A study of the impact of ecumenical cooperation
QUILOMBOLAS RIGHTS:
A study of the impact of ecumenical cooperation
This publication is based on the final impact study report, completed in August 2011, regarding the support ACT Alliance organizations in Brazil have provided to the quilombola movement and communities.

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National and international committees were set up by teams from the organizations involved to coordinate the work.

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**Marambaia:** Alessandra Saturnino, Barbara Guerra, Beatriz Inocêncio (Biá), Cristina, Dionato de Lima Eugênio (Senhor Naná), Guido Eugênio, Joecí Gomes do Nascimento Eugênio, Mara Elisabeth Machado Barbosa, Monique Alves, Nilson Carlos Alves, Sônia Maria Machado, Vânia Guerra and other people from the community; José Mauricio Arruti, anthropologist and professor at the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro (PUC-RJ); Daniel Sarmento, prosecutor at the Federal Public Prosecutor's office (Ministério Público Federal: MPF); Lawyers from the NGO Mariana Crioula: Aline Lopes and Ana Cláudia Diogo Tavares; Representative from the National Commission for the Coordination of Black Quilombola Communities (Comissão Nacional de Articulação das Comunidades Negras Rurais Quilombolas: Conaq): Ronaldo dos Santos.

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**Communities in Rio Grande do Sul:** Torrão: Alessandra, Arlete, Cleusa, Darci, Genevi, Gisela, Lúcia, Lurdes, Manoela, Maria, Mônica, Nilza, Salome, Solange, Tomás. Monjolo: Darci, Deleci, Erasmo, Ilane, Jairo, Jerri, Jorge, Margarida, Noêmia, Rosangela, Rosaura, Valmei, Cerro das Velhas: Libânia de Matos and Roberto de Matos.


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<td>AATR</td>
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<td>ABA</td>
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<td>BNDES</td>
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<td>CESE</td>
<td>Coordenadoria Ecuemética de Serviço</td>
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<td>COHRE</td>
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<td>CONAQ</td>
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<td>CONIC</td>
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<td>CPI-SP</td>
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<td>DFID</td>
<td>Department for International Development</td>
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<td>DIS</td>
<td>Programa de Desenvolvimento Integrado e Sustentável</td>
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<td>EED</td>
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<td>EFA</td>
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<td>EMATER</td>
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<td>FCP</td>
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<td>Forúm Ecuménico Brasil</td>
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<td>FETAEMA</td>
<td>Federação dos Trabalhadores e Trabalhadoras na Agricultura do Estado do Maranhão</td>
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<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Full Name</td>
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<tr>
<td>FLD</td>
<td>Fundação Luterana de Diaconia</td>
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<td>GDASI</td>
<td>Grupo de Defesa Ambiental e Social de Itacuruçá</td>
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<td>GTF</td>
<td>Instituto de Desenvolvimento Sustentável ligado à Fundação Odebrecht</td>
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<td>IECLB</td>
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<td>ILO</td>
<td>International Labour Organization</td>
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<td>IN</td>
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<td>INCRA</td>
<td>Instituto Nacional de Colonização e Reforma Agrária</td>
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<td>INEP</td>
<td>Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisas Educacionais</td>
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<td>ITERMA</td>
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<td>MDA</td>
<td>Ministério do Desenvolvimento Agrário</td>
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<td>Ministério do Desenvolvimento Social e Combate à Fome</td>
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<td>MMA</td>
<td>Ministério do Meio Ambiente</td>
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<td>MNU</td>
<td>Movimento Negro Unificado</td>
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<td>MP</td>
<td>Ministério Público</td>
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<td>MPP</td>
<td>Ministério Público Federal</td>
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<td>MST</td>
<td>Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-governmental organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>OAB</td>
<td>Ordem dos Advogados do Brasil</td>
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<td>OQ</td>
<td>Observatório Quilombola</td>
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<td>PAA</td>
<td>Programa de Aquisição de Alimentos</td>
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<tr>
<td>PAC (INCRA)</td>
<td>Programa de Consolidação e Emancipação (Auto-Suficiência) de Assentamentos Resultantes da Reforma Agrária de INCRA</td>
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<tr>
<td>PAD</td>
<td>Processo de Articulação e Diálogo</td>
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<td>PAMN</td>
<td>Programa de Apoio ao Movimento Negro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PDT</td>
<td>Partido Democrático Trabalhista</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PETI</td>
<td>Programa de Erradicação do Trabalho Infantil</td>
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<td>PMDB</td>
<td>Partido do Movimento Democrático Brasileiro</td>
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<td>PNAE</td>
<td>Programa Nacional de Alimentação Escolar</td>
</tr>
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<td>PQRN</td>
<td>Projeto Quilombo: Resistência Negra</td>
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<td>PT</td>
<td>Partido dos Trabalhadores</td>
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<tr>
<td>PVN</td>
<td>Projeto Vida de Negro</td>
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<tr>
<td>REJU</td>
<td>Rede Ecumênica de Juventude</td>
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<td>RENAP</td>
<td>Rede Nacional de Advogados Populares</td>
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<tr>
<td>RTID</td>
<td>Relatório Técnico de Identificação e Delimitação</td>
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<td>SASOP</td>
<td>Serviço de Assessoria a Organizações Populares Rurais</td>
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<td>SECADI</td>
<td>Secretaria de Educação Continuada, Alfabetização e Diversidade e Inclusão</td>
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<td>SEDOC</td>
<td>Secretaria de Estado de Educação</td>
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<td>SENAR</td>
<td>Serviço Nacional de Aprendizagem Rural</td>
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<td>SEPPHR</td>
<td>Secretaria de Políticas de Promoção da Igualdade Racial da Presidência da República</td>
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<td>SEPROMI</td>
<td>Secretaria de Promoção da Igualdade do Estado da Bahia</td>
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<td>SMDDH</td>
<td>Sociedade Maranhense de Defesa de Direitos Humanos</td>
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<td>STR</td>
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<td>TI</td>
<td>Terra Indígena</td>
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<td>UFMA</td>
<td>Universidade Federal do Maranhão</td>
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This study aims to assess the impact of support provided by the ACT Alliance organizations in Brazil to the quilombola movement and communities between 1996 and 2009. Impact is considered to be change that lasts and makes a difference. The identification of this impact should lead to both a more profound understanding about how the organizations that constitute the ACT Alliance can contribute to the tackling of social injustice and poverty and to deliberations about how this contribution could be improved.

The study was supported by Christian Aid and EED (Church Development Service: Evangelischer Entwicklungsdienst), European members of the ACT Alliance, and was conducted under the auspices of the National Impact Study Committee, comprised of representatives from the three participating organizations of the ACT Alliance in Brazil: Koinonia – Ecumenical Presence and Service (Koinonia - Presença Ecumênica e Serviço), the Ecumenical Service Coordinator (Coordenação Ecumênica de Serviço: CESE) and the Lutheran Foundation of Diakonia (Fundação Luterana de Diaconia: FLD) as well as a representative from Christian Aid’s office in Brazil.

The reality of quilombolas is addressed by all three institutions. For this reason, and because of its symbolic importance in the struggle for social justice in Brazil, quilombolas, with a focus on territorial rights, were chosen as the theme of this impact study. The intervention approach is based on the concept of transformational development, which guides ACT Alliance activities, and the framework of Human, Economic, Social, Cultural and Environmental Rights.

We utilized case study methodology. Five distinct programme sites were selected which differentiated from each other in terms of their geographical location, the nature of the problem experienced and the intervention carried out: São Francisco do Paraguacu (Bahia); Marambaia (Rio de Janeiro); Baixo Sul (Bahia); the Centre for Black Culture of Maranhão (Centro de Cultura Negra do Maranhão: CCN); and a number of quilombola communities from the Southern Territory of Rio Grande do Sul. Although these five cases do not provide a comprehensive overview they provide a good approximation of the quilombola situation in Brazil, from the perspective of the work of the three above-mentioned organizations.

The methodology consisted of listening to people in their communities and observing significant changes in their lives, particularly in terms of territorial rights and with a specific look at the issues of gender and youth, in order to make a pre- and post-intervention comparison. We also sought to understand to what extent the communities associated these changes with the work of the supporting organization. Furthermore, we heard from the technical teams of the organizations who directly supported these activities and from ACT Alliance in Brazil (Koinonia; CESE; FLD; the Centre for Support to Small Farmers - Centro de Apoio ao Pequeno Agricultor: CAPA; the CCN); the coordinating bodies and boards of the three Brazilian organizations under analysis (Koinonia, FLD e CESE) and from Christian Aid and EED. These interviews addressed the contribution of international cooperation to the quilombola issue in Brazil and the added value of contributions of ecumenical agencies.

The methodology used to identify impacts was adapted from Christian Aid’s “Making a Difference” methodology based on the perceptions of beneficiaries and others involved regarding how changes took place and, where possible, identifying the perception of the interviewees about their causes, taking particular care to identify the contributions of ACT Alliance organizations.

To do this we utilized semi-structured interviews with focus groups (adapted from the mini-workshops proposed by Christian Aid’s above-mentioned methodology); individual interviews to complement information from focus groups participants or to interview other actors; and observations in the field: visits to the communities and participation in meetings and other events. We considered it appropriate to work informally, given that it was not always possible to bring everyone together.
in one workshop and in order to prioritize a more ethnographic tool which valued informal moments, observations, conversations, surprises - the unplanned. The intention here was to capture the perception of the subjects involved in order to support the qualitative analysis.

Focus groups were very rich moments and generated intense debates. The group often started with a certain number of participants which then grew little by little, incorporating other interested parties from the community. Discourse resulting from individual interviews is identified throughout the document. Quotes extracted from focus groups are considered collective and are not therefore individually identified.

We undertook a review of reports, publications and other relevant material in order to better understand the cases studied. A further measure was a photographic record of the communities visited; to this end local photographers accompanied the visits.

This document is divided into three parts: the first provides a contextualization of the quilombola issue in Brazil today, briefly describing its history and highlighting the main challenges in guaranteeing the communities their territorial rights. The second part is composed of the five above-mentioned case studies; and the third contains a reflection on the principle learning, challenges and recommendations made in the light of the analysed cases in order to contribute to advances in the guarantee of quilombola rights in Brazil, as a part of a wider struggle to overcome social injustice and poverty.

Why were these cases selected?

The decision about which programme locations to highlight in this study took into consideration certain elements. Primarily we needed to feature direct and recent operations of the organizations involved: CESE, FLD and Koinonia. Due to its operational form and location, FLD had a clearly defined geographical and territorial profile, which led to the decision to examine the work of CAPA-Sul (CAPA-South) centre, whose focus is sustainable development based on the family farming activities carried out by the quilombola communities in that region. Koinonia develops noteworthy advocacy work at national international level, in particular through the Quilombola Observatory, providing us an opportunity for an in-depth study of communities in the state of Rio de Janeiro and Bahia. CESE supports many quilombola communities and organizations across the country through its Small Projects Programme, as well as through strategic advocacy and communication operations.

From this overview we sought to identify those cases that provided the most elements for an understanding of the diverse situations experienced by quilombola communities in Brazil today. Two sites were defined as representative due to the recognized resistance of their communities and the extent of inequality they have faced in the guarantee of territorial rights: Marambaia in Rio de Janeiro (Koinonia) and São Francisco do Paraguaçu in Bahia (CESE).

Maranhão has a significant historical importance in the quilombola struggle and movement. Here a decision was made not to focus on a specific community but on the work of one of CESE and Christian Aid’s institutional partners - the CCN, which operates in a number of regions across the state. We also took into consideration the activities of the Programme of Support to the Black Movement (Programa de Apoio ao Movimento Negro: PAMN) (CESE/EZE1) between 1996 and 2002.

Finally, the Baixo Sul region of Bahia is a unique case: in a relatively short time (since 2007), a group of Black rural communities have begun to assume quilombola identity – which was being “imposed” on them by municipal governments as a means of obtaining federal funds – and organized themselves in order to secure their rights, rapidly acquiring an identity as a new collective political actor in the region.

1 EZE (Evangelische Zentralstelle für Entwicklungshilfe eV - the Protestant Association for Cooperation in Development), was one of the components that formed EED.
SÃO FRANCISCO DO PARAGUAÇU OR DO BOQUEIRÃO (BAHIA)

São Francisco do Paraguaçu became a representative case for the quilombola movement in Brazil when it became the target of controversy generated by mass media activity to foment public opinion against quilombola interests. São Francisco was the victim of a report broadcast in May 2007 during TV Globo’s most-watched, peak time programme in which it accused the community and its allies of fabricating a “false quilombo.” This report formed part of a wave of similarly serious accusations against quilombola communities across the country and had strong negative repercussions for national public opinion.

CESE has supported the São Francisco do Paraguaçu community through its Small Projects Programme (in support to the Pastoral Commission for Fishing - Comissão Pastoral da Pesca: CPP and the Association of the Quilombo1 Remnants of São Francisco do Paraguaçu-Boqueirão - Associação dos Remanescentes de Quilombo de São Francisco do Paraguaçu-Boqueirão) and through community and advocacy activities.

This case is representative of many others which confront similar challenges and brings together elements illustrative of the quilombola situation. Examples of these elements are: local coronelismo (rule by oligarchy), which reflects the continuation of the agrarian aristocracy in Brazil and the political and legal influence of the landowners concerned, who have orchestrated the criminalization of the movement leading to the death of two community leaders; and environmental racism, which presents the quilombolas as destroyers of the environment and the landowners as environmentalists (or conservationists).

MARAMBAIA (RIO DE JANEIRO)

Marambaia is another representative case, this time of a quilombola community’s struggle against the State military apparatus, more precisely the Naval War Fleet. Marambaia is a “test” case of the country’s rule of law: on one side is a quilombola community that possesses all the required credentials for legal recognition and the regularization of its lands; and on the other the military’s land interest, representing the State. The Navy uses the environmental discourse to create or reinforce a ploy of environmental racism, asserting that the quilombola community – which has lived on the island of Marambaia since Imperial times – is “slumifying” the island. The community was the target of a media campaign (by Globo News), which utilized this false environmental argument – and which in fact revealed the extent of environmental racism at the heart of land title conflicts which involve quilombola communities. The criminalization strategy can also be seen in this case: the Navy uses coercive police tactics, such as investigations, to terrorize the islanders.

Since 2002 Koinonia has been working in Marambaia supporting the quilombola organization and struggle and has taken the Marambaia case to national and international prosecuting authorities. Activities in this location were fundamental for the development of certain aspects of Koinonia’s intervention methodology, as well as the creation of the Quilombola Observatory (Observatório Quilombo: OQ) - an internet portal with news and analysis about the quilombola situation in the country)2. Some of the factors that enabled the Marambaia quilombolas to persist in their struggle and believe in eventual victory, despite facing such a powerful adversary, are community resistance and the legal gains they achieved, which led to a lessening both in Navy coercion and in the expulsion of islanders. The Marambaia case led to the intervention of the Executive Office of the President of Brazil (Casa Civil) which in turn led to the 2006 withdrawal of the publication of the Technical Report of Identification and Demarcation (Relatório Técnico de Identificação e Delimitação: RTID) by the National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform (Instituto Nacional de Colonização e Reforma Agrária: Incra).

THE BAIXO SUL REGION OF BAHIA

In the region of Bahia known as the “Costa do Dendê”, or “Palm Oil Coast” there is a group of eighteen quilombola communities with which Koinonia has worked since 2007. These communities have organized themselves in response to pressure from municipal governments, who, with the aim of accessing federal funds earmarked for quilombola communities, started to “stimulate” legal recognition for these communities without the communities knowing what this was. It is worth observing how this group of communities has managed to coordinate activities, resist local government pressure and become a political actor with its own voice. However, this experience is also representative of the difficulties and dangers of the “race” of the municipalities to obtain federal resources based on a declaration of the existence of quilombola communities, which is an

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1 Translator’s Note: The term quilombo designates the community’s territorial space and quilombola the person or people who live on it.

2 see: http://www.koinonia.org.br/oq/
Pomeranian is an ethnicity made up of the descendants of Slavic and German tribes who came from the historic region of Pomerania, along the coast of the Baltic Sea.

The most delicate aspect of this phenomenon relates to land title regularization, since municipal governments entice communities with potential improvements through special quilombola projects (water, electricity, homes, etc.) but do not discuss the collective entitlement of the land. This has occurred in a region where the only way for communities expelled from their territories to access land is through agrarian reform settlements or where the state land regularizing body has given titles to individual lots from other communities; at the same time, property speculation caused by tourism is accelerating.

QUILOMBOLA COMMUNITIES IN THE SOUTHERN TERRITORY OF RIO GRANDE DO SUL

In the Cidadania Sul Territory in Rio Grande do Sul today there are 43 quilombola communities recognized by the Palmares Cultural Foundation (Fundaçao Cultural Palmares: FCP) and with ongoing land regularization proceedings at Incra. The mere existence of these communities in the region has had a profound effect on many who have tended to think that there are no Black people in the South.

This work has come about through the CAPA-Sul, a FLD project that has been working with quilombolas since 2002. Initially set up to work with Lutheran farmers who were largely from the Pomeranian minority, FLD/CAPA has gradually broadened its target audience – working with squatters and agrarian reform settlers, fishermen, indigenous peoples and quilombolas. This has contributed to the internal deliberations prompted by the Evangelical Church of the Lutheran Confession in Brazil (Igreja Evangélica de Confissão Luterana no Brasil: IECLB) that sought to define who the most marginalized people are.

The differentiating feature here is the focus on sustainable development – the production and commercialization of food and handicrafts that enable the quilombolas to become part of an organized family farming network in the region (which includes cooperatives, centres for selling produce, markets) and to access government projects that promote increases in family farmer income. The participation of quilombolas in political arenas (Family Farming Forum - Fórum de Agricultura Familiar and the Territory’s Cooperative - Colegiado do Território) is a significant advance in terms of the previously low visibility of these communities. Four communities in the CAP-Sul area were visited for the study: Cerro das Velhas, Torrão, Monjolo and Macambique.

The political work of creating and linking these partners and the process of community self-recognition in the face of the racism that exists in the country, which is reinforced by the myth of the non-existence of Black populations in the region, represents a huge advance and is an enormous challenge for IECLBs own activities, for the Black movement and for the nascent quilombola movement in Rio Grande do Sul. The greatest challenge is the issue of land regularization, since today the quilombola communities occupy extremely limited areas of land, partly surrounded by landowners but to a greater extent by family farmers from the Pomeranian ‘colony’, a minority which also has a troubled history of land access.

MARANHÃO/CENTRE FOR BLACK CULTURE OF MARANHÃO (CCN)

The first quilombola community to receive any form of demarcation, although not as a quilombola community but as an extractivist reserve, was Frechal in Maranhão - Maranhão and Pará were the states where the quilombola movement started. The Life of Black People Project (Projeto Vida de Negro: PVN) has been run by CCN and the Maranhense Society for the Defence of Human Rights (Sociedade Maranhense de Defesa de Direitos Humanos: SMDDH) since 1988 and aims to map Black rural communities in Maranhão - its pioneering work is an important historical milestone. It developed a methodology for mapping communities that generated the large-scale involvement and mobilization of the quilombola population across the state. The PVN produced reports, published studies, held meetings for Black rural communities, in which up to three thousand people have participated, and organized and participated in mobilizations throughout the long history of the quilombola struggle to promote the regularization of their land.

In 1995 the CCN set up the Quilombola Project: Black Resistance (Projeto Quilombo: Resistência Negra: PQRN), with the aim of strengthening quilombola identity through educational and politico-cultural activities. The foci of PQRN’s work are schools in the communities and teacher training – thereby seeking to influence teaching practices; it also operates directly with children, young people and women and sees the educational process as a pathway to strengthening community organization.

As a result of the pioneering work in Maranhão, the first
state level quilombola organization in the country, the Association of the Black Rural Quilombola Communities of Maranhão (Associação das Comunidades Negras Rurais Quilombolas do Maranhão: Aconeruq) was established in 1997. Both the CCN and the SMDDH consider the creation of Aconeruq to be a significant impact resulting from their intervention. It was involved in the foundation of the current National Commission for the Coordination of Black Rural Quilombola Communities (Comissão Nacional de Articulação das Comunidades Negras Rurais Quilombolas: Conaq) and is considered one of the four most robust quilombola organizations of the twenty that exist in the country. The CCN is currently operating more directly in the Médio Mearim and Baixo Parnaíba regions, where there is a great deal of tension regarding land regularization, with a specific focus on working with women babassu coconut breakers. It continues to work in partnership with CESE, both through its Small Projects Programme and in common settings, such as the Water, Land and Territory Programme (Programa Água, Terra e Território) of the Dutch agency the ICCO. For this study, we visited three specific communities with an initial focus on: Santa Maria dos Pinheiros, Filipa and Santa Rosa dos Pretos, all within the Itapecuru-Mirim municipality. These communities began entitlement proceedings during the PAMN era with support from both the PVN and the PQRN. A review of the CCN’s wider interventions was also conducted, which looked at the communities’ general situation and that of thequilombola movement in Maranhão. Thus we also focused on the Aconeruq, whose trajectory typifies the various difficulties that the quilombola movement has faced in the country. There are two levels of impact identification in the Maranhão case - one is from the communities themselves in relation to the CCN’s work; the other is the CCN’s work in relation to thequilombola issue both in the state and across the country. We sought to observe how these communities view the CCN and how they evaluate their relationship; and also how CCN reflects on its partnerships with CESE and Christian Aid. This case enables us to observe the principle difficulties that quilombola communities faced in their quest to acquire entitlement of their lands during a period in which the state increasingly standardized this process; in which more legislation was created; in which special federal government projects for quilombola development were created, in which the subject of quilombolas was transformed into an national issue; yet, conversely, little progress was made towards the resolution of land regularization in communities across the country.

5 Flaviano Pinto Neto, leader of the Charco quilombola community in the state of Maranhão, was shot dead on the 30th October 2010. His assassination was reported by Amnesty International.

6 From 1996 to 2002 the CCN was part of the PAMN – a CESE programme that ran in partnership with the old EZE. The systematization of this experience led to the publication “Racism in Brazil: why run a programme with quilombos?” (“Racismo no Brasil: por que um programa com quilombos?”). Through the PAMN, the CCN developed a partnership with Christian Aid (still in effect in 2010), both to support the PQRN and for the CCN’s own institutional development.
PART I

HISTORY AND CONTEXT OF THE QUILOMBOLA ISSUE IN BRAZIL
I. QUILOMBOLA COMMUNITIES IN BRAZIL

Origin

The origin of the quilombos is related to a process of resistance to the Black slavery regime which prevailed in Brazil for 300 years. Groups were formed as a result of a range of resistance processes and strategies: escaping to occupy free lands; receiving lands through inheritance, donation or as payment for services to the State; buying lands; or remaining in occupied and cultivated areas within large estates.

Despite being characterized by resistance and protest, quilombos were not physically or economically isolated communities, even during the slave period. In terms of their location, it was common for them to be close to urban centres or plantations. Quilombolas also maintained significant commercial relationships with a broad range of agents from surrounding society (merchants, innkeepers, plantation owners, slaves, and free Black people). Such relationships formed part of Black people's strategy to escape their master's yoke and to guarantee their economic independence.

The abolition of slavery in 1888 did not bring an end to these social groups, who remained on their lands in a continual state of resistance and were for many decades largely ignored by the Brazilian State and invisible to society. Today these communities are still composed of ethnic groups which share an identity that singles them out from others and which constitutes a basis for their organization, mobilization and political action, particularly in reference to their relations with other groups and with the political authorities.

Invisibility and recognition

The recognition of the existence of contemporary quilombos in Brazil is relatively recent. The Brazilian State only recognized the existence of this social group at the promulgation of Federal Constitution in 1988, when it guaranteed them the right of ownership of their lands.

In the most recent struggle to assert this right,quilombola men and women have gradually overcome their lack of visibility to provide evidence of another aspect of socio-cultural diversity in Brazil. As the anthropologist José Maurício Arruti notes, this is a relatively recent social category:

"...it represents a relevant social force in the rural Brazilian environment, bringing new meanings to what were known as Black rural communities (largely in the Centre, South and Southeast of the country) or the lands of Black people (largely in the North and Northeast), which has also begun to penetrate the urban environment, bringing new meanings to a variety of situations, from the old Black rural communities affected by urban perimeter expansion, to the neighbourhoods that surround the Candomblé Terreiros." [11]

The existence of contemporary quilombolas is a Latin American phenomenon. These types of communities can be found in countries such as Colombia, Ecuador, Suriname, Honduras, Belize and Nicaragua. In a number of them – as in Brazil – the right to their traditional lands is enshrined in legislation.

In Brazil, social movement estimates indicate the existence of approximately three thousand quilombola communities. This figure is endorsed by the Department of Policies for the Promotion of Racial Equality of the Presidency of the Republic (Secretaria de Políticas de Promoção da Igualdade Racial da Presidência da República: SEPPIR) which confirms that the number of identified quilombola

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7 This section was written by Lúcia Andrade, an invited specialist from the Pro-Indian Commission of São Paulo (Comissão Pró-Índio de São Paulo: CPI-SP) and serves both as a starting point and, in the final analysis, a platform for dialogue.


10 The ethnic identity of these groups may be based on a range of factors, such as self-classification, common ancestry, a specific structure for political organization, a particular system of production (which includes specific types of relationships with their own territories), racial characteristics, linguistic and religious elements or specific symbols.

communities has reached 3,524\textsuperscript{12}, although the Palmares Cultural Foundation’s General Register of the Remnants of Quilombo Communities only records the existence of 1,527 groups\textsuperscript{11}. We should note that there is a significant gap in terms of census information (either governmental or non-governmental) concerning quilombola communities. Available studies are still inadequate to supply a general picture about the situation of quilombola communities in Brazil, although they present us with some relevant data about specific groups or regions. There remains a lack of surveys or reliable estimates regarding their populations or the size of their territories. Of the efforts to overcome this lack of information, an initiative that merits attention is the pioneering initiative of the PVN, which has been run by the CCN and the SMDDH since 1988 with the aim of mapping the Black rural communities of Maranhão,\textsuperscript{14} Koinonia is also one of the organizations that has been concerned with identifying, systematizing and making available information about quilombola communities, publishing reports, academic and photographic essays and analytical articles on this subject through the Quilombo Observatory, created in 2005.\textsuperscript{15}

The territories
Quilombola communities are distributed across all the regions of the country\textsuperscript{16} and occupy significantly varied biomass areas. The majority are found in rural areas, but some groups are located within urban areas. The states with the largest concentrations of quilombola communities are Maranhão, Minas Gerais, Bahia and Pará.

Quilombola communities are characterized by the practice of the use of common land which they understand as a collective and indivisible space. The territory is occupied and exploited through rules of consensus agreed by the various family groups that form the communities, whose relationships are guided by solidarity and mutual aid.\textsuperscript{17}

The ethnic territory of the quilombo community is one of the pillars of its existence as a social group. Securing the quilombolas the right of ownership of their territories is, therefore, not only a guarantee of their physical survival but also of their culture and way of life. These characteristics mean that entitlement to quilombola land is very different from normal land regularization, which usually assigns each family an individual plot that is standardized according to a, usually agricultural, mode of operation and to the property’s location.

Although the right of quilombola communities to the ownership of their original/occupied lands has been enshrined in the Constitution since 1988, only 185, or 6% - a tiny percentage of the 3,000 estimated existingquilombola communities, have effectively achieved the regularization of their territories.\textsuperscript{18} Of the 104 regularized quilombola territories, 25 were regularized by the federal government, 75 by state governments and the others by both the federal and state governments (each conceding a proportion of the territory), totalling 971,376.0752 hectares with an estimated resident population of 11,491 families.\textsuperscript{19}

About half of the legally entitled territories are located in Pará. The state of Maranhão ranks second, with 22% of the total regularized territories. In these two states a significant number of land titles have been granted through state government activity prompted by the quilombola movements of that state. In Maranhão, all the regularizations were carried out by the Lands Institute of Maranhão (Instituto de Terras do Maranhão) and in the case of Pará, the Lands Institute of Pará (Instituto de Terras do Pará) was responsible for delivering 50% of land titles.

### Human, economic, social, cultural and environmental rights
Quilombola communities live in situations of socio-economic inequality and the violation of their human rights.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>N°. of regularized territories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amapá</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahia</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goiás</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maranhão</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mato Grosso</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mato Grosso do Sul</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minas Gerais</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pará</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pernambuco</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piauí</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rio de Janeiro</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rio Grande do Sul</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rondônia</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>São Paulo</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sergipe</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>104</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Pro-Indian Commission of São Paulo, August 2010


\textsuperscript{13} In: FCP - www.palmares.gov.br, consulted on 09/07/2010.

\textsuperscript{14} According to the CCN (Centre for Black Culture of Maranhão - Centro de Cultura Negra do Maranhão) and the SMDDH (Maranhense Society for the Defence of Human Rights - Sociedade Maranhense de Defesa de Direitos Humanos), “the joint participation of international cooperation agencies was decisive in the emergence and implementation of the PVN”, amongst these agencies are CESE and EZE (now the EED). In: CCN & SMDDH, Vida de Negro no Maranhão: Uma experiência de luta, organização e resistência nos territórios quilombolas, São Luís, maio de 2005: 41.

\textsuperscript{15} In the NGO universe we also note the work of CEDEFES (the Eloy Ferreira da Silva Documentation Centre - Centro de Documentação Eloy Ferreira da Silva) which is dedicated to quilombola communities in Minas Gerais and the work undertaken by the CPI-SP to monitor legislation, judicial activities and administrative proceedings at national level.

\textsuperscript{16} The states of Acre and Roraima are the only states with no information regarding the existence of quilombola communities. Associação Brasileira de Antropologia, “Documento do Grupo de Trabalho sobre Comunidades Negras Rurais”, Rio de Janeiro, 17/18 de outubro de 1994.

\textsuperscript{17} The difference between the number of communities (185) and of lands (104) is due to cases where more than one community lives in the same titled territory.

\textsuperscript{18} From the Pro-Indian Commission of São Paulo: www.cipisp.org.br/terras
man, economic, social, cultural and environmental rights.

Government inertia in effecting land entitlement means that quilombolas are vulnerable and thus more susceptible to increasing pressure from agribusiness, mining, construction businesses and government programmes of “national security”. Conflicts involving quilombola territories have been registered in a number of regions, for example those experienced by the communities of Marambaia (Rio de Janeiro), São Francisco do Paraguaçu (Bahia) and Baixo Parnaíba (Maranhão), which are the objects of the case studies presented in this impact evaluation.

Consequently, the access of many communities to the natural resources of their territories is threatened by third-party activities. Others suffer from the environmental impact of neighbouring businesses or have projects imposed on their territories, such as hydroelectric dams, mining, logging and large-scale monoculture industries, such at that of eucalyptus. It is important to emphasize that there are no programmes or government policies which aim to protect quilombola territories and their natural resources from the impact of large-scale projects, the threat of invasion or the consequences of climate change.

Insecurity over land and housing hinder both planning and the adoption of measures aimed at the sustainable development of the quilombola territories, which affects, amongst other things, the right to adequate food. Results of the “Quilombola Nutritional Survey 2006” (Chamada Nutricional Quilombola 2006) provide evidence of the reality of food insecurity experienced by these populations. One of the conclusions of the study was that “from the perspective of the nutrition of the under fives, this group is at high risk of malnutrition, mirroring the situation of children in the urban Northeast one decade prior to the ‘Survey’” (1996).

Research from the Ministry of Social Development and Combating Hunger (Ministério de Desenvolvimento Social e Combate à Fome: MDS) indicates that the proportion of malnourished children up to five years old is 76.1% higher than in the general Brazilian population and 44.6% higher than in the rural population. The incidence of boys and girls with a weight deficit is 8.1% in these communities - even higher than that of children in the Brazilian semi-arid region (6.6%).

Also of concern is the data that refers to basic sanitation, an element symptomatic for improvements in childhood malnutrition. Only a little over 30% of the quilombola households interviewed were linked to the public water and sewage network or had a septic tank.

An article that analyses the “Quilombola Nutritional Survey 2006” highlights the inequality experienced by the quilombolas:

According to the classification of the Brazilian Association of Market Research Institutes (Associação Brasileira de Institutos de Pesquisa de Mercado: Abipem) it appears that 57% of the quilombola families interviewed were in class E, which means that children from zero to five years old live in households without minimum facilities and equipment. According to the Brazilian Association of Population Studies (Associação Brasileira de Estudos Populacionais: ABEPOP) (2003) this population group is amongst the poorest 4% of Brazilian society.

This inequality is also reflected in access to education. The 2009 United Nations Children’s Fund (Unicef) Report cites quilombolas as amongst the most vulnerable in terms of the full exercise of the right to learn, alongside children who live in rural areas, indigenous people and disabled children and adolescents. UNICEF estimates that the standard of education offered in the quilombola communities is generally very poor:

Schools are frequently a long way from students’ homes, do not have an infrastructure

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20 This was a pioneering study of the Ministry of Social Development and Combating Hunger conducted in 2006 with 60 quilombola communities (3,000 families) in 22 states across the country.


23 SILVA, Helena Oliveira et all, “Diagnóstico das Condições de Vida nas Comunidades Incluídas na Chamada Nutricional Quilombola, In: Ministério do Desenvolvimento Social e Combate à Fome, Políticas Sociais e Chamada Nutricional Quilombola: estudos sobre condições de vida nas comunidades e situação nutricional das crianças, Cadernos de Estudos Desenvolvimento Social em Debate. – N. 9, Brasília, 2008:45

24 Idem, ibidem: 42-43

Data about quilombola schools in the Amazônia Legal macro-region also reveal deficiencies: in 2007 only 15% of 2,449 teachers had attended Higher Secondary Education while 73% had concluded Lower Secondary Education, according to the School Census of the Ministry of Education’s National Institute for Educational Research and Studies (Instituto Nacional de Ensino e Pesquisa/Ministério da Educação: INEP/MEC). In the region’s non-quilombola schools these indices were 54% and 45% respectively. In 2007, also according to UNICEF, only 148 students reached Secondary Education level in the quilombola schools in Amazônia, which reveals the difficulty that boys and girls from these communities have in concluding their studies in rural areas. In Maranhão, despite having the highest concentration of quilombola education establishments in the region (423), not one single school provided Secondary Education.

The Report notes that over recent decades quilombolas have become the focus for specific public policies and activities developed by a variety of civil society organizations. They have thus confirmed an improvement in educational indicators. UNICEF considers, however, that “there are still enormous challenges to face in order to guarantee that these children and adolescents receive access to schooling and a quality education that effectively meets their learning needs.”

### 2. THE RIGHT TO LAND AND TO TERRITORY – LEGAL FRAMEWORKS

Three South American constitutions recognize the rights of quilombola communities: Colombia, Brazil and Ecuador. Colombia was the first country to address Afro-descendent rights to land in its 1991 constitution, a right that was enshrined in Law 70/1993 and Law 397/1997.

Ecuador’s 1998 constitution recognized Afro-Ecuadorian collective rights to lands and the new constitution of 2008 reasserted these rights. Ecuador also has the 2006 Law of the Collective Rights of Black Peoples and Afro-Ecuadorians which guarantees the rights of black people to their ancestral lands.

In Central America the Nicaraguan constitution of 1987 guarantees communal forms of land ownership to the “communities of the Atlantic coast”, and the land entitlement procedure is regulated by Law 445/2002. The 2004 Property Law of Honduras recognizes the rights of Afro-Hondurans to their lands and specifies that these must be legally entitled in a collective manner.

The territorial rights of quilombola communities in Brazil are guaranteed in the Federal Constitution and the constitutions of the States of Bahia, Goiás, Maranhão, Mato Grosso and Pará. Their rights are also assured through Convention 169 of the International Labour Organization regarding Indigenous
Peoples and Tribes, an international legal instrument ratified by Brazil in 2003 and thus enforceable by law in this country.

**Article 68 of the Federal Constitution**

The constitutional provision that guarantees the quilombolas ownership of their lands is the fruit of coordinated activity by the Black movement, which was responsible for the inclusion of a similar provision in state constitutions.

The object of this initiative was reparation of the historical injustice committed against Black people by Brazil’s slave-owning society. This reparation is now tangible through the recognition of the rights of communities composed of old slave descendants, finally allowing them access to ownership of their lands.

This proposal was initially presented to the National Constituent Assembly in the form of a popular amendment, but did not receive the required number of signatures to proceed in law. On 20th August 1987, the proposal was once again presented and was formalized by Constituency Member Carlos Alberto Caó (Democratic Labour Party - Partido Democrático Trabalhista: PDT-RJ). It was finally approved at “lights out” thanks to intense political negotiations conducted by representatives of the Black movement in Rio de Janeiro, including Constituency Members Carlos Alberto Caó himself and Benedita da Silva (Workers’ Party - Partido dos Trabalhadores: PT/RJ).

The fact that the Constituent Assembly coincided with the Centenary of Abolition created a favourable scenario for the approval of Article 68. Another factor that conspired favourably was a lack of knowledge about the reality of quilombola communities and the implications of what was being approved. Constituent members did not have any idea of the impact of approving the article, since it was presumed that it would only benefit a very small number of communities and would not have major consequences for the restructuring of land ownership.

**Rights to land and to territory**

A further two articles of the Brazilian Constitution recognize the rights of the quilombola communities, although they do not specifically name them: Articles 215 and 216 of Chapter III on Education, Culture and Sport.

Article 215 asserts that the State should protect Afro-Brazilian cultural manifestations. Furthermore, Article 216 considers goods of a material and non-material nature - forms of expression, modes of creation, doing and living - that belong to the different groups that constitute Brazilian society, including Black communities, to be part of Brazil’s cultural heritage which should be promoted and protected by the Public Authorities.

As Attorney Isabel Cristina Groba explains, it is because of Articles 215 and 216 of the Constitution that we can confirm that the obligation of the State towards quilombola communities is not restricted to recognition of ownership:

The rule of Article 68 of the Temporary Constitutional Provisions Act (Ato das Disposições Constitucionais Transitórias: ADCT) must be considered in the light of the rules of the cultural preservation of those groups who form our national society and must guarantee them the opportunity to continue to reproduce according to their traditions, under penalty of undermining the highest principles of our Republic. Their ways of doing and living are the non-material goods to which the Constitution of 1988 refers; it thus falls to the Public Authorities, in collaboration with the community, to protect this heritage through all possible ways and means of precaution and preservation, guaranteeing their continuation against all public and private acts that aim to debase their cultural traits or threaten their way of life.

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31 Article 68 of the Temporary Constitutional Provisions Act (Artigo 68 do Ato das Disposições Constitucionais Transitórias): “To remnants of the quilombo communities that occupy their lands is recognized definitive ownership, and the State must issue them with their respective land titles”.


Thus, the Constitution allows for an interpretation that the quilombola right to land is associated with the right to preserve quilombola culture and its specific social organization, thereby legitimating a concept of territory which is understood as a space for social and physical reproduction.

The right to territory is also guaranteed by Convention 169 regarding Indigenous Peoples and Tribes of the International Labour Organization (ILO)\(^35\), which establishes recognition of the “rights of ownership and possession of the peoples concerned over the lands which they traditionally occupy” (Article 14). This international treaty further determines that the term “lands” should “include the concept of territories, which covers the total environment of the areas which the peoples concerned occupy or otherwise use” (Article 13).

In accordance with higher norms, Decree 4887/2003, which provides procedures for quilombola land entitlement, also recognizes that they are “lands occupied by remnant quilombola communities and are used by them to guarantee their physical, social, economic and cultural reproduction” (Article 2, paragraph 2).

The history of federal regulation

Article 68 is self-executing, and therefore does not require regulatory norms, independently producing effects by itself alone, without the need for complementary regulation\(^36\). Lower norms serve to guide, rather than regulate, the activity of the Executive Authority in regards to procedures of identification, delineation and entitlement of quilombola lands.

The first initiative for the standardization of procedures for this category of land regularization occurred in November 1995 with Incra’s Edict 307 which ordered that quilombola communities should have their land areas demarcated and entitled.

This regulation was in force until October 1999 when the 11th reissue of Provisional Measure 1911 delegated the power to entitle quilombola lands to the Ministry of Culture. This change reflects the decision of Fernando Henrique Cardoso’s government not to carry out expropriations in order to guarantee the entitlement of quilombo lands. In line with this, the Palmares Cultural Foundation authorized a “package of entitlements” in November 2000, with neither expropriations, nor cancellations of third-party land titles that fell within the quilombola lands nor the removal of non-quilombola occupants. Ten of the twelve “beneficiaries” communities of these titles still experience the conflicts generated by this measure today and do not have free access to the natural resources of their lands. During the Cardoso government, Incra launched new legal proceedings to regulate these areas with a view to making the necessary expropriations and resettlements.

