

## THE STATE OF THE ART OF “QUILOMBOLA” COMMUNITIES IN PARANÁ: PRODUCTION OF KNOWLEDGE AND RECURRENT BODILY PRACTICES

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### ABSTRACT

The present research analyzed the production of knowledge about “quilombola” communities in the state of Paraná, Brazil, aiming to identify their content and, especially, to know whether bodily practices are recurrent in these investigations, and how they are presented. To do so, it was necessary, through the State of the Art, to map studies about quilombolas in Paraná, identifying categories and recognizing theoretical productions that contemplated bodily practices. Data demonstrate that production of knowledge on quilombola communities in Paraná is recent and centered on the categories “legality”, “agrarian/territorial question”, “concept of ‘quilombo’” and “education”, with rare incursions through the category “bodily practices”. They also point to the need for investigations that perceive how these communities produce culture and reaffirm their bodily practices.

**Key-words:** Quilombola. Academic production. Bodily practices.

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### INTRODUCTION

Investigation on academic productions about quilombolas, just as the reflection on the content of these productions, becomes important for the identification of gaps in what has been produced and in the progresses already accomplished. This goal was achieved through the State of the Art of the academic production about quilombola communities in Paraná, in order to identify their content and categories and, especially, to know whether bodily practices were contemplated in these investigations. Our interest was to know, mainly, whether these investigations described dances, games, plays, fights, sports and gymnastics, and whether these elements were part of the quilombola routine in Paraná.

The researches named State of the Art, as Ferreira (2002, p. 257) points out, have in common “the challenge of mapping and discussing a certain academic production in different fields of knowledge, attempting to answer what aspects and dimensions are highlighted and privileged in different times and places”, and observing how and under what conditions master's degree dissertations, doctoral theses, publications in journals, communications, etc., are produced. Thus, when mapping the production about quilombola communities in Paraná, we first describe their content, moment when the categories of analysis emerged. Later, the production of knowledge on Paraná's quilombolas was assessed, toward identifying limits and pointing possibilities of intervention.

This study, which is part of an undergraduate research project conceived at the State University of Maringá, and of a study linked to the Rede Cedes [Centers for the Development of Recreational Sports and Leisure] /Brazilian Ministry of Sports, is developed from investigations about popular culture in Brazil conducted by one of the authors of this text. Previous reflections resulted in experiences that culminated in the interest in the development of the present research, whose focus is on the production of knowledge about quilombola communities in Paraná. Here in we have established as central questions: “What are the theoretical productions on quilombola communities in Paraná? What do they address? Are there studies on recurrent bodily practices within these communities? What is their content?”

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The discovery and identification of quilombos in Paraná resonated with the investigation conducted by the “Grupo de Trabalho Clóvis Moura” [Clóvis Moura Workgroup] (GTCM), created in 2005 by secretariats of the government of Paraná to map black communities in the state. The name was chosen after Clóvis Moura, a black sociologist, scholar and researcher of black rebellion during the slavery period, and of the Brazilian black movement.

After mapping and analyzing the historical content of quilombola communities in the state, the GTCM classified them as follows: traditional black communities; indicative of black communities; and remnant communities of quilombos. The latter began to have their rights recognized from the 1998 Federal Constitution, but more specifically after the Transitional Constitutional Provisions Act (ADCT), in its art 68. In this article, the term “quilombo” does not designate the history of groups formed by fugitive slaves, but rather the condition of black segments in Brazil in different regions and contexts, making reference to lands bought by freed blacks, to pacific possession (by former slaves) of properties abandoned in times of economic crisis, and to the “[...] occupation and administration of lands donated to patron saints, or lands given to or acquired by old slaves organized in quilombos” (BRASIL, 1988).

To accelerate the recognition of the rights observed in the Constitution, the Decree No 4.887/2003 was edited (BRASIL, 2003), a legal procedure that granted these populations the “right to self-attribution as the only criterion for the identification of quilombola communities”, based on the ILO 169 Convention (ILO, 1989), referring to the right to self-determination of indigenous and tribal peoples. This decree, in its art. 2, defines the remnants of quilombos as ethnic-racial groups with ancestry related to historical oppression and specific territorial relations.

