging information, and to fulfill agreements made between the community, donor, and the NGO.

Regional Training Project

As an initial response to the study, a regional training project is proposed, which would concentrate on strengthening grassroots organizations, existing NGOs, and would develop educational material that is appropriate to mobilize the Black Communities.

It is recommended that the program focus on improving self-esteem in the individual and within groups, and enhancing their administrative, technical and planning capacity so they can mobilize national and international resources for their self-development.

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