On 10th September 2001, President Fernando Henrique Cardoso published Decree no. 3912 which, in regulating the procedure for the entitlement of quilombo lands, restricted the scope of Article 68. The decree established that only “lands which were occupied by quilombos in the year 1888” and those which were “occupied by remnants of quilombo communities on 5th October 1988” could be subject to Article 68.

This temporal classification, which was not supported by any constitutional text, hugely restricted Article 68’s potential beneficiaries. Those principally affected by the measure were quilombolas located in areas of conflict that had not been in possession of their territories on the date of the promulgation of the Constitution, precisely because of these disputes.

The result of Decree 3921/2001 was the complete paralyzation of the entitlement of quilombo lands on the part of the federal government. While this decree was in force not one single quilombo area
### History of the approval of federal regulations regarding procedures for the entitlement of quilombo lands

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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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<td>1995</td>
<td>Incra Edict n.º 307</td>
<td>Ordered that quilombola communities should have their areas demarcated and entitled.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>11th reissue of Provisional Measure 1911</td>
<td>Delegated the power to entitle quilombo lands to the Ministry of Culture.</td>
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<td>2001</td>
<td>Decree n.º 3.912</td>
<td>Regulated the procedure for the entitlement of quilombo lands. Restricted the scope of Article 68, stating that it could only consider “lands which were occupied by quilombos in the year 1888” and those which were “occupied by remnants of quilombo communities on 5th October 1988”.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>Decree n.º 4.887</td>
<td>Regulated the procedure for the entitlement of quilombo lands (revoking the 2001 decree). Created conditions for the resumption of entitlements: adoption of a self-identification criterion which was appropriate to quilombo communities and lands; recognized the possibility of the expropriation of properties within quilombo lands; and conferred the power of conducting proceedings to Incra.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Incra Normative Instruction nº 49</td>
<td>Led to setbacks in the guarantee of rights through the introduction of bureaucratic obstacles to the legal proceedings for the identification and entitlement of quilombo lands.</td>
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of land was regularized.

**Current federal regulations**

On 20th November 2003, in response to quilombola claims, President Lula’s government issued a new regulation on this subject. The 2003 Decree no. 4887 created the conditions for the resumption of entitlements. The adoption of the criterion of self-identification was a more appropriate concept for quilombo communities and lands and the decree also recognized the possibility of the expropriation of properties within quilombo lands, conferring the power of conducting this process to Incra.

However, over the years the advances of Decree 4887/2003 have been undermined by the government itself, whilst the gamut of pressures that negate quilombo land entitlements has intensified. The Lula government introduced a series of bureaucratic obstacles to quilombo land regularization proceedings in the internal regulations of Incra and the Palmares Cultural Foundation, which have resulted in slower and more costly processes, which are consequently more difficult to conclude.

Obstacles have been progressively added through successive regulations: Incra Normative Instruction (Instrução Normativa – IN) no. 16/2004, Incra Normative Instruction no. 20/2005, the Palmares Cultural Foundation’s Edict no. 98/2007 and finally, and most controversially, Incra Normative Instruction no. 49/2008, reissued as IN 57 in 2009, as we will explain later. As subsequent analysis will demonstrate, these changes represent a retreat by the federal government.

**State legislation**

Currently nine states have their own laws governing the process for quilombo land regularization: Bahia, Espírito Santo, Maranhão, Pará, Piauí, Rio Grande do Norte, Rio Grande do Sul and São Paulo.

The oldest regularization initiative is registered in Pará: Decree 63 of 20th February 1992, which is no longer in force. The most recent initiative occurred in Maranhão in April 2010, with the approval of Law 9169. The laws in force in São Paulo and in Pará date back to 1997 and 1998 respectively, while laws in the other states were approved between 2002 and 2010.

In general, the identification, delineation and entitlement of quilombo lands function more quickly and efficiently under state law. For this reason state laws have become an important instrument for the guarantee of rights. Of the 104 quilombo territories regularized thus far, 75 were entitled by state governments and only 25 by the federal government. The other five lands were regularized through land titles conceded proportionally by the federal and state governments.

**Public policies**

The quilombola struggle has enabled the establishment of state and federal government programmes and activities to secure specific public policies, broadening the recognition of rights beyond that of territorial guarantee.

One example of this is the Quilombo Brazil Programme (Programa Brasil Quilombola) which aims to coordinate government activities that seek to guarantee the right to land, basic documentation, food, health, sport, leisure, adequate housing, infrastructure services, social security, education and culture for quilombo communities. The Programme is coordinated by SEPPIR and brings together 23 federal public administration bodies.

Specific support programmes for quilombo communities have also been set up at state level. The first state to adopt an initiative of this kind was São Paulo, which created the Programme of Technical Cooperation and Joint Action (Programa de Cooperação Técnica e de Ação Conjunta) in 1997 which currently brings together the States Attorney General, the Department of Justice and Citizen Protection, the Department of the Environment, the Department of Culture, the Department of Agriculture and Supply, the Department of Education, the Executive Office and the Department of Housing, and aims to regularize quilombo lands and

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Seven years passed between the promulgation of the Constitution and the granting of the first collective land title to a quilombola community. This initial landmark took place in the municipality of Oriximiná, in rural Pará on 20th November 1995, when the Boa Vista Community received the title for its land from Incra. The land entitlement of Boa Vista came about as the result of mobilization by the Association of Remnant Quilombola Communities of the Municipality of Oriximiná (Associação das Comunidades Remanescentes de Quilombos do Município de Oriximiná: Arqmo) with support from the Pro-Indian Commission of São Paulo. In 1989, the recently created Association made its first journey to Brasilia to seek support for the entitlement of their communities’ lands. Intense negotiations with Incra aimed at guaranteeing land entitlements continued over the following years. In parallel, Arqmo worked on mobilizing its associates and carried out activities such as the self-demarcation of territories to assert their rights.

The entitlement of Boa Vista was important in clarifying an understanding of the subject during a period in which there were no standards detailing the legal procedures for the identification and entitlement ofquilombola lands. One of the biggest problems during negotiations with Incra at that time – resolved by the regularization of this community - concerned acknowledgement that entitlement must be collective, which was a concept essentially outside the land agency’s normal procedures. The Oriximiná initiative was one of a range of strategies adopted by quilombolas and their partners in order to realise Article 68. The quilombolas of Maranhão, Pará, Bahia and São Paulo were pioneers in this struggle.

The Frechal community case is an important feature in the history of the mobilization of the Maranhão quilombolas. In 1991, the Association of Residents of the Rumo and Frechal Communities (Associação de Moradores das Comunidades Rumo e Frechal), supported by the CCN and SMDDH, made a formal application of support to the Office of the Attorney General to secure entitlement of their lands under the terms of Article 68 of the ADCT. The measure was aimed at curbing land grabbing and the environmental degradation of community lands. This initiative resulted in the 1992 creation of the “Extractivist Reserve of the Frexal Quilombola.” Through Decree 536 of 20th May 1992, the federal government transformed the quilombola territory of 9,542 hectares into an environmental conservation unit under the jurisdiction of the Brazilian Institute of the Environment and Renewable Natural Resources (Instituto Brasileiro do Meio Ambiente e dos Recursos Naturais Renováveis: Ibama). The decision did not recognize the quilombola’s right of ownership itself, but was an alternative found at the time to protect Frechal residents, ensuring their permanent residence in the area.

Quilombola community support programmes are provided for in the legislation of at least five states: Mato Grosso do Sul, Mato Grosso, Pará, Rio Grande do Sul and São Paulo. Whilst their actual results may have attracted criticism, these programmes have undoubtedly come to represent a significant achievement in the recognition of the specific rights ofquilombolas.

40 The Arqmo was created in July 1989 and represents 34 quilombola communities in the Municipality of Oriximiná, Pará. Its creation was one of the results of initiatives carried out by the Centre for Studies and the Defence of the Black People of Pará (Centro de Estudos e Defesa do Negro do Pará: Cedenpa) which promoted Black Roots meetings in the region that were vital in raising awareness, mobilizing and coordinating the quilombola communities of Baixo Amazonas (Pará).
41 This journey was achieved with the financial support of CESE.
42 The Boa Vista community carried out the self-demarcation of its lands in October and November 1992, three years before the granting of land titles. The self-demarcation strategy was also applied by Arqmo in the Quilombola Lands of Agua Fria, Trombetas (a group of seven communities) and Erepecuru (eight communities), all now entitled. This initiative was made possible through the support of the PAMN of CESE-EZE (EED).
The following year saw another landmark recorded in the struggle for compliance with Article 68: the first lawsuit was filed under this normative instrument aimed at the entitlement of the lands of the Rio das Rãs Community, in Bahia. In November of that year the Office of the Attorney General filed an ordinary action requesting that community members be declared remnant of the quilombola for the purposes of Article 68 and that the Federal Government be ordered to adopt measures for the delineation and demarcation of the area occupied by the community and issue titles suitable for registration at the Property Registry Office. In view of the conflicts that threatened the community, including, according to reports made by the quilombolas, the expulsion of some members of families, the measure was adopted by the Pastoral Land Commission (Comissão Pastoral da Terra: CPT), the Union of Rural Workers of Bom Jesus da Lapa (Sindicato de Trabalhadores Rurais de Bom Jesus da Lapa) and the Unified Black Movement (Movimento Negro Unificado: MNU). A decision was only made in 1999, when the judge accepted the Attorney’s request. Despite having appealed against the decision, the Government finally entitled the area in the year 2000.

Another pioneering example was the 1994 lawsuit filed by the Ivaporunduva Quilombo Community in São Paulo following the completion of the self-demarcation of their lands. The quilombolas filed a lawsuit requiring that they be declared remnant quilombo communities and that their land titles be ordered and issued. The claim was upheld in December 2003. Five years later the Regional Federal Court for the 3rd Region confirmed the decision, finalizing the lawsuit with an order that the Government must provide entitlement of the area, which duly occurred in May 2010.

Alongside the initiatives that aimed to secure the entitlement of specific territories described above, mobilization to give full effect to Article 68 involved coordinated activities to secure the application of legislation and to promote government programmes. In the 1990s, in Pará, Maranhão and São Paulo, pressure from the movement was also directed at state governments.

In 1997 the Pará government was the first state government to grant a land ownership title to quilombo communities. The recognized area is located in Oriximiná and belongs to the communities of Bacabal, Aracuan de Cima, Aracuana de Meio, Aracuana de Baixo, Serrinha, Terra Preta II and Jaraucá. In the following year the coordinated activities of Arqmo, the Centre for the Study and Defence of Black People from Pará (Centro de Estudos e Defesa do Negro do Pará: CEDENPA) and CPI-SP secured the approval of state legislation which governs this matter. In São Paulo, thanks to the activity of quilombolas supported by the State Forum of Black Organizations (Fórum Estadual de Entidades Negras) and the Pro-Indian Commission of São Paulo, state legislation was passed in 1997 that governs the process of the entitlement of quilombo lands by the state government.

The Maranhão Institute of Lands has acted for the regularization ofquilombo lands in Maranhão since the 1990s, although state legislation has only recently been approved. In 1996 the Institute signed a technical cooperation agreement with the CCN and SMDDH with the following objective: “the recognition and regularization of the lands of Black people and the preservation and sustainable development of these areas.”

**Quilombo organizations**

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44 This action was preceded by another, also from the Office of the Attorney General, also filed in 1993. It sought to secure the right of the community to raise livestock and carry out its farming activities, practices that were threatened by the operation of the Bial Agropecuária company. In the preliminary decision, the judge accepted the request of Attorney. The Arqmo was created in July 1989 and represents 34 quilombo communities in the Municipality of Oriximiná, Pará. Its creation was one of the results of initiatives carried out by the Centre for Studies and the Defence of the Black People of Pará (Centro de Estudos e Defesa do Negro do Pará: Cedenpa) which promoted Black Roots meetings in the region that were vital in raising awareness, mobilizing and coordinating the quilombo communities of Baixo Amazonas (Pará).

45 Entitlement conceded by the Palmares Cultural Foundation on 14th July 2000 for 2,100.54 hectares.


Efforts to enact Article 68 have mobilized quilombolas across the country and encouraged the foundation of organizations at local, state and national level. Maranhão and Pará have been pioneering states in setting up organizations at state level. In 1997 Aconeruq was founded with the overall aim to serve as a forum to represent quilombolas from across the state. Two years later, the Coordination of Associations of Remnant Quilombola Communities of Pará (Coordenação das Associações das Comunidades Remanescentes de Quilombos do Pará) was provisionally created to represent quilombolas in Pará; this was formalized in 2004 with the approval and registration of the Malungu constitutions.

There are records of the current existence of 20 active state quilombola organizations: in Alagoas, Amapá, Bahia, Ceará, Espírito Santo, Maranhão, Mato Grosso, Mato Grosso do Sul, Minas Gerais, Pará, Paraíba, Paraná, Pernambuco, Piauí, Rio de Janeiro, Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, São Paulo, Sergipe and Tocantins. The most recent of these is the State Quilombola Council of Bahia (Conselho Estadual Quilombola da Bahia), established in April 2010.

It is worth noting that these organizations vary widely in terms of their degree of institutionalization and their capacity for mobilization. Some are still at the foundation stage and their activities are informal. Those that are more institutionally consolidated include the Aconeruq (Maranhão) the Malungu (Pará), the 2003 State Commission for the Coordination of Quilombola Communities of Pernambuco (Comissão Estadual de Articulação das Comunidades Quilombolas de Pernambuco) and the Federation of Quilombola Communities in the State of Minas Gerais – N’Golo (Federação das Comunidades Quilombolas do Estado de Minas Gerais – N’Golo) (established in 2005).

At the national level, in November 1995, during the “1st National Meeting of Black Rural Quilombola Communities”, the Provisional National Commission for the Coordination of Rural Quilombola Communities (Comissão Nacional Provisória de Articulação das Comunidades Rurais Quilombolas: CNACNRQ) was created, which subsequently founded Conaq.

This commission was initially composed of seven states represented by the then State Coordination of the Quilombos of Maranhão (Coordenação Estadual dos Quilombos do Maranhão, now the Aconeruq) and seven communities: Conceição das Crioulas (PE), Silêncio do Matá (PA), Rio das Rãs (BA), Kalungá (GO), Mimbó (PI), Furnas de Dionísio (MS) and Boa Sorte (MS). A “commission for support” was also set up with members from the Centre for Black Culture of Maranhão, the Unified Black Movement, the Socio-environmental Institute (Instituto Socioambiental) (SP), Malungos (PB), the Black Culture Movement (Movimento da Cultura Negra) (MA), the Black Issue (Coisa de Negro) (PI), SMDDH (MA), TEZ Group (Grupo TEZ) (MS) and the Nger Okam Cultural Centre (Núcleo Cultural Nger Okam) (BA). During its first years Maranhão, due to its state coordination and through the CCN, played a central role in its national coordination and became secretary of the organization.

The “2nd National Meeting of Black Rural Quilombola Communities” was held in Salvador in December 2000. During this meeting national coordination passed to members representing ten states: Bahia, São Paulo, Maranhão, Pernambuco, Rio Grande do Norte, Paraíba, Goiás, Mato Grosso do Sul, Sergipe and Piauí.

**According to Conaq’s website its objectives are:**

- To fight to secure the right to land and the implementation of projects for the sustainable development of the communities;
- To preserve customs, culture and tradition across generations of quilombola populations;
- To propose public policies that take into account the way quilombola communities are organized, the way their history and culture works in harmony with the environment, their common use of land and natural resources, all of which are both life-giving and life-affirming;
- To secure the rights of children and adolescents as continuators of quilombola culture and tradition;
- To combat all and any racial discrimination and religious intolerance.

Furthermore, the institution’s objectives state that it “exists not only to demand solutions to local problems, but also as a political movement to alter historically established unequal relationships in defence of the rights of Black people in the rural environment.”

Conaq’s website states that, although it has not yet been formally constituted in law, it is an organization that operates at national level to represent the quilombolas of Brazil with the participation of representatives of communities from 22 states of the federation.

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48 It is worth mentioning that debates in Maranhão about the rights of the Black rural communities preceded the passing of Article 68. In August 1986 the CCN held the 1st Meeting of Black Rural Communities of Maranhão, under the theme of “Black people and the Brazilian Constitution.” Five more meetings were subsequently held, in partnership with the SMDDH (in 1988, 1989, 1995, 1997 and 2000). In: CCN & SMDDH, Op. Cit: 47.

4. Counter campaigns, ambiguity and retreat

At the beginning of the Lula government there was a high expectation of progress in the implementation of quilombola community rights. However, it soon became clear that the position of the Lula administration was ambiguous, if not disappointing.

On the one hand, quilombola communities gained visibility and were recognized as sector targets for specific public policies. Examples of this are the constitution of a specific coordination section within Incra (the General Coordination of the Regularization of Quilombola Territories – Coordenação Geral de Regularização de Territórios Quilombolas) with a series of support programs and its own funding stream within the federal government budget. Reference can also be made to positive measures regarding land regularization, such as the passing of Decree 4887/2003 and the promotion of the first expropriations to secure the entitlement of quilombo lands.

However, as mentioned previously, actual land entitlements have been extremely limited, with only eight lands registered thus far. In August 2010, data from the CPI-SP indicated that over three-quarters (77.1%) of the 984 quilombola land regularization proceedings initiated by Incra had achieved no resolution beyond a reference number.41

Budget underspend within Incra is another indication of government inaction. Since 2004 the institute has not spent anything close to the total funds allocated in its budget for quilombola land entitlement. From 2004 to 2008, the maximum amount of spending on this budget line was 26% of the total budget (in 2006); in both 2004 and 2008 spending did not even surpass 10%.42 These data indicate that the modest amount of entitlements achieved so far cannot be attributed to lack of funds.

The insignificant number of entitlements is not the only negative feature of the Lula government’s quilombola policy. His government was also responsible for the introduction of a series of bureaucratic obstacles toquilombola land regularization proceedings which in fact resulted in a restriction of rights - a shift which reflects the government’s retreat in face of the opposition to quilombola rights voiced in lawsuits, news reports and legislative proposals.

The first and most significant counter demonstration was the Direct Action of Unconstitutionality (Ação Direta de Inconstitucionalidade: ADIN) no. 3239 of 2004, proposal by the then Liberal Front Party (Partido da Frente Liberal) (the current Democrats – Democratas) against Decree no. 4887/2003, which regulated legal quilombola territory entitlement proceedings. The list of institutions that, over the years, have been required to enter proceedings as amicus curiae of those who have filed lawsuits against the quilombolas gives a good indication of the interests involved. These are the Brazilian Confederation of Agriculture and Fisheries (Confederação da Agricultura e Pecuária do Brasil), the National Confederation of Industry (Confederação Nacional da Indústria), the Brazilian Association of Pulp and Paper (Associação Brasileira de Celulose e Papel), the Brazilian Rural Society (Sociedade Rural Brasileira) and the State of Santa Catarina.

Since 2007, despite the actual number of entitlements being negligible, opposition has intensified. As Koinonia’s “Quilombola Observatory” reported, 2007 saw a clear and coordinated mobilization by the press against the progress of the movement.

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<th>Process Stage of proceedings opened at Incra</th>
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<tr>
<td>Stage</td>
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<td>Physical demarcation</td>
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<td>TOTAL</td>
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Source: CPI-SP, August 2010

41 When researching the federal government budget between 2008 and 2010, the Institute for Socio-economic Studies (Instituto de Estudos Socioeconômicos: INESC) identified six programmes and between twenty-seven activities in 2008 and twenty-two in 2010 specifically aimed at quilombola organizations and communities. INESC, Orçamento Quilombola 2008–2010 e a maquiagem na titulação, Nota Técnica 168, Brasilia, julho de 2010: 3
42 Between 2008 and 2009 the Lula government signed 32 expropriation decrees to ensure quilombola land entitlement.
43 Pro-Indian Commission of São Paulo: www.cpisp.org.br/terras
44 In 2004 10% of the available budget was spent; in this was 2005, 12%; in 2006, 26%; in 2007, 23%; and in 2008 only 10%. Pro-Indian Commission of São Paulo, Terras Quilombolas - Balanço 2009, São Paulo, 2010 http://www.cpisp.org.br/upload/editor/file/TerrasQuilombolas-Balanço2009.pdf
45 The Direct Action of Unconstitutionality has still not been heard by the Federal Supreme Court.
46 Amicus curiae is a person, organization or body, with a profound interest in a judicial issue, in which s/he becomes involved as a third party, not as one of the litigants, driven by an interest greater than that of the parties involved. Source: http://jus.com.br/revista/texto/7739/amicus-curiae
The Observatory website registered more than 60 opposing reports throughout 2007. In articles with titles such as "Real quilombolas vs. suspect quilombolas" and "Is it or isn't a quilombola?" the most-watched TV news programme in Brazil – Globo Network's National News – questioned the ethnic identity of many of the quilombola groups fighting for their lands.

In general, the press accused the federal government of recognizing communities as quilombola without any criteria and extrapolating from the rights enshrined in Article 68 of the Federal Constitution's ADCT. One of the targets of these attacks was Decree 4887/2003, which was considered extremely liberal in its definitions since it adopted the anthropological criterion of self-identification to define communities as quilombola. It is worth clarifying that this criterion is identical to that utilized in the ILO's Convention 169 on Indigenous Peoples and Tribes.

This profusion of materials reflected the activities of a number of sectors opposed to quilombola rights which had ramifications in the Legislature. In that same year, Deputy Valdir Colatto (Brazilian Democratic Movement Party - Partido do Movimento Democrático Brasileiro: PMDB – SC) put forward two initiatives threatening quilombola interests:

- Draft Legislative Decree (PDC 44/2007) to halt the implementation of Decree no. 4887/2003 and
- Draft Legislative Decree (PDC 326/2007) which aimed, via an amendment to Decree 4887/2003, to return the power of entitling quilombola lands to the Ministry of Culture.

Opposition to quilombola land entitlement has sometimes come from within the government itself. This occurred with the Marambaia (Rio de Janeiro) and Alcântara (Maranhão) communities. In Marambaia the quilombolas faced heavy opposition from the Navy which maintains a Training Centre in the area. As well as curtailing the quilombolas’ rights of ingress and egress, the Navy resorted to the Courts to try to prevent regularization of the area in the name of the quilombolas. In the case of Alcântara, the conflict was with the Brazilian Air Force’s Alcântara Launch Centre (Centro de Lançamento de Alcântara: CLA) installed on lands that have been occupied by communities since the 18th century. In 1986 and 1987 the Alcântara quilombolas were victims of compulsory evictions instigated by the Launch Centre. Between 1986 and 1987, 312 families from 31 villages had to abandon their lands and establish themselves in seven agri-settlements located a number of kilometres from the maritime coast. The Air Force plans to expand the CLA, which could cause the removal of 1,500 more quilombolas.

The force of this backlash against quilombola rights prompted a retreat by the Lula government which led the Office of the Attorney General to define new norms for quilombola land regularization proceedings. In 2008, claiming the need to “give judicial

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59 Observatório Quilombo/Koinonia - Dossiê Imprensa Anti-quilombola  
http://www.koinonia.org.br/oq/dossies_detalhes.asp?cod_dossie=2  
60 CONAQ: http://www.Conaq.org.br/ (consulted on 19/07/2010).  
http://www.camara.gov.br/sileg/Prop_Detalhe.asp?id=352032 [consulted on 05/08/2010]  
61 The draft decree can be found at the Department of Standing Committees of the Chamber of Deputies. Source: Chamber of Deputies  
http://www.camara.gov.br/sileg/Prop_Detalhe.asp?id=364358 [consulted on 05/08/2010]  
62 The CLA was established to carry out operational activities for launch missions and to track aerospace operations. It also has the task of running tests and experiments for the Air Force  
63 These agri-settlements (or agrovilas) are administered by the Air Force in a manner which prevents the quilombolas from independently enjoying the benefits of the location. They are, for example, forbidden from constructing new homes. Young people cannot therefore start a family near their parents, but have to go and live in the peripheral areas of Alcântara and São Luís. Furthermore, settlement residents find it hard to make a living. The areas are small, the soil is inappropriate for farming and they are located a long way from the sea, making it difficult to fish on a daily basis. (ALMEIDA, Alfredo Wagner Berno Os quilombolas e a base de lançamento de foguetes de Alcântara. Brasília: Ibrama, 2006:55.)
certainty” to the proceedings and avoid future conflicts in the judiciary, the Lula government published Incra Normative Instruction no. 49/08 (republished in 2009 as IN Incra 57/2009). The principle difficulties related to this norm are set out in the table at the end of this section.

The real motivation behind this publication is certainly questionable since, contrary to its claims, it appears to be a concession to sectors that have demonstrated strong opposition to quilombola rights. In October 2009, an episode involving the publication and repeal of another Incra Normative Instruction clearly illustrated the extent to which the federal government is susceptible to forces counter to quilombola rights and the way in which this pressure has directly impacted on the definitions of these norms.

On 7th October 2009 the president of Incra published a new Normative Instruction – IN Incra no. 56/2009 – which removed a number of impediments to IN 49/2008. Progress that had been encouraged by workers from the “quilombola coordination section” of Incra was rapidly checked, because, according to them, of “pressure from sectors in favour of maintaining impediments to the regularization policy”. Thus 13 days later IN Incra no. 56 was repealed and the 2008 norm (IN Incra 49) was republished as Incra Normative Instruction no. 57 on 20th October 2009.63

A comparison of the number of entitlements effected by the Lula Government with those some state governments have effectively performed is clear evidence of the consequence of the impediments imposed by federal norms. During the period in which the federal government entitled only eleven lands, the Pará government issued 27 quilombola land titles and that of Piauí adopted more effective rules which have facilitated the conclusion of administrative processes.

There is no short-term prospect of this retrograde policy being overturned. In fact it may be further aggravated by the ADIN 3239 judgement against Decree 4997/2003 which awaits hearing. Although there are ample arguments to defend the decree’s constitutionality, we do not know the present ministers’ views on this matter, which is going before the Federal Supreme Court for the first time. Uncertainty about the future of Decree 4887/2003 increases insecurity and imposes setbacks in the pursuit of quilombola community rights.

Principle problems with the current norms

Some of the following principle setbacks and impediments arising from the norms currently in force (Palmares Cultural Foundation Edict no. 98/2007 and IN Incra 56/2009) are:

a) Lack of respect for the right to self-identification – the right to self-identification (guaranteed under Convention 169 of the ILO) has been disrespected since the right to entitlement has become conditional on a “certificate of self-definition as a quilombola remnant” issued by the Palmares Cultural Foundation. Without this certificate Incra will not even begin land regularization. This obligation coincided with amendments to the rules of certificate issue, which used to be supplied on a simple declaration of community interest. Since 2007, the Palmares Cultural Foundation has begun to demand presentation of a “summary report of the group’s common trajectory” and to plan a “technical visit to the community aimed at obtaining information and clarifying potential queries”.

b) Impediments to territory identification – the norm in force since 2008 has slowed down the territory identification process by making it much more bureaucratic, adding innumerable topics to be researched in the anthropological report, which is part of the technical report for the identification of the territory to be entitled. This change was judged to be critical by both the quilombola movement and the Brazilian Association of Anthropology (Associação Brasileira de Antropologia), which considered the amended list of topics to be “as vast as it is useless”.

c) Restrictions to partnerships and contracting – the government’s attitude is demonstrably perverse in relation to establishing partnerships and contracts: as well as bureaucratizing the identification report, it has made the contracting of specialists for the report’s completion unviable. Previously, contracting anthropologists and setting up partnerships with universities had been a useful strategy in overcoming Incra’s limited ability to meet RTID preparation demands. Under the current normative instruction, contracting may only be made in exceptional circumstances “in a situation duly acknowledged to be materially impossible” (Article 10, paragraph 2). The norm ignores Incra’s evident limitations and lack of anthropologists to meet the demand for anthropological reports.

d) The extension of deadlines for objections and introduction of the suspensive effect – following the publication of RTID studies in the Official Gazette and notification to non-quilombola occupants and owners, non-quilombolas have the opportunity to present objections to the report for assessment by Incra. The objection stage may take up to 270 days (nine months): 90 days for the presentation of objections and a further 180 days for Incra to assess them. This extended six month deadline was another impediment introduced in 2008. The deadline is worrying, given that since 2008 objections have been received in suspensive effect, a condition not contained in Decree 4887/2003. This means that during the period prior to the assessment of objections the entitlement procedure must be officially suspended.

Lúcia M. M. de Andrade
São Paulo, October 2010
PART II – CASE STUDIES

SÃO FRANCISCO DO PARAGUAÇU
1. Introduction to the locale/region

Water; water, a world of water: this is the Bahian Recôncavo, where we find the community of São Francisco do Paraguaçu or do Boqueirão. After a dusty journey along a potholed and difficult road, the beauty of the imposing Paraguaçu River, with the community residing along its banks, is a sight to behold. An area defined by Atlantic rainforest and mangrove, a rich source of marine life and part of the Conservation Unit of the Iguape Extractivist Reserve (Unidade de Conservação Reserva Extrativista do Iguape), São Francisco is one of eleven remaining quilombo communities in the municipality of Cachoeira, a historic city in the Recôncavo of Bahia.

The Recôncavo is the geographic region surrounding All Saints Bay; thousands of African slaves were brought here during the colonial era to work on sugarcane; this is still cultivated today and is a bedrock of the region’s economy. Today the area is hugely influenced by Africa (80.4% of the population is Black) - it is the birthplace of samba de roda and a reference centre for Afro-Brazilian cultural studies. The region is also experiencing growing investment in property and tourism.

The majority of the 323 quilombo families make their living principally through fishing and collecting shellfish and also, although on a smaller scale, subsist through family farming and extracting palm fibre, palm oil, nuts, honey and vines, from which they make fishing pots, baskets and other objects for daily use. Most of the houses are made of mud, there is no sanitation and the road that links the community to the municipality is hazardous and often hinders communication and transport. There is only one primary school, which is reflected in the high level of illiteracy amongst adults. Today most families access the Family Grant (Programa Bolsa Família) of the MDS.

The region’s quilombola communities come under the auspices of the Quilombola Council of the Iguape Valley and Basin (Conselho Quilombola do Vale e Bacia do Iguape) to fight for the right to land and access to public services. Eleven communities are currently members of the Council, which has partnerships with non-governmental organizations, including the Justice and Peace Commission of the Archdiocese of Salvador (Comissão Justiça e Paz da Arquidiocese de Salvador: CJP), the CPF and the Lawyers Association of Rural Workers of the State of Bahia (Associação de Advogados de Trabalhadores Rurais no Estado da Bahia: AATR).

As a result of these joint efforts, the quilombolas have ensured that Incra initiates entitlement proceedings for a number of their territories in the region and on 22nd November 2010 one of these territories, the Quilombola of Salamina Putumuju, finally received its land entitlement. The others are involved in extremely lengthy legal proceedings at Incra.

2. Introduction to the problem

Today São Francisco do Paraguaçu epitomises the quilombola struggle in Brazil, due to the violence it has suffered in its struggle for territorial rights. It gained national visibility in an episode aired on the Globo television network which presented São Francisco as “an example of a fake quilombo”.

Unlike the situation in Alcântara and Marambaia, the conflict in São Francisco involves thirteen landowners linked to both the local and state public authorities. These landowners come from families with a great deal of power in the region and maintain a preservationist discourse as a weapon against the community. The conflict also involves groups of foreigners interested in developing tourism in the region. Furthermore, there is the threat of the installation of a Naval Industrial Centre in the Iguape Basin, with negative impacts predicted for the community and its traditional territory.

Conflicts have provoked the progressive expulsion of families from their territory, through possessory lawsuits and armed violence, both from hired gunmen and the police. Another form of violence is the restriction of the families’ access to the extractivist areas and the mangrove, on which they traditionally depend for their livelihoods.

He (the landowner) didn’t disrespect me, or any of the adults, he disrespected the children. A mother of five children, on the March tide, at six o’clock in the evening, she’s going to go there with her five children, with the water up to her neck? She’s not going to go there. He put the...
These subpoenas have the names of leaders or prominent people from the community. When asked about the number and frequency of subpoenas they reply that “everyone here has been to the police station, it’s as if they’ve got nothing else to do but summon the quilombolas” and they have “lost count” of the number of times this has happened.

Translator’s note: the Brazilian Portuguese titles Senhor (Mr) and Dona (Mrs) have been left in Portuguese throughout this document as they denote a respect for the elderly not captured by their English counterparts.
3. Duration, intervention theme and the initial situation

Duration of intervention: 2005-2010
Theme: territorial rights

The Pastoral Commission for Fishing provides direct technical assistance to the community through two of its representatives (Maria José, known as ‘Zeze’; and Marcos). The AATR provides legal advice regarding the territorial issues. CESE’s activities take a number of forms: directly supporting the activities of the local quilombo movement; supporting the work of the CPP; undertaking coordinating and advocacy activities; and supporting the plan of the community’s Association of Remnants of the Quilombo (Associação de Remascentes de Quilombo).

The CPP was invited to participate in 2005 when the Black community of Salamina Putumuju, one of São Francisco do Paraguaçu’s neighbours with whom they maintain social and commercial ties, common origins and similar histories, began to be considered as a remnant quilombo community. At this point, the population of São Francisco do Paraguaçu started to claim that they should also be considered a remnant quilombo community. There had been some identification and certification of quilombo communities in the region but São Francisco had not been considered as a quilombo – according to members of the Association this was because the person in charge of the decision was from one of the landowning families. But the community wanted to understand why they hadn’t been thus considered and, since they participated in the fishermen’s coordination activities, they asked the CPP for more information. Following various training exercises, the population independently prepared proceedings to apply for certification to the Palmares Cultural Foundation through a petition to the Foundation. All knew that they were seeking this certification, but perhaps not all were aware that this also signified a territorial claim. It is important to state this since later seven people from a community of approximately 350 declared that they were not quilombolas and felt prejudiced by the certification and entitlement process. These seven people were connected to the landowners, with whom they maintain economically dependent or godparent/child relationships; except for one who joined the list mistakenly, signing the paper without knowing what it was, and who is today a member of the quilombo movement.

Following certification the quilombolas felt at liberty to stop paying the landowners for the lease of their houses or land. Prior to certification, the landowners had begun to impose changes in the areas where families traditionally farmed, saying they had to plant their crops elsewhere and creating a number of obstacles. When a decision was taken to plant in a traditionally collective area that belonged to the community, the landowners hastily filed a lawsuit to reinstate the land. According to the quilombolas, the judicial order was accompanied by ten armed police officers looking for Senhor Alti-no. This was the first time that the AATR went to São Francisco, as an emergency measure.

The landowners carried out the reinstatement both of this new, collective, area and of the old areas that had always been cultivated by the families, and they took this opportunity to destroy all of them. Then the people said: And what are we going to do? We live off this. We can’t retreat. (Maria José, CPP Advisor).

From that point forward, the AATR sought to shift the legal process from local jurisdiction to the federal sphere. The judge, from Cachoeira, and compromised by local power relations, conceded the reinstatement of land “without even coming to see the area, based solely on the facts as described by the landowners’ lawyers” and the landowners then
threatened to destroy more of the community’s farmland.\(^1\) The judge dealt with the case as if it was a mass trespass by the Landless Rural Workers’ Movement (Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra: MST), and generally demonstrated a lack of knowledge of quilombola law. The AATR’s first step, therefore, was to consider the local courts incapable of resolving conflicts and making decisions in an area which, because it concerns a quilombola, falls under federal jurisdiction.

Another critical point concerned the raising awareness about police activity, requesting that the Federal Police block the State Police from acting as if “this judgement was a great victory.” In 2005 the state government was still “Carlista”\(^2\) and the police were highly partial in their actions, often residing in landowners’ houses and working for them in plain clothes. In 2006, a new State Government heralded an improvement in relations\(^3\). The quilombolas are of the opinion that abuses would have continued if the previous government had stayed in power.

**History of judicial conflict:**

- February 2006: landowners file land reinstatement lawsuits against the quilombolas based on their supposed land ownership and forced leasing.

The government initiates land regularization proceedings for the community with an Incra visit to the locale.

- 2006: seven people from the community apply for a precautionary judicial suit as they claim they are not quilombolas and have been coerced into assuming a false identity.

  - 2007: reports of a false quilombola on Globo TV and in the mass media in general. Recognition proceedings are paralysed for a year and a half. The FCP reviews the recognition and reaffirms it. The RTID is published, although, due to conflicts in the Judicial Authorities, they do not notify the quilombola occupants. The 90-day countdown to the deadline for objections to the report does not begin.

  - 2008: the landowners’ land reinstatement cases (four lawsuits in all) are not paralysed. Greater political and legal coordination is therefore required to support the community.

  - 2009: suspension of the precautionary measure, continuation of recognition proceedings.

  - 2010: at the time of the study we still do not know whether Incra has managed to notify all involved in order to commence the 90-day deadline for objections and pass on to the next stage – its response to objections.

The landowners’ strategy was to utilize people from within the community to foster conflicts with leaders and weaken the movement: manipulation was both economic and emotional. In order to follow through this strategy, six families from the community were co-opted; these are the only ones who did not see recognize themselves as quilombolas, as opposed to the 350 who did. The landowners also sought to associate the term quilombola with land theft, a term which horrified people in the community who take pride in their integrity.

![Image](image350x-14 to 619x856)

\(^{1}\) Land reinstatement lawsuits were used by the landowners as a swift legal instrument and one based in a large part on the credibility of the person who lodges the complaint. In order to make an injunction in favour of land reinstatement the judge did not need to hear the other side, who were accused of taking the property of others by violent means. It operated like a “blank cheque” for the police to destroy quilombola farmland in many areas and not only in those that came under the injunction, since these measures did not provide for an exact physical description of the location or its limits and the police were guided by the landowners (Source: BONFIM, Joice Silva. A criminalização do movimento quilombola: reintegração de posse em São Francisco do Paraguassu. AATR, 2008).

\(^{2}\) “Carlista” is an expression which defines the political oligarchy linked to Antônio Carlos Magalhães, who was governor of Bahia and a long-standing senator of the Republic and whose dictatorial, “coronelist”, and repressive methods coupled with political longevity created a self-perpetuating power base that served local oligarchical interests. Being “Carlista” means being part of the political faction linked to Antônio Carlos Magalhães.

\(^{3}\) This was the year in which state government politics in Bahia changed, when the candidate of the Workers’ Party (Partido dos Trabalhadores: PT) became governor, after approximately 40 years of Carlistism.

The landowners then launched a “We are not quilombolas” campaign, putting up posters with this slogan not only on the doors of the six families who did not adhere to the quilombola identity, but also on the doors of many other closed up houses, which are not inhabited on a daily basis and most of which are summer houses. Thus they gave the impression that many more families were part of this campaign.
than in fact were. Other posters were seen on uninhabited houses that said ‘Get the CPP out, out with Maria Jose and Marcos’.

Another of the landowners’ strategies was to exploit public policy or benefits that were intended for the community, setting up more than five associations, which then competed for space and resources. These associations, such as ‘Residents and Friends’ received benefits because of their connections and political relations, such as the Point of Culture (Ponto de Cultura), a Ministry of Culture programme. This was set up in the home of one of the landowners who is connected to the environmental movement and who accused the community of being despoilers of the environment. Ironically, this Point of Culture was approved as a foundation for the history and culture of the Black community.

Members of the Quilombola Association believe that the families who do not recognize themselves as quilombolas have a subservient relationship with the landowners and do not accept their own racial identity and history.

They believe that quilombola is a Black thing; they have lighter skin so they think they are not quilombola. If they define themselves as not wanting to be [quilombolas], that’s their problem. But we want them to live here with us, because this is where they were born and raised.

One question which is present across the entire process concerns what will happen when the collective entitlement is recognized. The quilombolas have no doubt of their right to recognition, although they know that the struggle is long and painful. The intention is for all of them to stay in the area, all together because we are all related, descendants of slaves, it’s all written down in the minutes and no one is going to leave here. Only the landowners are opposed to their remaining on the land, who ‘arrived here to find that our people were already here’. Thequilombolas hope that the courts will resolve the problem, that the landowners will receive their dues, do the right thing and ‘leave us in peace’.

While the AATR took care of the legal side, the CPP’s strategy for coordination sought greater visibility within public bodies and civil society. The support and mobilization of their partners was essential, particularly CESE’s activities. Another CPP strategy was to extend debate within the community itself, strengthening local autonomy and dealing with State government inertia. CESE’s input was fundamental in the Association’s establishment of an initiative for a community vegetable garden.

With Incra’s retreat from territorial regularization proceedings, the community undertook a series of activities to enhance visibility and to demand rights, including public acts, demonstrations, debates, marches, an occupation of Incra’s headquarters in Salvador and trips to Brasilia, where they were received by the institution’s president and accused the body of institutional racism, demanding an immediate resumption of the entitlement process.