Four actions were organized for the development of the research. The first one consisted of mapping academic productions about quilombola communities in Paraná. Paraná state government was contacted, on behalf of Clóvis Moura Workgroup, which investigates these quilombola communities, to ensure that information, data and theoretical production could be accessed. Researches were made in Brazilian libraries, journals, database, among other sources. Contacts were also established with research groups and researchers of quilombolas through telephone, e-mail, and in person – during a technical meeting for Quilombola education planning in the state of Paraná, held on December 10, 11 and 12, 2008, at the “Casa do Trabalhador”, in the city of Curitiba, Paraná, Brazil, which counted with the presence of leaders and non-leaders of the communities, of educational regional centers, of the Secretariat of Education, of the Clóvis Moura Workgroup and special guests.

The third action consisted of verifying whether the category “bodily practices” was identified in these studies and, when developed, from what perspective. Such analysis attempted to identify whether games, dances, plays, sports and other bodily practices were investigated in these communities, whether they are part of their routine and how. The fourth action resulted in a reflection about the production of knowledge on Paraná’s quilombos, identifying limits in the researches and pointing possibilities of intervention in this field of knowledge.

These actions were performed simultaneously to the research on quilombola communities in Paraná (Rede Cedes/ME, 2007-2009), developed by the “Grupo de Pesquisa Corpo, Cultura e Ludicidade” - DEF/UEM [Body, Culture and Ludicity Research Group] (GPCCL), which aimed to identify, on field, sports/leisure policies within these communities and their recurrent practices. Thus, the production resulting from this investigation of the GPCCL has strongly contributed to a reflection on the material of analysis of the undergraduate research, a study that has brought important subsidizes for the analyzes carried out by the Group.

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## MAPPING THE SCIENTIFIC PRODUCTIONS ON REMNANT COMMUNITIES OF QUILOMBOS IN THE STATE OF PARANÁ

The academic productions found about quilombola communities in Paraná comprehend abstracts, articles, undergraduate and specialization course monographs, books, master's degree dissertations and doctoral theses. They belong to the area of human sciences (history, geography, sociology, anthropology), agrarian and health sciences, approaching themes involving education, sanitation, labor, security, subsistence, ethnic identity, fight for land (agrarian question), legality, culture and bodily practices (dance).

In all, twenty-one productions on quilombola communities in Paraná were mapped. From the existing texts, it was possible to assess the content of only seventeen, due to the following reasons: two dissertations were in progress during the development of the research, and two works were not made available for assessment. Two out of the seventeen works assessed were partially accessed (abstract of a thesis in progress; only one chapter of a monograph). Even with some limitations, the content assessed is satisfactory and meets the objectives proposed in this study. It is worth observing that both dissertations and the thesis in progress belong to authors already mapped in this research, with productions of other nature. Chart 1 displays data on the academic productions and their respective authors.

AUTHOR	TYPE/YEAR	PRODUCTION
WALFRIDO JÚNIOR, O. S	Abstract (2005)	<i>Relacionamento entre senhores e escravos nos Campos de Guarapuava: o caso da Invernada Paiol de Telha</i> [Relationship between masters and slaves on the fields of Guarapuava: the case of <i>Invernada Paiol de Telha</i> ]
VAREJÃO, V. A. et al.	Abstract (n.d.)	<i>Fortalecimento da identidade e da autonomia da comunidade: um enfoque na saúde</i> [Strengthening of the identity and autonomy of the community: focus on health]
LEWANDOWSKI, A; GÓES, R. H. P.	Abstract (2008)	<i>A terceira liberdade: notas sobre o processo de elaboração do relatório técnico na comunidade quilombola de João Sura/PR</i> [The third freedom: notes on the process of preparation of a technical report in the quilombola community of João Sura, Paraná.]
PINTO, N; LEWANDOWSKI, A.	Abstract (2007)*	<i>Terra de Preto em estado de brancos: um debate acerca das comunidades quilombolas no Paraná</i> [Land of blacks in a state of whites: a debate on quilombola communities in Paraná.]
LEWANDOWSKI, A.	Abstract (2009)	<i>Notas sobre atuação do Estado junto às comunidades quilombolas no Paraná</i> [Notes on the actions of the State along with quilombola communities in Paraná]
BOTH, L. J. R.G.	Article (2006)	<i>O quilombo como patrimônio cultural: uma proposta educativa</i> [The quilombo as a cultural parameter: an educative proposal]
CRUZ, C et al.	Article (2006)	<i>Quilombos: referência de resistência à dominação e luta pela terra no Paraná</i> [Quilombos: reference of resistance against domination, and fight for land in Paraná]
LARA, L. M et al.	Article (2009)	<i>Esporte e lazer na comunidade quilombola Invernada Paiol de Telha: Realidade, perspectivas e desafios</i> [Sports and leisure in the quilombola community of Invernada Paiol de Telha: Reality, perspectives and challenges]