**Initial situation**

At the request of the community, the CPP’s intervention began in 2005 when the quilombola issue started to be discussed. At that time there were people in the community who were connected to fishing, which was one of the local subsistence economies. However, organizationally, everything was still at a very early stage, with individual initiatives or organizations created artificially by regional politicians or the landowners themselves.

People paid the ‘landowners’ to lease their own lands and to live in the village - there was no thought about their history and identity; they knew nothing of their quilombola rights. Expulsion or forced migration to the cities took place because of a lack of work on the land and the landowners exercised their right of ownership by interfering arbitrarily in the families’ cultivation areas, disrupting them and discouraging these activities. Thus the families’ access to their territory was significantly reduced and curtailed, leaving them with a growing sense of de-territorialization.

The community was extremely isolated, both geographically and politically. They had no experience of political struggle or mobilization, of social participation in events, of making claims to public bodies, participating in meetings or speaking in public. They did not have their own organization, much less a formalized association, and had no experience of project negotiation and management.

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24 More information about this can be found under the heading “Contributions of Supporting Organization”
4. Significant changes

Changes in life and standard of living

- Identity, autonomy and self-esteem

During the community visit we witnessed a clear assertion of quilombola identity in homes painted with the words "I am quilombola and proud of it", on T-shirts with quilombola mottos and in discourse, generally. For this community, the process of recognition involved re-claiming and placing a value on their history, racial identity and ancestry. This is an enormous change compared to how they lived before and opened up a whole new prospect for the community's way of life.

Where does the quilombola come from? From runaway Black people, who couldn't stand the suffering in the sugar mills, so they ran away. Then came recognition of the great suffering of the slaves, here in our native country.

We, all of us, were born and raised within the territory. Our grandparents, great-grandparents, great-great-grandparents were born on this land, they grew up on this land, they died on this land. And there are fruits for those who are here now, on the land. That is us.

Then the landowners arrived and ended up throwing us out from Quilombola Boqueirão over there, by the tide. They cheated and planted grass: planted grass and put cattle on it and such like, and took us out of there. When we looked for our rights we found our rights, since we are remnant quilombolas. Then they began with loads of attacks, conflicts, threats and we began our honest work.

- Greater valuing of history and culture.

With the assertion of their identity, cultural expressions have become more highly valued and strengthened, as part of an ethnic-racial identity.

- Knowledge of the law, of rights and the functioning of the State.

This knowledge was accessed through training offered by the CPP in lay lawyer courses and also through coordination and mobilization activities. The political struggle served as a learning process.

- Unity between people from different religions

The resistance process involved ecumenical acts and initiated a debate concerning unity between Catholics, Protestants and followers of Candomblé.

- Autonomy in the territory, freedom to produce and construct homes

You really take possession of your own territory. So they feel the territory is theirs, it is they who take care of it and they will no longer submit and this enabled them to plant more, to plant with freedom, to no longer have to share their production, to have access to the mangroves, to collect palm fibre without fear. Sometimes collecting palm fibre was forbidden, extracting palm oil was forbidden...

(Maria José, CPP Advisor).

This aspect is essential because it relates to the families' survival and their relationship with the land, which, in turn, is at the root of quilombola identity and the concept of territory as a place for physical, cultural and spiritual production and reproduction and not merely physical survival. For them, land is not property to be sold but a caring mother who feeds and nurtures them.

They say they are owners and they don’t recognize Mother Nature; who is the mother of us all. It falls to those who know how to study to recognize her, because creation would not exist without her. When God made the world he left the earth as her responsibility, since everything that is born, is created by her. I have a farm with a thousand head of cattle; I have a thousand tasks on the land. Did the earth create my farm and my cattle or was it my name as a landowner? It shows a lack of respect for humanity not to understand that it is our mother, our Mother Nature. If I have a mother – my mother is mute – do you think that the Brazilian Courts give me the right to sell my mother, because she is mute? It is like the land. Do you think I say I will sell the land because the land is mute, it doesn’t talk? All this is happening in our country, in our world.

There is a strong sense of belonging and the quilombolas experience great difficulties if, expelled by a lack of conditions for survival, they try to live in the city. This was described by a young man who finished his interview saying:

We are in a good place here, we know everyone, everyone hangs out with everyone, nobody is violent to anybody else. And what the landowner wants today is to see things that I saw there in the city. To remove us from here and take us to the city, so that when we arrive there we can fall into the hands of criminals. That’s what the landowner wants, but this, I’m sure, isn’t going to happen. Now, yes, they are the ones who will leave here and we will stay here, we that were born and raised here in the community, this here belongs to us and we are never going to leave!

Another feature which demonstrates this autonomy, and is directly reflected in the practical lives of the families, is the non-payment of leases on their homes or lands and the fact that they can construct new houses or renovate their homes in the village.

Those houses made there, that’s our victory, a quilombola victory. That there is a freedom and we will have more freedom from now on. We only need to unite and go forward from here.

- Production of collective agro-ecological vegetable gardens and the management of project resources

The community secured support from CESE for a collective, agro-ecological vegetable garden project with the aim of improving food security and reversing the landowners’ false propaganda that presented them as despoilers of nature. The garden has served as a source of income, is used as a place for meetings and collective work and is also an important learning experience for the management of resources.
When the landowners were coordinating things, either giving land to somebody or arranging work for someone or other, the community vegetable garden was also important in uniting impoverished families through a small project and also for the association to demonstrate its coordination of direct action (Maria José, CPP Advisor).

The community also had a similar experience with the Ministry of Fisheries in a project to buy canoes and other equipment.

The power to influence decisions that affect them

- Overcoming isolation, coordinating support and solidarity and gaining allies to influence decisions

The entire history of this community is based on its struggle to try to secure rights from within an unequal power relationship. However, when they acquired allies, coordinated and mobilized the community on behalf of its interests, the cause gained visibility. This was a process of breaking down existing isolation and of social and political coordination. Neighbouring communities mobilized themselves and were always present to support São Francisco do Paraguaçu. A large mobilization of the Black movement in Salvador took place that brought together a variety of organizations and representatives and included public demonstrations. It is worth noting that the São Francisco case began to be noticed by those groups and organizations that defend Human Rights. This culminated in a visit to the region by Edson Santos, the Minister for Racial Equality. As a result of this and other visits from government authorities, "some people from outside the community began to respect us", as did people from within the community, who, given the region’s unequal power relations, had not really believed in the cause. The occupation of the Incra building, the meeting with the Incra president as well as a range of letters and manifestos, were all key moments when a little more power was gained in relation to the decisions that affect the quilombola community’s rights.

Many thought that we didn’t have authority on our side. But it was at the moment that the Minister arrived here, many people were ashamed at the moment that the minister came here to meet us... We could see that many quilombolas were happy about it. There had been an almost religious belief that the minister wouldn’t really be here at that moment. So it made a lot of people happy. And it brought sadness too, to everyone who was against us, who tried to tell lies about us.

Changes from the point of view of equality and gender

- Women’s participation in the struggle

There was no specific gender work, nor a clearly demarcated identification of the issue. However, women were present in equal numbers to men during the association meeting concerning this impact study and they talked freely about their participation in the struggle. This participation related to resistance, to recognition of the strength of ancestry, to women’s daily work in the mangroves, to their presence during moments of confrontation with the police and the way they mobilized to confront community criminalization. Dona Maria, the elderly leader who died as a result of the struggle, is a symbol of the strength and presence of the women of São Francisco do Paraguaçu.

The participation of us women in this struggle has been great! We participated in this way, we have had a lot of confrontations, precisely because the police came here wanting to trample all over our crops, these things, and the women are always together, defending as equals, shoulder to shoulder. When the police came to knock down our community centre we stayed with the people there: it was all for one and one for all! We debated, we confronted the police and, thank God, everything was resolved. The women defied. The women got there, put a load of wood on the road there and said: You won’t get past!

Changes in the quilombola organization and movement

- Collective and autonomous organizational processes

The formation of the association came about because of a need to have an officially recognized movement, although they had always had their own forms of organization. Progress in the organizational process is considered a significant change, since before “they were individual people, generally coordinated by the politicians” and now “they have community coordination which frequently takes collective steps, in which everyone has an opinion, which has joint coordination. Before this, the organizations which were in existence, like the neighbourhood one, were always in the hands of the local councillor or the candidate…” (Maria José, CPP Advisor).

There is a collective procedure
for the exercise of leadership, which includes a means of confronting criminalization. Police subpoenas have always arrived in the name of certain leaders, but the collective has always sought to face these situations as a group, dismantling the landowners’ strategy to criminalize specific people who they identified as leaders of the movement. This exercise has been important in developing a sense of maturity in the collective, which has representation in a number of different places and through a range of individuals, resulting in an impressive unity of discourse and activity. Community members consider themselves part of and, therefore, representatives of this struggle, which was evident during the study interviews.

One demonstration of this collective strength was the construction of the Quilombola Association centre, a collective community effort in which everyone volunteered, “the women helped, the women are also the first, the women drove the police away.” This centre, whose construction the landowners tried to prevent, was knocked down three times and was the subject of a land reinstatement suit, fortunately denied by the courts. Today it is a source of great pride for the community and a powerful symbol of identity and resistance.

- Approaching other quilombos and organizations from Bahia and Brazil:
  Collective participation in public demonstrations and meetings and the preparation of common agendas have all significantly broadened the community’s horizons, assisting them in their struggle and their appropriation of quilombo identity. They perceived the need for an increasingly cohesive organization and affirmed their struggle for their rights, travelling to Salvador and Brazil, occupying the Incra building, participating in the North-eastern Social Forum (Forum Social Nordestino) and other public activities. They have also participated in a number of meetings and arenas for quilombola community coordination in Bahia. In November 2009, a Public Ceremony took place in Salvador in support of the São Francisco do Paraguaçu struggle. External support strengthened internal participation and the visit of the Public Defender, of Incra and of the Minster of Racial Equality all strengthened the community.

Other quilombola communities from the region were very supportive and active in the São Francisco struggle. Conaq was there during the Globo Network episode and reported the situation. However, in the words of the CPP advisor, “there was a certain frustration” that Conaq did not pursue the inclusion of the São Francisco quilombolas in coordination activities at national level. This comment perhaps reflects Conaq’s difficulties related to its quasi “virtual” structure, with representation by state, its lack of funding and its need to act in response to the movement’s more immediate issues.

Changes in relation to the government

- Lowering the cost of RTID publication
  Publication of the technical report in the Official Gazette became an obligatory part of the land regularization process and cost between 30 and 40 thousand reals. With the support of parliamentarian Luiz Alberto, this cost fell to R$500.00, according to information from the CPP. This makes compliance with this requirement more feasible.

- Advances towards entitlement
  • Projects supported by government bodies
    - Purchase of canoes and other equipment, a project funded by the Ministry of Fisheries
    - Construction of honey-processing facilities, funded by the Department for the Promotion of Equality of the State of Bahia (Secretaria de Promoção da Igualdade do Estado da Bahia: Sepromi) - in its approval process at the time of this study
    - School and crèche – while these two services exist, the community.
    - Access to public policies:
      - Basic food baskets for registered families – an action which enabled families proven to be in extreme need to receive basic foodstuffs.
      - Specific school meals – along with many rural family farmers across Brazil, quilombolas have struggled to obtain specific school meals that originate from the purchase of local products and respect local food culture. Quilombola children are now able to receive better and more appropriate nutritious food while they are in school.
      - The establishment of a primary care Health Centre in the community.
      - School and crèche – while these two services exist, the school does not provide a differentiated service: they don’t study the quilombola theme at school even though most of the children are quilombola. In the crèche the general advice was for the children not to say they are from quilombolas. The Association has reported this fact to the State and Municipality. However, since there are a number of interests involved, the issue has not progressed.
      - Social security and health services through the Public Defender’s Office
    • Changes in relation to the public’s perception of quilombolas
      - The São Francisco do Paraguaçu, or do Boqueirão, quilombola had been nationally branded a “false quilombola”. One cannot say that there has been a change in the perception of the general population; the community’s right to reply did not secure the same prominence as the initial report. But it has become well known throughout the entire quilombola movement, as well as with its allies in Bahia and Brazil, as a symbol of struggle and resistance. Videos have been produced and are available on the internet, as part of the community’s strategy for communication and positive visibility.  

75 One of these videos is “Maria of Paraguaçu”, a homage to Dona Maria, who died as a result of the criminalization of the community.
5. Change factors

- Internal strength of the community itself.
- Legal organization coordinated by the AATR.
- Political organization. This involved deputies, government bodies, NGOs and social movements. It allowed for greater closeness between the urban Black movement and the quilombola movement.
- Technical assistance and constant feedback. Maria José (CPP Advisor) defined the role of the advisor as “undertaking a reading of what is happening and of what is behind it.” Support for the reassertion of the identity process and for knowledge about rights so that the community had enough information to “be aware of what it was doing and seeking.” Moreover, support to the movement’s leadership was not personalized but created robust collective processes.

When conflicts begin, if there is no guarantee of support to the community, no process that reflects on its activities, the community can self-destruct, because of confusion within itself and not understanding the whole constructed process that is behind it. An example of this happened with the other people in the community who were deceived and who suddenly simply identified the others as enemies. (Maria José, CPP advisor).

6. Difficulties and mistakes

The case of São Francisco do Paraguacu manifests environmental racism, which can clearly be seen in the unequal power relations between the actors in this conflict. Within this struggle, the landowners used the artifice of criminalization of the community to delegitimize its struggle. In utilizing instruments such as land reinstatement suits, the landowners sought support through the legal and judicial State apparatus, not only to guarantee their right to ownership, in clear opposition to the quilombola community’s fundamental right, but also, and above all, to demobilize and discredit the community’s organization.

This mechanism was further strengthened through the dubious participation of some of the landowners, who occupied decision-making and representative roles in a leftist government and supposedly supported the quilombola struggle. Other landowners are ex-mayors, councilors or deputies and maintain a powerful network of influence in the region, state and country at large.

Another dubious and confusing feature is the supposed environmentalist, or preservationist, approach of some of the landowners, accusing the community of deforestation and destroying nature, contradicting the socio-environmentalist logic that has existed, to a greater or lesser extent, in a pact between environmentalists and social movements since the 1992 Rio Conference. When the environmentalist argument is used against traditional communities – as frequently occurs against indigenous communities – public opinion is quick to align itself with such an argument, as is the case in Marambaia.

The existence of a number of community associations is a real problem; these have been set up through external influences or as initiatives of landowners and politicians and only serve to weaken, confuse and divide. Although the legitimacy of these associations is questionable, they are legally instituted and capable of securing benefits and public resources for the use of a few. It is worth emphasizing that the only association with 350 associates is the Association of the Remnant Quilombo Community (Associação da Comunidade Remanescente de Quilombo), which will receive the collective land title at the end of the entitlement proceedings.

There have been a number of difficulties in terms of practical
mobilization and coordination, but these have been overcome through the work of the community and its advisors and through external support, especially that of CESE.

The death of two of its main leaders was a great shock to the community and, to some extent, weakened the movement. However, this was seen as a transforming force to drive the cause forward. “Their sacrifice cannot be in vain.”

A factor worth noting is the lack of daily available legal advice to assist the community in confronting the legal proceedings that arise from the criminalization strategy to which they are subject. The landowners’ strategy has been to instigate a number of individual proceedings rather than any against the collective as a whole. The AATR only pursues those connected to the collective territorial process. There was an attempt to get the Public Defender’s Office to take on this role. Initially it did not take up the task, although the Office has helped considerably in securing community access to social security and health rights. As the situation experienced by the community has worsened, with the increase in overt and violent police activity, the Public Defender’s Office has nominated a public defence attorney to follow subpoenas, pursue cases and accompany people to the Police Station; although a recent initiative, this has begun to generate positive effects.

Another major difficulty is the repercussions caused by the mass media, which has orchestrated an attack against the territorial rights of quilombola communities in Brazil. São Francisco do Paraguaçu has become a community flagship for this campaign of disinformation. This difficulty manifested itself in the way the Globo Network dealt with the community’s right to reply. A further communication aspect has been the way CESE has showcased the situation, promoting and highlighting events through its newsletter and other publicity channels.

7. Contribution of the Supporting Organization

CESES sought to construct strategies by publishing and disseminating the real story about the São Francisco situation and also put in place initiatives that strengthened community resistance and the quilombola struggle in Bahia and throughout Brazil.

One form of support was through the approval of small projects, particularly support for the participation of representatives of São Francisco do Paraguaçu in the North-eastern Social Forum, which was a strategy to increase visibility, whilst supporting and valuing the community. The resources left over from this project led to a series of meetings firstly amongst quilombo communities and also amongst traditional populations in order to plan their coordination processes, enabling the quilombola communities to construct alternative ways to monitor the ADIN and to participate in certain demonstrations, such as the opening of the Racial Conference (2009) and the act at the Federal Supreme Court in Brasília immediately following the deaths of Senhor Altino and Dona Maria.

• CPP training of lay lawyers, with the participation of three leaders from São Francisco, giving them a better understanding of their rights, legislation and existing legal barriers and opportunities. This training also enabled a more consolidated coordination between quilombola communities and between the fisherman of the Bahian Recôncavo;

• Support given to the above-mentioned vegetable garden project;

• Support to the National Conference of Artisanal Fishing (Conferência Nacional da Pesca Artesanal) which enabled the quilombola communities of Bahia to hold an audience with the National President of Incra. After this audience the quilombola agendas in Bahia started to receive more attention and Incra began to respond more actively to quilombola arguments and demands.

• Advocacy, communication, exchange and mobilization activities, using CESE’s own communication tools, such as its web page, seminars, meetings, visits and exchanges, coordination with other organizations and participation in the November 2009 Public Act in Defence of the Quilombola Communities of Bahia (Ato Público em Defesa das Comunidades Quilombolas da Bahia).

CESE characteristics which enabled these changes and results

Both the quilombolas and CPP staff saw CESE as a partnership
of social movements which they could rely on for distinct forms of support. Zezê says that CESE’s credibility was extremely important in the positive visibility strategy for São Francisco, since not only has CESE supported activities but it has also been at their core, for example in hosting the launch of the Maria of Paraguaçu video.

The highlight, however, is the Small Projects Programme: CESE is perhaps the only organization from which the community could count on obtaining support for coordination and mobilization activities. Funding for projects of this nature is not easily secured. CESE, because of its characteristics and sensibility, is possibly the only institution where such movements can present projects that are small in nature, given that the scenario is marked by reductions in funding.

The difference is that it is easier to access resources for these types of processes – mobilization, training – at CESE, where they find greater acceptance. Imagine if you could do this with the government! You can secure specific support for a bus, for example, but supporting these things, having a notion of the coordination process, is more difficult.

Another aspect considered highly positive was the possibility of running a small project, such as the community vegetable garden, through which the community has learned specific project management skills and how to deal with the language of this type of work.

**Other actors and organizations that have contributed to these changes**

**AAATR** – Legal assistance in the issue of land entitlement and partnership in all the coordination and mobilization activities.

**Council for the Development of the Black Community (Conselho de Desenvolvimento da Comunidade Negra: CDCN)** – Brought together a significant number of Black organizations to support the quilombo.

**Deputy Luis Alberto** – Defended the community against the illegal acts of the police. He was a staunch ally during the most difficult and dangerous periods. He also managed to reduce the cost of RTID publication.

**Public Defender’s Office** – Operated in the community giving advice about individual social security and coordinated activities with the Department of Health; delegated a public defence attorney to accompany members of the community when they were summoned to the police station.

**Incra** – Despite the existence of a group within the institution strongly committed to the quilombola issue, the body was denounced by the quilombolas of Bahia for institutional racism, due to its excessive slowness in land entitlement proceedings.

**Seppir** – Organized a public audience, summoning all the other organizations, including the FCP and the Federal Public Defender’s Office.

**Conaq and the Quilombola Movement** – Highly present during the clash with the Globo Network TV company.

**CIP** – Extremely important in ensuring coordination activities and offering respectability.

**CPT** – Support through their experience in coordinating activities.

**Geografar** – This is a programme of the Federal University of Bahia, active in coordination activities and in mobilizations.

**MNU** – Particularly some of its leaders, in the mobilization and coordination process.
8. Main impacts

The main impacts relate to the continuity of the existence of the community itself (resistance), in the face of aggressive strategies of criminalization and punitive institutional and environmental processes.

There has been significant progress in the way the community organizes itself, with the consolidation of an autonomous process and the collective exercise of leadership, leading to a greater ability: to access the State; to mobilize support and construct alliances to secure rights; and to access public services not previously accessed by the community. This progress also enabled the independent mobilization and management of both projects and external support resources towards the improvement of community life. There has also been much greater visibility for the quilombola struggle and an increase in coordination activities with other communities and organizations.

Ecumenical practices brought together people from different religions, recognizing religiosity as being at the core of the community. This was achieved without succumbing to religious intolerance, but rather by coming together in a common struggle for social justice and to assert the community’s right to life and self-determination.
1. Introduction to the locale/region

The Remnant Quilombo Community of the Island of Marambaia is located on the coast of Mangaratiba (RJ) in an area considered to be of national security, which is administered by the Marine Command and is where the Training Centre of the Island of Marambaia (Centro de Adestramento da Ilha da Marambaia: Cadim) operates.

Scattered between the two extreme points of the island and across ten beaches are old brick and plaster houses, home to approximately 200 quilombola families. The Marambaia community lives in harmony with the Atlantic Rainforest, which remains well preserved. Artisanal fishing and the collecting of shellfish are the principle means of economic livelihood and their basic foods are fish and manioc flour. They also gather food and raw materials to construct houses and make utensils (vines, straw and bamboo) and for therapeutic purposes. Subsistence agriculture is also practiced, most notably in manioc, sugarcane and banana, but it is not always possible to maintain the crops because the community has to share the space with training military personnel.

The act of arriving at the island of Marambaia says a lot about the conditions of inequality between the military and the community. As soon as the Naval boats arrive at the Itacuruçá quays servicemen disembark in order of rank and after them come the members of the quilombola community with their bundles, baskets and bags. Embarkation then begins: first the officers, their families and guests, then the trainee seamen. People from the community form a queue in a corner of the quay. A serviceman with a clipboard checks off names on a prepared list. Once the servicemen, their families and guests are on board, the residents are permitted to embark; then, if there is still space, come their guests, whose names must be on the list. If there is not sufficient space, only those at the front of the queue are allowed on board. There are separate cabins on the boat for the officers and their families and for everybody else. There is also a dress code: no one is permitted to travel on the Naval boat in sandals or barefoot. This is the only way to access the island.

2. Introduction to the problem

During slavery the island was maintained by its owner, Commander Breves, as a place for the ‘fattening up’ and transiting of slaves, before they were sold to other plantations. The current residents claim that just before he died the Commander verbally agreed to donate the entire island to the ex-slaves still living there.

During the Vargas era there was a Fishing School on the island, which taught fishing production, produced ice and fostered a great deal of commercial activity. It was considered a centre of excellence throughout Brazil and received students from all over the country. Many residents still have fond memories of that time, which they describe as Marambaia’s “golden age”. With the death of the administrator, however, the project came to an end and the school was abandoned.

In 1971, after passing through the hands of a number of administrators, the institution was taken over by the Brazilian Navy, which, ten years later, inaugurated Cadim, making use of the old Fishing School’s attractive infrastructure. Taking up some three kilometres of beach, the architecture is impressive, and includes a church and various buildings that
function both as classrooms and residences.

In 1988 the Navy started a number of legal Land Reinstatement proceedings against the island's residents, alleging that they had invaded Federal lands; some of them were expelled as a result. In the same year, the Itaguai Pastoral of the Catholic Church wrote a letter to the Palmares Cultural Foundation reporting the continual threats and evictions made by the Navy against these families and annexing a dossier of news from local newspapers. This dossier formed the basis of all future intervention and support for the island and resulted in the community's case entering the public domain.

The importance of Marambaia for the quilombo question in Brazil

For Public Prosecutor Daniel Sarmento the Island of Marambaia is a flagship case for Brazil, or in his words, a "test of the rule of law" in the country, because it places the quilombo community on one side and the Armed Forces, "state power in its most authoritarian form, the state at its most oppressive," on the other. According to Sarmento, it is a straightforward legal case, "the legal norms are very clearly in favour of the quilombo community," but also a matter of power.

He considers the case of Marambaia to be a "testing ground" for the entire quilombo issue in Brazil, posing the question - to what extent is such a poor, stigmatized group capable of overcoming the might of the military, which in these situations allies itself to a series of other people?

José Maurício Arruti, a member of Koinonia, anthropologist and lecturer at the Pontifical Catholic University in Rio de Janeiro (Pontifícia Universidade Católica: PUC-RJ), reminds us that the case of Marambaia has been with the Executive Office of the President of Brazil for many years and, through ADIN 3239 against decree 4887/2003, is at the centre of challenges to the main decree that regulates the quilombo issue. In both flagship cases (Marambaia and Alcântara) the government tends to favour the military, putting up barriers and facilitating other interests through Normative Instructions. If decree 4887/2003 is annulled there is a huge risk to the wholequilombo situation in Brazil, which includes the possibility of a review of all the entitlements already granted; this would be an enormous setback. According to the Mariana Crioula Non-governmental Organization (NGO), there is a concern that the Marambaia and Alcântara cases may represent to the quilombolas what the Raposa Serra do Sol was to the indigenous Indians – demarcation was ultimately granted but the process led to a series of legal setbacks.

3. Duration, intervention theme and the initial situation

Duration of intervention: 1999 – 2010

Theme: territorial rights

Koinonia began visiting Marambaia in 1999 as part of an individual research project of José Mauricio Arruti, whose aim was to undertake a survey of the quilombo communities in Rio de Janeiro. This research served as a platform for reflection on Koinonia’s work and culminated in the creation of the black territories category and in the programme that is today Koinonia’s flagship programme, which includes work with Candomblé Terreiros and quilombo communities.

At that time six quilombo areas had been recognized in Rio de Janeiro by the governor-in-office, Benedita da Silva. “But nobody knew exactly how to define what remnant quilombos were,” explains Arruti.

There was widespread disinformation about the quilombo issue – within the communities, as well as in the research field and elsewhere. State recognition of the six areas came about from outside the communities, externally: the state created a legal and administrative

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77 An organization made up of lawyers who work in association with Koinonia for the community of Marambaia.
78 Translator’s note: Candomblé Terreiros are the houses, or places of worship, in which the sacred ceremonies and rituals of the Afro-Brazilian religion of Candomblé take place.
category which was also political and initiated a process of identity assertion. But the need to work with the communities was evident, in order for them to review their own history, to comprehend the extent of the new classification and translate it into their own, native categories.

Changes in the intervention plan – 1999
Given this context, Koinonia moved away from the initial plan to map the communities towards a mediation of the State-community relationship, touching on the ‘very aggressive’ process of identity attribution, facilitating access to research and to qualified information about this theme.

Thus the planned intervention became a knowledge mediation process – a ‘pedagogic’ objective involving communication, research and pedagogy, with an emphasis on knowledge production and the dissemination of information. Marambaia was included in this plan because, in line with Koinonia’s criterion regarding the principle of autonomy, there was a clear need to construct identity and for the community to strengthen how it represented itself and its issues.

Legal Working Group – 2000
In 2000, recognizing the need to generate knowledge about the issue, Koinonia set up a Legal Working Group - a network of people interested in the quilombola issue - as a training programme. This group was made up of people and institutions interested in broadening their understanding of the quilombola issue through the practice and experience of members from the Public Defender’s Office, the Department of Public Prosecution (Ministério Público: MP), law faculties and the Koinonia team. Quilombolas from different communities were invited to share their experience and impressions with the group. “This was really terrifying and educational for everyone”, Arruti declared.

Public Seminars and training activities – 2001
Two important public seminars were held concerning Marambaia: one with the MP and the Sixth Chamber (for Indians and Minorities) in Brasilia and another with the MP in Rio. It was the first time that people from the community talked about their issues in public, outside the island. Another seminar was then held at the Public Defender’s Office. At the same time, several workshops were held with the community and the Marambaia quilombolas began to participate in a number of other training sessions, in Rio and other regions of the country. From 2000 to 2010 the community also participated in the Quilombola Community Meetings (Encontros de Comunidades Quilombolas) promoted by Koinonia and considered extremely valuable opportunities by both participants and staff.

Report and Assessment - 2002-2003
At the invitation of the MP, Koinonia prepared a preliminary report about the situation in Marambaia and, at the request of the FCP they also prepared an anthropological assessment. A number of challenges were thrown up during the preparation of these two documents, including the refusal of the Brazilian Bar Association (Ordem dos Advogados do Brasil: OAB) to support the process and the Naval ban on Koinonia from entering the island, which necessitated intervention from the MP in order to proceed with the research. The assessment report was delivered in 2003 and questioned by the Navy; the dispute between the Navy and Incra about whether or not to validate the anthropological assessment, which constitutes the community’s RTID, continues today.

Public Civil Action
In 2003 the MP filed a Public Civil Action requesting the recognition of Marambaia as a remnant quilombo and the suspension of house demolitions, expulsions and other prohibitive measures imposed by the Navy. The judge’s injunction duly suspended the demolitions and the expulsions of island residents and requested that the FCP pronounce on the recognition of the islanders as a remnant quilombo community. However, due to intervention from the Executive Office of the President of Brazil, this suit is still paralysed today.

Free Marambaia Campaign – 2006
Another significant moment was when the Free Marambaia Campaign set up extensive alliances between Marambaia and a number of NGOs and movements. The campaign was planned in a seminar held by Koinonia attended by representatives of quilombola associations and partner organisations and officially launched on 30th April 2006, during a Public Act carried out in Itacuruçá which brought together over a hundred people as well as representatives of five quilombola communities from across the state. Across the year, a range of initiatives aimed at pressurizing government bodies took place, culminating in the quilombolas’ journey to Brasília, where they met representatives of the Ministry of Agricultural Development (Ministério do Desenvolvimento Agrário: MDA), SEPPIR, the Palmares Cultural Foundation, the Minis-
try of Defence and the Executive Office of the President of Brazil, demanding information about the progress of land regularization proceedings. The campaign’s principal achievements were: the mobilization of a Marambaia support network, comprising 18 organizations from various parts of the country; the profile the case gained in the media; and the circulation of information through each participating organization’s networks.

The community’s initial situation

When Koinonia first began operating in Marambaia the community was already in conflict with the Navy, as reported in a dossier by the Catholic Church. However, the community was not well organized and people and families fought the struggle individually. The Navy had no respect for the islanders and they had little autonomy, even being prevented from renovating their own homes or constructing ones for growing families. The community’s physical and political isolation was one factor that made it easier for the Navy to operate coercively in a number of ways, often exceeding their legitimate powers – for instance, by forcing community members to give evidence in a clear attempt to criminalize them, to delegitimize their struggle and to characterize their basic survival activities as illegal.

The community lived in constant fear and continued pressure from the Navy, which went so far as to expel some families from the island. This forced exodus affected people who had difficulty in adapting to life outside the island. Assaults to prevent the community organizing itself had been made by the Navy prior to Koinonia’s intervention. Amongst the tactics used were terror (coercive military activities), isolation (the Navy controlled, as it still controls, although less explicitly, the comings and goings of people from the community) and cooption. Terror was exercised in a variety of forms, from the police activity of summoning and interrogating people illegally conducted by the Navy, to homes being demolished and the filing of lawsuits against residents.

4. Significant changes

Changes in life and standard of living

• More respect from the Navy, less coercion
  This is most people’s first response when asked about what has changed. They say that today, despite the high-handed approach of the Navy, acting as the island’s proprietor and controlling the right to come and go, the situation is much better than before. Although they tell many stories of coercion, terror and persecution, people say that they are more respected today, that they Navy doesn’t carry out the ‘interrogations’ that it used to and they are seen as individuals who have certain rights.
• The opportunity to construct or renovate their homes

This was another point universally mentioned. The quilombolas report a number of cases in which the Navy had prevented them from renovating their homes – which are old, made of plaster and in need of repairs or extensions; and even of cases where the Navy demolished houses that were under construction. Since the injunction granted via the Public Civil Action, they have been able to construct and renovate their own homes, although they still have to apply for permission to the Navy and this permission depends on a series of factors, often subjective in nature. But there are new homes and ones under renovation, and this is a great victory.

• Land: the struggle for regularization

“This is what I want at the end of my life. To achieve my goal, which is land tenure” (Sônia). This is the single most important issue, mentioned by everyone. At the time of the study they were concerned about the review of demarcation limits as requested by Incra; they don’t understand the reason for this, since the previous map (drawn up at the time of the anthropological assessment) was “quite conscious. What we wanted is still there. Let’s resta this. We are afraid that the trend will remain as it is, with no progress” (Vânia).

• The appropriation and valuing of their own history

We see the quilombos here on the coast and we have found out about all of them, the ancestors of those peoples who passed through
here, through Marambaia. Some were stolen from Africa and others were not. We came to discover this history through partnerships, friendships, by getting to know people (Vânia).

- The recognition of Black racial identity

The old ones were too embarrassed to talk about it. The struggle and victory is in how the children accept they are Black, because their parents didn't always accept they were Black. This has changed today, but we have to start from the beginning, we have to start with the little ones (Vânia).

- Young people assuming quilombola identity

This is an important development, as young people previously interviewed by Koinonia negated their identity, saying "I am not a quilombola; my father is a quilombola." The strategy has been to work through culture. Today young people are proud of being Black and quilombola. "Awareness has changed. I believe that that's the best thing that has happened to me, to see this in my children" (Vânia).

- School up to eighth grade, with a young native educator employed by the municipality

Previously the school did not cover all the primary school years. This achievement came about because of a great struggle. There was a period when the school taught up to secondary level, but with the separation of responsibilities between municipality and state, only primary schooling - which is provided by the municipality - remained. Having Nilton Carlos, a young man from the community and one of the directors of the Association, working as an educator at the school is an extremely positive outcome since he seeks to deal with themes of culture and identity with his pupils.

- Women: strengthening the movement, self-esteem and caring for each other.

Women in Marambaia have a key role in motivating the fight for rights. Women carry out the majority of coordination activities both within and outside the community - activities involving the municipality, the quilombola movement and other communities. "We women are the majority in the Marambaia movement" they say. They are the ones who run the popular community festivals, culminating in the commemoration of 20th November - Black Consciousness Day - an event now fixed in the regional calendar. In addition there are traditional winter festivals in June and ARQMAR's anniversary in March.

The festival period "is the happiest for the community and is when we demonstrate our power, we demonstrate that this here is ours'. Women are at the forefront of the association's struggles; the association has twice had the same woman president - Vânia Guerra, who today acts as Coordinator, linking the association of Marambaia and the Association of the Remnant Quilombo Communities of the State of Rio de Janeiro (Associação das Comunidades Remanescente de Quilombo do Estado do Rio de Janeiro: AC-QUILERJ). Moreover, the person responsible for ties with the municipality is a woman - Joeci. Through her participation in the quilombola movement, Vânia says that she has learnt to value what is around her as well as to value herself. "I have also been able to look at myself. I have looked at me more. I have admired the trees, I have looked more closely at what surrounds me, loved what surrounds me more, because this is how I go on learning to love myself, I know that am I part of all this here."

- Youth participation in the association and the youth movement

There are two young people on the board of the current association - Nilton Carlos and Monique - although they acknowledge that it is generally very difficult to maintain a youth movement on the island and to encourage young people to be part of the Association.

We have a lot to do at the association, the work is not well recognized, but we continue to encourage youngster to join our work, which is community work. Marambaia really needs the work of young people.

Many leave to study or look for work and do not return. There are a number of difficulties for those who want to study: they have to take the Navy boat very early in the morning in order to arrive at school for a study period of just four hours: they then spend the rest of the day kicking their heels till 6 o'clock, when the boat returns. Sometimes the boat gets delayed, meaning they get home very late, in the middle of the night.
• Establishing the Children of Marambaia Cultural Group (Grupo Cultural Filhos da Marambaia)

This group involves about 20, mostly young, people from the community and has filled the gap in leisure and cultural opportunities, particularly for young people. The group has performed at a number of events, both on and off the island, and these trips represent an opportunity to get to know other communities and cultures. Public recognition also values the participants’ artistic and cultural skills.

Influence over the decisions that affect them

• Greater coordination and public policy gains

The Marambaia quilombola’s power of influence over either the Navy or the Brazilian State is very restricted, but their progress to date has resulted from their struggles, with women at their centre. They have achieved some progress in relation to public policies (see the item about relations with government); have strong representation in the state quilombola movement (Aquilers) and good links with the Marambaia support network. However, as José Maurício Arruti stresses, “their discourse (of links, of goals achieved) cannot disguise their fragility. They are very fragile!” In the words of Vânia: “Our work is almost impossible. We are the hard people, the ones who never give up.”

Gender equity

• More opportunities for women to participate

In the workshops held by Koinonia, “here the women participate more than the men. It is contradictory. Most of the men are too embarrassed to go out, to talk” (Sônia).

Changes in the organization

• Establishment of an association

The Navy utilized all available means of repression, including setting up military police investigations, to discourage and frighten the population. In the words of Public Prosecutor, Daniel Sarmento, they used “a range of strategies to eliminate the association or isolate its leaders.” He has had to go to the island on a number of occasions to secure the community’s right to establish its own association, which the Navy tried to prevent, “never explicitly”, but through a series of attempts at co-option, such as setting up a cooperative for the delivery of services. In fact they have tried various forms of co-option. According to Senhor Nanã, the current president of the Association, the Navy used to “co-opt all of us – everyone! – today it only manages to get one or two. We have learnt a lot, a lot!”

• Association Achievements (ARQMAR):
  - Distribution of basic food baskets
  - Establishment of an association
  - Participation in the wider quilombola movement

We are in tune with this movement, we’ve participated in meetings off the island, we have contacts, which sometimes are hard to maintain, but when we can we keep up with these contacts. We know that there are quilombolas not only in Marambaia, but in the whole of Brazil and we have to stay together, united, to overcome the barriers set up against the quilombolas in the country” (Nilton Carlos).

- First project approved with direct management of resources
The project to support the Festival for the 20th November in 2010 was presented by the Association and approved by CESE.

Changes in relations with the government

• Certain government programmes have arrived at the community

These are: the Family Health Programme, with a health worker from the community itself; a primary school; and a company outsourced by the Mangaratiba municipality, which keeps the beaches and pathways clean, generating work and income within the community. Social work is also undertaken in the community.

• Greater links between the municipality and the community

An employee, Joeci, has been recruited to create links between the community and the municipality, communicating the quilombolas demands to the municipality.

• The electricity issue

There is still no electricity, even though Marambaia was one of the first communities to register for the Electricity for All Programme (Programa Luz Para Todos). Electricity has arrived on a neighbouring island, which is considered to be “a free island” and which has tourist activity. In the second half of 2010 and immediately following the field visit for this study, lampposts be-
gan to be installed. However, there are other challenges related to the electricity supply of electricity - the Navy only accepts the renovation or construction of houses made of plaster with wooden supports in which it is not possible to install electrical wiring.

- Information from the federal government
  This generally gets to the island late, if it gets there at all. The community is genuinely isolated. Vânia Guerra, external community coordinator and participant in Aquilerj and Conaq, thinks that the government does not have the political will to disseminate information, especially anything related to rights, particularly community-based territorial rights. “There is no information because the government doesn’t enable us to access it.”

5. Change factors

- The people of Marambaia’s resistance.
  “It’s a huge struggle! A forty-year struggle, to build a house! To have my own home. I chose the place... I didn’t have the right or the money, but now I have my own home” (Vânia). The fight for homes is one example of resistance which is also seen in the fact that, despite all the Navy’s efforts to expel them, the population has not left Marambaia.

- Mobilization of the community.
  “For me the struggle has to be on-going. We can’t stop. It is good to struggle and know you are not going to stop” (Sônia).

- Acquisition of knowledge.
  “We have learnt about laws. Thirst for knowledge is a basic human desire. The desire to know, to know as much as the one who’s talking, is the easiest way not to let yourself be co-opted. It’s you showing that you know” (Vânia).

- Cultural dissemination.
  The work carried out by the Children of Marambaia Cultural Group contributes significantly to the assertion of identity, mobilization of the community and resistance.

Changes in the public’s perception of quilombolas

- Partners from organized civil society: today there is a Marambaia support network, set up with the support of Koinonia.
- The sector of organized civil society and socio-environmentalist organizations is aware of and supports the Marambaia struggle. According to lawyers from the NGO Mariana Crioula, the situation now has greater visibility, with more campaigns and lists of people and organizations confirming their support, all due to the work of Koinonia.
- Unfavourable public opinion in general
  Today, the principal media channels are against the quilombola cause, since it interferes with the interests of landlords and large-scale landowners, so big business and mass media companies have positioned themselves against it (Daniel Sarmento, Public Prosecutor).

The main argument adopted by the Navy to sway public opinion against the quilombola community is that it will “slumify” the island and that the military would preserve the environment more effectively. They also used this argument to try to prevent the 2009 Black Consciousness Day Festival, whose publicity created a lot of activity with tourist boats in Itacuruçá selling packages to take people to the festival. Another recently raised objection is that the area has been earmarked for the possible construction of a nuclear submarine, which, since it deals with national security, the community would be powerless to prevent.

which functioned as change factors:
- “Pedagogic” work centred on information and training and based on research.
  This characteristic of Koinonia’s work was fundamental to the intervention’s success in making
both the organization and the community more independent and in minimizing the heavy-handed tactics of the Navy. Staff are considered to be "translators" of information, ensuring that information arrives "in a comprehensive and tangible manner" and circulates around the communities.

- Meetings with other communities, links to the state and national quilombola movement.

Exchanges, meetings and trips were often cited as being important opportunities to strengthen the movement. The fact that meetings and exchanges form part of the training process is important. "These meetings have the capability to forge a fundamental identity" (Arruti). "From them I learnt about other communities’ struggles and I learnt to bring them here or take people there, to find out and realise that the problem isn’t just here, it’s also there, in other communities" (Joeci).

- Advocacy with an emphasis on communication.

Communication has a vital place in Koinonia’s advocacy strategy. The Black Territories Newsletter was founded to support the circulation of information between the communities and other interests (researchers, militants, NGOs, academics) with an initial circulation of 500 that has now reached 1,200. 2005 saw the creation of the OQ today an important reference point for organizations involved in militant action, Academia and government departments when they require up-to-date information on the subject. According to an MDA specialist quoted by José Maurício Arruti, "The government may have a press clipping but when we want a current viewpoint, we look at the OQ." However, Koinonia remains deeply frustrated because the OQ has never been able secure its own funding, despite its nationwide relevance to the issue.

- Legal advice.

Legal advice has been fundamental in encouraging change in the day-to-day interaction between the quilombolas and the Navy. Lawyers of the NGO Mariana Crioula see this work as requiring long-term commitment. The Navy adopted an oppressive tactic of summoning people to military criminal investigations where testimonies were considered "proof" that they had invaded Navy territory. However, with legal support in loco and with qualified lawyers pursuing these investigations, the repressive treatment became "totally different" and this particular procedure died out. There most critical periods were from the 1990s until 2003 and then again in 2007 with a judgement in favour of the quilombola regarding housing: a couple constructed a house in 15 days and the Navy wanted to interrupt the work and demolish it.

- Support from the MP and other partners.

The network created by the Legal Working Group and expanded through the Free Marambaia Campaign provided visibility to the situation and provoked changes in the Navy’s behaviour. This support also prevented the Public Civil Action proceedings from being forgotten.

- The principle of autonomy.

"One of the principles that we have on the Egbé (the Koinonia Egbé Black Territories programme) is the primacy of the group’s autonomy and this means equipping them to make their own decisions and to walk alone" (Ana Gualberto, Koinonia Advisor). The Association’s first experience in managing a project is therefore essential and for Ana Gualberto, "carrying out their own internal management seems to me to be the greatest challenge for the communities."

6. Difficulties and mistakes

From the point of view of the community:

- Territorial right has been denied: land entitlement was not approved, the demarcation proposal was questioned, the RTID was not approved.

- The exodus of young people to study and work.

- Naval control: the community is still reliant on the Navy for transport and for the receipt of a number of public services.

Example 1: it was not possible to carry out the Cinema and Culture Project of the State Department of Culture (Projeto Cine Mais Cultura da Secretaria de Cultura do Estado), supported by the federal government, because the association does not have its own headquarters and it wasn’t possible to run it from the school, because the school building belongs to the Navy.
Example 2: a school cultural project aimed at promoting the legends, history and culture rooted in the community did not happen because the Navy imposed problems with the timing and venue. According to Nilton Carlos

[...] this meant that they did not want us to reveal our identity to our community and to the other participants. To some extent this is positive, because, despite saying that they didn’t recognize us, when they don’t let one of our activities take place they are really confirming that our culture exists.

Example 3: correspondence passes through the hands of the Navy before arriving at the community.

Example 4: despite the judge granting injunctions for the construction and renovation of houses, if the quilombolas want to construct or renovate their houses they have to make an application to the Navy explaining their reasons; the Navy issues an Internal Communication and initiates an internal protocol, the result and timing of which can vary greatly.

Example 5: the Navy wants the community to have a fixed number of families. "They want to control the birth rate? If one of us gets pregnant with twins, will they kill one? We can’t control nature..."

- Isolation: communication (such as it is) is made via mobile phone and, as there is no electricity, they cannot charge their phones unless they are in the Naval area.
- Naval Strategy to demobilize the community and the movement:

The Navy has a strategy to exactly regulate its grip on the community – it is perfect because they have control of the territory, control of the flow of communication, so they keep the quilombolas in perfect tension; perfect for the Navy itself. Because when the Navy tightens its grip, the community screams and we get mobilized and progress is made, there is a Civil Public Action, a victory. Everyone thinks the thing is done, so the Navy acts in another way; it loosens its grip on the island. And the quilombolas disband because they have to work to eat, they can’t be mobilized the whole time. The ADIN does the same thing as the Navy, which is to perfectly regulate the movement’s demobilization. They announce that there’ll be a vote, everyone mobilizes, the agencies make travel arrangements, they hold meetings, they manage to talk to the Minister of the Supreme Court, and then there isn’t a vote. They disband, but by then all the funds have been spent – (Arruti).

- Lack of visibility: the quilombola movement has a history but not a visible profile. In Vânia’s opinion, the movement epitomizes the resistance of Black people and has never ceased to exist; yet it doesn’t have the visibility of the Black urban movements. "My view is that the government strives to weaken the movements, principally the quilombola movement."

From the point of view of the organization and the Marambaia support network:

- Inequality in the legal fight: the legal struggle is inherently unequal with the quilombolas represented by newly-trained NGO lawyers, who take on corporate lawyers - more experienced, better prepared and better paid. In some cases the MP has assumed this role, but, given the number of proceedings open against the quilombolas, this falls far short of what is required.
- Lack of advocacy support for communication, meaning scant resources for the development of tools (such as the OQ) and the need to work constantly to keep real accusations and conflicts in the public eye, which, in the opinion of José Maurício Arruti, has a direct effect on public policy.
- Difficulty in finding support to maintain legal advice. Lawyers from Mariana Crioula would like to continue with their work through small projects (e.g. from the Brazilian Fund of Human Rights - Fundo Brasil de Direitos Humanos – which enables ARQMAR to contract their services) and by explicitly linking direct legal support (pursuing cases) to rights training, which is a more effective way of securing support from public funds.

7. Contribution of the Supporting Organization and other actors

The strategies to carry out workshops, pedagogic work, knowledge production and the circulation of information, exchange and meetings, communication and advocacy, as mentioned above.

I have always seen Koinonia as the MP in Rios main partner for the quilombola issue and I have an excellent opinion of their work. (Daniel Sarmento, Public Prosecutor).

The Free Marambaia Campaign was extremely significant. According to Vânia, it generated both positive and negative visibility.

Instead of informing the people we most needed to inform, the effect was contradictory. Because we had drawn attention to ourselves, a large part of Brazil saw the beauty that is Marambaia and, maybe due to lack of knowledge, or of other experience, or of anything else, were set against us, in favour of the Navy. This is the environmental discourse that the Navy makes. So we filed an environmental racism suit.

Koinonia made us see, because until then we hadn’t realised. The community didn’t think that this type of communication had any value, that we needed it. We lived here and for ourselves, in here the military organization was the law. We didn’t have any rights... we didn’t think about it. Then, through Koinonia
Rafael, the Executive Director of Koinonia, emphasizes that large-scale advocacy work was possible because of the international presence brought by alliances (such as ACT), which helped give greater visibility to the Marambaia issue. “We have made the defence of the community from the Island of Marambaia a national and international issue on a number of occasions”.

Other actors and organizations with relevant roles:

Given that the government doesn’t embrace us as it should, the laws that should protect us don’t reach us here, so we still really need Koinonia, Mariana Crioula, all the other friends who have helped us as part of the Free Marambaia Campaign, we need all of them (Vânia).

The Department of Public Prosecution - given greater power in the 1988 Constitution - has a duty to protect minorities within the framework of Human Rights and has developed expertise and a means of working with civil society. For prosecutor Daniel Sarmento, the ideal would be to create a civil society with a strong legal structure, which could ultimately dispense with the MP’s role; but this isn’t the case at present.

Black urban movements are partners to the extent that they talk of a common struggle, although their focus is understandably urban in nature and they are not connected to the issue of land and territory.

Conaq - there is a physical proximity to Conaq’s regional representative for the Southeast, which is a quilombola in Rio de Janeiro; in some situations this has facilitated Conaq’s mobilization in support of the Marambaia community and that of Aquilerj (a state level quilombola organization) whose president is also the Conaq representative for the region.

Public policy, government programmes - some programmes are being delivered, such as those to combat hunger, but there are many gaps – as in the case of electricity for Marambaia.

Media – the mass media openly promotes interests that oppose the quilombola cause, treating the quilombolas pejoratively and creating falsified news.

International cooperation – could have provided more advocacy support to promote a positive public image within Brazil and to reinforce international positive views about this theme, as part of a wider struggle for true democracy and citizenship.

8. Main impacts

Assertion of the quilombola identity, with its ethnic-territorial components and its relationship to the land and territory, has strengthened the community in its confrontations with the Navy.

This case is consistent with the others: the very fact of the community continuing to exist and resist against such powerful forces is a tremendous achievement in itself and an indication that the strengthening of a community and the coordination of supporting organizations can enhance the rule of law, even when the situation is precariously balanced.

Although difficulties remain, the organization of the community has opened channels to public services not previously accessed.

The monitoring and advocacy work, with its strong communication component, carried out by Koinonia and the other Marambaia supporting organizations has been vital for the progress witnessed on the island. The same can be said for the way the islanders’ organization has been strengthened through training and mobilization processes and coordination policies to ensure that this community’s fundamental right to its territory becomes a reality.

In the opinion of Vânia and Ronaldo dos Santos, representative of Conaq and president of Aquilerj
BAIXO SUL DA BAHIA
1. Introduction to the locale/region

What strikes the visitor when travelling to the Baixo Sul region of Bahia is its sheer beauty; the vivid green colours, lush vegetation, waterfalls and inland tributaries, pastoral images of a rural idyll, boats gently bobbing on the sea. Yet the traveller also notices the extent of monoculture, such as rubber and eucalyptus, and the growing investment in tourism. The convergence point of the quilombola movement in the region is the municipality of Camamu, a former stronghold of Carlism, which only recently switched to the Workers’ Party, in the 2009 municipal elections.

The Baixo Sul region of Bahia covers an area of 7,168.10 km², and is composed of 14 municipalities, with a combined population of 321,139, 46.24% of whom live in rural areas. It has an average Human Development Index (HDI) of 0.6381. According to the most recent data, the area is home to 43 quilombola communities recognized by the Palmares Cultural Foundation82. This study focuses on a group of 18 quilombola communities across four municipalities, three of which are located in the Camamu Bay area.

Camamu Bay used to be one of Brazil’s trading ports for enslaved African peoples and was principally linked to the production of palm oil and cacao. Many local names, including place names, are of African or indigenous origin, giving credence to stories from the community that refer to the colonial era and claim African and indigenous ancestry.

The Baixo Sul region is known in the tourist trade as the “Palm Oil Coast” (“Costa do Dendê”) and has a new highway that links Salvador with Itacaré, one of the busiest beaches in Bahia, which is internationally famous. This highway passes through the territories of many of the 18 quilombola communities that Koinonia works with in the municipalities of Camamu, Igupiúna, Nilo Peçanha and Ituberá. Most of these communities (10) are in Camamu; five are in Ituberá; two in Nilo Peçanha and one in Igupiúna. The main produce in these municipalities is palm oil, palm fibre, shellfish and family farming products.

The principal bodies that operate in the region are the Association of the Municipalities of the Baixo Sul of Bahia (Associação dos Municípios do Baixo Sul da Bahia: Amubs) and the Odebrecht Foundation (Fundação Odebrecht). The latter is a non-profit civil institution subsidized by the Odebrecht construction company, which invests large amounts in the region via the Integrated and Sustainable Development Programme (Programa de Desenvolvimento Integrado e Sustentável: DIS). There is a commitment protocol between the State government, Amubs (which brings together the political forces of the mayors from all the municipalities in the region), and the Odebrecht Foundation that makes the operation of this programme viable. There are very few NGOs working on social projects, although a notable exception is the Advisory Service to Rural People’s Organizations (Serviço de Assessoria a Organizações Populares Rurais: Sasop) and the social movement is based on rural unionism.

In 2010, the region was classified as a Citizenship Territory; this is a policy of the Ministry of Agricultural Development which involves priority access to federal public resources – programmes and projects aimed at improving the lives of populations considered the most vulnerable – through the shared administration of government and civil society. This politically disputed arena is extremely important for the quilombola communities in the Baixo Sul region today because it is within this framework that the area’s investment priorities are decided. It is arena of unequal power distribution, which the organized quilombola communities have managed to penetrate.

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81 See the website of the Citizenship Territory of Baixo Sul – Território da Cidadania do Baixo Sul
82 Source: the website of the Palmares Cultural Foundation – Fundação Cultural Palmares, consulted in November 2010
2. Introduction to the problem

In 2006 a dialogue began in the region about the Quilombola Communities that existed there, through the circulation of disparate and erroneous information. Agents of the municipal authorities began to seek out community associations in order to get them to sign letters of self-recognition as quilombolas, since recognition from the Palmare Cultural Foundation was necessary in order to access specific public policy funds allocated to quilombolas. This possibility is highly motivating for the municipal governments, since they administer these federal resources.

The communities, however, did not fully understand what was happening; neither what, nor why they were signing. According to a 2008 diagnostic study commissioned by Koinonia, “the process of officially formalizing quilombola identity was initiated by external agents, particularly by Amubs and the Odebrecht Foundation, without the involvement of the community; this caused an element of misinformation and uncertainty” (Arruti, 2008).

Having heard of Koinonia’s work with traditional Black communities at the General Assembly of the AATR, the Union of Rural Workers (Sindicato de Trabalhadores Rurais de Camamu: STR) of Camamu sought out Koinonia for information about Remnant Quilombola Communities. The STR is a powerful union, with a strong tradition in the struggle for the rights of the rural workers of Camamu, an organization with an extended reach into, and credibility with, the communities. Koinonia then began a process centred on providing information to the communities and training knowledge multipliers about the quilombola issue.

3. Duration, intervention theme and the initial situation of the communities

Duration of intervention: 2007-2010
Theme: Self-recognition, territorial rights, public policies

In 2007 Koinonia began its intervention in the Baixo Sul region, focusing on the training of knowledge multipliers from the 22 rural Black communities that wanted to understand what this new concept of “being quilombola” meant. Koinonia’s intervention was based on capacity-building courses, community meetings, public seminars, communication and advocacy. The methodology was to train knowledge multipliers by producing specific educational material; to produce a manual about Territorial Rights; to research the local situation and public policy activities in the region; to support communities in formulating local development projects; and to formalize partnerships with the STR and Sasop, who worked as family farming advisors to the community. These two partners provided a widespread and constant presence in the region.

Koinonia’s central intervention theme was the Territorial Right of these communities. However, to arrive at this issue, they first had to have a discussion about identity — what does being a quilombola mean, why does this category exist, what are the implications? It is worth remembering that the quilombola category was first created in a law in the 1988 Constitution and only began to be appropriated by the communities about ten years later. In 1995, it became the focus of public debate but the concept only reached the Baixo Sul region of Bahia in 2007, when the communities first became aware of the term. “The first time they hear the word is when some else says that they are quilombolas” (Arruti, interview 2010). Right from the start there was resistance to the term ‘quilombola’, which historically had a derogatory connotation, and there was thus a need to establish a new assertion of identity that would enable the communities to “translate” their nautical categories of self-identification into this new category. This mismatch between State actions originating from a fabricated legal and administrative category and a lack of community information is a feature of the State-Quilombola Community relationship (Arruti, interview 2010).

Another important debate Koinonia promoted within the communities was that of identity and development: “What sort of development do we want?” This debate generated a dossier of claims that was presented to representatives of the federal and state authorities by the quilombola communities at a public seminar which led to the authorities undertaking a number of commitments. Koinonia published a seminar report containing these commitments in the form of a book, video (the view of the communities about development) and poster.

Koinonia’s training sessions and seminars have also tackled themes of health and rights, including sexual and reproductive rights, HIV/AIDS.
religious intolerance and gender equality. Koinonia is still operating in the Baixo Sul region of Bahia through a specific activity aimed at the political and economic empowering of quilombola women.

Initial situation of the communities

At the beginning of the intervention all the quilombola communities of the region were linked to the Union of Rural Workers and residents or family farming associations already existed, although none were characterised as quilombola. Many were located in hard-to-access regions, whose roads were impassable during the rainy season. In most cases support for the organization came from the Catholic Church.

Access to public services was extremely basic: primary schools, usually multigrade, small health centres and nothing else. Most did not even have electricity although many were already linked to Sasop’s family farming advisory work.

Most had heard of the quilombola issue through agents, such as the Odebrecht Foundation or Amubs, but they knew nothing about self-recognition, the meaning of quilombola identity or the concept and stages of the land regularization of their territories.

One of the communities had been expelled from its traditional territory and later became part of the Landless Rural Workers’ Movement; it managed to access new land through the Agrarian Reform Settlement (Assentamento de Reforma Agrária) in Dandara dos Palmares. However, it too wanted to understand the meaning of quilombola community, since it identified more closely with this category than with the settlers.

Some of the communities had kept their cultural traditions alive, although this had been difficult. Amongst these traditions were prayers, festivals for various saints and samba-de-roda. The Catholic Church had a strong influence, including in the training of leaders, and there was also an increasing presence of protestant denominations, mostly neo-Pentecostal. There did not appear to be any devotees of African origin religions in the communities. However, as the work progressed these began to emerge and to increase in confidence, making significant contributions to debates on how to live harmoniously with other religions, helping to confront the racism suffered by Afro-Brazilian religions.

4. Significant changes

For this study we interviewed eight people from different communities, visited two communities and held a mini-workshop with a group of 25 quilombolas - 17 men and 13 women.

Responses to the question about what had changed over the four years since the beginning of the Koinonia intervention fell into the following categories:

Changes in life and standard of living

- Assumption of quilombola identity, increases in self-esteem and knowledge

The first responses to the open question about what had changed are generally linked to aspects of the appropriation of quilombola identity and increased self-esteem, both as consequences of the knowledge process they had undergone:

When I started the work it was a knowledge process. To be quilombola is not a top down process, it is a process of knowledge. A reality which we must debate ourselves, so we can become more practical in resolving things.

Self-assertion has changed - about who I am, where I come from, how we look at a quilombola community has changed, seeing someone as Black, and leading from within the community, seek-
This construction of identity relates to how the communities have appropriated the categories created by the Brazilian State to recognize differences. What anthropology defines as “overlapping of discrimination” is provoked by the quilombola concept (Arruti, interview, 2010); uniting the issues of racism and the denial of access to land for populations who have historically been discriminated against. When it promotes reparation policies the State recognizes this discrimination. Positioning itself against international treaties, such as, for example, Convention 169 of the ILO, the Brazilian State has to advance its recognition of alterity beyond indigenous populations, to formulate the concept of “traditional populations” – for Arruti “a kind indigenization of rural Brazilian populations, which has also occurred across Latin America” – and to develop policies specific to these populations. When the Remnant Quilombola Communities emerged as subjects warranting specific rights, it touched on the two great national wounds, racism and access to land and territory, creating a new alterity, an expansion of indigenous alterity. If the indigenous Indians represented the issue of alterity in Brazil, the great national problem was Black people (Arruti, interview, 2010).

- A more open environment for the expression of Afro-Brazilian religions

When Koinonia began operating in the Baixo Sul of Bahia, it tried in vain to find devotees of Afro-Brazilian religious groups. It began to promote contact and exchange between the Candomblé Terreiro Communities they work with in Salvador and the quilombola communities in Baixo Sul, with the result that people from Afro-Brazilian religious groups in Baixo Sul began to announce themselves. They had been leading a clandestine existence. A number of interviewees talked of the importance of participating in meetings with Candomblé Terreiro communities in Salvador in breaking down prejudices, promoting understanding, experiencing religious toleration and comprehending that there are certain themes of common struggle, such as tackling racism.

Another experience described by young people was participation, at the invitation of Koinonia, in the Ecumenical Youth Network (Rede Ecuménica de Juventude: REJU), and interaction with young people from Candomblé. They participated in training sessions, trips and seminars which gave them, through youth-to-youth experience, a broader understanding of Candomblé, of the notion of young people’s rights and dialogue about how and in what form the violation of these rights occurs in urban and rural areas.

- Territorial rights are discussed in the communities and the quilombola territorial issue has entered the agenda of the public authorities

What has changed here is the insertion of the quilombola territorial issue into both the agenda of the communities and to that of the federal, state and municipal authorities. This has been the toughest part of the debate and has achieved the least tangible progress; it remains, however, the central issue.

In the Baixo Sul region of Bahia, particularly in the municipalities where Koinonia operates, most of the rural communities are Black communities, with family ties and a history of occupying their territory dating back to the time of slavery. It should be remembered that the Bay of Camamu was a large port for the trading of African slaves.

The land struggle in the region led some of these communities, who had been displaced by large landowners, to engage in the Landless Rural Workers’ Movement, finally managing to access land through the Agrarian Reform Settlement – a form of land distribution per family unit. Other communities have achieved the individual entitlement of their lands through the state land body while others still have no entitlement, since most of them come from lands that used to belong to these communities but which have today been “sold” or taken over by people from other parts of the country (“Southerners”) or foreigners.

The region is home to large-scale landowners who have converted to monocultivation (the largest is a Michelin tyre factory
that plants rubber) and to growing tourism speculation. Since most of the communities’ production is based on extractivism (palm oil, palm fibre, shellfish), loss or reduction of their territory, or being prevented from transiting through extraction areas, is a real problem, which is only worsening. In 2007 the communities did not identify the land issue as a problem. Today things have changed. Pressure to speculate is growing while the debate about quilombola territorial rights has divided opinion within the communities. On declaring itself quilombola the community has the right to access Incra in order to initiate the process of the collective entitlement of their lands. This is a long and slow process but a necessary step in securing the community’s territory. The problem, however, resides in the collective nature of entitlement – the title is issued in the name of the quilombola association and the land cannot be sold or divided. Many people from the quilombola communities fear this form of entitlement.

Fear of losing the land is strong – demarcation is still a problem and a big one. There are people who understand, and others who don’t want to participate.

The subject of demarcation is under discussion, there are still people who say no, because they say you will go back to being a slave. The subject of the land is a very critical thing, because we know that we are always being exploited, and that people never like Black people having land. So, that’s why today I say it’s critical, because my own community is a community of struggle, it is a settlement and was the first to fight for land, the first settlement here in Camamu and today this land has been partly abandoned. We see residents there today who don’t know the value of having land, that the land wasn’t made to be sold, it was made to be planted, not negotiated, and they sell it. And my worry is that this community is quilombola and sometimes we live on the land and later somebody sells it to someone else and then the whole community is damaged.

The difficulty is that the communities are still uncertain about something, which is this: there are many communities whose lands have already been entitled. This land entitlement was given by the state government. And today there is a fear in the community associations that the land here will get stuck, there will just be a document and tomorrow or later there will be some problems within the community, till now this community hasn’t had any problems. And once this document is managed by the association, we are worried that there’ll be some conflicts. The aim is because, as Incra and the Coordinator of Agricultural Protection (Coordenadoria de Defesa Agropecuaria: CDA) say, you can’t sell these lands. So they will remain for generation after generation. Nobody knows what sort of unity the next generation will have, because one generation is one thing, the next generation is another, it has different ways of thinking.

Changes in the organization and the power to influence decisions that affect them

• Creation of the Commission of Quilombola Communities for dialogue with the public authorities

In 2007, at the beginning of Koinonia’s intervention, the organization to which the Black rural communities were connected was the STR. Through training sessions about quilombola identity, the communities organized themselves into a Commission of Quilombola Communities (Comissão de Comunidades Quilombolas), and began to represent their interests to public authorities and other actors from 2009. The communities complained that the municipal authority was registering the families for specific public policy benefits without taking into consideration whether or not they were quilombolas and ignoring the debate that the community was engaged in at that time. They therefore set up a Commission to enter into dialogue with the public authorities. Today the communities are part of the Quilombola State Council (Conselho Estadual Quilombola), which was established in 2010 and brings together quilombola communities from across Bahia.

• Autonomy in the face of attempts at cooption

On the other hand, the Institute of Sustainable Development (Instituto de Desenvolvimento Sustentável: Ides, linked to the Odebrecht Foundation and Amubs) launched a proposal to create a single umbrella association for all the quilombola community associations, to represent them at all levels in discussions with the public authorities; this included a plan to secure and
administer resources and projects in the name of the communities. The communities that work with Koionia, however, did not agree to enter this umbrella association, and were persistently harassed and criticized for this position. This was another reason for preferring to set up their own representation forum, which became a benchmark for the whole region.

- Self-recognition and changes in association constitutions

In the legal and administrative arena, the communities requested recognition from the Palmares Cultural Foundation; by then they understood what this meant. They then changed the constitutions of the residents or rural producers associations to constitutions appropriate for quilombola community associations; this is one of the first steps in the process of advancing the land entitlement issue. At the time of this study, 43 communities had been certified by the FCP as quilombolas and at least another ten were awaiting this recognition. Of these 43, approximately 10% were already organized into Remnant Quilombola Community Associations, which is a fundamental step to advance both the land regularization issue and the receipt of public services. In the world of these quilombola communities, less than 5% have entered Incrás land regularization process.

- Participation in the Quilombola State Council and the Territory Collegiate of Baixo Sul

Participation in the Quilombola State Council provided the quilombolas of Baixo Sul with the opportunity to link with peers from the whole of Bahia and to participate in the different struggles of these communities, visiting other regions, getting to know different situations and establishing a dialogue with other quilombolas.

One politically important achievement was the Territory Collegiate of Baixo Sul. By entering this arena the quilombolas became part of the political discourse concerning the definition and prioritizing of Territory resources.

- The establishment of a Quilombola Hub within the Citizenship Territory

The establishment of a Quilombola Hub (Eixo Quilombola) within the structure of the Territory was another great achievement arising from the organization of the communities and reflecting the public recognition they have begun to receive. The importance of the establishment of this hub is due to the fact that it is in the thematic hubs that the prioritizing of Territory activities funded by federal government resources takes place.

- The establishment of a specific quilombola sector within the Union of Rural Workers

Another highly significant event was the creation within the STR of a specific sector to deal with quilombolas. This is very important, given that the Unions do not historically have this kind of sector. In doing so they are repeating what happened in Maranhão at the end of the nineties and beginning of the 2000s, where a mutually beneficial alliance was forged between the Itapeuru-Mirim STR and the quilombola movement. Since 2008, the STR in Camamu has made clear its intention to "take advantage" of the Koionia knowledge multipliers and have them function within the Union, informing and guiding the quilombola communities. In the STR in Camamu there is currently a room given over to quilombola work under the coordination of a female STR director who is a knowledge multiplier trained by Koionia and is currently responsible for the local coordination of a quilombola women’s group.

We are starting to stand on our own feet, organizing our communities, forming the state and regional council...

We have more independence, this independence, this freedom people are seeking, claiming their rights, to decide what they want...

We didn’t know all the communities. Today we know eighteen communities, we know people.

The participation - to put forward your desires, your wishes, your dissatisfaction; that has changed. Instead of saying this is what you (of the STR) have to do, no, we discuss it and decide. When we started we didn’t have anything to offer. Today we have knowledge and participation.

Changes in relationships with the government

- The development project and proposals for the region

The debate about identity and development promoted by Koionia to facilitate dialogue between quilombola communities and representatives of the different government levels took place at a Public Seminar held in October 2008. Amongst other developments, this led to the preparation of a joint proposal from six of the communities for the creation of a shared space in which to trade their products under a specific brand - quilombola products. Today this project is supported by the Acua Programme of Colombia (through a partnership coordinated by Koionia) and is the communities’ first independent project. It relies on a great deal of effort by the organization as it depends on the shared management of a common trading place – a small shop with handicrafts and foodstuffs from the six communities involved.

The project is still in its initial phase and the communities are undergoing their first experience of managing resources for their own project and seeking partnerships with the Municipality. The plan also contains a proposal to give visibility to the quilombola theme across the region by using the brand for all their products. The location chosen for the shop is next to the highway to Itacaré at a lookout point with a breathtaking view of the Camamu bay - a natural stopping place for tourists. The quilombolas are convinced of the feasibility of this idea.

Since the Public Seminar on identity and development, other proposals have been discussed in the areas of education, the environment and support to family farming products. Despite the non-fulfilment of many of the commitments made by public bodies, the communities have managed to progress in some of these areas.

- Access to public policies and services

The public policies the com-
Water for All project and today these projects are in dispute. The communities need this water today, but it is still greatly disputed and we are worried about this situation. The dispute is that they [the government] claim that they have to know what the official demarcation is today, because the government is worried and wants to know, exactly, in which location the project will be installed, so they have to have demarcation: to delineate the area and know its extent, to know the size of the area that belongs to the quilombola communities.

The implementation of one of these programmes, Water for All (Água para Todos), generated a great deal of debate and caused conflict in the quilombola communities about the collective entitlement of the lands. Here in Camamu there are seven communities that have a

The State has offered specific training for quilombola schoolteachers but, according to teachers from the community, this is insufficient. A primary school that provides classes until ninth grade will be constructed in the community of Jeitimana in the Camamu municipality using Territory resources, and there will be a Family Agricultural School in Laranjeiras that uses alternation pedagogy - a long-established community request. However, most of the schools in the communities still only offer classes up to the fifth year of primary school.

Access to the Food Acquisition Programme (Programa de Aquisição de Alimentos: PAA) – a government programme that guarantees the purchase of family farming products – is an important target for the communities. Koinonia has run a number of joint activities with the MDS, but in practice only a few communities have managed to access the PAA. The quilombola communities’ alliance with the STR and other family farming organizations in the region has achieved some progress, particularly following the creation of the Citizenship Territory. Today there are four family farming cooperatives in Baixo Sul, one of which is in Camamu and whose manager is both the director of the STR and a quilombola community leader. This ensures that the group of quilombola communities are represented in cooperative negotiations – such as contracts with the PAA to purchase agricultural products, contracts to sell school meal products to the two largest schools in the municipality (via the National School Meals Programme - Programa Nacional de Alimentação Escolar: PNAE) and a contract with Petrobrás to produce bio-fuel. Some quilombola communities have already started to supply food to both the PAA and the PNAE.

Arruti reflected (interview, 2010) on the fact that “the quilombo is a connector of many issues in Brazil,” and it “gives a face” to two crucial pivotal issues in the country’s political struggle, the issues of land and of racism. But it also galvanizes other themes, for example, food security. Today the quilombola issue is also important when considering health and education policies, because, “despite the land question not having been resolved, the Brazilian State operates through an internal logic whose mechanism is activated the moment it recognizes difference. This difference then has to be replicated in policies, because it is a politically correct state in regards to international agreements” (Arruti, interview 2010). This does not, however, ensure that policies effectively reach the populations for whom they are intended.

Changes from the point of view of gender equity
• Greater empowerment of
• Communities recognized by the public authorities and organizations of local and regional society

Today the quilombolas are recognized by municipal public bodies; they can no longer be ignored. This is in evidence when they are called to meetings and debates and also when they challenge the municipal public authorities about resources, projects and government programmes.

Today the Commission is received by the Municipal Department to talk about quilombola priorities for specific policies and about the issue of registration: who is and who isn’t quilombola. I have learnt that we have to conduct this registration of who is and isn’t quilombola ourselves, in order for the Municipality to respect us when benefits arrive, for example, in the housing project. The school is different, it’s common property. We are the owners, we ourselves are the owners and users of the property and we are also to blame if anything goes wrong.

What has changed a lot is the way people from the community accept themselves and begin to see things – to see the recognition they have when a government body arrives; they don’t just want to see the politicians anymore, but they also seek out those who are from the community.

The quilombolas from the region were invited by the Citizenship Territory to train other communities in the region about the quilombola theme, which demonstrated the public recognition achieved for the quilombolas. This training took place in 2009 at a large meeting promoted by the Territory; knowledge multipliers trained by Koinonia were the trainers at this event.

Change in the public perception of quilombolas

There is today a group of quilombola women who, with the support of Koinonia, are becoming organized towards greater participation in political decision-making forums and improving their conditions of production, especially in handicrafts. This group is part of the Women Producers Network of Baixo Sul (Rede de Mulheres Produtoras do Baixo Sul), set up in 2009. In their interviews, these women talk about how there is still a lot of discrimination in gender relations but also report that they are becoming empowered to change this. Evidence of change is provided by the fact that there have been three women presidents of quilombola community associations and that the two women movement coordinators are quilombola knowledge multipliers trained by Koinonia. One activity that merits special mention is the vigil against violence against women held by the Women’s Network in Camamu in October 2010.

quilombola women

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5. Change factors

- Alliances with the STR and Sasop
  The fact that Koinonia’s intervention has been based on alliances with the STR and Sasop has been fundamental and has enabled more initial community mobilization and greater credibility, inclusion and reach.

- Changes to the public scene
  Progress has been made in the quilombola state movement, in public policy (traditional populations), in the creation of the Territory; these changes in the public policy scene expedited the organizational process of the communities, which began to have to respond to many new issues and to position themselves within different arenas.

- Training knowledge multipliers as a methodology
  The methodology of training people put forward by the communities so they could function as reference points with clear information about the issue was essential. This evaluation has been made by the quilombolas themselves, by Koinonia’s partners in the region and in the two external evaluations that Koinonia carried out in the period.

- The principle of autonomy
  Another gain is the fact that the communities represent themselves and manage their own projects. “One of the principles that we have on the Egbe is the primacy of the group’s autonomy and this means equipping them to make their own decisions and walk alone” (Ana Gualberto, interview, 2010). This remit was widely quoted by both quilombola and partner interviewees and also appears in Koinonia’s external evaluations.

- Meetings and exchange
  Community meetings provide great opportunities to mobilize people and the quilombolas we talked to described them as essential. Exchange with Candomblé communities is essential in breaking down prejudice and identifying common identity issues for these two different Black communities, both of which come under the auspices of the National Policy for Traditional Populations (Política Nacional para Populações Tradicionais).

Finally we should mention the Public Seminar with the communities as subjects – “It was the first time that we sat down at a table and spoke first; we weren’t just there to applaud.”

Aspects of Koinonia’s operation
At least two positive aspects can be emphasized:
a) The fact that Koinonia is an ecumenical organization with both youth work and inter-religious dialogue as core elements and areas of active policy work was fundamental to the introduction of the quilombola communities to the Candomblé Terreiro communities and to encouraging the young quilombolas to participate in the REJU. This is also linked to Koinonia’s program-led organization.

b) The primacy of the principle of community autonomy, through partnership work with well-established local organizations and the centrality given both to the issue of information and to the pedagogic process of training knowledge multipliers. “Most people thought that the project was going to be top down, straightforward ... This partnership succeeded in showing the complex role of organized civil society, because there are NGOs and organizations.”

6. Difficulties and mistakes

The debate about territorial rights needs to be even more rooted in the communities. Although this has been the central theme of information processes and training provided by Koinonia, much more work with the communities is still required.

The fragmented nature of support in the region (due to funding difficulties etc.) has generated some discrepancies between the advice the communities need and the pace of political change in the region.

The existence of many communities and the impossibility of having a full presence in all of them limited the knowledge multiplier work. The reasoning behind working through multipliers and partners was also designed to overcome one of Koinonia’s structural limitations - they cannot be present either in the region or in all of the communities all of the time. The participation criterion was community commitment or initiative in seeking out information and interest in participating. However, Koinonia could not limit itself to its initial commitment to work with only four communities; the work expanded significantly to a group of 22 communities, which then increased to 28. Although the work is currently centred around 18 communities, limitations in Koinonia staff availability are, however, felt by the communities and demand always exceeds the capacity to supply.
7. Contribution of the Supporting Organization

Initiatives: Training courses, public seminars, videos, publications, community exchanges, seeking out new partnerships for the communities; training, information and advocacy activities; and assistance in the establishment of support networks.

Results: The presence of trained knowledge multipliers in the communities; visibility given to public authorities about the communities’ development concepts and proposals; a channel of support for the local development project with the securing of funds and the communities’ own management.

Evidence that Koinonia’s intervention was accurate and effective is seen in an invitation from the Territory for Koinonia to participate in its Managing Council and a request to extend the training work to the whole Baixo Sul region of Bahia.

Information has empowered the quilombolas and they have begun to position themselves differently within the municipal and regional spheres. The training process led to the creation of a quilombola organization in the region which today has one section for claims and another for participation and which commands greater authority in order to influence the relevant decisions. Today these communities have a degree of information and a self-belief that allows them to access government public policies and anticipate the emergence of territorial conflicts – these may currently be dormant, but, as they advance through their territories’ land regularization process, it is merely a matter of time before they explode. The information and training work was essential to the progress of the region’s quilombola movement.

The public seminar and the monitoring of commitments made were the means by which Koinonia provoked changes in government practices. One concrete example was the search for partnerships, with communities being able to access the PAA. However, administrative difficulties in forcing the government to act have made this initiative unviable.

Specific qualities of Koinonia support

The differentials in the way that Koinonia operates are: the value placed on the management of information; the production of studies, educational and journalistic publications that can circulate between the communities and include the use of the language of video; and all Koinonia’s above-mentioned principles and methodological choices which epitomize their specific qualities. It is also worth mentioning the care taken in working through local partnerships, with partners who have history, roots and good coverage across the region, and the efforts made to set up support networks for the communities.

Prioritizing the religious intolerance debate - contact between Black rural communities and the urban communities of the Candomblé Terreiros with which Koinonia works generated a unique opportunity to reflect on ethnic values and mutual respect between followers of different religions and led to huge respect for the Afro-Brazilian religions, which had previously been seen as “belonging to the devil” and were consequently hidden - seemingly inexistente.

Other actors

Local partners (STR, Sasop, links with civil society of the Territory); and the context of government programmes.
8. Main impacts

One of the most important identified impacts was the strengthening of communities which had been at the mercy of opportunistic interventions from municipal governments and other agencies. These had been interested in working in the quilombola theme purely for their own gain or as a way of demonstrating their social responsibility through cultural and economic projects, but categorically avoiding confrontation vis-à-vis the territorial issue.

Given the initial situation, the strengthening and transformation of this group of communities into a political force, which can debate issues and budgets and now oversees local government activities, is a major achievement.

One of the most significant developments experienced by people in the communities was the flourishing of those with a connection to Afro-Brazilian religions, who finally succeeded in talking openly about their religion and assumed this identity without feeling attacked or threatened. A similarly important difference is that currently there is greater understanding about peaceful and respectful coexistence between people who have different religions but whose quilombola identity is common to all and who share the common goals of participation and empowerment.
COMMUNITIES IN THE SOUTHERN TERRITORY OF RIO GRANDE DO SUL
I. Introduction to the locale/region

CAPA - set up in 1978 by the IECLB and a strategic partner of the FLD - operates in five centres in the states of Rio Grande do Sul (RS), Santa Catarina and Parana. CAPA-Sul, the subject of this study, has its headquarters in the city of Pelotas, the third most populous city in RS, 250 km from the capital, and operates within the Citizenship Territory of the Southern Zone of Rio Grande do Sul (Território da Cidadania Zona Sul do Rio Grande do Sul), which is made up of 25 municipalities. The first survey of quilombola communities in this region was undertaken through a Territory initiative run by CAPA and identified 43 quilombola communities in 16 municipalities. The quilombolas themselves recommended CAPA as the executive body for this initiative, the organization had started joint work with four of these communities in 2002, when challenged to do so by the FLD.

The rural population of the Territory region, whose average HDI is 0.79, represents 14.08% of its total inhabitants. The majority of this population are Pomeranians who came to Rio Grande do Sul as settlers and today form a strong contingent of family farmers, mostly established in the municipalities of Pelotas and São Lourenço do Sul. There are also agrarian reform settlements in the region.