PAULA, F. C. M.	Book (2007)	<i>Projeto comunidades do Feixo e da Restinga: herança dos afro-descendentes da Lapa</i> [Communities of “Feixo” and “Restinga” project: heritage of Lapa's African descendants ]
GOMES JUNIOR, J.; SILVA, G.; COSTA, P. A. B. (Orgs.)	Book (2008)	<i>Paraná Negro</i> [Black Paraná]
PORTELLA, A. V.	Book (2002)	<i>Campina dos Morenos: um quilombo preservado</i> [“Campina dos Morenos”: a preserved quilombo]
HARTUNG, M. F	Book (2004)	<i>O sangue e o espírito dos antepassados: escravidão, herança e expropriação no grupo negro Invernada Paiol de Telha-PR</i> [The blood and spirit of the ancestors: slavery, heritage and expropriation in the black group of <i>Invernada Paiol de Telha</i> , Paraná]
CRUZ, C.	Monograph ** (n.d.)	Comunidades remanescentes de quilombo: debate teórico e sua configuração no Paraná [Remnant communities of quilombo: theoretical debate and its configuration in Paraná] (title of chapter 1 of the study)
STEUERNAGEL, M da S.	Undergraduate course monograph *** (2007)	<i>“Vocês são dos quilombos, não é?”: identidade, parentesco e ruralidade na comunidade quilombola do Militão</i> [“You are from the <i>quilombos</i> , aren't you?”: identity, kinship and rurality in the quilombola community of Militão]
CRUZ, C. M da.	Undergraduate course monograph (2008)	<i>Por dentro do universo afro-descendente: um olhar sobre a manifestação artístico-cultural da Companhia de Música e Dança Afro Kundum Balê de Guarapuava - Paraná</i> [Inside the African-descendant universe: a look over the cultural-artistic manifestation of the “KundumBalê” Afro Music and Dance Company , Paraná]
SALLES, J de O.	Specialization course monograph (2007)	<i>Por que o “pinhão não cai longe do pinheiro”: o saber socialmente construído no conselho dos anciões do quilombo Paiol de Telha</i> [Why “do pine nuts not fall far from the pine tree?”: the knowledge socially constructed on the advice of elders of the <i>Paiol de Telha</i> quilombo]
PAULA, E. J. S.	Specialization course monograph (2008)	<i>Policiamento comunitário quilombola no Estado do Paraná</i> [Quilombola communitarian policing in the state of Paraná.]
LEWANDOWSKI, A.	Master's degree dissertation **** (2007)	<i>Reconstruindo Identidades - Políticas Públicas em terra de quilombo</i> [Reconstructing Identities – Public Policies in quilombo land.]
STEUERNAGEL, M da S.	Master's degree dissertation **** (2008)	<i>O Negro, o velho e o santo: identidade quilombola em Castro-Paraná</i> [The Black, the elder and the saint: quilombola identity in Castro-Paraná]
HARTUNG, M. F	Doctoral thesis (2000)	<i>A comunidade do Sutil: história e etnografia de um grupo negro na área rural do Paraná</i> [Sutil community: history and ethnography of a black group in Paraná's rural area]
LOPES, C. V. G.	Doctoral thesis ***** (2007)	<i>O etnoconhecimento e sua contribuição para o desenvolvimento rural sustentável: o caso da comunidade negra do Varzeão, Vale do Ribeira, PR</i> [Ethno-knowledge and its contribution to a sustainable rural development: the case of the black community of Varzeão, Vale do Ribeira, Paraná.]

**Chart 1** – Academic production about quilombola communities in Paraná.

\* Work not assessed; unavailable on websites.

\*\* It was not possible to access the full research, unavailable on websites.

\*\*\* Work not assessed; it has not been published and made available on websites.

\*\*\*\* Work in progress during the development of the research; access unavailable.

\*\*\*\*\* Work in progress during the development of the research; abstract available for access

The abstract by Walfrido Júnior (2005), presented at the meeting “Slavery and Freedom in Southern Brazil”, in 2005, is entitled “Relationship between masters and slaves on the fields of Guarapuava: the case of *Invernada Paiol de Telha*”, and addresses strategies of domination between masters and slaves on the fields of Guarapuava, Paraná. The purpose was to analyze the possibilities of relationship between masters and slaves, clarifying the actions of individuals and society regarding the logic of slavery.