The history of the region is characterized by beef jerky production, which had its peak at the end of the 19th century. Hard physical labour in the beef jerky factories was primarily performed by a slave workforce of Black people from Africa. The presence of Black people in the region, although long established and numerically significant, is unrecognized. Their existence does not seem to register in the general consciousness - across Brazil people find it hard to acknowledge that there are Black people in Rio Grande do Sul, whose colonization is immediately associated with European settlers, particularly Germans and Italians. Black people are effectively invisible. "Rio Grande do Sul's economic power base was in the city of Pelotas. And it was in the beef jerky industry, in which white people were forbidden to work, at the time of slavery. So, how come there were no Black people then?" The 43 quilombola communities identified by CAPA are situated in regions populated by landowners and with a high presence of Pomeranian "settlers," whose family and associative organization is strong. However, on the journey to the four communities we visited (Cerro das Velhas, Torrão, Monjolo and Maçambique), the difference between these Pomeranians and quilombolas was stark: the plains and valleys are occupied by the Pomeranians, with a high level of infrastructure that included tractors and other machinery, animals, solidly built houses, well-structured community centres, services (such as schools and health centres) available in the centres of the villages and the quilombola communities are situated on the tops of hills, on rocky slopes with little flat land, their houses poorly constructed, unfurnished, and generally offering a picture of extreme poverty.

2. Introduction to the problem

IECLB and FLD/CAPA work with a new target audience

CAPA was created by the IECLB "in search of social justice" at a time when family farmers (most of whom are of German origin and constitute two thirds of church members within the ecclesiastical region) were being expelled through a "green revolution." These were, in general, isolated and closed communities in a process of "ghettoization," whose religion was an identifying factor.

CAPA acted out of a concern about access to land and in order to seek responses to the prevailing production model, and organized and supported the Lutheran community and other groups within the rural areas. Its activities resul-
In the second year of this work, in a highly logical studies and a Black Lutheran church, provided room for reflection and it was agreed to unite to make decisions. Their work was individual and fragmented.

The boss is the landowner

CAPA also came across a situation in which, according to traditional tenant farming arrangements in the region, the landlord controlled the farmer's work and income. The landlord would create a document saying that he was ceding some hectares to the farmer, so the farmer could receive his "Model 15" (or formal farmer's invoice), a document which enabled him to prove that he has carried out farm work and which is necessary to receive the retirement pension.86

So I can be someone who farms and I can retire, if not you don't retire, you work until you die. But you still give part of what you plant beyond those five hectares to the landlord. You pay, but you still owe him a favour, imagine that! Because he's the one that established your existence. "We planted half and half with the boss. We had to divide it with the boss. We had to survive on that half, pay for fertilizer, for seeds, and live on that for the whole year, on that half! Nothing was left over, right? We always owed the boss.

Furthermore, they did not have anywhere to take their products, nor any way of selling what they had managed to produce.

Racism and discrimination

The quilombolas and the FLD and CAPA teams all state that discrimination and racism are real problems in the region and described a number of episodes that are indicative of racist and discriminatory attitudes. For this reason, when the work began, self-esteem in the Black communities was non-existent. "Racism existed and exists; it started in the slave era." "A Black person always felt and still feels ashamed in a community of White people. I think most Black people don't feel equal." "There are families that are Afro-descendants, but they don't want to admit it."

In the opinion of Preto, a member of CAPA's technical team and a militant in the Black movement, "we have lost a lot of our culture in Rio Grande do Sul, particularly what relates to African religions – people still overlook them today." Rita describes the initial reaction of one family farmer association which thequilombolas are nominally a part of: they are not really included and are often cheated by their own association which, for example, sold seeds to Black families that were intended for commercialization, CAPA has suffered the inclusion of the agrarian reform settlements within its target audience. This provoked a serious internal debate about what it meant for the IECLB, which is largely white and middle class, to forge ecumenical relationships and to live in a multicultural and multiethnic society. Despite questions such as "why work with people from other religions and not with our own?", guidance from church committees to "occupy public spaces in the defender of rights, in cooperation and dialogue with other religious authorities", a stance which represents the very essence of the ecumenical Lutheran church, provided room for reflection and it was agreed to broaden the target audience. It was then that their first "differentiation of the captive audience" took place. In the words of Rita Sarita, "We were called crazy and courageous for getting involved withlandless settlers."

The plan to work with quilombolas has emerged over the last ten years and there was and still is resistance, but the principal battle had been won. The question they asked was: who is most excluded in Brazilian society? A series of Afro-theological studies and a Black Lutheran teacher who worked on 'Africanness' were a great help. And in the second year of this work, in a highly symbolic gesture, the Synod of Rio Grande do Sul (IECLB divides its activities in Brazil into 18 synods) set up a church collection for the quilombola communities.

Invisibility, isolation and exclusion

The lack of visibility of Black people in the region was such, however, that they had to "track down" the communities. "It was the first time someone taken there by the farmers had talked to the Black communities" (Rita). They encountered a situation of absolute poverty and widespread ignorance about rights and public policies, which the communities were not accessing. The communities lived in isolated and profound exclusion.

We only heard talk about quilombola communities on the radio news, but we were isolated, we didn't have any rights. For example, since we didn't have recognition as a quilombola, we didn't have the right to things that come from the government: electricity, housing, we have a right to these.

In the words of Jerry, a quilombola youth leader, there was no respect for the Black communities: "before, we were nobody."

The communities were not organized. Some tried to organize themselves but didn't manage to unite to make decisions. Their work was individual and fragmented.

86 Governor Olívio Dutra in RS; Territory programmes since the second year of the Lula Government: PAC Settlements [PAC is INCRÁ's Programme for the Consolidation and Emancipation (Self-Sufficiency) of Settlements Resulting from Agrarian Reform (Programa de Consolidação e Emancipação (Auto-Suficiência) de Assentamentos Resultantes da Reforma Agrária)]

87 This is the farmer's invoice, a document which provides evidence of activities and is therefore required for the retirement pension; but to get this invoice the farmer needs a legal document which proves that the land is used by that particular farmer. When the farmer doesn't have a land ownership title, the landowner sets up the land use document in partnership, either in a form of sharecropping (retaining half of the production and land ownership) or in other forms of partnership agreement.
free distribution. Difficulties emerged when CAPA began working with Black people: “When we started everyone was friends. But when we wanted to work with Black people, the others shut the Association centre and didn’t want to let them in; they didn’t give them the key.” Antônio, also a Black militant and part of the CAPA technical team, recalls that when they arrived at meetings or farming venues the quilombolas were called “the black cloud”.

Schooling was one of the areas in which racism and discrimination against people from the rural areas were manifest.

The quilombola is a person with no schooling. It’s rare for a quilombola of 60 years or more to know how to read. If they can read, it’s an exception. When they freed the slaves, Black people didn’t know how to read, they didn’t have this means of communication. Many lived and died having been freed and didn’t even know it. And even today they are told they don’t need to study. Our neighbour came over to ask my mother to let my sister work for her as a domestic, my mother said no, that her daughter was going to study and become a teacher. The neighbour laughed and said that had nothing to do with it, that she could study and do domestic work at the same time... They ended up arguing. Today my sister is the second Black teacher in the region; she is the Head of the school.”

The profile of the communities we visited revealed that most of the young people had not completed their primary education but had abandoned school. One young woman we interviewed in the community of Monjolo said that she wanted to study to be a nurse (she didn’t dare say she wanted to be a doctor) and observed that she knew it would be hard to be a Black woman in this sector: “I think that I will get to a lot of houses and they’ll say: ‘Oh that Black woman doesn’t know anything! What do you want in my house? You don’t even know how to read!’ So it will be difficult, but I’m not going to give up, I’m going to keep on fighting.”

3. Duration, intervention theme and the initial situation of the communities

Duration of intervention: 2002-2010
Theme: Self-recognition; access to public policies and services; sustainable development

In 2002, challenged to do so by the FLD and with the support of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA), CAPA began its work with the quilombolas through the Small Quilombola Farmers (Pequenos Agricultores Quilombolas) Project, inviting some of the communities to their first meeting. Of the 11 communities identified, four became part of the project. As Rita says, they had to “track down” the communities, because of their apparent invisibility. The call to attend a meeting caused quite a stir and was considered strange, as they remember to this day: “I was really shocked: a meeting of Black people? Why only Black people?”

There was a lot of initial suspicion from the quilombolas, but at the same time CAPA felt they had had a favourable reception.

The initial plan was to provide the communities with information about the legal existence of Remnant Quilombo Communities (Comunidade Remanescente de Quilombo: CRQ) in Brazil and what this meant...
in terms of access to public policies, services and rights. In the communities we talked to, everyone spoke of this initial suspicion. Many people thought that CAPA’s presence had a hidden agenda aimed at getting something from them.

They explained, explained and people just sat there thinking it was strange... “What is happening? Why this now?” Many Black people wouldn’t go. They thought that it wouldn’t get them anywhere. And lots of people came to our house and said to us ‘Look, you shouldn’t go to these meetings, you shouldn’t participate in that, they want to trick you... If you sign anything they’re going to take something away from you...” I didn’t want to go to the first meeting it was my husband who went. After that, I went to the second. And then we set out along this road.

CAPA worked with the communities from 2002 to 2008, bringing them into family farmer movements, to places where they could trade and make decisions – the main one being the Family Farming Forum (Fórum de Agricultura Familiar). In line with their operational methodology, CAPA advised the communities about organizational processes, agro-ecological production and marketing their products, with an emphasis on specific work with handicrafts. They also advised them about health (focusing on medicinal plants and home-made remedies) and food security.

One activity that had a significant impact was the inclusion of the quilombolas in the Cooperation and Solidarity Economy Network (Rede de Cooperação e Comercialização Solidária), a programme organized by CAPA that finds local alternatives to combat hunger – valuing the potential of regional family farming, broadening ecological production and integrating historically marginalized communities, including quilombolas. Through this Cooperation and Solidarity Economy Network the quilombolas began to commercialize their production through cooperatives within the PAA and they thus began to access the institutional market. At the same time the network enabled them to become beneficiaries of a wide range of ecologically produced foods of high nutritional quality. Furthermore, since the programme was institutionally restricted to buying products from associations and cooperatives, it fell within its remit to collaborate with the process of organizing and strengthening the communities so they could operate through networks.

In 2008 another significant event occurred when the Territory prioritized the mapping of quilombola communities and recommended that CAPA undertake this for them. “How were we going to serve the quilombola communities in the Territory if they didn’t exist for the government? The first step had to be certification by Palmare’s.” (Carla Rech, MDA representative in the region). This mapping led to two publications: “Uncovering the quilombolas in the South” (“Revelando os Quilombos no Sul”) and “There are Black People Here” (“Tem Raça Negra Aqui”).

The next step was to apply for certification from the Palmares Cultural Foundation and to use this to begin Incra’s entitlement process. At the same time, they sought to put public policies, such as access to electricity and house improvements, into practice.

The initial situation of the communities

Invisible, isolated, working as domestic workers or under sharecropper arrangements (partnerships in which half of the production goes to the landlord) for large-scale landowners or neighbouring settlers - this was the initial situation of the communities. They had no basic services, no electricity or water, suffered a great deal of racial discrimination and had no prospect of continuing on their small plots of land, since they had no security of tenure. They did not participate in family farming issues and many did not even have basic documents, such as ID cards. If they were able, young people left to work in the cities, swelling rural exodus statistics and the growth of urban settlements. They weren’t recognized as communities, but as a group of cheap and available labour in the rural area. In broader terms, they were simply invisible. Nobody talked about the existence of Black communities in the region.

4. Significant changes

a. Changes in life and standard of living

Self-esteem, identity, respect

When asked “what has changed?” everybody’s first response was to identify awareness of quilombola identity; valuing their history; increasing self-esteem; gaining respect and confronting racism, as highly significant areas of change.

There is a history that we didn’t even know. We knew that there was a history that dates back to slavery but we didn’t know about the rights that Black people would have later. Quilombola communities are those remnants from the time of slavery that established themselves in a certain place and formed their quilombo, and today we here are one of them. For me as a quilombola there is recognition not only within but outside the community, today to be a quilombola is really something! ... It is recognized, it is respected.

If someone Black entered a government office, it was with your hat under your arm and your head down. Not today. Today, I say this with great pride; the Black man has come up! He walks with his head up, he enters any office. Even me, a short while ago, I wouldn’t enter the municipal offices to talk to the mayor.

How many White people who have that little touch of racism, don’t want to be in our place today, seeing all this that’s happening around us? We have managed all this! A number of White peo-
people have said: “Ah, but I’m going to paint myself Black!”

Citizen documentation
Many quilombolas didn’t have identity documents. They were registered as voters but didn’t have ID cards. With the backing of the government, CAPA launched collective documentation initiatives in the communities to tackle this issue.

One such initiative took place during the 4th Quilombola Meeting, held in Pelotas on 19th April 2010. As well as lectures, cultural presentations and exchanges of experience, the Citizenship Counter provided individual services with information about rural and invalidity pensions and maternity benefits, amongst other things.

Knowledge, recognition and the confidence to participate in different arenas
Another aspect is knowledge, being able to learn from all the meetings, workshops, exchanges and events. To learn about your rights and your history, but also to learn to participate, to express yourself, to gain confidence in speaking in public, to be firm in your opinions, no longer to be afraid to participate, to talk, to make yourself known.

There are people, including even me, who until very recently were afraid to converse, to talk, to explain things, or even to ask something. I have got over this; I don’t have this problem anymore. And we are learning, living together with others, with the people who work with us, we are gaining experience; I think this has got a lot better.

At the beginning of the community work, if they had invited me to give an interview, I wouldn’t have had the courage. Because we don’t have much schooling... I would look around, I would be afraid of making a mistake. I wouldn’t have had the courage. Not today. Today I can go somewhere with a really big audience, if I have to give an interview, I’m quite calm, I get it right.

FCP certification was essential for these communities to begin to see themselves differently and to be able to access public policies specific to quilombolas. In all the communities we visited people showed us the certification document with a great deal of pride.

Access to public policies
- Electricity in the communities. “They put electricity in all these here!”
- Sanitation and running water: “We received a thing to make bathrooms, running water... We didn’t have anything like this.”
- Improvements to and construction of houses.

Changes in the production system
- The communities began to produce more and better agro-ecological products with guaranteed distribution through the PAA and CAPA networks. In the Monjolo community, for example, which is on a slope, with very stony soil and only a very small area suitable for cultivation, they opted to work with vegetables. Today these are supplied to school meals and the PAA. In a dramatic reversal of their situation, instead of receiving basic food baskets, they supply products to the Zero Hunger (Fome Zero) programme.
- Learning to plant using technology. “We always knew how to plant, but there are some things that require technology, and these days, if you don’t follow them you get left behind.”
- Good quality seeds have improved production and community diet.

The seeds made a great difference in the community, because we were used to going to the commercial centres to pick up low quality seeds. Not today. Today, through the projects, we are able to get good quality seeds which produce more. This has made a great difference, both in food and income.
- Valuing traditional knowledge. Today they teach and learn from each other, making home-made remedies and a range of handicrafts, such as paintings, crocheted and vine works, bamboo sieves etc. It is a process of exchange, of someone who knows how to make something being taken to teach another community, through a process of horizontal learning. “We were our teachers, we taught each other.”

Improvements in income and food
- The families work on their own production and have a guaranteed income. “Today, in some way, we all earn something. We work and we earn. Before we worked, but the return was never enough.”

This inco-
me derives from participation in the PAA and from supplying products to the commercial networks in which they now participate.
• Today handicrafts occupy an important place in the family income of the four communities we visited. They have different types of handicrafts, depending on the knowledge base and talents within each community. In general, they have handicrafts for work use (principally making baskets and other objects from bamboo, vines and fibres) and handicrafts for decoration, such as patchwork rugs, crochet etc. In Macambique there is a registered group of women seamstresses who mostly produce handbags and bags for events, but also clothes for use in their own community.
• The sale of handicrafts occurs through the CAPA networks and, with CAPA's support, at markets. According to the craftsmen and women, they manage to sell everything that they produce.
• Most of those who produce handicrafts are women and they use this additional income (which is significant – on average they manage to earn R$200 per month) to buy things for their homes. In Torrão, Márcia, the vice-president of the association, took great pride in showing us the refrigerator she had bought to entertain her young grandson.
• There are also family vegetable gardens in the Torrão community, planted and cared for by the women. These gardens help to improve the quality of the family diet and also generate some income for the women, who sell their vegetables to ‘the school teachers’.

 Improvements in education: IT, school transport, quilombolas at the University

In Cerro das Velhas the local school has obtained an IT room through a special quilombola project. “The girls love it! And everything came through the mediation of the quilombolas. There are a large number of quilombolas at the college.”

Another tangible benefit is the bus that takes pupils to the school for fifth graders and above. This has greatly improved life for adolescents and young people, since previously they had to get up very early in the morning to get the municipal bus, which only returned at night. “We used to spend the whole day on the street.”

At the time of the study a project to train young artists was starting up in Monjolo which includes the acquisition and construction of musical instruments. “This project is for the quilombola community itself.”

Today there are two quilombola residents studying through the Ministry of Education’s system of Education for Rural Areas (Educação do Campo). CAPA encouraged them to take the National Secondary Education Exam (Exame Nacional do Ensino Médio: ENEM) by supporting their registration processes, getting them information over the telephone, typing up documents etc.

 Young people with future plans in their own community

Encouraging people to study has started to bear fruit. Rosângela, a young woman from Monjolo, wants to leave so she can study and return to work in her community, although the first obstacle she needs to overcome is her father, who wants her to stop studying and work in the fields.

The exodus of young people for either study or work has diminished because, in the view of the people interviewed, the community now has the necessary conditions for them to earn an income from working the land in their own community.

Stimulation policies that offer some financial return for the young person to stay in the community give him or her an opportunity to return and make a contribution within his or her own community.

Furthermore, because of their recently-acquired self-esteem they feel pride in being a quilombola and in the respect gained. These positive sentiments have served to reduce the shame of being “from the land.” Participation in the movement and the organization helps to broaden their horizons and gives more meaning to their future lives. A frequently cited example was that of Jerry, the young leader from Monjolo who today represents all the quilombolas in the Territory. He went away to work, stayed away for ten years, “fought very hard” and then returned. Today he is calmer, happier and enjoys a much higher quality of life. An old man from the community explained that a quilombola couldn't leave his land and not return; it's very hard because “the umbilical cord calls out to you. Jerry’s umbilical was buried under those stones, and was calling him back, that's why he came back.”

b. Power to influence the decisions that affect them

The Territory is the main decision-making arena in which the community participates through a representative (Jerry); this is where funding and projects are prioritized. Jerry explained that funds are closely disputed, so they forge alliances with other community and civil society representatives to get their proposals approved.

The Family Farming Forum is also important; here decisions are made which affect production, commercialization and their relationships with government and public policy.

They also cite their relationship with the municipal authorities, which has changed for the better – today the communities are received and heard in the municipalities, where they seek to acquire resources and to supervise the execution of public policies in their interest, although this is still at an initial stage.

Internally, the associations represent thequilombolas in these spaces. Another example of self-management is the women's sewing group of Macambique, which or-
organizes itself and makes decisions about the division of income and the use of resources. They have created a small fund with the “little bit of left over money” – a certain amount is taken from each payment received and they use it to buy material for their next commissions.

c. Changes from the point of view of gender equity

In the four communities we visited, we discovered significant female participation in the associations, including at directorial level (vice-president). The women generally proffer their opinions about projects and other internal decisions. Many of them go out to represent the community, despite the difficulties this involves. Some husbands understand and support them, but others do not. Those who have small children take them to meetings. They note that it wasn’t like this before; they used to live “just at home in the fields”. With the increase in women’s income, which in the main comes from handicrafts, they feel freer to buy things for the home and empowered because they are “helping my husband” to support the family. In Torrão the women say that the husbands help them make patchwork rugs and aren’t embarrassed by this, “They treat it all as a joke”.

d. Changes in the quilombola organization and movement

According to the CAPA team, there has been an emergence of quilombola organization in the region. There are registered associations, “with a constitution and charitable registration, in the form of the official Brazilian registration number; the CNPJ”; the communities already have FCP registration and have therefore started to schedule CAPA’s own training, to fight for public policy benefits and to be considered within the municipal sphere. The vice-president of Torrão, for example, is negotiating with the municipality for maternity payments for quilombola women, who have yet to receive this benefit.

All the quilombolas interviewed clearly considered the Family Farming Forum to be the most important organizational arena that they had participated in. Representation in the Territory is also essential, since this is where decisions are made concerning application priorities for the region’s federal resources.

It was a quite a struggle to acquire the (community) Centre. There was a trend for funds to go to the cooperatives. So we had a big struggle to secure the funds to construct the centre, but we managed it.

All four communities visited were concerned about the rotation of Forum representation and that leadership should not be personalized by individuals; everyone should have the opportunity to learn and understand the difficulties faced, to assume the arguments as their own. There is also a concern that young people ought to be represented, whilst it was acknowledged that they need to be wary of the natural tendency for people such as Jerry – who left the community to study – to become the “sole voice” of quilombola representation. Márcia, the vice-president of Torrão, states that while working to unite the community is not easy, it is the right path to take.

Through the organization of the communities into formal associations and in starting to work with CAPA, other support has emerged, such as that of the Technical Assistance and Rural Development Company (Empresa de Assistência Técnica e Extensão Rural: Emater). Furthermore, as a result of becoming less isolated, they have got to know and entered into dialogue with neighbouring communities. Previously, despite being related, the Torrão and Monjolo communities, for example, did not get on well. Today they participate in the same arenas and this has generated greater mutual respect.

e. Changes in the relationship with the government

The application to Incra for collective land entitlement proceedings was set in motion through certification. The institution’s visit to the communities was a significant event. In Torrão, the community most discriminated against, the quilombolas observed that their Pomeranian neighbours were shocked to see Incra there, since no government authority had ever gone to Torrão, except during election campaigns. However, there has been no progress with the issue of entitlement and difficulties
have arisen such as the reduction in quilombola land. Some com-
munities do not have anywhere to plant crops, while others complain of being surrounded by their neighbours’ property with no access to the road; this is the case in Torrão where there are 17 families on 7 hectares and in Monjolo, where there are 17 families on 34 hectares. These diffi-
culties could indeed complicate the entitlement process.

Another benefit being sought is the social security document required to access retirement pensions. Karin Peglow from Emater thinks that FCP certification could facilitate this, even without the territorial title issued by Incra. She believes the government should create a special quilombola category for social security and pensions which is linked to the certificate, as has occurred with the other public policies that can be accessed immediately, without having to wait for entitlement.

Today, the municipalities generally grant an audience to representatives of the communities; this was not always the case. They receive invitations and participa-
te in meetings at the Legislative Assembly. They also have part-
nerships with Emater and other state government bodies. The re-
lation has radically changed, moving from a situation in which the communities were anonymous or even inexistent to external eyes to one in which they are partners and beneficiaries of a number of institutions at municipal, state and federal level.

We get there and we see that the doors are open, unlike before. Before, when we didn’t have recognition we would get there and be left outside, wait-
ing. We receive a lot of attention about what we bring to do in discuss with the mayor. We can see that things have changed, because it wasn’t like this before. The munici-
pality sees us now, because it also benefits from our existence.

The school in Cerro das Ve-
lhas has invited the quilombola community representative to talk to the pupils. This is an important step, but there is still a long way to go. The other schools still do not discuss the theme, nor do they do anything to implement Law 10639, which requires the inclusion of African and Afro-Brazilian history and culture in the curriculum.

Through the mapping work, quilombolas communities have become well-known throughout the region, the state and across Brazil in general. Titles of CAPA publications emphasize the import-
ance of educating society about the existence of these, previous-
ly invisible, Black communities. This higher profile has generated positive interest in a large section of society and has changed some local relationships for the better. On the other hand, it has genera-
ted a certain degree of tension in relationships with their non-qui-
lombola neighbours, who often express the feeling that, in receiving government benefits. Black people are being given special favours. These neighbours also fear the pre-
sence of Incra, which indicates that a process of land regularization is in motion.

Some (neighbours) give their support, others are against us: “you appear on the small screen, on the National News ...” There were people who, even then, didn’t see us as human beings, as people, but simply as Blacks. Not now. After all this, they look at us with admira-
tion! There are people who look at us, at everything that’s going on, in reports, in books, in things about quilombolas on the television; they look at us with admiration. I see that to a certain extent, outside, there in Brasília, the quilombola communities have gained good recognition. This strengthens the community. The integration of the communities, people recognizing us, seeing us in another way. People feeling at home, happy, glad, a bit younger.
5. Change factors

- Self-recognition and FCP certification
- Participation in the Family Farming Forum and in CAPA's commercialization networks.
- The continuous presence of CAPA since the beginning of this work.
- Alliances with other communities, with the Black urban movement, with other government agents.
- The visibility given to their existence, publicised in reports, books, TV etc.
- The unity and perseverance of the organized communities, with their high level of internal participation and their concern about passing on information and not personalizing leadership.

**Organization characteristics which contributed to the changes**

- The fact that CAPA is a benchmark for family farming, with an accumulation of systematization experiences and linked channels (commercialization and production networks; linking with public policies and family farming organizational arenas).
- CAPA's model of work: the multidisciplinary, coordinated and integrated approach
  - integrated work in production, income, education, health, organization, welfare benefits etc.
  - We first went to the communities to get to know them; we decided to work in farming and through the CAPA methodology. They started with seeds, then health... I thought: 'I'm at home,' nothing was different from what we had already done - a multidisciplinary team: an agronomist; nursing professionals; people who work with income generation, women and handicrafts; an agricultural technician; a capoeira and sports teacher; an architect; a history teacher; specialists in commercialization and agribusiness and people who forge links; the team included people who came from the communities themselves, saw the work as a personal contribution and created links;
  - they encouraged horizontal learning (the communities taught each other);
  - mediation between the communities and public services (advocacy).
- Being part of a church that wants to work with the most excluded. Observing the extreme poverty experienced by the Black communities convinced the IECLB to continue with the work.
- Having a highly qualified management team (five people) to deal with government agreements.
- The territorial issue does not form part of the accumulated experience of CAPA, which seeks to openly discuss the subject with the quilombolas but thinks the work must be carried out by those with experience in this area.
Land and entitlement

The land issue is a real problem; the lack of title to the land prejudices the communities – for example from getting credit. Added to this is the fact that the existing land area is small. Because of this many continue the practice of halving their work with neighbouring settlers.

Racism and discrimination

Demonstrated, for example, by situations with the children at school; this could be a factor that contributes to their not completing primary education. In Torrão, one boy confirmed that they don’t teach Afro-Brazilian culture or history in his school; he knew about [rebel slave leader] Zumbi because he had learnt about him through contact with other communities, listening to songs on this theme. The people from the Candobolé Terreiros are also often discriminated against. Jerry, one of the interviewees, said that there is a ‘current that flows against the communities’, that doesn’t want to see the quilombolas accessing benefits and working together.

Lack of coordination between the actors involved

A current problem is an excess of actors involved and the lack of coordination between them, especially between public bodies.

Demand vs. Capacity to meet it

There is a great demand for participation in meetings, seminars, etc. and the team cannot attend all of these and be in the field at the same time. “The moment is coming when the communities will have to go alone.”

Difficulties in prioritizing the quilombolas

Prioritizing work with quilombolas, for example, carrying out mapping for the Territory, was, and still is, a sensitive political issue, because other communities – fishermen, the landless, family farmers – also merit priority.

Thequilombolas of Torrão, whose name (clod of earth) comes from the fact that the houses were all made of pounded clay, say that their settler neighbours [...] are angry with us because we have begun to work as a community. They want us to be slaves and to always fear them. The slave is from the previous time; that’s what we were before. Now we don’t need to exchange a day’s work for a plough or an ox ... Because we get these things through the projects. They don’t like it, they get angry, they talk in German so we can’t understand.

There are also questions being asked within the IECLB itself, since, despite its official ecumenical standpoint, many Lutheran members do not necessarily support work with other ethnicities and/or religions. “For example, on seeing FLD calendar photos one farmer asked: why are the Black people there, if we aren’t?” There is a wide debate about the fact that the Pentecostal churches are growing and the Lutherans are ‘shrinking’, and reflections about ‘why we Lutherans do what we do’.
7. Contribution of the Supporting Organization

CAPA: Further to what we have said about CAPA’s work methodology, we think it important to stress certain initiatives:

- The mapping was carried out in dialogue with Incra through the geo-referencing of the communities, and this greatly facilitated the subsequent work of territorial demarcation;
- Sending the documentation relating to 40 communities all together, through the Citizenship Territory – facilitated recognition (FCP certificate). They had already tried to send the documentation of 4 communities, but this didn’t work;
- Offering advice and technical information about agro-ecological production and markets; about the recognition of the community as a quilombola; and the entitlement recognition of the community as a quilombola;
- Sending the documentation of 4 communities, but this didn’t work;
- The use of communication tools to disseminate information about quilombolas. It gives priority to the internet, but also produces (excellent quality) printed material. However, in the opinion of FLD’s Executive Secretary, Carlos Bock, there is a need to strengthen communication in the more strategic sectors of the church – “FLD needs to have better recognition within the IECLB itself”;
- FLD’s credibility, which has enabled it to propose a Land Council at IECLB level to deal with the land issue. This issue is conflicting and involves indigenous peoples, quilombolas, the landless and family farmers;
- FLD’s prioritization of the themes of food and nutrition security and sovereignty;
- The need for FLD to develop public attitudes on certain themes and to influence debate. FLD values and believes in communication within and between the groups; if a group has a particular attitude, FLD disseminates it. For example, when transgenic corn was liberated by the state, the FLD signed a CAPA declaration against its liberation.

Other actors and relevant organizations

Emater – Karin Peglow, responsible for Emater in the region, adopted the approach of CAPA, where she had worked previously. She sets out the following principal results of the work with the communities up to now: recognition of the importance of participating in municipal councils where public policies are discussed; the involvement of the Public Defender’s Office to facilitate community access to services and benefits; and training public workers in quilombola rights.

Municipalities:

We succeeded in setting up this partnership and these coordination links. CAPA brought the municipality into the territory of the programme and into its own cooperative, to such an extent that, although at that time they were the ones who set up the partnership, today they are involved as merely one of the partners. Independent of party politics, of anything. The mayor changed; the one who left was very content [with this partnership] and so was the one who came into power – who was in opposition to the previous mayor, and is in opposition to national politics – he is also highly satisfied, because there are results for the municipality, there are results for the people.

State government programmes (RS Rural: house renovation, income generation, seeds, fruit trees, egg-laying hens) and federal government programmes (PAA, Zero Hunger, Electricity for All etc.).

The National Service for Rural Learning (Servicio Nacional de Aprendizagem Rural: Senar) and other organizations that offer occasional support through projects, services or donations.

The Black consciousness movement which works in rural communities – with a strong focus on culture, particularly on training capoeira groups.
8. Main impacts

- To have “revealed” the existence of Black communities to the region and the country, in an area where partnerships had not included Black people; to bring to the table a debate about racism and exclusion; to broaden, at IECCLB level, the debate about ecumenical practice.

- Today the communities are connected, organized; they participate in larger arenas for the deliberation and execution of public policies; they have established networks of support and alliances; and access public services, such as electricity.

- Increases in the communities’ income and quality of life, including in the quality of nutrition and health.

- A population that used to be extremely marginalized is now aware of its quilombola identity and rights, is able to reflect on the ethnic-racial issue and combat racism.
MARANHÃO
I. Introduction to the locale/region

Maranhão has the second lowest HDI (0.683) in Brazil. It has a population of approximately five million inhabitants of which 75% are Black and a territorial area of around 332,000 square km, or a little over 32 million hectares of land. The rural population is about 2,300,000. It is the Brazilian state with the highest percentage of people living in rural areas.

There are eight Citizenship Territories in Maranhão, including a number of municipalities with certified quilombola communities. The communities visited for this study, Santa Maria dos Pinheiros, Santa Rosa dos Pretos and Filipa, are part of the Vale do Itapecuru Citizenship Territory, whose average HDI is even lower than that of the state: 0.57. According to the Territory’s official site, in 2010, of the five government activities relating to land issues, there was minimal progress with just one, with 2 RTIDs published.

The Palmares Cultural Foundation has certified 350 CRQs of the approximately 642 that exist in Maranhão. Of these, 576 have been mapped and 267 identified by the CNN’s PVN project. Of the 350 certified communities, 228 currently have land regularization proceedings under consideration at Incra and 50 at the Maranhão Institute for Colonization and Land (Instituto de Colonização e Terra Maranhão: Iterma – the state land body) all of which are at different stages and experiencing different types of conflict. Only 31 areas have been entitled in Maranhão until today - 23 by Iterma and 8 by Incra. It is a state of serious land conflicts which occur in areas where the ‘exploitation of the land [is carried out] in archaic form’ (Dr. Alexandre Silva Soares attorney at the Federal Public Prosecutor’s office - Ministério Público Federal: MPF in Maranhão) and in which the agrarian issue is handled aggressively.

Maranhão is one of the most significant states in terms of Afro-Brazilian culture and is highly representative of the Black movement, particularly of the quilombola movement. It was in Maranhão that Black rural community claims for the regularization of their land began leading to systematized demands by the CCN. The CCN and CEDENPA, with the support of the Black Movement in Rio de Janeiro (Movimento Negro do Rio de Janeiro), referred their proposal for the guarantee of Black rural community lands to the Constituent Federal Deputy at that time, Benedita da Silva, giving rise to the above-mentioned Article 68 of the 1988 Constitution.

For this study the focus was the CCN’s activities in the PVN, whose theme is land regularization/the right to land; and on the PQRN, which focuses on education and culture. These two projects have relied on support from CESE since the 1990s and the PQRN has also received support from Christian Aid over the last decade. Three communities in the Itapecuru-Mirim municipality where the PVN and the PQRN operate were visited and leaders from two other communities (Soassim of Alcântara and Penalva of Médio Mearim) were interviewed. In addition, we spoke to Aconeruq and Conaq-MA leaders and to representatives from the Federal Public Prosecutor’s office, from the SMDDH, from Incra and the CCN team. Finally, we reviewed data regarding the CCN’s most recent activities in the Médio Mearim and Baixo Parnaíba regions, which are a continuation of PVN and PQRN work and rely on the support of CESE.
2. Introduction to the problem

The land situation: much conflict, little progress

Over the last decade the land entitlement situation in Maranhão has made very little progress. There are only 31 entitled lands in Maranhão today with 278 proceedings pending. The CCN has mapped 576 quilombola communities and the Palmares Cultural Foundation estimates that there are 642 existing quilombola communities in the state. According to the coordinator of the Quilombola Land Regularization Service of Incra-MA, Lidiane Amorim, proceedings are slower today than they were in 2005 and the little progress Incra has made is largely due to prior work undertaken by the CCN.

The conflicts are "terrible, difficult situations. It's difficult to talk of priority and urgency when they are all urgent" (Lidiane, Incra). And this is aggravated by the lack of information in the communities about their rights. In the opinion of Luiz Alves Ferreira, known as Professor Luizão, president of the State Council for Ethnic Racial Equality (Conselho Estadual da Igualdade Étnico Racial) and coordinator of CCN, "the central issue in Brazilian society is the issue of land. Education, everything else, is secondary". He explains that this is not land for land's sake but that it is on the acquisition of land that "health, education, everything else, follows".

For him, environmental racism must be considered within the current global climate. "If there is an environmental disaster in the world, Black populations suffer, poor populations of any ethnicity. This has already been mapped out." Commercialization of the land is a great obstacle, not only in Brazil, but across the world, with "big business re-colonizing Africa, buying up large areas of rich land." This is also happening in Maranhão. Lidiane also makes reference to the real estate market across the country as generating extensive interference in quilombola land regularization. For Professor Luizão the destruction of pequi fruit trees, babassu palms and bacuri trees also has an enormous impact on the "symbolism and psychology" of traditional populations. This model of development "is not capable of embracing people".

Juliana Rosa Matos Pinheiro who has been Incra's state agronomist engineer for 27 years, confirms that there is a great deal of violence in Maranhão. "Many dead, the police or landowners setting houses and farms on fire... The issue of human rights is going to take centuries to progress" and the judiciary is "insensitive and weak" in relation to the quilombola issue.

The MPF state prosecutor Alexandre Soares, talks of conflicts "as antiquated forms of land appropriation – the private landowner has a herd and uses the land indiscriminately in whatever way he sees fit, puts obstacles in the way of the communities, such as charges for them to stay on and work the land." There are constant evictions both with and without legal orders – "which is more serious?" The legally processed evictions have increased, ignoring ethnic data and the length of time a person has occupied the land. Today these are prioritized by the MPF, which at the same time recognizes Incra's lack of capacity to deal with these situations. "It is easier today to entitle an area as an agrarian reform settlement than as a quilombola."

Another aspect of the conflict involves new businesses that have emerged in the recent wave of development: mining, with large companies such as the Vale do Rio Doce and the space launch pad at Alcântara, where the conflict is against both the Federal Union (the Alcântara Launch Centre) and the Alcântara Cyclone Space – a Brazilian-Ukrainian business partnership to commercialize satellite vehicles which is considered a strategic venture for Brazil. There are also conflicts arising from overlap between the quilombola area and the agrarian reform settlements, causing tension on both sides.

According to the prosecutor, the quilombola issue in the state has achieved more visibility than the indigenous issue because of the strong presence of the communities and the support of "mediators", particularly the CCN, whose historic role, in his opinion, has been "to notice the presence of the quilombola issue and spread the idea
that there is a quilombola right to land”. In the words of Justo Evangelista, former president of the Itapecuru-Mirim STR and founder of Aconeruq, it was the “marriage of struggle” between the Black movement (CCN, SMDDH) and the STR that managed to contain the wave of evictions and violence against Black rural communities in the municipality which occurred in the 1980s and which has ensured subsequent progress.

**Racism**

Brazilian society is inherently racist and institutional racism exists and targets the Black population. This is the view of CCN militants, corroborated by the former Deputy Secretary of the Extraordinary Department of Racial Equality, Silvio Bembém: “This country is racist, unequal, sexist, violent and homophobic and is only now waking up to the real need for the citizen constitution (of 1988).”

CCN militants have occupied - and some still occupy - government posts, in an attempt to advance both the struggle and the claims. But they encounter a range of difficulties, the first being the denial of racism.

This racial democracy thing has finished us! Finished! This idea that Brazil is a country where difference doesn’t exist, where we are all equal. Finished us in terms of the struggle, of securing rights, because we go to discuss this with people, society and they say – we still hear this! – but this doesn’t exist!” (Socorro Gutierrez, CCN).

The CCN has observed significant difficulties in the PQRN work to promote debate about Black identity, culture and history within schools; most difficulties arise from the way that the state, particularly at state and municipal levels “has no idea of the importance of these communities, both for the state and the country” (Socorro, CCN). Representatives of the institution consider that there is “a great deal of racism” and the issue of Black people is seen as something exotic, with pejorative connotations, and not taken seriously. The municipality is made up of Black people, but they don’t recognize it. They want to be White. They don’t call us by our name [they don’t say]: here come the Black people of Santa Maria ... Racism doesn’t exist.” (Tiñoco, President of the Quilombola Association of Santa Maria dos Pinheiros - Associação Quilombola de Santa Maria dos Pinheiros).

**Democracy, laws and public policies**

“There are laws in the country but I haven’t yet found security in the law. When they say: there is democracy in the country, I ask myself: where is it? I haven’t seen it yet.” With these words, Senhor Li-bânio Pires, 74 years old and from the Santa Rosa dos Pretos quilombola, begins to talk about how he views the current situation. For him, the land entitlement question hasn’t been resolved “because it’s a Black thing, if it were a White thing it would already have been resolved”. He reminds us that most land fraud has been perpetrated by notaries themselves, in drawing up false deeds and signing them as witnesses. Today he sees no change in such fraudulent behaviour “coming from the corridors of power”, although he recognizes that there is a little more respect now for the social movement and for Black people, who used not to have the right “either to talk or to vote”. He has learned through struggle. “The struggle teaches you. We have woken each other up.” This is corroborated by his daughter, Anacleta, who remembers that [...].

In her opinion public policies only partially reach Maranhão. Justo Evangelista, former president of the Itapecuru-Mirim STR and founder of Aconeruq, argues thus: “How, in the 21st century, do we have a community that still doesn’t have water or electricity, where the water flows from a pool full of toads and snakes, which doesn’t have a flour mill, doesn’t have anything?”

At the time of this study, the political situation in Maranhão was very unstable. With the court-ordered removal of the elected governor, who had been in power for 2 years, and the re-election of Roseana Sarney for the fourth time, in 2010 the government returned to the oligarchy that has held power in the state for a very long time.
3. Duration, intervention theme and initial situation

Duration of intervention: 1996-2010.

Themes: territorial rights; assumption of identity; education

The focus of the Maranhão case study is CNN’s work in land regularization, the organization of the quilombola movement and the strengthening of identity through cultural and educational activities. At its foundation in 1979, the CNN began to map the Black rural communities of Maranhão, and these became known as “lands of the Blacks”. They identified the first conflicts in the 1980s, one of which refers to Santa Maria dos Pinheiros, one of the communities visited for this study. Following the 1988 Constitution the CCN’s strategy was to work with paradigmatic cases of land entitlement, to serve as demonstration models of the application of Article 68. Hence the selection of Santa Maria dos Pinheiros.

Furthermore, the PQRN began its work in schools in the communities, with a focus on quilombola identity and the study of local Afro-Brazilian and African history and culture, along the lines of what was to become Law 10639, which requires the inclusion of such themes in the educational curriculum. Approval of this Law was the result of a struggle undertaken by Black movements across the country, with the participation of the CCN.

This study covers the period from the end of the 1990s, focussing particularly on the years of the PAMN, through which CESE supported the CCN until 2010. Since 2002, the PQRN has received support directly from Christian Aid and CESE has supported PVN activity in the Médio Marim and the Baixo Parnaíba regions through its Small Projects Programme, with an emphasis on land, territory, identity and gender. We visited the following communities: Filipa, Santa Maria dos Pinheiros and Santa Rosa dos Pretos, all within the Itapecuru-Mirim municipality, which has 23 certified quilombola communities. Filipa and Santa Rosa dos Pretos were certified in 2005 while Santa Maria dos Pinheiros was certified in 2004.

Initial situation

In 1996, during the PAMN period, with the exception of Filipa (whose land had been previously demarcated, although not as a quilombola territory), none of the communities we visited had had their land area demarcated, still less certified. Santa Maria dos Pinheiros experienced serious conflicts with neighbouring landowners and its access to the main road was blocked by one of these alleged proprietors. There was no electricity or running water. Through its work with PQRN, Filipa began to focus on asserting its quilombola identity and its ethnic-racial origin; and on knowledge of its history and the revitalization of cultural manifestations in the community.

The CCN has been extremely active within the struggle for the rights of Black rural communities and in its stand against racism was already a flagship organization in the state and across the country. One of the CCN’s institutional difficulties was the potential conflict of its dual identity as both a movement and a non-governmental organization, which ran projects and raised funds. The CCN had already established partnerships with government programmes (for example, it worked with children in the Programme for the Eradication of Child Labour - Programa de Erradicação do Trabalho Infantil: PETI) and had taken on certain consulting roles, participating in specific councils.

The PVN produced studies, reports and publications about territorial rights, informing both society and the State itself about the struggle for entitlement to the “lands of the Blacks” and began to work in partnership with Incra and Iterna in order to advance these studies and reports. PVN work was carried out in partnership with the SMDDH, partly through partnership work on the theme (the SMDDH provided some of its legal support) and partly because the SMDDH had a more adequate institutional structure for the administration of the PVN.

At national level, the largest quilombola mobilizations took place in Maranhão and Pará. The Aconeruq had recently been set up with the assistance of the CCN and was primarily aimed at the political struggle. These were the institutions the quilombolas sought out in any situation that involved conflict.

4. Significant changes

4.1 Changes in the lives and standards of living in the three communities visited

We have a situation in the communities today, in which something has changed. A little, a very little; a drop of water in the ocean, but there is no longer that chaotic situation, where you arrived and could only see people deep inside the forest, as if they weren’t human beings (Ana Amélia, CCN).

Santa Maria dos Pinheiros:

- Land demarcated
- The 400 hectares that have been demarcated are only part of what the community claims. There is a very tense situation in the locality, with armed conflicts and an area enclosed by electric fences. Enlargement of the area has also been prevented by legal action due to a claim by a Stud Farm which occupies 600 hectares and has an interest in proving that there are no quilombolas in the area.
Maranhão’s federal courts treated it as an agrarian, not an ethnic, issue. An agronomist engineer carried out the inspection, not an anthropologist; they should at least have gone together (Alexandre Soares, MPF prosecutor).

• Identity and culture

The culture is marked by pride in being Black and being quilombola, with the celebration of traditional festivals.

• Access to public policies and projects

The community has a school which runs up to 4th grade, but which is ill equipped and only open for one shift (either morning or afternoon) a day, with no services for young people and adults. The project for the construction of a Quilombola College has been approved but not executed. There is a health centre, but it doesn’t function as there are no health workers.

There is running water "the women don’t need to carry water on their heads anymore” and most residents are beneficiaries of the Family Grant Programme.

• Access to the area

After 45 years of isolation, the community’s greatest achievement occurred two years ago with the opening up, by judicial order and with support from the CCN, of access to the main road; this had been closed by the landowner but not provides access to the rest of the region. Previously it had only been possible to reach the locale on foot along forest trails. "We are flying; motorbikes can come in here today and drop us right at the door.”

• Change factors

"People come together more.” Today the leader, Senhor Tinoco, represents the force of resistance and persistence, with the support of CCN, STR and SMDDH.

• View of neighbours

Although it is still a very tense situation and despite the continuing presence of racism, “today they respect us because we know about our rights.”

Filipa:

• Land demarcated

Filipa’s land was demarcated in 1985. At the time Incra wanted to divide the land into lots but the community didn’t agree, they preferred collective land, because “there are parts that are good for one thing, parts that are good for something else.” At the time there were 25 families, today there are 48; the land is getting smaller and the process to demarcate the total area and grant entitlement, which began in 2004, is still ongoing.

• Recovery of identity

“We were losing our origin, people didn’t want to be Black; with the CCN, we began to know where our race came from” (Dona Nielza). Currently there is a Tambor de Crioula and Curia dance group, which has performed across Maranhão and Brazil. Through this group more people, including young people, began to be interested in the culture and history of these quilombola people. The group began with 10 members and now has 46. Dona Nielza, 69 years old, a community leader and several time association president, likes writing verse and is the one who most encourages and organizes the community. She is proud of being the great-granddaughter of Filipa, the Black woman who gave the community its name.

• Becoming less isolated and more organized

“Before everyone was stranded within the community, they lived in isolation” (Dona Nielza). Following the CCN intervention, however, the community began to open up, to organize itself and coordinate with other movements and associations.

• Access to public policies and projects:

Amongst the services present in the community are an artesian well, a flour mill, a mini rice mill, a dam and fish farming tanks. They have electricity and running water and there is a college and a health centre, as well as computers for public use.
They have sent proposals to Incra and have succeeded in buying both a truck and a Combi minibus. They are awaiting approval to become a Point of Culture.

**Santa Rosa dos Pretos**

- **Identity**
  
  “Quilombo, the name is something new, but the experience isn’t. This sense of resistance is in our blood, in our soul... We call the others along the forest path so they can beat the drum. To be Black was to be a thief – “who wants to be these things?” The community was previously called Santa Rosa do Barão [Santa Rosa of the Baron] but through their struggles and the recognition of their quilombola identity, the name was changed to Santa Rosa dos Pretos [Santa Rosa of the Black People]. These are the words of Senhor Libânio Pires, 74 years old, who entered “the struggle” in 1952, operating within Rural Catholic Action (Ação Católica Rural) and his daughter Anacleta, former local government candidate (campaign slogan: “The Black woman is the real deal”)

- **Access to public policies and projects**
  
  “We have no guarantee of projects because we don’t have title to the land.” The community was able to renovate 26 houses and to acquire electricity and artesian wells. The school building in Santa Rosa is falling apart: there is a promise of a new school but it is yet to be built.

- **Land**
  
  Conflict exists between the Settlement Project and the quilombolas, since a part of the traditional quilombola territory has been transformed into an Agrarian Reform Settlement. The land regularization process opened at Incra in 2005. Senhor Libânio Pires says: “I thought back to my parents saying that this area could not be sold or transferred. I began to talk to our compatriots and we got 2578 hectares”.

### 4.2 Changes observed due to the overall CCN intervention

**Education**

- The construction of quilombola secondary schools is being implemented, these are Family Farming Schools (Escola Família Agrícola: EFA, which works through alternation pedagogy) for the municipalities of Codó, Itapecuru and Turiaçu and the Jamary dos Pretos community

  I remember very well that when I used to say to Senhor Raimundo, who was the household there, “what would you like to have here?” he looked at me and said, “a small college.” I was very pleased because... he isn’t here anymore, he passed away last year, but he saw the school being built. (Ana Amélia, CCN).

**Changes from the point of view of gender equity**

- Recognition and appreciation of the role of women:
  
  The women’s role of custodians and preservers of culture has been valued, as has their importance in guaranteeing life in the communities in the case of land conflicts.

  The understanding was that it was a discussion for the men and that the men have to go to the meetings; but at the time of the persecutions, when a leader had to stay hidden in the forest for 20 days, well, that was the time for

**Young people**

- Young people are more interested in cultural manifestations related to assertions of their identity and their racial identity is stronger, following training provided by the CCN. “The young people are also interested in learning capoeira” (Dona Gilda, Soassim).

Without a doubt we contributed to the process of strengthening the self-esteem of the children and young people. I am quilombola! I am from the Santa Rosa community’ I am from the Santo Antônio dos Pretos community’ they say this with a lot of pride (Socorro, CCN).

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### Translator’s note: the slogan has more resonance in the original Brazilian Portuguese (A mulher negra é de raça) because of a play on words in which raça means both brave or real on the one hand and race (as in ethnicity) on the other.
the women, who managed to look after the people there. In Frechal the women were very active and also guarded the communities (Ana Amélia, CCN).

- **Greater participation of women in the quilombo’s political life**

Before, we used to only see men in the coordination and presidency positions of the association. Today, generally, the men are the presidents. I have had two terms myself. Today we see the women participating, giving their opinions. Today they are well advanced. Ninety percent (of participation) is by women. Even with the organizational issues you see more women. What we are really fighting for today is our space, because we have a lot of women, but they always used to be the secretary; those kinds of roles. And a woman was never in [the top] position, although we know that in all matters of control women are better prepared than men. We know that there are more problems with men. Within the struggle women are more aware (Dona Nice, representative of Conaq in Maranhão).

- **Women's participation in meetings, assemblies and mobilizations**

Until that time women worked more on the farm, they stayed in the kitchen and today they really participate in meetings, they leave the community to participate outside it (Dona Gilda, Soassim).

When I arrived in 92, they were almost completely absent. We would have a meeting with 50-60 people. Most of them were men. We would have 5 or 6 women who would just stand there throughout (Ana Amélia, CCN).

- **Knowledge of their own bodies**

One thing that was great, mainly for the women, was getting to know their bodies, the women used to be very ashamed of standing and looking in the mirror, of going for the right [health] tests, like the preventative ones. And then we started to talk amongst ourselves, about all that we had learnt in the workshops (Dona Gilda, Soassim).

- **Women occupying public spaces**

We have achieved a lot. At the beginning, we didn’t have all this knowledge; today we fight, firstly for the rights of Black people, then for the rights of women, the rights of young people, and now through the movement we have begun to gain our own space. When we started it was very difficult to have a Black woman as a local councillor, a mayor, whereas today I have been a councillor - a Black woman, a breaker of babassu coconuts - and we have started to gain our own space. To elect a babassu coconut breaker, a Black woman from the communities, the quilombo, I think I was the first (Dona Nice, Conaq).

**The power to influence decisions that affect them**

- The danger of power relations with the state

For us it’s a problem, for us it’s dangerous, because the governments that have been in power have never been on the quilombo side, they have always been on the side of the landowners, and it was the landowners who always tried to evict us from our lands. For us it’s a very serious problem, especially in Maranhão (Dona Nice).

- The strategy of militants occupying government positions

We need to know the following: what kind of State are we going to live in? And who are the people who are going to be above us? Are they racists? Are they our allies? Because you can have a governor who is an ally, but you can have a governor who is racist and just says to society that he put someone there. To sweeten the pill! You are the only secretary at a great big table, you are the only Black person, there are only White people at the party, but you are sitting there because you are the secretary, but you can’t make an assessment, the secretary doesn’t control the budget... (Sílvio Bembêm)

Creating the State Department of Racial Equality was the result of a hard struggle. Many people in the government were against the
measure, although the governor himself was in favour. The militants finally managed to conquer this political arena but they had no structure or budget.

Discussing politics in a government group was a great challenge. We had absolutely no resources. Then a Department was created with no infrastructure, no capacity, no financing and no equipment. The structure was simply unfeasible for the development of an effective policy for racial equality in the state. (Socorro Guterres, militant and professional of the CCN and administrator of Affirmative Action Policies - Politicas de Ações Afirmativas - in the Jackson Lago government).

It was a dilemma. Because we had spent so much time with no physical space for ourselves, for our policy. We had this recent chance, after I don’t know how many years, when we arrived, but we had no capacity! (Sílvio Bembém, Secretary for Racial Equality in the Jackson Lago government).

Sílvio Bembém said that even when they succeeded in preparing a project to acquire federal resources it was often unfeasible because the state had defaulted on its contract with the Federal Union. “Of all the states, Maranhão is the champion in never succeeding to secure public resources”.

For Socorro Gutteres, despite all the mobilization attempts by the movement

[...] ethnic-racial politics in Maranhão State are still something exotic, it’s nice to see Black people in Carnival, with their bright turbans, we have a Carnival Group here, we have tambor-de-crioula, dancing for the tourists, but there is no effective policy to take people out of exclusion processes, nothing! There is nothing.

Changes in the quilombo movement and organization

Maranhão's quilombo movement is historic. “The leaders here have a history which has elevated them to a national level and which had important repercussions at the beginning” (Lidiane, Incra). The CCN considers that the creation of Aconeruq in 1997 was the most significant impact of its work in the 1980s and 1990s. In recent years, however, the movement has been in crisis. For the CCN a resumption of the movement is essential, “we are trying to recover, reconstitute, reorganize. Aconeruq is extremely important!” (Prof. Luizão).

• Aconeruq crisis and a weakening of the movement

Aconeruq’s crisis is related to acquiring a huge volume of resources over five years, principally from government sources, with no proper structure for accounting, with no oversight or transparency. Leadership was highly personalized and very close to the existing political power base. Breach of contract, absence of accountability and suspected corruption within the Aconeruq board, particularly in respect of the president, were decisive factors in the association’s weakening. However, the Assembly recently instituted a new board, which aims to recover Aconeruq’s political work and the winning ticket for the board was headed by a woman, Maria José Palhano.

- Lack of expert assistance to Aconeruq

I felt that there was a lot of exaggerated belief that the quilombo movement had the capacity to stand on its own feet, when this was not the case. We have always wanted the quilombo movement to stand on its own feet, since the beginning. What was under discussion was the organizational issue, because projects were underway and they couldn’t be just abandoned, and the daily struggle was also ongoing. (Pedrosa, SMDDH).

Pedrosa (SMDDH) reflected that it is helpful to understand the historic trajectory of this construction.

The social movement in Brazil exists because there are NGOs, because there is technical assistance. No movement has survived without assistance. All the strong social movements that have emerged in Brazil, and survived so many setbacks, exist because there is a network. The Landless Rural Workers’ Movement, the indigenous movement, the rural workers movement, all of them receive technical assistance. So, what does the government do with the quilombo movement? In order to approve this decree they get hold of the quilombo-las and say: “There is no travel money for technical assistance – only for the quilombo movement”. They have a meeting; they approve a law, everybody nods reverently in agreement. What are they going to say?

- The way the Aconeruq leadership became personalized – with a concentration of power,
They lost the idea of the collective, of the broader organization; they started to have highly individualized discussions, very specific, without involving the group. They lost the notion of meeting the communities – which was the great asset! – for example, of holding events, assemblies. (Socorro, CCN).

- The Aconeruq identity crisis (movement vs. organization/entity) – Should it be a service provider for the State, an administrator of public policies, or a movement that makes legal claims and campaigns for rights?

What happened in Maranhão? The demand grew, it required better trained, greater technical control, people with more training, to manage the growth of the organization, and the people who were there didn’t have those skills, they didn’t have the right background. So the whole thing grew and those who were there didn’t know how to manage it. So it collapsed. There has to be transparency. And having a certain sensibility is the first priority, to understand that when I go there I won’t earn a million Reals, that I won’t have a big salary, it’s about having a feeling for the fight. (Ivo Fonseca, Aconeruq).

- Working on too many fronts and Aconeruq’s difficulty in monitoring activities; fragmentation of the movement and its activities; an absence of planning which had been present when the technical assistance NGOs (SMDDH and CCN) were at the centre of activities.
- Political games / party politics - to fragment the movement, links to local politics, weakness of presidents of associations.
- Cooption of leaders, corruption

Changes in the public perception of quilombolas
It is not easy to raise the profile of the quilombola issue – this is the conclusion of the MPF, of the CCN and all the other interviewees. Publicity about the Alcântara case has had a damaging effect on the communities as well as being a “setback” for big business.

Socorro of the CCN, states that in Maranhense society in general thequilombola issue is not important and has no resonance. The enormous influence of the media treats quilombola issues in a negative and pejorative way. Black people in general and quilombolas in particular are seen as exotic, alien creatures. “Those who call the communities quilombola are from the movement, from the university where they study these issues, but, society in general, even government bodies, call them villages.”

- Failure to incorporate the quilombola struggle into other organizations, such as rural workers unions – little political interaction with other sectors of society.
- Loss of political ability to stake legal claims. “In the Lula Government, we progressed in politics but regressed in terms of organization” (Ivo Fonseca, Aconeruq).

However, despite the crisis, “Maranhão has participated in all the arguments with the government. Decree 4887, Normative Instructions, demands... we are there” (Lidiane, Incra). For the MPF prosecutor, the quilombola communities have a “cohesive discourse” and their discussions succeed in “creating sensitivity to the issue”. He considers the quilombolas to be stronger than the indigenous movement and to have more systematized demands. “Santa Rosa dos Pretos – I have never seen people so organized, they are everywhere, every week.”

The Aconeruq crisis serves as a warning to the whole movement, the communities and the militants. It is possible to learn from this experience, which reveals the dangers of leaders becoming isolated from their bases, of pursing personal agendas to the detriment of the collective, of the need for technical and political assistance to confront the new and ever more complex situations that the quilombola movement faces.

Changes in the relationship with the government
A community that is 20 years old, 50 years old, and didn’t have a school, didn’t have a main road, didn’t have electricity, didn’t have government recognition, then begins to have this recognition - that is an advance. Now, with the confidence in what it has, which is the land, we get to the point where I can just say: No! (Ivo Fonseca, Aconeruq).

- The government looks at quilombola demands a little more attentively. “We held training sessions about quilombolas for government professionals” (Pedroso, SMDDH).
- A celebration was held of the CCN agreement with the state land body in order to work on entitlement proceedings.
- The PQRN provides training for teachers and education managers and provides all the material, including snacks. The schools that accept this training only provide the physical space. Thus the PQRN’s work has emerged as something always external, not institutionally internalized by the state, either in its methodology or delivery. There are no formal agreements for this activity.

- The training of teachers is successful in some municipalities. One example, is the case of the Itapecuru Mirim secretary of education, who was trained by PQRN when she was a teacher and who has set up a municipal Working Group for the implementation of Law 10639. But with teacher rotation and contracts being temporary rather than permanent, it is difficult to retain this knowledge pool.

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5 Change factors

It is fair to say that difficulties have probably outweighed positive changes. Progress has been slow, the political situation in Maranhão is highly unfavourable and the movement is in crisis. However, it is possible to identify factors that have led to results and victories and which have at least prevented further setbacks. From the point of view of the communities this factor is their resistance and their willingness not to give up the fight.

The CCN’s model of working epitomises a rare unity between Black urban militants and Black rural communities – quilombolas and is one of the keys to understanding the strength of the historic quilombola process in Maranhão. Its work relied on field research, the organization of the movement, academic publications, legal advice, and training and education activities. The relationship of trust built up with the communities over time is an important factor in the analysis of progress achieved.

Factors related to failures and setbacks should also be analyzed, such as those related to the external environment, from the political situation in Maranhão to big business, both public and private. Other similar factors are the orchestration by the media and the conservative sectors of Brazilian society against quilombola territorial rights and the manner in which the State relates to social movements, specifically to the quilombola movement. There is also a series of internal features that have been identified as impediments to the changes they are seeking to achieve. These aspects are described in more detail in the section below.
6 Difficulties and mistakes

**Education**
- Some quilombola schools have been constructed but secondary schools and EFAs remain closed, due to the government’s lack of political will to get them working.
- The state hasn’t incorporated gender, religious intolerance or ethnic-racial issues into the curriculum. Some municipalities do not know about Law 10639. “Teacher training doesn’t exist in Maranhão” (Socorro, CCN) and her assertion is corroborated by the consultation report of the Ministry of Education into quilombola education in Maranhão. Despite recognizing the importance of the PQRNs work and methodology by inviting its staff to take up positions or consultations, municipal and state education departments have not incorporated their ideas.

**Racism**
- In the experience of CCN militants, public administrators in senior positions do not recognize the importance of the ethnic-racial issue, “that a Black state exists.” “They aren’t able to understand (...)”

Our culture is still extremely racist and excluding” (Socorro, CCN).

**The strategy to occupy positions in the State**
- There is a danger of becoming co-opted through the strategy to occupy positions in the state.

So we don’t get drunk on power and forget our past, our origins, our ancestry and our relationship with what we believe in (Silvio Bembém, former Secretary of Racial Equality).

**Territorial rights – the land issue**
- Insufficient publications and research on the issue carried out by the organizations.
- Changes in norms, the ADIN situation. “There has been a setback in quilombola territory entitlement policy.” (Prof. Luizão).
- Land and health: the entitlement of the lands is the first stage in the promotion of the Black population’s health in Brazil. If I have entitled land, I’m working and calm, not plagued by land-grabbers.

I am at peace. A person gets anxious because of the increasing pressure, because you go to the police, the judge passes sentence and orders everyone out! How many people have died of strokes? (Prof. Luizão).

- Incra:
  - Incra does not incorporate differentiatedquilombolas demands – it has neither the vision nor the operational structure. Many employees see the ethnic question as a ‘problem’ and training has been unable to resolve this lack of sensitivity.
  - Lack of anthropologists, who are the key figures during the most time-consuming stage in land regularization, that of identification and delineation. Incra in Maranhão didn’t have a single anthropologist for a year, although it has one now. One anthropologist is able to write a maximum of three reports a year, yet Incra-MA has more than 200 proceedings pending. There are now norms preventing the contracting of external anthropologists or the services of NGOs or universities, which used to be possible.
  - Failures in Incra’s proceedings lead to injunctions against territory enlargement - Santa Maria dos Pinheiros is a case in point.

**Difficulties in maintaining legal assistance to the communities**
- Funding appears to prioritize denunciations to international authorities (advocacy) to the detriment of follow-up in the field.

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89 A Diagnosis of Basic Education in Remnant Quilombo Communities in the State of Maranhão – MEC/Secadi, December 2008. The consultant in charge was Maria da Gloria da Veiga Moura.
This is one of the battle-grounds in the struggle. But this doesn’t mean you should abandon the people here, for example, in Alcântara. The struggle has two fronts and one shouldn’t simply negate the other (Pedrosa, SMDDH).

- Dispersal of funding for quilombola bodies and displacement of funds, principally to the South and Southeast regions.

For example, here in the state of Maranhão, the funding for the Social Network for Justice and Human Rights (Rede Social de Justiça e Direitos Humanos) of São Paulo concentrated most of its activities in Alcântara and from there it had no means to support the day-to-day quilombola struggle here. And the struggle is not in the air; the quilombola movement is rooted in the land, it has a specific address (Pedrosa, SMDDH).

Relationship of the quilombo-la movement to the government

- Federal government activity to transform quilombola bodies into public policy administrators.

  They turned Aconeruq into an administrator of government projects, with minimal influence; they transformed the movement into a counter at the federal public civil service: (...) This does not mean that these resources were being used to strengthen quilombola citizenship in any way. Sometimes it has even increased our subordination to the municipal and regional oligarchies and so we question whether this citizenship is what we planned during our period of policy construction” (Pedrosa, SMDDH).

- System of ‘co-opting’ leaders. ‘A wicked, criminal policy, which destroyed the movement’ (Justo Evangelista, STR, Aconeruq).

- Local governments pursue resources in the name of the quilombolas but the benefits don’t reach the communities and there is ‘a manipulation of policies so they can appropriate the Black population’s resources for themselves. While we are losing the fight for survival’ (Prof. Luizão).

- Bureaucratic and technical qualification demands for setting up projects. ‘Difficulties for the rural worker and quilombola organizations about how to secure federal resources” (Pedrosa, SMDDH).

- The historic exclusion of the quilombola population.

  We have noticed that the degree of hardship, of poverty is greater [than of other rural workers], and the difficulty in relating to institutions, for example, to the bank or to the credit system, is much greater (Pedrosa, SMDDH).

- Projects inadequately administered. “For example, the housing programme – the project has been pushed around from pillar to post, where will the houses go, what shape will it be ... which merely serves to enrich the contractor” (Juliana Pinheiro, Incra).

Public policies and the inexistence of an effective policy for the entitlement of lands

What we have are palliative measures rather than an effective policy. If we don’t have land entitlement then we don’t have the guarantee that other policies will effectively get through, because we don’t have what they call legality. Quilombola Brazil, Citizenship Territory, this has started across the whole of Brazil and also here in Maranhão, to give the illusion that things are happening and that this is the way. But these plans don’t effectively touch on or discuss the crucial issue which is the issue of land entitlement, and this hampers other policy processes (Socorro, CCN).

- The risk of losing their focus on the struggle for land to fight for other policies. “They stop fighting for the land to fight for other resources... this is the problem with public policies. I don’t see anything specific in these policies and programmes.” (MPF Prosecutor).

- Projects inadequately administered. “For example, the housing programme – the project has been pushed around from pillar to post, where will the houses go, what shape will it be ... which merely serves to enrich the contractor” (Juliana Pinheiro, Incra).
CCN Operations

- Information, training and community strengthening

“Our role is to unite and train staff. The CCN has a role in uniting the movement, training support networks and mobilizing partnerships. The training role is not just for the communities and the movement, but also for decision-makers, as is the case of the prosecutor responsible to the Sixth Chamber (which deals with the rights of traditional communities - Indians and Minorities - in the MPF) who began to learn everything he knows about quilombola from the CCN” according to the Maranhão prosecutor, who in turn was a trainee at the PVN/CCN when he was a student. In his opinion, the CCN “taught the MPF” about the quilombola situation.

- Technical assistance to the quilombola movement

Over the last decade the CCN has to some extent withdrawn from assisting the Aconeruq. This is currently being re-evaluated given the clear need for assistance. In many ways assisting the associations and the movement is essential both for the CCN and for the communities.

- Contribution to the creation of new state agencies for racial equality

It was the Centre for Black Culture of Maranhão and other bodies which made the state set up the formal structure of the Department of Racial Equality, of the Council. The most important project of the Black Brazilian movement, in my opinion, is the Life of Black People Project – and I say this without the least intent to disparage the Black Brazilian movement – it is land entitlement that led to the establishment of SEPPR (Prof. Luizão, CCN).

- Oversight and evaluation

“The CCN, together with the whole movement, oversees the government and evaluates its intervention in the communities” (Lidiane, Incra).

- Legal assistance and mediation

There are a lot of lawsuits to reinstate the land, possession lawsuits and the communities don’t have anywhere to go for someone to speak in court on their behalf. The CCN and the SMDDH and sometimes the state Public Defender have done this for them. From the legal perspective, there is a huge need for these NGOs, because the Public Defender’s office should do this, but it doesn’t work properly (Alexandre Soares MPF Prosecutor).

- Role to unite and train staff

The CCN has a role in uniting the movement, training support networks and mobilizing partnerships. The training role is not just for the communities and the movement, but also for decision-makers, as is the case of the prosecutor responsible to the Sixth Chamber (which deals with the rights of traditional communities – Indians and Minorities - in the MPF) who began to learn everything he knows about quilombola from the CCN” according to the Maranhão prosecutor, who in turn was a trainee at the PVN/CCN when he was a student. In his opinion, the CCN “taught the MPF”...
ficiaries of Centre for Black Culture activities and who coordinate CCN projects today.

Other actors and organizations with a significant role involved

- Aconeruq – created through CCN work, an essential actor in the national quilombola movement, which unites hundreds of quilombo community associations in Maranhão. Its current phase is one of overcoming the political and administrative crisis.
- SMDDH – an historic PVN partner, acts above all in the area of legal assistance.
- Rural Workers Unions (STRs) – some of these are more involved than others. They support demonstrations, meetings, travel costs, etc. The Itapecuru Mirim STR was an important partner at the initiation of this work, today it is less present and has a different political orientation, having been ‘co-opted’ (according to Justo Evangelista, former president of the STR and an important militant in the quilombola movement).
- Federation of Agricultural Workers in the State of Maranhão (Federação dos Trabalhadores na Agricultura do Estado do Maranhão: Fetaema) – “I think the next Fetaema training should have a module for discussing the quilombola issue” (Ivo Fonseca, Aconeruq).
- Incra – The local person in charge (an engineer) and her team at Incra are strong allies of CCN and the movement, although they work within a paralyzed structure.
- MPF – an essential ally in the strategy to take to court lawsuits that are inactive at Incra, to agitate and hold public hearings.

CESE and Christian Aid

“CESE as an agency is one of the few that supports reflection. It supports the holding of the assembly, it supports the movement.” (Pedrosa, SMDDH).

CESE continues to support CCN activities in new regions, in Médio Mearim and Baixo Parnaiba, where the organization is expanding its activities, using the same framework and methodologies that were used in the Itapecuru-Mirim region, in Codó and Alcântara during the PAMN era.

Christian Aid’s and CESE’s support have been, and continue to be, essential because we realize that the process of organizational strengthening for the community remains ongoing, although it is much stronger than it was some years ago (Socorro, CCN).

Differential characteristics of this support:

Independence in developing activities

These institutions always allow us to have autonomy and we develop the work from our ideas, our proposals, in conjunction with the communities. Obviously there were and are guidelines that are important both for the supporters and the agencies, but these guidelines are not straight jackets. On the contrary, there is always very open dialogue in relation to guidelines and this is an important part of the process.” (Socorro, CCN).

Support for institutional development

The support was always aimed at institutional strengthening. Christian Aid has invested a great deal in this over the years in which they have supported us. One of Christian Aid’s and CESE’s real concerns was the organization, not of the project itself - the PVN or the PQRN - but how the organization is constituted, how it could be reinforced in order to strengthen its activities, so they can have positive consequences (Socorro, CCN).

Recognition and valuing the history of the organization’s struggle

This characteristic is important – not only to be someone who receives financial support as a mere beneficiary, someone who only wants resources, but as a subject who has autonomy, who thinks, who has a history that must be respected, valued (Socorro, CCN).

8 Principle impacts

CCN’s role of increasingly featuring in arenas of political participation both at state and federal level is related to its institutional development, which is supported by both CESE and Christian Aid. Its progress in the domains in which identity policies are created and executed, both in Maranhão and in the country at large, is directly related to the struggle of the Black movements and the CCN. The fact that the CCN today has militants who are invited to take up decision-making positions in the state government is significant, as is the expansion of CCN work into new regions in Maranhão, where there is a great deal of tension regarding land ownership.

The quilombola movement’s reflections: regarding risks in its relationships with the state, in securing resources and in having overly personal leadership; and about the need to resume a closer partnership with technical assistance organizations.

Despite little or no progress towards entitlements, the communities have begun to access other public policies through their quilombola certification.
PART III

REFLECTIONS ABOUT THE ROAD TRAVELLED, THE IMPACTS AND THEIR SUSTAINABILITY
The concept of development has altered over the last fifty years. The Human Development Index, utilized to measure development in countries, is based on the Human Development Paradigm and states that what a person becomes over their life depends on two things: the opportunities they have and the choices they make. As well as access to opportunities, people need to be able to make choices (IULIANELLI, 2010).

The activities of the ACT Alliance organizations are guided by the concept of transformational development. The underlying question is:

- on what basis are models of development founded which enable the production and reproduction of each person’s life, which consider environmental sustainability and secure fair ways of life for future generations (and for the present)?

The transformational development approach seeks to preserve human rights and generate change for all through mutual learning. This framework provided the purpose of this impact study.

In Brazil, the eight years of Lula government from 2003 to 2010, despite securing a series of social and economic advances, resulted in the intensification, or at least clearer evidence, of serious difficulties and problems resulting from the model of development. One example is the criminalization of social movements and grassroots society in general, or the perception of their activities and mobilizations as criminal. This process is instigated through the stigmatization of people or collectives who seek to assert their identities. Ethnic-racial and cultural diversity is not viewed as richness, but as illegitimate (IULIANELLI, 2010).

The quilombola issue is illustrative of this problem, although it is not the only area in which criminalization occurs. As we have seen, quilombola communities experience socio-economic inequality and the violation of their rights. The quilombola issue is also illustrative of another problem strongly related to the notion of development: environmental racism.

Environmental racism is what we call the social and environmental injustices relentlessly experienced by vulnerable ethnic groups and other communities who are discriminated against because of their origin or colour (PA-CHECO 2007).

Environmental racism is present when government, legal, economic, political and military institutions influence the local use of land, particularly in places where people of colour live, work or take their leisure.

In Brazil, a map of environmental racism conflicts has been created which highlights a series of social injustices linked to the environmental issue...
across the country and demonstrates how rural populations and traditional communities are victimized through this process. Maranhão eight cases of environmental racism have been identified, of which three are explicitly in quilombola communities, one is a community of babassu coconut breakers - who are also claiming quilombola identity - and one a community where indigenous and quilombolas live together. The cases of Marambaia and São Francisco do Paraguaçu also feature on this map.

Other investigations more explicitly reveal the occurrence of environmental racism is, such as “why leave good land, that is fertile, with adequate water supplies, beautiful landscapes etc., to Black people, thereby removing such land from the real estate market? How is it possible that Black people can have the right to these lands?”

Racism often takes on an institutional face, manifesting itself through different state forms and instruments which legitimize oppression or deny rights to people or groups because of their ethnic-racial origin or their colour (ALVES DOS SANTOS, 2004). It is present when we look at education indices in quilombola areas, or in Maranhão, where secondary level schools have been built in quilombola areas but are not functioning.

The criminalization of the quilombola communities and movements is highly visible in the areas studied; particularly in the cases of São Francisco do Paraguaçu and Marambaia. Criminalization is a mechanism that involves various sectors of society, from the legislature, which characterizes criminal conduct, through the legal apparatus and up to the media, which forms public opinion and reinforces stigmatization of individuals and collectives as criminal. The police and the media exercise a fundamental role in determining which situations and subjects are considered criminal. We note that there does not need to be a judgement for criminalization to occur – all that is required is for individuals or collectives to be considered as criminals a priori. When a community or its leaders receives a summons from the police to appear at a police station or when they are referred to as “a band of vandals and criminals” in legal proceedings, as was the case in São Francisco do Paraguaçu, the criminalization of the community is in progress. The stigmatized community suffers the consequences of this “labelling”, having to live with psychological violence on a daily basis, which sometimes even leads to physical violence and the destruction of property. This was the case of the community from São Francisco do Paraguaçu, who had their homes and lands invaded by 40 military policemen in response to an injunction to reinstate the land; and with the families in Marambaia when they had their homes destroyed by the Navy, or were summoned to give depositions at the Navy barracks.

In order to understand the quilombola situation and to assess impacts and future sustainability, it is important to consider the impact of racism, particularly environmental racism, and of the criminalization of the quilombola movement and communities in the non-fulfilment of the constitutional article, which guarantees the right to land. This reparation measure adopted by the Brazilian State has been strongly opposed by reactionary forces in society, precisely because it opens up the two oldest national wounds: access to land and racism.

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95 See the data in Chapter I of this document.
2. MAIN IMPACTS

2.1. Assertion of identity and confrontation of racism

The history of Black communities is above all, a history of resistance and of belonging to their territories. The assertion of quilombola identity is the first step for the process of their emancipation and of the recognition and promotion of their rights. “Assertion of and identification with the quilombola community presupposes the declaration and recognition of a conflict and the search for its solution”.

To recognize oneself as Black and quilombola means to break with a long history of being exploited and ignored. To understand that conditions of exclusion are socially constructed and are not inherent to the condition of being Black demonstrates a degree of awareness that enables people and communities to understand how society is stratified in racial terms – to understand racism’s existence and functioning.

Quilombola was a legal-administrative category externally created by the State, utilizing a word loaded with historical significance, linked to slavery and also to criminality - quilombola gave the idea of a bandit, a runaway slave. This is why the reclamation of history and of the community’s way of life are fundamental to the assimilation of the ‘quilombola’ category by individuals and the collective as an identity quintessentially based on resistance.

Conservative sectors attack these communities at their very core – their identity in manifestations of evident racism, alleging that ‘Black people are inventing a false identity to gain advantage; they are exploiters, falsifiers.’ This image is broadcast in media attacks, as in the case of São Francisco do Paraguaçu, which had led to new demands by the Palmares Cultural Foundation for the recognition of the legitimacy of requests for certification. Furthermore, Koinonia has been systematically accused of ‘creating false quilombos’.

This kind of argument is easily accepted and has huge repercussions across society because of its racist nature, always viewing Black people as subordinate and incapable, seeing them as liars, crooks, violent, less intelligent, etc. This habitual racism hinders confrontation. Denials of the existence of racism are barefaced: nobody considers themselves racist and affective relationships in society thus tend to mask racism behind the myth of a racial democracy, which operates forcibly in society.

Furthermore, the figure of the quilombola or the quilombola community is not constructed within the national consciousness. This is why Conaq’s perception of the importance of a major campaign to broadcast the image of what being a quilombola means, both in the country and abroad, makes a lot of sense.

IMPACT 1: Communities assert their quilombola and racial identity as subjects of rights and act to secure these.

Activity: The methodology of Koinonia, FLD/CAPA, CESE

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88 Idem
89 CESE, “Identidade Negra – Direitos Humanos e Fortalecimento das Organizações Populares.
90 A campaign that was being prepared by CONAQ, according to Ronaldo dos Santos, a representative of CONAQ in the Southeast, in an interview for this study.
and their partners (CCN and CPP) has an educational dimension and a policy to reclaim the history of the community for itself, to reflect on its ethnic-racial belonging and its way of living and producing, in which the collective constructs an awareness of its identity as a quilombola.

In each of the cases the assertion of quilombola identity is seen as a highly significant development. It is the first thing that everyone reports when asked about changes, constituting a landmark in their individual and collective lives.

As identity is always relational, it is asserted according to difference; and collective identity is established by belonging to a group, in other words, when people feel part of that group and are recognized as such. When their quilombola identity is questioned, it is precisely this assertion of difference which is being denied. Above all this questioning is provoked by the dominant conservative sectors of society, who want quilombola lands to remain on the real estate market.

**Impact sustainability**: The sustainability of this impact depends on the continuity of and improvements in the performance of interventions that seek to re-assert quilombola identity and to combat racism in all its forms.

**IMPACT 2: Communities which have reclaimed cultural expression.**

**Activity**: Activities to reclaim traditional cultural and artistic expressions have taken place in all the communities we studied, through the inclusion of young people and through their re-signification as seen in Marambaia (RJ), Filipa (MA), Monjolo (RS), Maçambique (RS), São Francisco Paraguaçu (BA) and Jatimane (BA). The quilombola right guaranteed in the legislation relates to the land not only as a space to produce, but also as a place to manifest social and cultural expression – in other words as a territory. The State must safeguard cultural manifestations of Brazilian heritage, including those from quilombola communities, instead of negating them, as happened in the Globo Network report about São Francisco do Paraguaçu.

**IMPACT 3: Agents of the State are better prepared to deal with the quilombola issue and more capable of understanding and acting to guarantee the rights of these communities.**

**Activity**: The supporting organizations analyzed in this study provide training and information work for society in general and for government agents. Some examples are Koinonia’s Legal Working Group and the training of government agents carried out by CCN in Maranhão.

This activity has had a real impact and currently the communities can rely on people within certain State structures who are capable of understanding and supporting the securing of their rights, as described in the cases of Marambaia, Maranhão and Rio Grande do Sul.

**Impact sustainability**: In general the State is still not ready to deal with the ethnic-racial dimension arising from the quilombola issue. As explained above, Incra doesn’t have the institutional culture to absorb the ethnic dimension or to understand the differential of the quilombola situation, which often leads to institutional racism. Incra traditionally works with agrarian reform settlements; the MDA traditionally works with family farmers. A lot more training work, similar to that already carried out with government agents by Koinonia, CESE and FLD is still required.

Municipal governments and, to a lesser extent, state governments are important agents for the delivery of public services and access to federal projects. The municipalities are sometimes ignorant of or disregard federal policies and often access federal resources but do not appropriately administer projects in the quilombola areas. Working in partnership with municipalities and state government bodies is a challenge for both technical assistance organizations and the quilombola movement, which confirms the importance of training.

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101 See Part I of this document
information and advocacy work.