The extended abstract, entitled “Strengthening of the identity and autonomy of the community: focus on health”, by Varejão et al. (2006), was published at the VI Seminário do Projeto Integralidade” [VI Seminar of the Integrality Project]. The text presents a university extension project and its relevance, as well as actions carried out in the communities of Vale do Ribeira, in Paraná, among them the remnant community of quilombo of João Surá. The text clarifies how the studies were conducted, the experiences, the actions and results obtained by the project, bringing the context of quilombola communities in general. The practices developed along with the residents were planned based on Paulo Freire’s theory about popular education, in three moments: methodology of individual and collective mobilization (capacitation), living with the community, and continuous action. We have observed a lack of public policies related to land title guarantee, support and protection to the community, as well as low HDI (human development index) and high percentage of child mortality and illiteracy.

“The third freedom: notes on the process of preparation of a technical report in the quilombola community of João Surá, Paraná”, by Lewandowski and Góes (2008), is an extended abstract, presented at the 26<sup>th</sup> Brazilian Meeting of Anthropology. The text presents the study conducted in the community of João Surá, in the city of Adrianópolis, for a period of 10 months, in 2007, through a partnership between the National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform (INCRA) and the Federal University of Paraná. The work aimed to promote considerations about the historical context of the region of Vale do Ribeira (especially, Adrianópolis) to insert a reflection about the forms through which communities interact with the process of preparation of the technical report, observing the meanings attributed, the appropriations and expectations generated with the studies conducted.

“Notes on the actions of the State along with Paraná’s quilombola communities”, by Lewandowski (2009), speaks of the partnership between the Federal University of Paraná and the INCRA, in 2007, for the field research, addressing territorial and political questions and the actions of the quilombolas along with the state government and other authorities.

“The quilombo as a cultural parameter: an educative proposal”, by Both (2006), is an article published on the *Cadernos Temáticos do Paraná* [Paraná’s Thematic Notebooks]. The author proposes reflection and pedagogical directions to the school aiming to apprehend remnant areas of quilombos in Paraná as a cultural patrimony. To develop the study, she discusses the several meanings of quilombo and patrimony, and the importance of visualizing quilombola areas in the state, and proposes pedagogical actions that enable knowledge on the theme for teachers and students.

The author presents statistical data on quilombola communities in Brazil and brings information on remnant communities of quilombos in Paraná. She speaks of patrimonial education and the function of the quilombola area, which would allow for the development of the symbolic perspective in students, their analytical and interpretative capacity of evidences, analyzes, hypotheses found, leading them to value the sociocultural heritage of the ancestors.

“Quilombos: reference of resistance against domination, and fight for land in Paraná”, by Cruz et al. (2006), is an article presented on the *Cadernos Temáticos* [Thematic Notebooks] of the State Secretariat of Education, addressing the process of formation of

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remnant communities of quilombo in the state of Paraná, inserting the fight for land and resistance of black people against Paraná's elite. The authors start the discussion about the conjuncture of the quilombola communities in the last decades and present two interpretative matrices in relation to the quilombo phenomenon in Brazil: the "culturalist" matrix, beginning in the 1930s, and the "materialist" matrix, created in 1960. The former attempts to understand the Brazilian quilombo as a reference and phenomenon of the past, and the latter is ruled by the materialist interpretation of history, with the insertion of class conflict in the collective rebellion of the slaves.

Cruz et al. (2006) state that the African presence in Paraná's territory emerges with the search for alluvial gold in the city of Paranaguá and, later, with the "tropeirismo" (Brazilian hegemonic economy of the 18th and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries), a fact that creates a new regional agrarian question – the plantation system. Because animal husbandry demanded low concentration of workforce and decrease in mining in the state, black presence and resistance was configured, culminating with the origin of remnant communities of quilombo.

The article "Sports and leisure in the quilombola community of *Invernada Paiol de Telha*: "reality, perspectives and challenges", by Lara et al. (2009), investigates and analyzes the existence of public policies for sports and leisure in quilombola communities in Paraná, toward identifying possibilities of adequate intervention in these places. The authors present how and where the study was conducted, and the subjects participating in the research, all members of the "KundunBalê" Afro Music and Dance Company. Data collection for verification of public policies for sports and leisure in the community occurred through interviews with the coordinators of the KundunBalê, who provided information on the formation of the quilombo, the policies developed there, the community, education, religion, labor, health, etc. The dances performed by the group "meet not only the desire to carry out bodily, cultural and artistic manifestations, but are also adequate for the current fundamental question, which is the fight for improvement of life conditions and social visibility/recognition" (LARA, et al., 2009 p. 12). Thereby, they declare the need to study the quilombola reality in Paraná to assist in the comprehension of their routine, identifying potentialities and needs.