**IMPACT 4: Reduction of religious intolerance toward religions of African origin in a context in which they had been silent and hidden due to intolerance of the dominant Christian religions.**

**Activity:** In the Baixo Sul region of Bahia, Koinonia initiated a debate with the quilombola communities about religious intolerance and this had very positive results — Catholics, Protestants from a variety of denominations and followers of Afro-Brazilian religions realised that coming from different religions is not an obstacle to the assertion of ethnic-racial identity nor to unity in the common struggle for rights. Thus those from the African origin religions felt more at liberty to assume their religion and began to be treated with more respect by the others.

In general, although religiosity is important in these communities’ lives, the fact that the interventions are carried out by organizations with a defined religious origin (for example, the Pastoral Commission for Fishing in São Francisco do Paraguaçu or the Lutheran Foundation of Diakonia in Rio Grande do Sul) has not caused any friction or confusion in the assertion of identity, the struggle for rights or in the different religious expressions experienced in the communities.

**Impact sustainability:** Continuity of inter-religious activities and exchange between communities.

**IMPACT 5: Quilombolas can count on conveyors of alternative, quality information that reverses the racist perspective**

**Activity:** FLD/CAPA, CESE, Koinonia and CCN produce and disseminate information and true and accurate images of quilombolas which help to establish a place for their identity in the national consciousness. Society, based on the myth of racial democracy, fuelled by the media and dominant conservative sectors of society, not accustomed to seeing quilombolas as subjects of rights nor having an image of what it means to be quilombola, except from distorted stories, such as those about the falsification of identity to reap advantages. Hence the importance of publications, videos and websites produced by these organizations. Primarily these are circulated in the quilombola communities themselves; then in related organizations, certain schools, markets, etc. and, of course, on the internet. This reminds us again of the importance of communication in all its forms and possibilities: “effective communication” and “legal advocacy”, as principles of transformational development.

**Impact sustainability:** For the community to be increasingly effective it is important to widen the circulation of these publications and to maintain communication as a strategy and not merely a tool. The challenge is how to broaden communication beyond the alliance of ecumenical organizations and quilombola communities and movements, so that it reaches the population at large.

**IMPACT 6: Quilombo-la communities and movements benefit from enhanced self-determination and connections with anti-racist social movements and Black movements**

**Activity:** The methodology of the organizations involved in this study starts from the principles of participation, cultural sensitivity and a non-discriminatory attitude with profound respect for the self-determination of quilombola communities. The road to securing the rights of these communities is based on reclaiming history and reflecting on identity. Incorporation into the organizations’ technical teams of people from the Black movements and the quilombola communities, as is explicitly the case with FLD/CAPA, Koinonia, CESE and CCN, favours identification between the communities and the organizations, encourages reflections within the Black movements themselves and brings the organizations’ agendas closer to those of the movements.

Training, exchanges, meetings, extremely special moments in the assertion of identity, are all essential as is the strategy of visibility and permanent advocacy in coun-
terpoint to the well orchestrated campaigns of disinformation and attacks on quilombola identity that occur in the country at large.

**Impact sustainability:**
To improve communication, to maintain and extend meetings, trainings and exchanges, based on the concept and practice of constructing alliances.

### 2.2. Right to Land and Territory – territorial entitlement and integrity

Today the quilombola territorial issue has entered the national debate, having achieved much greater visibility and political importance than it had in the nineties. This progress has made it an issue at national level with international repercussions.

However, land regularization demonstrates that progress in the number of entitlements is minimal and there is a risk of setbacks in relation to rights already won. This risk, linked to the possibility of the approval of the ADIN against the current decree that regulates the entitlement of quilombola lands, represents a confrontation of absolutely unequal forces, with the quilombolas and their allies confronting the most powerful sections of the population as one can infer from the groups and institutions that have joined the right-wing Democratic Party (Partido Democrata), the National Congress.

These groups represent the views of many others scattered across the country who think that their right to land ownership is being threatened and whose ideological basis is grounded on the history of the Law of Lands in Brazil, which has always valued formal ownership to the detriment of possession or domain.

In the 1990s, the process of entitlement, although slow, had more impetus. State activities through their land bodies were decisive for progress in the demarcation processes. In the case of Maranhão, in 1996 Iterma signed a technical cooperation agreement with the CCN and the SMDDH for the regularization, preservation and sustainable development of the lands of Black people in the state. Progress in quilombola land entitlement in Maranhão became more significant (nine new areas were granted title in five years) during CESE’s PAMN.

However, bureaucratic difficulties in land regularization greatly increased over the Lula government’s eight year administration (2003 to 2010). The new norms were increasingly demanding in the content of the anthropologist’s report which leads to the RTID – key to entitlement – and more restrictions were placed on its preparation. These documents had previously been produced by NGOs (like the report prepared by Koinonia for Marambaia and reports written by the PVN in Maranhão) then later by research centres, but currently only Incra anthropologists can be responsible for the preparation of such reports. Incra in Maranhão, for example, did not have one single anthropologist on its staff for a whole year. At the time of this study, it had only one anthropologist who was also responsible for running the department. She thinks that if she only worked on territory reports and nothing else, it would be possible to prepare three per year, whereas more than 200 proceedings are waiting on her desk. This situation is repeated across Brazil. The territorial right of quilombola communities has been systematically violated through administrative inertia in land regularization proceedings.

Quilombolas in Bahia, with the group from São Francisco do Paraíguacu at their head, have accused Incra of institutional racism. In all the cases studied, Incra appears to be in the dubious position of both

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102 It is important to highlight here the role of the rural caucus, in favour of the ADIN, in the National Congress.

103 The Brazilian Confederation of Agriculture and Fisheries (Confederação da Agricultura e Pecuária do Brasil), the National Confederation of Industry (Confederação Nacional da Indústria), the Brazilian Association of Pulp and Paper (Associação Brasileira de Celulose e Papel), the Brazilian Rural Society (Sociedade Rural Brasileira) and the State of Santa Catarina.

104 Data taken from the publication, “Racismo no Brasil – Por que um programa com quilombos?” CESE-EED, 2003.
ally”, with employees who work in quilombola coordination activities and are committed to the cause, and “enemy”, because it does not fulfil its institutional role. Within Incra there is a constant struggle between the group involved in the quilombola issue and the rest of the institution – which demonstrates that quilombola land regularization does not hold its due place within the institution, either in terms of people, infrastructure, or political power.

Why has the quilombola territorial issue not advanced during the two terms of President Lula’s administration? The government has given with one hand yet taken with the other: on the one hand advancing social security and service issues; but not advancing the fundamental issue of territory. Government alliances with agribusiness and other conservative sectors do not permit this advance. The norms and attacks on the principle of self-recognition are clear demonstrations of this. There is also a political dispute about the interpretation of Article 68 of the Constitution: some jurists under standing that it is self-executing as a fundamental right, and does not therefore require new laws, but only administrative norms, to regulate it; others do not even see the quilombola territorial issue as a fundamental right.

On the other hand, new policies, such as that of Traditional Communities and Peoples (Povos e Comunidades Tradicionais) and special quilombola projects have been created – which could be seen as positive steps. However, not only has the territorial issue not advanced, it threatens to retreat.

The attack on the self-recognition criterion is not only made in media campaigns, but also within the legislature and the judiciary. Judges, the audit court, lawyers and politicians have all produced opinions questioning the legitimacy of quilombola identity.

**IMPACT 7: Quilombola communities act through resistance, gain visibility and experience solidarity**

The very existence and persistence of these communities can be considered a victory, particularly in cases such as Marambaia and São Francisco do Paraguaçu. This fact demonstrates the democratic advances in the country as a whole; it is no longer possible to “pass over” these communities, to eliminate or ignore them, because of a legal apparatus and instruments which, in the exercise of democracy, permit their existence, even if they suffer from criminalization, and feel persecuted and at risk. The struggle for the entitlement of quilombola areas is, therefore, at the heart of the struggle for democracy in the country.

**Activity:** The national and international repercussions that Human Rights groups and other supporting organizations have succeeded in creating for these cases is fundamental in influencing government decisions, which are profoundly committed to opposing, conservative and retrograde interests, but which also need to maintain the democratic process.

**Impact sustainability:** The reality today is that the reaction against quilombola territorial rights is much more sophisticated than it was in the 1990s. Opposing groups and corporations make use of highly specialised services, not only in the legal arena, but also by contracting top specialists to defend their rights in the fields of communication, marketing and political influence. Conversely, the quilombola movement, or parts of it, has moved away from technical assistance, seeking a specific understanding of independence. The central question in this case is: how to strengthen the quilombola movement and succeed in counterbalancing such an unequal situation; and how to continue to maintain strong technical assistance, both technically prepared and in tune with the quilombola movement.

**IMPACT 8: Communities are respected, assert their collective territorial rights and have self-determination in regards to their self-attri bution as a quilombola**

**Activity:** Support for the assertion of collective territorial rights. The discussion about collective entitlement is sensitive and intimately related to the construction or appropriation of quilombola identity. The organizations studied have developed very rich methodologies and approaches to face this challenge.
Impact sustainability: Understanding what it means to have a collectively entitled land as a CRQ is not always easy. When the relationship of the communities with the land and territory has been eroded through migration or settlements and identification as a quilombolas is imposed externally, the process is slower and more confused, and can create tension between “collectives” and “individuals”, “quilombolas” and “non-quilombolas.”

Impact sustainability: The lack of sufficient technical capacity in Incra creates inertia in the advancement of proceedings; on the other hand, it is not possible to contract non-governmental organizations to prepare reports. And these in turn have less and less capacity to provide this service. On the other hand, opposing interests file all manner of legal proceedings - about errors in Incra’s procedures, disputes, including about the identity of the communities. The movement does not have permanent legal assistance to counter this and what it does have is understaffed and under-resourced and to deal with the volume of work. This lack of legal support is common to most communities and also represents a gap emphasized by the supporting organizations, which have had to reduce their specialized teams - lawyers, anthropologists and other specialists - because of a shortfall in inter-

IMPACT 9: Communities have their rights defended in the legal and political arena and through social mobilizations and temporary guarantees that support their resistance to stay on the Land.

Activities: Supporting organizations, particularly those studied, have been essential in putting pressure on the government. The mediation of technical assistance NGOs has provided the MPF with quality and timely information. When it operates as an ally of the quilombolas, it acts on the executive via the judiciary. For Incra too, information from supporting and assistance organizations is precious and helps advance the composition of technical reports.

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national cooperation resources.

Sometimes land tensions occur with other socially excluded groups, such as agrarian reform settlements or the Pomeranian minority. The challenge is how to manage this tension judicially, taking into consideration thequilombola territorial right as a fundamental right. In the case of the quilombola communities from the Southern Region of Rio Grande do Sul, the FLD proposes the creation of a Land Council as a space to mediate territorial conflicts within the framework of promoting fair, peaceful and conciliatory relationships, and in line with a transformational development approach.

2.3. Quilombola movement and organization

According to some commentators, the quilombola movement has existed ever since enslaved Black people existed in the country - it started out as a force for the resistance of Black men and women who would not subject themselves to slavery. We consider the concept of movement in this study as something with common goals, its own values and a collective project of social change based on its own lived experience (SOUZA JUNIOR, 2002).106

If we consider recent history, starting with the 1988 Constitution, the quilombola movement gained strength through a series of pioneering initiatives and struggles for the regularization of territories, with the creation of state organizations and Conaq in November 1995.

Conaq, “emerged not only to demand solutions to local problems, but also as a political movement to change historically unequal relationships in defence of the rights of Black people in the rural setting”107. The institution does not have legal status and is currently organized through a coordinating executive with a state representative, normally a quilombola militant involved in the struggle of his/her own community, working for his/her own livelihood and taking on the post of state representative of the organization when necessary. In its first years, the role of executive secretary fell to Maranhão, with strong support from the CCN as a supporting and assistance organization.

The highest level of authority in Conaq is its forum, which brings together the associations that form its national coordination. Although organic as a movement, the structure has resulted in little activity, particularly because of a lack of resources to finance state representative activities and national coordination. Because of this lack of funding and the weakness of work based only on militancy, Conaq has no defined strategy of action; it experiences difficulties in keeping the movement and its allies sufficiently mobilized; and it has not managed to maintain quality representation in decision-making and politically influential arenas, such as councils. The construction of an institutional memory and the accumulation of political experience within the organization are thus compromised.109

Essentially this has happened because of the difficulty its representatives have in mobilizing for the struggle’s different fronts. Despite this, however, Conaq has managed to function in frequent emergency situations and constitutes a recognized public voice in the political struggle.

Funding, alliances and independence

Lack of funding is a real hindrance to the way Conaq functions; it cannot restrict itself to government funding because of the risk of becoming hostage to the government’s policies and decisions. In order to mobilize state organizations, the communities and their allies in emergency situations – for example, each time an ADIN vote is announced – Conaq has to rely on collaboration from a range of partners. Currently, most grassroots support comes from rural workers unions who guaran-

106 Quoted by the AATR in “Ações Possessórias e Criminalização”.
107 http://www.Conaq.org.br/
108 An assessment made by Ronaldo dos Santos, CONAQ’s representative in the Southeast region and president of Aquilerj, in an interview for this study.
109 Idem.
tee transport, food and accommodation for demonstrations, which usually take place in Brasilia.

The quilombola movement’s proximity to the union movement\textsuperscript{110} and the family farming movement is also an indicator of its strength and progress, although partnerships are not always easy to consolidate. There is also a certain resistance, both from the unions and the family farming movement, to letting in both the quilombola category and the other categories that emerged in the wake of the “traditional peoples and communities” movement, such as the babassu coconut breakers. These groups tend to be considered as external categories, special, able to depend on specific policies and often on specific funding. But gradually the quilombolas have managed to take the ethnic-racial and cultural issue to the unions, encouraging them to work with diversity. There are historical examples of the positive results that accrue from such partnerships, such as with the Rural Workers Unions of Itapeturu-Mirim (Maranhão) and Camamu (Baixo Sul da Bahia); with the latter intending to create a quilombola coordination or department within the union.

On the other hand, there is in fact a trend for the State to transform the movement into a service provider, by giving it resources to run public policy projects. This has happened to many local and state organizations, such as with Acone-rusq, in the case of Maranhão, and also with Conaq. This mode of operation may weaken the movement, removing its militancy and depoliticizing its agendas.

One political strategy of the quilombola movement and also of the Black movement in general, is the occupation of political positions, both elected and not. This strategy, while extending the political participation of the quilombola movement in decision-making processes, may be prejudicial in the way that those who occupy government posts “vacate” militant roles, and it also increases the risk of co-option, as reported in the case of Maranhão.

In order to understand the current situation of the quilombola movement at national level, we need to consider two issues. The first is the way in which the State has supported the creation of the quilombola national organization, since it meets the government’s need to have an interlocutor representing this category. Where the interlocutor does not exist, the State “nominates” someone as this representative. This dynamic has been used with the indigenous movement and in the current Policy for the Sustainable Development of Traditional Peoples and Communities (Desenvolvimento Sustentável dos Povos e Comunidades Tradicionais).

The other issue refers to the organized quilombola movement’s fear that the supporting or assistance organizations and organizations from the Black urban movement would like to control or overprotect the quilombola movement, thus threatening its independence\textsuperscript{112}. Conaq’s intention is to “set the tone” for the movement and its struggle, although, given the movement’s intrinsic weaknesses, its representatives find this extremely difficult.

**IMPACT 10: The community movement is organized and supported by alternatives to the State.**

**Activity:** In each of the cases the support of the organizations analysed in this study (CESE, Koinonia, and FLD/CAPA) was cited as essential in connecting and strengthening the quilombola movement, especially, but not exclusively, at a local level in the arenas of direct action. The attention given to movement and community self-determination and independence is one of the central principles of these organizations and has been shown to be fundamental for the progress and change confirmed here, as are the promotion of empowerment and the strengthening of quilombola skills. Through its Small Projects Programme, CESE is recognized as a partner that can provide support for their mobilization and coordinating activities.

\textsuperscript{110} The National Confederation of Agricultural Workers’ (Confederação Nacional dos Trabalhadores na Agricultura: CONTAG) recognition of the existence of the quilombola issue and the debate about territoriality, not only about land, may also be considered an advance.

\textsuperscript{111} According to José Maurício Arruti in an interview for this study.

\textsuperscript{112} According to Ronaldo dos Santos, Conaq representative and president of Aquilerj, in an interview for this study, “the allies of the quilombola movement are sometimes the main problem.”
movement’s current weaknesses and uncertain prospects, it has accumulated a lot of positives over the last 15 years, which demonstrates the importance of differentiated support that allows the movement to coordinate itself and to carry out necessary political mobilization.

Impact Sustainability: The sustainability of this impact depends to a large extent on the capacity to overcome these weaknesses. There are advocacy arenas which the movement is yet to occupy, both nationally and internationally.

Directing resources to “the frontline,” dispensing with organizations that work in mediation or technical assistance, is not always the most strategic route to empower a community or to strengthen its autonomy. On the contrary, the administration of government projects often reinforces subordinate relationships with local oligarchies. One requires independence and a critical vision to access policies and this is why technical assistance work is so essential and why its absence can cause a number of difficulties, as seen in the case of Maranhão. Furthermore, maintaining the Small Projects mechanism as an ecumenical support policy creates local relationships, broadens reach and guarantees the presence of both local and national agencies.

**Impact 11: The relationship between the communities’ movement and established Black movements is mediated and the causes of the right to land and territory are recognized by anti-racist, particularly urban, movements.**

**Activity:** In the cases studied, partnership between the quilombola movement and Black urban movements was reported in Maranhão, Marambaia, São Francisco do Paraguaçu, and in the quilombola communities of Rio Grande do Sul. In Maranhão, the CCN is part of the Black urban movement, although it grew out of a plan to support Black rural communities. In Rio Grande do Sul, FLDF/CAPAS work incorporates militants from Black urban movements and there have been moments of tension, including in the obligation to move away from the militant frontline for a period in order to work with the organization providing technical assistance to the quilombola communities. Over time, however, the results of this work have become clearer for the Black urban movements and tension has dissipated and transformed into partnership. In the case of Marambaia, the relationship is one of symbolic support or mobilization in emergencies; in the case of São Francisco do Paraguaçu, the community and its allies have succeeded in mobilizing a significant group of organizations from the Black movement in Bahia in support of the quilombola struggle.

**Impact sustainability:** The Black, historically urban, movements have long been partners of the quilombola movement and supported its struggle for the inclusion of Article 68 in the Constitution. This partnership, however, is not exempt from tension, given that the movements, despite their common goal of confronting racism and fighting for the rights of Black people, are different in nature: some are urban while the quilombola movement is rural. The issue of land and territory, which is central to the quilombolas, does not motivate the Black urban movements. This incompatibility was especially evident at the outset, when the quilombola movement had to assert its differentiated discourse, which led to resistance. Latterly, however, the Black movements have generally incorporated the quilombola issue and its agendas, albeit symbolically or in emergency support situations; within the various strands of the Black movement there are those who are more closely aligned to the cause and support it in a more concrete manner.

**Indians and Quilombolas: different social visibilities**

When thinking about possible alliances between the indigenous and quilombola movements – for example, alliances in their common struggle to secure rights, primarily territorial rights – we need to consider their similarities and differences. Although there are similarities, such as the confrontation of racism, accusations of identity falsification and the struggle for territorial rights – there are also significant differences. One of these differences relates to the image of alterity in the national consciousness. While there is an older, romanticised image of the Indian constructed in the social consciousness this does not reflect the current indigenous struggle, particularly that of the Indians from the Northeast of Brazil, there is no formed quilombola image, except in negative notions that are full of prejudice, such as the runaway slave, or communities which are “inventing” an identity in order to gain advantage.

The principal difference relates to the indigenous movement’s historic allies since the 1970s: the Catholic and other churches, intellectuals, artists, students and anthropologists. The quilombola movement is only now forging these alliances. There exists, therefore, a mobilization around the indigenous question and a political notoriety that, for example, enabled the victory of the Indigenous Land (Terra Indígena: TI) Ra- posa Serra do Sol demarcation case. The case “was reversed through public opinion, not the sensitivities of ministers”. And this mobilization of public opinion came about through a range of activists, not only from the indigenous movement.

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114 However, this “victory” suffered a series of legal setbacks through the negotiation process (19 constraints).

115 An opinion put forward by Ronaldo dos Santos of Conaq/Aquilérj.
**IMPACT 12: The quilombola movement has efficient community and local organizations that are considered national standard-bearers, overcoming forced isolation and institutional racism.**

Activity: In all the cases studied there have been advances in organization at a local level with the consolidation of associations and progress in extending partnerships, in occupying political advocacy arenas, in increasing their capacity for mobilization, in strengthening the work of the struggle for improvements to the communities and in their social control – although sometimes still nascent – of the local government administration of public policies.

The existence of associations in quilombola communities and their mobilization and activities are important indicators of progress, despite all their difficulties, such as their remote rural locations. Marambaia is illustrative of this great isolation, in this instance caused by the Navy’s control of the island. Given the specificities of the organization and resistance of the quilombola movement, one needs to appreciate this level of organization – local, community-based – as a central setting in which to analyse the positive impact of the strengthening of the organization, in other words, this is an enduring change that leads to other changes in the lives of the people and their community.

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**Local and state organization in the cases studied**

Organizational structures in the study cases came about in different ways, depending on the history of the communities’ self-identification as quilombolas. In Rio Grande do Sul, local associations have been strengthened and now participate jointly in other important collectives: the Family Farming Forum, cited by many interviewees as a broad arena for political coordination and learning; and a seat in the Citizenship Territory, in which they have representation. There is concern to maintain rotational representation and young people are encouraged to participate in these events and meetings.

In the Baixo Sul region of Bahia, where we also studied a group of communities, a commission was initially created, which included the presidents of associations and community leaders, to confront pressure from local government and its business allies. This commission began to be recognized, not only in the municipality where it was created (Camaru), but when the Baixo Sul region as a whole was invited to participate in settings such as the Citizenship Territory. A quilombola hub was set up in this setting to consider issues specific to these communities. The Baixo Sul commission also has representation on the State Quilombola Council of Bahia (Conselho Estadual Quilombola da Bahia). Although the discourse is concerned about the rotation and enlargement of representation on the commission, the contrary has been observed – there is a tendency to “professionalise” representation, which could potentially be risky for the movement.

The association in Marambaia is strong and has the power to mobilize, but despite the presence of some young people on its board, youth participation is resented. However, young people do come together in the Children of Marambaia Cultural Group (Grupo Cultural Filhos da Marambaia). The former president of the Association, Vania Guerra, is also a representative of Aquilerj. Her life trajectory is impressive and she is a strong leader, although her leadership style is also personal. Today she dedicates more of her time to the Cultural Group and the other members of the Association resent this; the Cultural Group has represented the island in a number of external events and also has a political function. In fact, the Association is mobilized by residents of the island and maintains institutional partnerships initiated at the time of the Free Marambaia Campaign. The very existence of the Association, in the face of all the Navy’s obstacles, is a great and significant victory.

The history of Aconeruq, in the case of Maranhão, is illustrative of how the movement managed to strengthen itself to the point of establishing the first state quilombola organization of Brazil. But it also highlights a number of risks and difficulties related to: working with the government, both in the provision of its services and in the risk of co-option; the emergence of personalized, individualistic, leaders; and the withdrawal of supporting organizations (in this case, the CCN). Today Aconeruq is beginning to recover from an extremely difficult period in which it experienced enormous problems in the administration and accounting of government resources, which depoliticized the organization and left it in a situation of default and fraud. On returning to activities, in an Assembly that took place during the study fieldwork, the CCN was invited to return and provide assistance to the organization. Both the CCN and the SMDDH understand that technical assistance is important for the movement, in order to avoid this kind of situation which “diverts” the quilombola organization from its objectives and weakens its image. Aconeruq members interviewed during the study recognize that the movement needs technical assistance, both theoretical – to understand how to deal with State administrative issues, for example – and in training, “which cannot stop”115. They realise that demand has grown significantly, both from the communities and the government. They note that the movement is called upon to give opinions or participate in a range of previously unoccupied areas, including public policy settings, that the agenda for land regularization remains in hiatus and that the possibility of accessing government resources.

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115 Ivo, militant and founder of ACONERUQ, Maranhão, in an interview for this study.
generates a series of difficulties and problems. For this reason training should not only be technical but specifically political, in order to explain the meaning of the struggle and the role of a leader who heads up an organization – creating awareness that they represent the whole group, the collective, the quilombola struggle.

Conversely, the CCN, as a Black movement organization, has experienced significant institutional growth, managing to creatively overcome the apparent duality of being both a movement and an organization; consolidating its programmes and having an increasingly significant presence in both the state and national debate about the quilombola issue and issues related to ethnic-racial identity, the confrontation of racism and the affirmation of diversity. For the CCN, the support received from both CESE and Christian Aid is directly connected to progress in the institutional development of the organization.

**IMPACT 13:** The movement and the communities gain visibility in the debate about ethnic and territorial rights and provoke intense reaction from the economic elite against both them and their allies.

**Activity:** The action of giving visibility to both the communities and to their fight to secure their ethnic and territorial rights has been effective and has generated very strong reactions from the economic elites. Guaranteeing rights to quilombolas represents a rupture from the dominant structures of agri-business and land ownership, since it recognizes the rights of communities that have different values and modes of production and who conceive land as territory, with all the symbolic meanings that this conception entails. In defending these rights thequilombola movement has become an “enemy”, to be delegitimized and demobilized. Tacit racism is so profoundly written into the social fabric of Brazil that it does not admit that the State should guarantee this group’s rights, particularly of land ownership.

**Impact sustainability:** Criminalization is the mechanism used to frighten and delegitimize the quilombola movement, masking the real roots of the conflict. This mechanism represents the divided personality of the State, which on the one hand recognizes its historical debt and guarantees the rights of this section of the Black population, and on the other appeases and legitimizes the opposing side through its judicial and legislative apparatus.

In Maranhão, as well as the tactic of co-option which is used on some leaders, there is also significant criminalization activity, with direct threats, the presentation of complaints and summonses and also the death of quilombola leaders. During a collective interview for this study the people of Santa Maria dos Pinheiros described the range of police summonses and complaints made by their landowning neighbours of which they had been victims.
IMPACT 14: Communities have agents capable of securing and managing small project funds

Activities: The study organizations provide training for the communities in securing funds, administering projects and accountability.

Impact sustainability: This kind of activity is seen in the whole of Brazil, but its incorporation is by a group of individuals and not by a community as a whole. It is an impact, therefore, which requires greater continuity and multiplication.

2.4. Influencing government policies

To understand how far the quilombola movement and its organizations have advanced, it is essential to analyze impacts and learning in the field of government policy advocacy, which is directly connected to the capacity to mobilize for quilombola rights. At the end of the 1990s the quilombola issue was concentrated in Maranhão and Pará and hadn't achieved the national coverage it has today. Strategies referring to the territorial issue were initiated through public hearings, providing mobilization and visibility to these issues. Today, because of the normative schemes created to complicate land regularization and a series of other laws, norms and policies which involve the quilombola issue, strategies are now distinct and alliances broader, as they also are on the opposing side.

IMPACT 15: The movement and communities have increased their activities in public advocacy and in putting into practice the gains in social rights

During the eight years of the Lula government, the territorial issue did not progress – on the contrary it suffered setbacks in terms of procedures and the risk of loss of rights – but the quilombola communities have gained visibility and have consolidated as a target audience for specific public policies.

In terms of access to these policies, progress was clear in the cases studied; today the communities have started to receive electricity, water, improvements to schools and other services, although these are still nascent and their execution is highly conditional on local or regional/state political authorities. In the area of culture, there has been progress in the creation of Points of Culture and support to a range of cultural groups, such as those cited in the cases of Maranhão, Rio Grande do Sul and Marambaia.

Activity: The ACT Alliance organizations have made their advocacy activities effective through the empowerment of the communities involved so they can extend and strengthen their ability to fight for themselves; and also by training people from the political decision-making bodies. Political and legal advocacy is a principal of transformational development which "seeks to tackle the causes and basic effects of poverty and injustice at local, national and international level." To do this one needs to promote changes in attitude, to mobilize public opinion and strengthen strategic alliances, in a way that influences the decisions made by the political authorities.

Impact sustainability: The capacity to influence these policies – the setting of government agendas, the creation of policies, their execution and monitoring – is directly related to the capacity of quilombola organizations at different levels – local, state and national. This varies greatly, depending on the institutional and mobilization capacity of each organization and on how they manage to overcome their weaknesses. Accessing government social policies carries certain risks, such as co-option or the transformation of the administration of government activities into political currency.

IMPACT 16: For the communities and movement, the supporting organizations en-
sure that public policies are monitored and networks to mobilize support are informed and activated.

**Activity:** The need to exercise constant vigilance and pressure on the government and its public policies is an important field of activity for the study organizations in partnership with the quilombo movement.

**Impact sustainability:** Today, the underlying issue in all the political settings that have been created, for example the themed municipal and state councils of food security, health, education, sustainable development, or those of the Citizenship Territories, is how to improve the performance of the quilombo organizations and movement; how to advance the strengthening of their institutional development; how to occupy strategic settings and maintain quality. Some issues for advisors to consider are: how to retain their specialists, who, in a scenario of reduced funding, are required to confront inequality with a new degree of sophistication; and how to work in partnership with the government without becoming hostage to it as a “service provider”.

It is essential for the organizations involved (EED, Christian Aid, Koinonia, CESE and FLD) to continue monitoring the policies gained and to create spaces for collective monitoring. Potential spaces are the Process of Networking and Dialogue (Processo de Articulação e Diálogo: PAD) and the Brazil Ecumenical Forum (Fórum Ecumênico Brasil: FE Brasil); working through these would provide an opportunity to involve more agencies.

**IMPACT 17:** The communities and movements consider the supporting organizations to be credible reference and knowledge centres that provide ammunition for the defence of rights, the construction of educational processes and the confrontation of anti-quilombo initiatives.

**Activity:** As has been mentioned, the supporting and assistance organizations have historically fulfilled an essential role in the field of territorial rights, including producing studies, research and reports. The visibility won by the communities and their struggles and the training developed by Koinonia, FLD and CESE have strengthened community advocacy for access to public social policies.

Both the MPF and Incra noted the importance of research and information which provides “ammunition” to further their institutional mission. Koinonia’s electronic portal, the Quilombo Observatory, exemplifies the importance of this type of platform for the production and broadcast of information and analysis and is used as point of reference by government institutions.

**Impact sustainability:** Today, the possibility of state bodies contracting supporting organizations for the preparation of the RTID is vetoed. It is still extremely important for technical advisors to maintain quality and up-to-date information and analysis; the crisis in funding, however, has led to a trend in international cooperation to reduce this kind of service. On the other hand, the credibility of the supporting and assistance organizations and of the quilombo organizations is the target of opposition attacks in order to invalidate and delegitimize their public advocacy activities.

**IMPACT 18:** The visibility of quilombo communities has increased both through and within the ecumenical family, which helps to reduce the stigma and isolation of structural racism.

**Activity:** The organizations of this study have sought to initiate and/or extend debate about the quilombo issue within the ecumenical field, as evidenced in the debate about racism in Brazil\[118\] and about the land issue, which involves rural workers, the landless, quilombolas and other traditional peoples and communities in an unequal struggle against agri-business and speculative and commercial interests.

Mobilizing society and encouraging reflections about the values of solidarity and the principals of diversity and respect are necessary and central activities for ecumenical organizations. Work with quilombo communities provides an opportunity for them to reflect on this practice.

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\[118\] One example is the 2002 PAMN publication “Racism in Brazil: why run a programme with quilombos?”
IMPACT 19: The communities have connections to different national and international civil society movements and to other sectors, such as churches and organizations from the ecumenical movement.

Activity: The supporting and assistance organizations give support to and extend the struggles and demands of their local partners, operating as mediators and communicating their partners’ thoughts and ideas to the wider sphere. It is very important that advocacy is not restricted to movements and accusations but that it promotes the creation of diversified support so that the issues can be known and disseminated. The mediating role is essential and is a positive feature of the three organizations. One of the communities’ local capacities is simply the knowledge that these organizations exist and that they are not alone when they have to face emergency situations or even when they confront the State.

Impact sustainability: It is essential to understand the importance of technical assistance for the social movement in Brazil. No movement of any substance has managed to survive in the country without continuous technical assistance providing support during setbacks and creating solidarity and advocacy networks. The organized quilombola movement is relatively recent and is being constructed and consolidated by these support networks, which are so important to other sectors, such as the Landless Rural Workers’ Movement and the Indigenous Movement.

IMPACT 20: Communities have increased awareness and leadership through information and qualified training

Activity: The supporting organizations provide “pedagogic” training and high quality information. The progress achieved is based on the trust that the communities have in this work. This trust is related to the characteristics of the technical assistance - presence in the field, experiences alongside the communities, ability to open channels of dialogue with the MPF and others -, the quality of the information provided and the training methodology.

Training and access to information enable the communities to have knowledge, to participate in settings for debates and decision-making, to understand political disputes and to create their own legally constituted civil associations. These aspects are fundamental for the communities to be able to access State services and structures and enforce their citizenship rights.

Impact sustainability: This depends on continued pedagogic training and on being able to offer it to new leaders and to a growing number of people in each community.

2.5. Access to services and improvements in quality of life

During the Lula government a series of advances could be observed regarding an extension of government services and support for the economic sustainability of family farming and traditional communities, such as the PAA, the Electricity for All Programme and certain projects of the MDA and the MDS. The Citizenship Territories were set up within a format established by the government to concentrate and coordinate government activities and programmes in areas with a low HDI and with a certain degree of social organization and coordination. The National Policy for the Sustainable Development of Traditional Peoples and Communities (Política Nacional de Desenvolvimento Sustentável dos Povos e Comunidades Tradicionais), headed by the Ministry of the Environment (Ministério do Meio Ambiente: MMA) was also created during this period.

In terms of the quilombolas, the government, through the reparation policies for the Black population, created the Quilombola Brazil Programme,

This means that a number of the existing government programmes – such as Electricity for All or My Home, My Life (Minha Casa, Minha Vida) – have begun to provide

119 The programme is coordinated by the Ministries of Agricultural Development (MDA), Social Development and Combating Hunger (MDS) and the Environment (MMA).
120 From Chapter 1 of this document, written by Lucia Andrade.
priority treatment for quilombola territories. However, most of these federal programmes are decentralized, in other words, they are run by municipal governments where this prioritization is not always manifest. In the case of education, for example, quilombola schools receive a higher than average percentage of per capita funds for school meals. However, in some cases prioritization does not operate as a facilitator but rather constitutes a real problem for the communities, because of the municipalities “race” to access these resources. Decentralization has also led the supporting and assistance organizations to include municipal governments in their interventions, which is not always easy.

Quilombola certification, issued by the Palmares Cultural Foundation, is sufficient for access to some of these public policies. This has enabled some of the visited communities to access funds for culture, for example. However, other services depend on territorial delineation, as is the case of the water project in the Baixo Sul region of Bahia – the service cannot progress until the quilombola territory limits are defined. Since the land issue is not progressing, all these services are paralyzed. Another pending situation is social security – retirement pensions – as noted in Rio Grande do Sul, where assistance organizations put forward the possibility of the government accepting quilombo certification as documentary evidence so that quilombolas can secure pensions within the category of rural worker.

As presented in Part I of this study, the situation in most communities is one of food insecurity; nutritional risk; lack of basic sanitation - none of the communities we visited had the necessary infrastructure for basic sanitation - lack of electricity; poor or barely existent health services; and inadequate access to education.

In respect of electricity, quilombola communities in the FLD/CAPA region in Rio Grande do Sul were only able to receive this service following their certification as quilombolas; the people from these communities described wonderfully what the arrival of electricity had meant to their lives. Not all the communities in the Baixo Sul region of Bahia had access to electricity, as is the case in Maranhão. At the time of the study the service had not yet arrived in Marambaia, despite it being the first quilombola community in Rio de Janeiro to register for the programme.

The issue of education illustrates how racism prejudices these communities when they access services. In Maranhão, although secondary schools have been constructed in quilombola areas, political reaction against them has prevented their functioning – they have been constructed but remained closed. The CCN’s work training teachers and producing specific educational material has not been incorporated by the state, either methodologically, or through any service provision agreement. In Rio Grande do Sul, most quilombolas leave school before completing their primary education. Some of the children we interviewed declared that they suffered racism in school and said that the quilombola topic is ignored, despite the existence of Law 10639, which requires the inclusion of Afro-Brazilian and African culture and history in the curriculum.

There are many criticisms of government programmes, one of which is that special quilombola projects only serve to divert community attention away from the central issue of land and territory, or that government policies serve as spaces of clientelism and perpetuate community subservience. However, despite the validity of these and other criticisms, it is clear that the very existence of these government policies, programmes and projects represents an achievement in the recognition of quilombola rights.

When we look at the issue of economic sustainability, there has been undeniable progress in State social security policies, particularly the Family Grant, but there is also evidence of the systematic violation of quilombola community rights, where access to their territorial natural resources has been blocked or where these resources are threatened by the impact of neighbouring
businesses. In the Baixo Sul region of Bahia, the advance of monocultures, such as eucalyptus and rubber, and the rise of property and tourism interests have started to seriously threaten the quilombola territories. It takes very little time for conflict to become severe. The extraction of palm oil and palm fibre has already been greatly restricted – for example, in the community of Iatimate, where extraction areas have been privatized, this also occurred with the babassu coconut breakers in Maranhão.

In Marambaia, the Navy carries out military exercises in the middle of the quilombola fields, destroying crops and exploding shells and grenades in the water, making fishing impossible. They have just announced the construction of a nuclear submarine. One of the communities we visited in Maranhão, Santa Maria dos Pinheiros, only recently had its access to the main road opened up by judicial order. In Rio Grande do Sul, the communities live in extremely reduced territories, sometimes without access to the main road. In São Francisco do Paraguaçu, landowners, with the consent of the military police, destroyed quilombola fields; prevented the community from using its territory to produce subsistence crops; and tried to prevent fishing, the picking of shellfish and palm fibre extraction, through the alleged privatization of the port area, the mangrove and the palm trees.

In general, there has been progress in access to services and improvements in the economic conditions of the communities. It is important to understand, however, that the simple existence of public policies does not guarantee community access to them. Neither does the creation of the Quilombola Brazil Programme resolve the communities’ situation. There is a great need for training and information so that the communities can seek to secure their rights. The advocacy, monitoring and mediation work carried out by assistance organizations and by quilombola communities and organizations continues to be essential in guaranteeing the progress announced by public policies.

Progress in access to services and improvements in quality of life

In Rio Grande do Sul, in the communities in the FLD/CAPA area, progress in access to services and improvements in quality of life are evident and effective. Because of the nature of CAPAs work, which focuses on family farming issues, once the quilombola communities had been identified and invited to participate they found themselves within a well structured and efficient operation. They access the PAA and the PNAE and they tell you with pride that today, instead of receiving basic food baskets from the Zero Hunger Programme, they supply produce for government distribution to schools, crèches, hospitals etc. Quilombola handicrafts are today treated with special care by FLD/CAPA and represent a significant source of income, as the women told us in their interviews. Even nutrition and health have improved, with the introduction of healthier food and the recovery of knowledge about traditional remedies. The matriarch of the Filipa community in Maranhão spoke with joy about the progress that her community has made, which includes everything from cultural manifestations to improvements in agricultural production and commercialization. In the Baixo Sul region of Bahia, a group of quilombola communities has a proposal, supported by Koinonia, for the joint creation of a "small shop", which adds value to their products and gives visibility to the existence of quilombolas in the region. In São Francisco do Paraguaçu, the organic vegetable garden supported by CESE has also started to represent a new source of income and nutritional improvement for the community.

**IMPACT 21 – Communities have alliances that support the production and commercialization of agricultural products and handicrafts of cultural value**

**Activity:** The alliance with family farming in Rio Grande do Sul facilitates quilombola commercialization. This alliance was possible through CAPA-Sul mediation and the quilombolas have begun to participate in a consolidated family farming structure. In this absence of this mediation, alliances cannot always be made, because farmers do not see quilombolas as historical allies and often resent their forming specific organizations that benefit from differentiated public policies. In the Baixo Sul region of Bahia, such an alliance is starting to be forged.

**Impact sustainability:** Work with rural family production secures government funding more easily than work to guarantee territorial rights. However, even when considering resources for productive activities, there is a wide debate about access to increasingly stilled and hard to administer government funds, which often make effective partnership unfeasible. CAPA-Sul, which runs some publicly funded projects, has a specialized team to work specifically on their management. In the absence of such a structure it is hard to deal with bureaucratic, administrative and legal demands. There is also the matter of perception – for example the National Development Bank (Banco Nacional de Desenvolvimento: BNDES), which manages the Amazonia Fund (Fundo Amazonia), considers projects with a minimum value of R$600,000 Real to be small. The participation of CESE in this forum has helped to create a Working Group to consider a special programme for micro-projects.
3. THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF ECUMENICAL COOPERATION

Work with the quilombola communities and organizations provides an opportunity for ACT Alliance organizations to reflect on what it means to support transformational development processes that focus on the guarantee of human rights. In terms of the fight for social justice and improvements to Brazilian democracy, the quilombola issue generates both challenges and opportunities, with learning which may be of interest to the international debate about how cooperation agencies may contribute to changes that make a difference to the lives of the most excluded peoples and communities.

Work on the quilombola theme helps to uncover other elements that cause inequality, enabling an understanding that exclusion does not just come about through poverty but also through racism, in which certain populations, in this case the Black population, are habitually considered inferior.

In Brazil today, despite the existence of laws, instruments and mechanisms for the exercise of democracy and of favourable public policies and despite the relative economic wealth of the country, profound inequalities persist and are worsening, as they are across Latin America. The situation of violence and the violation of human rights – including the right to life – are experienced by this section of the population on a daily basis.

The criminalization of social movements and the action of racism in its various forms, including environmental and institutional racism, are key aspects in a debate which has been extended across the churches and the ecumenical world by members of the ACT Alliance. This study aims to contribute both to a deepening of the debate within the churches and the ecumenical world and to a re-examination of their practices to overcome injustice, inequalities and poverty towards the construction of genuinely transformational development.

This reflection could help find new responses for the relationship between civil society and the state, taking into account the forces that mobilize government decision-makers and the need to strengthen excluded populations in their daily confrontation of the criminalization constructed to delegitimize their struggle. Such a reflection could be an important element in understanding the difficult exercise of governance and transparency in situations in which legal apparatus and participation mechanisms exist, but are insufficient to guarantee the rights of these communities.

The above-mentioned challenges that the quilombola movement faces are not exclusive to this section of the population, but are shared by other traditional peoples and communities and ethnic-racial minorities. The struggle for the assertion and fulfillment of quilombola rights, as part of a commitment to the development of social justice, exists within a similar struggle experienced by marginalized and excluded populations across the world. For this reason, an understanding of the functioning of exclusion and criminalization mechanisms is essential to comprehending the dichotomy between the existence of democratic states with progressive laws and mechanisms, and government practices which act so that same laws are not respected.

Studying the quilombola question also allows us to understand how to provide public intervention in countries in the South, even when the states have progressed in aspects of social security, as is indisputably the case in Brazil. It is important to understand how the mechanisms of discrimination function, not only within public institutions dedicated to such services and communities, but also from the viewpoint of the excluded themselves about what they see as the “impossibility” of accessing services and public benefits. The concept of citizenship is almost entirely absent and people do not recognize themselves as the subjects of rights. Habitually unequal treatment, lack of opportunities and a history of total exclusion prevent them from making choices, or realizing that it is possible to make legitimate choices towards real participation in social wealth and well-being. This is why the assertion of identity, the reclaiming of history, increases in self-esteem and citizenship awareness all re-
present profoundly significant changes in the lives of the people and communities studied.

International cooperation organizations have observed progress and learning, particularly in the struggles and achievements of the social movements in the Brazilian context, and have also reaffirmed the need for a more comprehensive reading of the causes of inequality and the difficulties in achieving social stability and development with respect to life and creation.

The Contribution of Christian Aid and EED

Both the EED and Christian Aid maintain historic partnerships with three Brazilian organizations – Koinonia, FLD and CESE – and have an historic involvement in the issues of land and territory and in the quilombola issue. They have different ways of operating and implementing these partnerships, which vary according to agency priorities and forms of work and to the settings for dialogue and interaction they share with their partners in Brazil.

The EED has always prioritized territory and rural work, seeing the issues of field, land and territory in Brazil as a structural and structuring theme. The perception of rights is treated horizontally, permeating all of the EED’s policies for Brazil; the ethnic aspect, although not so evident, is also considered important.

For Christian Aid the issues of land and territory have also always been and continue to be at the centre of their activity policies in Brazil. In approaching the confrontation of inequalities through their aim to generate significant changes (“no small changes”), the issue of quilombola and indigenous rights to land and to territory remains a challenge. Christian Aid has supported work with quilombola communities and organizations since the 1990s. Koinonia’s largest programme, the Egbe Black Territories programme, began in 1997-98 and with the support of Christian Aid, to work with quilombola communities. Long-standing partnerships with Christian Aid have been constructed and consolidated over the years, such as that with the CPI-SP in its work with quilombola communities; with organizations in Pará, particularly with Arqmo, which strongly incorporated the dimension of forests and climate justice; and in partnership with the CCN in Maranhão. Christian Aid has also historically supported CESE’s work with quilombola communities through the Small Projects Programme. Since 2008, this support has been reinforced by funds from the Governance and Transparency Fund (GTF) programme of the British Government’s cooperation agency (Department for International Development: DFID) aimed at quilombola and indigenous communities who access CESE’s Small Projects Programme.

The involvement of EED with CESE’s PAMN in the 1990s, demonstrated this agency’s sensitivity to the theme and came about as a result of reflections on the treatment of access to land. This was a priority of the Democracy and Land Programme (Programa Terra e Democracia), which invited German parliamentarians of different political persuasions to come to Brazil and learn about the land issue. Through this programme they succeeded in creating greater interest about the issue in Germany, and the parliamentarians involved challenged both the Brazilian government and their own parliament about the situation.

The EED’s support to the quilombola work of the three Brazilian organizations functions in a variety of ways. One difference amongst these partnerships is that the EED is the largest direct supporter of the FLD and the CAPA Consortium (which brings together CAPA’s five existing centres). Although the FLD is in a financially dependent relationship with the EED, it is a relationship of transparency and dialogue which allows the FLD to propose agendas and priorities and to participate in formulating strategies.

In the case of Koinonia, Christian Aid and EED support has enabled the organization to maintain its priority criteria to work with traditional Black populations. In 2010, the relationship between Koinonia and Christian Aid progressed to a

123 At the time of this study it was in the process of merging with Bread for the World.
point of greater openness, enabling the prioritization of themes and interventions. As well as this institutional support, over the past three years Koinonia has secured further resources, supported by Christian Aid and EED co-funding, for a project developed with the European Union which aims to work with traditional Black communities.

Historically, ecumenical agencies permit the creation of funds for small projects (allocated funds) whose importance has already been proven by virtue of their flexibility, their capacity to deal with acute situations etc. Funds of this nature are only found today in CESE and the FLD. CESE’s Small Projects Programme was cited by the CCN and SMDDH in Maranhão as extremely important for the movements, which rely on this funding stream to meet their mobilization and coordination needs. The challenge is how to maintain these small projects, given the reduction of international agency resources and the limitations on supporting organizations imposed by the Brazilian government, which prevents the mediation of government resources by civil society organizations.

The questioning of the continuity of international cooperation in Brazil and concomitant difficulties in understanding inequalities, have increased demands for both the agencies and their partners to provide information about monitoring, evaluation, identification of impact and visibility. Both their partners in Brazil and the agencies themselves need to update themselves in relation to these themes and improve their intervention policies accordingly. This requires an understanding that the preparation of more demanding reports, although involving more immediate work for the organizations in the South, constitutes their counterpart to the policy of supporting cooperation sustainability and also forms part of the common sustainability strategy on the ecumenical cooperation agenda for Brazil.

ACT Alliance’s own formation as a new actor opens up a range of new possibilities for South-North cooperation which need to be extended.

**The added value of ecumenical cooperation**

When we talk of added value we need to clarify that we are not talking of the value of exclusivity, in other words, not an added value for some in detriment to others. This is not a comparison, but the observation of where, how and why ecumenical cooperation adds value to interventions.

**Transparency, dialogue, an attitude of listening and openness**

According to the transformational development principle, these characteristics are fundamental to a relationship of mutual learning.

Relationships are two-way and so the more these characteristics are present, the better the quality of intervention and partnership. For example: if, on the one hand, the EED helps the FLD to reflect and plan, the work of FLD/CAPA also influences the EED by creating greater interest in the specific quilombo theme. FLD/CAPA’s operations led the EED to work with a wider rural public, which has demonstrated that this is not only composed of farmers but also of artisan fishermen, indigenous people and quilombolas.

Another example is Christian Aid’s institutional support to Koinonia, which has enabled Koinonia to progress in its priority areas and define the focus of intervention. This has sometimes led to innovations, such as the setting up of the Legal Working Group or the creation of the Black Territories newsletter and the Quilombo Observatory. This attitude is based on mutual trust and enables interventions to adapt to discoveries and to process needs at different times.

**Institutional support**

Institutional support, driven...
by the organization's mission, strengthens the political advocacy of the partnership and is an added value because it provides the political mobility to act.

Potential for help and solidarity

Another added value is the potential for help and solidarity that the organizations, both from the North and the South, provide each other through an understanding of their ecumenical work. This means helping one another in moments of need, not only in emergencies, but also to mobilize other institutional donor resources, including when dealing with the political, administrative and bureaucratic difficulties that may arise from this kind of partnership.

This history of partnerships enables dialogue that is not restricted to the functioning of funding, the exchange of reports and good accountancy practices, but also concerns potential help or solidarity for traditional Black communities in the defence of their rights.

Sharing common principles

Potential for help and solidarity is only realised through sharing common principles and values, as is the case of the ecumenical organizations. Possibilities for cooperation are compromised when a shared understanding of fundamental concepts, such as development, does not exist.

In the situation studied, the struggle for social justice through the guarantee of the human, social, environmental, cultural and economic rights of quilombola communities and their right to self-determination, was based on the ecumenical concern for the guarantee of a life of quality for all people.

Sharing inclusion and advocacy settings

Another aspect which adds value to the intervention is the possibility of sharing inclusion and advocacy settings, extending each organization's capacity for legal advocacy. One highlight of the studied cases was the PAD of the European Ecumenical Agencies and their partners in Brazil. Within PAD it is possible to mobilize a debate about support for the national struggles of quilombola communities and to access the dissemination modes of all the agencies, in the spirit of acting jointly as a network in defence of a community's specific emergency problem. In this setting it is possible to elevate national situations to the international level, as in the case of Marambaia, or in the debate at the Federal Supreme Court about the Direct Action of Unconstitutionality regarding the most recent rights acquired by quilombola communities in Brazil through legislation.

Another important shared space for networking, sharing agendas and forming coalitions is the FE Brasil, which has recently extended to South America as whole, and of which the three organizations are also part.

Cooperation work may collaborate, and has collaborated, in the dissemination of themes by stimulating discussions about the criminalization of movements and the violation of rights. This is the huge potential of the ACT Alliance, which may work increasingly in quilombola legal advocacy. However, the reduction of international cooperation poses a challenge, since this cooperation currently falls short of the financial support required for the social movement in general, and the quilombola movement in particular.

Working in networks

Working in themed networks has increased and been encouraged in Brazil and now forms part of various organizations’ strategies. The PAD may also be seen as a space for the convergence of dialogue and themed debates, for training and advocacy. In the view of the EED, the openness of organizations to this type of approach, which favours multilateral relationships rather than bilateral ones, is an added value.

Bringing new ecumenical reflections into the agencies

Activities with Black and quilombola communities also bring other ecumenical themes into the agencies, such as spirituality and Black religiosity issues in Brazil, or inter-religious dialogue. Even the theme of human rights has expanded, being treated from the quilombola perspective, which necessarily brings the theme of non-discrimination to issues of ethnic-racial belonging and of a religious nature. For Christian Aid, this is an important added value.

Co-responsibility

This arises from a committed relationship between organiza-
tions that share common principles and values and are able to mutually support each other, thus enhancing their capacities. When priorities are established and translated into financial support, the interpretation is not one of organizations from the South receiving financial support to carry out their work, but rather the development of a work of co-responsibility. This co-responsibility means that at any moment it is possible to call on the contributions of other partners in the defence of their rights or to help give visibility to their partners’ activities.

South-South Relationships with Africa and Latin America

South-South cooperation is already happening. For example, CAPA has started a relationship with Angola which is very different from Brazil’s government relationship with that country. Christian Aid’s Brazilian Programme also has an exchange proposal with its programme in Angola within the areas of human rights experiences, ecumenism and inter-religious dialogue. Communities from that country have requested appropriate agricultural technology and handicraft work, aspects that are well developed in the work here with quilombola communities, who have preserved a great deal of their culture, as have the Black communities in general. African people, organizations and groups often come to Brazil to seek aspects of their culture which have significantly weakened in Africa but continue alive and well in Brazil. Work is also being carried out in the ecumenical sphere in Latin America, with the strong presence of Koinonia, CESE and Christian Aid’s Brazilian Programme, principally in South America and in the Dominican Republic and Jamaica, all of which demonstrates the added value of this cooperation.

The impacts of direct agency activity in relation to quilombola communities

IMPACT 22 – The communities and the movement have their international profile extended

At the same time as the agencies being diverse, because they correspond to dynamics in their own countries, the linking activities that exist between a number of them have facilitated a deeper understanding and higher profile of the quilombola theme in the international field, enabling broader fundamental discussions on such issues as racism, access to land and the criminalization of social movements.

IMPACT 23 – The ethnic, cultural and religious rights of the communities are considered within the agencies, strengthening their policies to support these rights in Brazil and, therefore, in the communities themselves.

IMPACT 24 – Mobilized resources keep the communities strong and functioning preventatively against vulnerability.

The mobilization of resources to strengthen the communities against vulnerability is the focus of the supporting organizations. The activity, and the challenge, is to establish organizational and strengthening mechanisms or capacities that make the State act appropriately. They seek to strengthen the capacity of civil society to maintain adequate processes before an emergency occurs, before things get out of control, before life becomes insupportable for the communities.

The sustainability of the impacts and the contribution of ecumenical cooperation

What has been gained needs to be secured, but with autonomy. Local autonomy is not necessarily achieved through local resources, which are earmarked, complex and dependent. This is why the mobilization of cooperation resources is so important.

The capacity of any social group is not only the capacity of that group, but also of its allies. Through the activities of coalitions and alliances – as in ACT – there is an accumulation of capacities: those of each organization plus its relationships. This strategy is present in many activities that have promoted the recent democratic process in Brazil. It is not the social movement working on a local activity in isolation which obtains results. Activities have always been linked up and coordinated, nationally or nationally and internationally. To sustain links between local communities and the supporting
and assistance organizations in Brazil, as well as with partner organizations in the North, is to be internationally connected. What the ecumenical organizations provide is their operation through networks, through collective processes; not only channelling resources from the North to solve a problem, but acting collectively for sustainable, lasting and concrete change.

It is important, therefore, to show the real Brazil to countries in the North. In matters related to social security and access to services, the social conscience of countries of the North indicates that the principle focus is to serve the population, not to strengthen society or improve its ability to organize, nor to monitor policies or put pressure on the State. It is important to demonstrate to the North that the existence of social care policies in Brazil does not mean that communities have access to them. Hence the need to self-organize, advocate, mobilize and exercise social control. We are dealing with the strengthening of communities so they can make service providers come to them and can overcome the barriers of racism, criminalization and state bureaucracy.

Reflections are often made about poverty alleviation and these are even used to justify the withdrawal of cooperation from Brazil, but such reflections must encompass the complex struggle for rights and the exercise of citizenship. Denying the quilombola communities their right to land and territory generates a movement towards their expulsion, impoverishment and dependency, adding to the numbers of excluded people in the large urban metropolises. It is essential that one of the key themes maintained in cooperation work is the defence of human rights in their broadest sense, as a focus for intervention policies in Brazil, in the struggle to reduce inequality and to achieve change that is genuinely significant and lasting.
ACT Alliance

ACT is an alliance of more than 100 churches and organizations working in development and humanitarian assistance, all linked to the World Council of Churches and/or to the Lutheran World Federation.

The Alliance was established at the start of 2010 through a merger between ACT International, which had been mobilizing resources for humanitarian assistance in the face of natural disasters and other emergencies since 1995, and ACT Development, founded in 2007 and committed to “transformational development.”

The three Brazilian organizations involved in this study are founder members of ACT Alliance:

- The Ecumenical Service Coordinator (Coordenadoria Ecumênica de Serviço: CESE), based in Salvador, Bahia, was set up in 1973 by Protestant churches belonging to the World Council of Churches and the Roman Catholic Church (Brazilian Bishops’ Conference). CESE works all over the country, with priority in the North-eastern and Northern Regions, seeking to strengthen civil society organizations, especially people’s organizations engaged in struggles for political, economic and social transformations that bring about new structures which press for democracy and justice.

- The Lutheran Foundation of Diakonia (Fundação Luterana de Diaconia: FLD), based in Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul, was established in 2000 through a decision of the Council of the Evangelical Church of the Lutheran Confession in Brazil following an external evaluation that recommended that the Service of Development Projects (Serviço de Projetos de Desenvolvimento) should be transformed into an autonomous foundation. FLD channels support to socially vulnerable groups and poor communities, with no discrimination of gender, ethnicity, religious belief or political conviction.

- Koinonia – Ecumenical Presence and Service (Koinonia - Presença Ecumênica e Serviço), based in Rio de Janeiro, was set up in 1994 as an affirmation of the diaconal commitment of the ecumenical community that made up its Assembly of Members, representing more than two decades of struggle for democracy and the affirmation of the values of the ecumenical movement in Brazil. The aim was the continuation of the ecumenical tradition of service to local communities and social movements and also to the churches. In its diaconal commitment, Koinonia sees itself as a political agent of the ecumenical movement which also provides services to the social movements.

The three organizations were members of ACT Development and CESE was a member of ACT International. Another Brazilian ecumenical organization – Diaconia, based in Recife, Pernambuco – is now also part of ACT Alliance.

The new alliance had its first assembly in Arusha, Tanzania, in October of 2010, when Francisco Assis, member of Koinonia and now bishop of the Episcopal Anglican Church of Brazil, was elected Vice-Moderator. Lutheran pastor Cibele Kuss, Vice-President of CESE’s Board of Directors, was elected to the Nominations Committee.

The main organization structure for ACT in Brazil is the Ecumenical Forum in Brazil (Fórum Ecumênico do Brasil: FE-Brasil) through which, alongside the four Brazilian members of ACT and Christian Aid, an ecumenical organization from the United Kingdom and Ireland has representation in Brazil. Another European member of the Alliance, Norwegian Church Aid, is also a member of the ACT Alliance in Brazil. FE-Brasil members and churches and organizations from other South American countries and regional organizations constitute the Ecumenical Forum for South America, the principal organization structure for ACT in the region.

The Impact Project was launched by ACT Development in 2007 with the aim of identifying and constructing common
principles and a methodological framework to assess and communicate “The Difference We Make.” A Guide to Assessing our Contribution to Change was published in English and Spanish in May 2009. The project was later taken up by the ACT Alliance. The responsible Working Group, which involves people from various regions of the world, includes Alonso Roberts of CESE.

The present stage of this project (2010-2011) includes impact studies in Armenia and India as well as Brazil. Furthermore, CREAS (the Regional Ecumenical Centre for Advice and Service - Centro Regional Ecuménico de Asesoría e Servicio) – a regional organization based in Buenos Aires – is implementing an initiative of self-assessment and capacity development with ACT members in South America, Central America and the Caribbean.

The present study results from a convergence of these actors' concerns. The ACT Working Group was interested in moving from theory to practice while Christian Aid and the Church Development Service (Evangelische Entwicklungsdienst: EED) were keen for an assessment of the impact of their work in Brazil, with a particular interest in the subject of quilombola communities. The organizations involved in the study, jointly associated through ACT, collectively defined the study’s Terms of Reference and their respective roles.

**Brazilian Organizations in ACT Alliance and their support to quilombola communities**

**CESE**

CESE has always had a special concern for the rural population and has supported many projects with the Unions of Rural Workers (Sindicatos de Trabalhadores Rurais: STRs) at municipal level, with their state federations, and with the National Confederation of Agricultural Workers (Confederação Nacional dos Trabalhadores na Agricultura: Contag). The STRs represent the paid rural labour force in places such as the sugar-producing areas of the North-East, but in many others they are mainly composed of small-scale farmers. In addition, in the 1980s and increasingly in the 1990s, CESE developed partnerships with alternative organizations that emerged to represent particular sectors, such as the Landless Rural Workers’ Movement (Movimento dos Trabalhadores sem Terra: MST), the Movement of Dam Affected People (Movimento dos Atingidos por Barragens), and the rubber-tappers’ movement.

CESE has provided support to the quilombola communities and movement since the struggle began. From 1991 to 1994, CESE assisted the long-term struggle of the Rio das Rãs community in the west of the state of Bahia mentioned in the historical section of this report. Projects were also supported for communities in the state of Maranhão – including another pioneering community, Frechal – and in the Oriximiná municipality in the state of Pará.

From 1996 to 2002, the Programme of Support to the Black Movement – a special programme in CESE funded by the German ecumenical agency EZE, one of the EED’s forerunners – made possible the provision of largescale resources to quilombolas. This was in partnership with the representativequilombola organization in Oriximiná (Associação de Remnant Quilombola Communities of the Municipality of Oriximiná - Associação das Comunidades Remanescentes de Quilombos do Município de Oriximiná: Arqmo) and two NGOs in Maranhão, the Centre for Black Culture of Maranhão (Centro de Cultura Negra do Maranhão: CCN) and the Maranhão Society for the Defence of Human Rights (Sociedade Maranhense de Defesa de Direitos Humanos: SMDDH), and involved a large-scale awareness-raising project with teachers in quilombola communities. At the same time, the SMDDH sought to build on the Frechal experience, producing historical and anthropological studies in a range of communities to develop the jurisprudence that would effectively enforce the constitutional provision that establishes collec-
In addition, CESE continued to support the quilombola cause through the Small Projects Programme. Between 1996 and 2009, 111 of the small projects were related to the quilombola population. The geographical spread of these projects has widened, as black rural communities in many states of Brazil have invested in the affirmation of their ethnic-racial identity. Although the question of territory land tenure is fundamental, many other issues have arisen. Besides organization and political mobilization, some of the projects have promoted income-generation, food security, health, and gender issues and include a demonstration in Brasília by the Provisional National Committee, which later became National Commission for the Coordination of Black Rural Quilombola Communities - Comissão Nacional de Articulação das Comunidades Negras Rurais Quilombolas: Conaq (2003).

Through projects and other strategies, CESE encourages links with other rural organizations and with the urban black movement in order to support links between quilombolas and other social movements. Quilombola leaders and advisers have taken part in a number of meetings organized by CESE, such as its Meeting with Social Movements, carried out every two years, which brings together national representatives of the main movements in the country. In 2009 CESE and Heifer International promoted a Circle of Dialogue for quilombolas from the State of Bahia.

CESE’s advocacy – through its own initiatives and that of its partners – complements its project programmes. In recent years the São Francisco do Paraguaçu community (see case study, below) has been a special focus of such actions. At the national level, CESE has supported initiatives by the quilombola movement for the implementation of public policies and for constitutional guarantees for the quilombola communities and territories.

**FLD/CAPA**

With its emergence as an independent foundation linked to the Evangelical Church of the Lutheran Confession in Brazil (Igreja Evangélica de Confissão Luterana no Brasil: IECLB), the FLD took over the Centre for Support to the Small Farmer (Centro de Apoio ao Pequeno Agricultor: CAPA) and the Council of Mission among Indians (Conselho de Missão entre Índios: Comin), which had previously come under the Service of Development Projects as strategic partners.

In its work with CAPA the FLD’s role is to monitor thematic and management areas and to strengthen its link with the IECLB. The work with quilombola communities in the south of Rio Grande do Sul started after the FLD challenged CAPA to initiate this kind of activity.

CAPA was set up in 1978 by the Lutheran church to counteract the newly planned Green Revolution. In 1972, 70% of IECLB members were the small-scale farming descendants of German farmers. At the end of the 1970s, concerned about a significant reduction in the number of members and the growing poverty of those who remained, the IECLB decided to set up a specific service for family farmers, initially called the Advice Centre for the Family Farmer (its current name - the Centre for Support to the Small Farmer - was adopted in 1988).

Very quickly activities began to include groups not linked to the IECLB, with incentives from the international funding agency the EZE (later the EED). The question that the CAPA coordinators asked themselves: where are the most excluded? – signalled the need to broaden their understanding of the concepts of the rural public or ‘small-scale family farmers’.

Thus, as well as farmers linked to the Lutheran Church, the organization began to serve family farmers from other religious denominations, including the

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1 An industrial agricultural development model based on chemicals which was instituted by developed countries, particularly the United States, as a means of bringing an end to hunger.
small number of settled farmers and professional artisan fishermen that were organized into groups, community associations and cooperatives. Technical teams, trained by professionals in the areas of agriculture, health, administration and communication, provided assistance in social and political organization, in training and economic production – specifically commercialization and the distribution of produce. Work with groups from the Guarani indigenous people was also incorporated, due to a concern about their food and nutritional security and sovereignty.

Regarding the quilombola issue, in 2002 the challenge set by the FLD for its strategic partner CAPA/Pelotas Centre, resulted in a pilot project called "Small-scale Quilombola Farmers", with support from the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA). Out of a total of 11 communities identified and invited, four were prepared to participate. The project is described in a publication entitled, "I have discovered that there are Black people here".

In line with its methodology, CAPA did not interfere in the organization, culture, religious beliefs or community life of the groups. The project had six areas of work: historical memory, culture and ethnicity; citizenship; community organization settings; food and nutritional security and sovereignty; income generation; and community health. Due to this conscientious approach – which the quilombolas themselves recognized as a differential feature compared to the other bodies which ‘emerged’ in the wake of their visibility – the project was a success and gave CAPA national recognition in respect of its work with Afro-descendants. In November 2010, CAPA received the Zumbi dos Palmares medal from the Legislative Assembly of the State of Rio Grande do Sul in recognition of its work with quilombola communities.

Eight years after initiating work with just four communities, CAPA is now involved with more than forty, through Federal Government Citizenship Territory activities. Progress is visible, in terms of access to public policies and improvements in quality of life and self-esteem. The resolution of potential land disputes – the most serious problem faced by traditional groups – is still at an initial phase. In anticipating this difficult scenario, the IECLB and FLD/CAPA (supported by the EED, Bread for the World and other international cooperation partnerships, as well as the ELCA) have created the Council for the Right to Land – Conflict Mediation (Conselho de Direito à Terra – Mediação de Conflitos) to deal with agrarian issues which involve Lutheran family farmers, quilombolas and indigenous people.

Koinonia

Koinonia is a body made up of people from different religious traditions, united through a non-profit civil association. Its mission is to mobilize historically and culturally vulnerable groups and those in the process of political and social emancipation. It therefore develops programmes to produce knowledge, information and education which act through networks to find democratic settings at a national and international level that guarantee justice; human rights (economic, social, cultural and environmental); and the production of ecumenism, the ecumenical movement and its values of liberty.

Koinonia provides services and forges alliances with the organized Black population in urban and rural communities; rural workers; agents of solidarity for people who live with HIV/AIDS; and mediating church leaders, prioritizing, as much as possible, youth and women. Other natural alliances which permeate all Koinonia’s activities are in the field of ecumenical organizations, for which the institution not only provides services but is also a political agent in the mobilization and dissemination of values. Due to its strategy of communication and of responding to requests for technical assistance, the scope of Koinonia’s services is both national and international.

In 1994, the year of its foundation, Koinonia created the...
Egbé Black Territories Programme (Programa Egbé Territórios Negros) in response to the inequalities effecting the Black Brazilian population. The word egbé is Yoruban and means society and the place in which it reproduces. The programme thus works with traditionally established Black communities in what are conventionally known as the Black Territories.

At the outset, the programme was exclusively focused on the Candomblé Terreiros in Salvador, Bahia, with the aim of supporting and assisting these communities in the areas of land regularization, ethnic-botanic reclamation and inter-religious dialogue. In 1999, with the growth of the quilombola theme and an institutional reflection about the similarities that could link the territorial experience of these two types of community, the Koinonia team extended the programme’s original proposal. The guarantee of land ownership was seen as a fundamental factor for survival, reproduction and improvement in the quality of life for both the remnant quilombo communities and the Candomblé Terreiros.

Koinonia currently works with Black rural communities and quilombolas in Rio de Janeiro and the Baixo Sul region of Bahia. At its outset, the programme dedicated itself to the identification of communities, initial contact with them to establish relationships with their leaders and a survey of existing knowledge about remnant quilombo communities. From there, it began to set up regional networks to provide clarifications and support to these communities, with a view to possible land regularization and to enacting the cultural rights instituted in the 1988 Constitution (as well as Article 68 of the Temporary Constitutional Provisions Act – Ato das Disposições Constitucionais Transitórias: ADCT – and Articles 215 and 216 regarding cultural rights), through an exchange of information, experiences and holding scientific and cultural events.

Furthermore, it concentrated its forces in promoting initiatives that enable the effective maintenance of these territories in all their economic, social, cultural and environmental aspects, always respecting the concepts and priorities of their populations.

To do so, Koinonia promotes technical training based on the traditional knowledge of the communities; dialogue to overcome religious intolerance; and educational, legal and rights-based assistance. It edits the Black Territories (Territórios Negros) and Speak Egbé (Fala Egbé) newsletters, manages the Quilombola Observatory and distributes weekly news about this theme.
This study aims to assess the impact of the support provided by the ACT Alliance organizations in Brazil to the quilombola movement and communities between 1996 and 2009. Impact was understood as lasting and significant change to which the work of an organization contributes, either directly or indirectly. The study was supported by Christian Aid and EED (Church Development Service: Evangelische Entwicklungsdienst), European institutions which are members of the ACT Alliance, and was based on the cooperation work between three ACT Alliance members in Brazil: Koinonia – Ecumenical Presence and Service (Koinonia - Presença Ecumênica e Serviço), the Ecumenical Service Coordinator (Coordinadoria Ecuménica de Serviço: CESE) and the Lutheran Foundation of Diakonia (Fundação Luterana de Diaconia: FLD).

We selected five distinct situations as case studies; these differentiated from each other in terms of their geographical location, the nature of the problem experienced and the intervention carried out: São Francisco do Paraguaçu (Bahia); Marambaia (Rio de Janeiro); Baixo Sul (Bahia); the Centre for Black Culture of Maranhão (Centro de Cultura Negra do Maranhão); and quilombola communities from the Southern Territory of Rio Grande do Sul. Although these cases do not provide a comprehensive overview of the quilombola situation in Brazil, they provide an important frame of reference for an in-depth understanding of the context.

The methodology was based on the Christian Aid method “Making a Difference,” which consists of hearing from beneficiaries, partners, and others involved in the community itself and its environs in order to observe significant life changes; to capture perceptions about the causes of these changes; and to identify the contributions of ACT Alliance organizations.

ACT Alliance member organizations want to see transformational development, which seeks to affirm human rights and generate change for all involved through mutual learning. Its diverse work, evidenced by the activity of CESE, FLD and Koinonia detailed in the case studies, was important in achieving the positive identified changes.

The study identified 24 impacts across five broad areas of change: asserting identity; territorial rights; organization; influencing public policies; and quality of life. Impacts related more directly to ecumenical cooperation and long-term transformation were also identified. These impacts are presented below.

### Asserting identity and confronting racism
1. The communities assert their quilombola and racial identity and defend the recognition and guarantee of their rights. This impact is linked to the methodology of Koinonia, FLD/Centre for Support to the Small Farmer (Centro de Apoio ao Pequeno Agricultor: CAPA), CESE and their local partners, whose pedagogic characteristics enable the collective to construct their quilombola identity, translating this new public policy category into their native categories.

   The first step in the process of land regularization is self-recognition. To recognize oneself as Black and quilombola means to break with a long history of exploitation and invisibility. To understand that conditions of exclusion are socially constructed and not inherent to the condition of being Black, provides an understanding of both the way society hierarchy is founded on racial issues and the origins and functioning of racism itself.

   2. All the communities in the study have undergone a movement for the reclamation and re-signification of their traditional cultural and artistic expressions, which includes the participation of young people.

   3. Today there are agents of the State who are better prepared to deal with the quilombola issue and more ca-

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1 The study was conducted by an externally contracted consultant and the historical context was supported by contributions from a specialist.
ble of understanding and acting to guarantee the rights of these communities. The supporting organizations carry out training and information work for society in general, and for government agents in particular, which aims to train them to understand and contribute to the guarantee of quilombola rights, thus combating the usually prevalent lack of preparation for dealing with the ethnic-racial dimension. Municipal and state governments are crucial agents for the delivery of public services and access to federal projects and it is therefore important that technical assistance organizations and the quilombola movement create a fertile environment for partnership work these bodies.

4. Particularly in the case of the Baixo Sul region of Bahia, there is clear evidence of a reduction of religious intolerance, with the flourishing of Afro-Brazilian religions in contexts where they had previously been silent and hidden, due to the intolerance of the dominant Christian religions. In these communities today, Catholics, Protestants from a variety of denominations and followers of Afro-Brazilian religions have all realized that the presence of different religions does not represent an obstacle for the assertion of ethnic-religious identity, nor for unity in a common struggle for the recognition of their rights.

5. Quilombolas today have important sources of alternative, high-quality information about their realities, which contributes to a reversal of the racist perspective. FLD/CAPA, CESE and Koinonia produce and disseminate information about the quilombolas, which helps to establish a true image of these communities and to construct their identity within the national consciousness. This reiterates the importance of communication in all its forms and possibilities; of "effective communication" and "legal advocacy", as principles of transformational development.

6. Quilombola communities and movements benefit from enhanced self-determination and connections with anti-racist social movements and Black movements. The incorporation of people from the Black movements or from the quilombola communities into the organizations' technical teams has been a positive factor for greater proximity and identification between the communities and the organizations, stimulating reflections of members of the Black movements and creating proximity between the agendas of both parties. Training, exchanges and meetings between quilombola communities are extremely special moments for the assertion of identity.

Territorial rights

7. Quilombola communities act through resistance, gain visibility and experience solidarity. The very existence and persistence of these communities can be considered a victory, particularly in cases such as Marambaia and São Francisco do Paraguaçu. Opposition to quilombo territorial rights is today much more sophisticated than it was in the 1990s. Opposition groups and corporations utilize highly specialized services, not only in the legal arena but also in the arenas of communication, marketing and political influence. The national and international visibility that the supporting organizations and human rights groups have succeeded in creating for these cases is fundamental in influencing government decisions.

8. Communities are respected, assert their collective territorial rights and have self-determination as members of the Quilombo. The progress guaranteed by self-determination is questioned daily by forces opposing quilombola rights. The debate takes place at the legal and political levels – voting is pending on an act of unconstitutionality – and in the media, which in the overwhelming majority of cases is against the quilombolas. In some cases activity to support the assertion of collective territorial rights takes place in extremely difficult situations, where identification as a quilombola is imposed externally by vested or short-term interests, for example, linked to land interests in the region. This generates tension between “collectives” and “individuals,” “quilombolas” and “non-quilombolas.”

9. The rights of the communities have been defended in the legal and political arena and through social mobilizations and temporary guarantees that support their resistance to stay on the Land have been conceded. The supporting organizations have been essential in putting pressure on the government, producing high-quality information to support judicial activities and in
composing technical reports. One weakness is that the movement has neither permanent nor sufficiently high quality legal assistance. Another relevant aspect is that land tensions occur in relation to other socially excluded groups, which generate a high demand for mediation and huge challenges for the supporting organizations.

Quilombola movement and organization

10. The community movement has been organized and supported, most notably at local but also at national level, by alternatives to the State; which itself often creates dependency and submission. Over 15 years the movement has accumulated a great deal of experience which demonstrates the importance of these differentiated contributions allowing the movement to coordinate itself and carry out the required political mobilization. The quilombola movement’s proximity to the union movement, the family farming movement and their decision-making arenas, is also an indicator of the quilombola movement’s strength and progress, although these partnerships are not always easy to establish. There remain advocacy arenas at national and international level which the movement has yet to occupy. Lack of or poor availability of assistance to the communities and the quilombola movement has generated a number of difficulties. On the other hand, maintaining the small projects mechanism as an ecumenical support policy has stimulated local relationships, provided broader reach and guaranteed the agencies both local and national presence.

11. The relationship between the communities’ movement and the Black movements has been established and the right to land and territory are recognized by anti-racist, particularly urban, movements.

12. The quilombola movement has strong community and local organizations. Some of these are highly efficient and are seen as national champions, having overcome forced isolation and institutional racism. Progress in organization has been recorded at a local level in all the cases studied. This is evidenced in: the consolidation of associations and their desire to extend partnerships; the occupation of political advocacy arenas; the capacity for mobilization; the struggle for improvements to the communities; and the social control – although still nascent – of the local government administration of public policies.

13. The movement and the communities have gained visibility in relation to the issues of ethnic and territorial rights, and have provoked intense reaction from the economic elite against both themselves and their allies.

14. Agents in the communities are capable of securing and managing project resources.

Influencing public policy

15. The movement and communities have increased their activities in public advocacy and in making the social rights achieved effective, despite obstacles and the risk of setbacks in the territorial issue. Over the eight years of the Lula government, the quilombola communities have gained visibility and have consolidated as a target audience for specific public policies. The case study communities have begun to receive electricity, water, improvements to schools and other services, although these are still nascent and their execution is highly conditional on local or regional/state political authorities.

16. For the communities and the movement, the supporting organizations ensure that public policies are monitored and networks to mobilize support are informed and activated.

17. The communities and the movement recognize the supporting organizations as highly credible reference and knowledge centres, capable of providing ammunition for the defence of rights (the resistance to stay on the land and access to public social policy) and in confronting anti-quilombola initiatives (for example, criminalization) as well as for educational processes aimed at promoting their rights.

18. The increase in visibility both through and within the ecumenical family has helped to reduce the stigma and isolation of structural racism.

19. The communities have bridges that connect them to different movements within national and international civil society and with sectors
they are not able to reach when isolated, such as churches and organizations from the ecumenical movement.

20. The communities have increased their power of leadership and awareness raising through the pedagogic work of information and qualified training carried out by the supporting organizations.

**Improvements in living standards**

21. The communities have alliances that support the production and commercialization of agricultural products and culturally valuable handicrafts.

**Direct impact of ecumenical organisations**

22. The communities and the movement have raised their international profile.

23. The ethnic, cultural and religious rights of the communities are considered within the agencies, strengthening policies to support these rights in Brazil and in the communities.

24. The resources mobilized by ecumenical cooperation keep the communities strong and functioning preventively against vulnerability.

One of the first factors arising from the quilombola issue is an understanding that exclusion does not just come about through poverty but is also generated by racism which habituates the notion of the inferiority of the Black population. Despite Brazil's laws, instruments and mechanisms endorsing the exercise of democracy, its favourable public policies and the relative economic prosperity of the country, inequalities persist and violence and the violation of human rights — including the right to life — are experienced daily by this section, and a large portion of the population.

Studying the quilombola question leads to an understanding of how to provide public intervention within countries in the south. Although the states have made progress in social security, indisputably so in the case of Brazil, this has not necessarily benefited historically excluded peoples and communities. It is important to understand how the mechanisms of discrimination function, not only within public institutions dedicated to such services and communities, but also from the viewpoint of the excluded themselves, about the "impossibility" of accessing services and public benefits. The concept of citizenship is almost entirely absent - people do not recognize themselves as the subjects of rights. Habituably unequal treatment, lack of opportunities and a history of total exclusion prevent them from making choices or feeling that it is possible to make legitimate choices towards effective and equitable participation in social wealth. This is why the assertion of identity and the reclaiming of history are so important. Increases in self-esteem and awareness of citizenship are profoundly significant changes in the lives of the people and communities studied.

This is a fundamental difference between the way that states and societies function in countries in the north and countries in the south. The existence of laws, instruments and mechanisms for equality of opportunity or treatment is not sufficient. Inequalities in countries in the south tend to be maintained or even extended, despite democratic structures and formal social security gains.

The added value of ecumenical cooperation was seen in the study as a positive differential in these relationships. It is based on dialogue; on transparency; on openness; on listening and on co-responsibility. It has the potential to mobilize help and solidarity, to share common inclusion and advocacy settings, to bring new ecumenical reflections into the agencies and to foster the South-South relationship with Africa and Latin America. The fact of sharing common principles was also mentioned as an added value, as was working in networks.

The sustainability of impacts relates to ensuring that gains are secured, always being careful to ensure autonomy. Attaining local autonomy in the short and medium term by using local resources — which are earmarked, complex and dependent — is not always possible. This is why the mobilization of cooperation resources is so important.

Reflections are often made that emphasize poverty alleviation, but these need to encompass the whole complex struggle for rights and the exercise of citizenship. At their boundaries these deal with such serious issues such as combating hunger: denying the quilombola communities their right to land and territory generates a movement of exclusion, of impoverishment and of dependency, adding to the numbers of excluded people in the large urban metropolises. The study emphasizes the importance of ecumenical cooperation in the quilombola struggle. The protection of human rights, in their broadest sense, as a focus of the intervention policies of ecumenical cooperation in Brazil, is essential to reducing inequality and achieving significant and lasting change.
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