The book "Communities of Feixo and Restinga project: heritage of Lapa's African descendants", by the photographer Paula (2007), exhibits images, photos and reports of residents of the quilombola communities of Feixo and Restinga, in the city of Lapa. The study describes narratives of the members of the communities, and shows the photos taken by the youth living in that place, who participated in photograph workshops. The themes illustrated had as participants the residents of the quilombolas themselves and the landscape (lands, plantations) where they lived. The images portrayed the family, the routine, the celebrations, the religiosity, the landscapes, the fight (capoeira), the spontaneity, the children's games and the subsistence work.

"Black Paraná", book organized by Gomes Júnior, Silva and Costa (2008), approaches quilombola communities in Paraná. It is a photographic work presenting images of houses, landscapes and people, besides indications, locations and a brief history of the communities pointed. The book also brings the historical context of the colonization of America, of the occupation of this territory, of the economic system of primary export base that turned many Africans into fundamental pieces for the economy of that time. The authors point Paraná as the southern state with the highest percentage of blacks, based on data of the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), which point the percentage of 24% of black population in Paraná. They claim the need to come up with actions from a historical, anthropological and social perspective for the benefit of quilombola groups.

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The work “Campina dos Morenos: a preserved quilombo”, by Portella (2002), tells the story of the quilombo located in the city of Turvo, bordered with the city of Guarapuava, pointing aspects that characterize that community. The methodology is supported by the ethno-methodology and tries to understand how these subjects see, describe and suggest, in group, a definition for the situations experienced. It also addresses differences between genders, the physical aspect of the blacks of the Campina, parties (São João, for instance), the belief in the patron saint, among other aspects.

“The blood and spirit of the ancestors: slavery, heritage and expropriation in the black group of Invernada Paiol, Paraná”, by Hartung (2004), refers to the quilombola community of Invernada Paiol de Telha, in the city of Guarapuava. The author presents and discusses the expropriation of that quilombola territory – land left as heritage to a group of slaves and freedmen.

“Remnant communities of quilombo: from the theoretical debate and its configuration in Paraná”, by Cruz ([199-?]), is a monograph that was partially accessed; thus, it was not possible to analyze the full article. The author deals with the historiography production about quilombos and historical aspects of the black territorialization in Paraná, with interpretations about several authors that discuss the term “quilombo”. It presents the location of the community of João Surá and the types of labor organization existing there: the act of contracting temporary services, the reunion of workers and the mutirum. Besides, it shows the changes in the quilombola landscape by several factors, such as base industries installed near the communities between the 1950s and the 1970s, impairing, in several aspects, their reproduction (physical, labor, social).

The monograph “Inside the afro-descendent universe: a look over the cultural-artistic manifestation of the “KundunBalê” Afro Music and Dance Company of Guarapuava, Paraná”, by Cruz (2008), is one of the rare productions that address the theme of bodily practices in quilombola communities. The authors talk about African cultural manifestations, especially the dances inspired in this universe, searching for subsidizes to identify the singularities of the so-called African culture in Brazil by investigating a quilombola community in Paraná. To do so, she looked for sources about the African culture and the forms of dance, and studied the artistic expression, using as reference the “KundunBalê” Afro Music and Dance Company, considering its role in the transmission of the African culture and its appreciation in southern Brazil.

It was a descriptive research, of ethnographic nature; data was collected through observations and semi-structured interviews with residents of the quilombola community of *Paiol de Telha*, with a special focus on the members of the group “KundunBalê”. The author shows that dance was closely related to religion and, through syncretism, the blacks managed to keep dance in their rituals. She describes the characteristics of “candomblé” (African-Brazilian religion), especially the musicality of the rite and the peculiarities of the orishas, and establishes relationships with black celebrations. She states that black culture is misinterpreted and that, through dance and music, quilombolas can make a change in this point-of-view.

“Why ‘do pine nuts not fall far from the pine tree?’: the knowledge socially constructed on the advice of the elders of the *Paiol de Telha* quilombo” is a specialization course monograph, written by Salles (2007). This work refers to the remnant community of quilombo of *Invernada Paiol de Telha*, located in the city of Guarapuava. The author addresses questions concerning quilombola communities in Paraná, presenting facts narrated by the history of the quilombos, massacred and oppressed, with visible impacts on the lives of these individuals - for instance, the expropriation, by land-grabbers, of black territories in the cities of Ponta Grossa, Guarapuava and Varzeão. Later, agriculture mechanization articulates with that, and the interests of the agribusiness, especially of companies

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specialized in the reforestation of *pinus*, a process that impairs the social reproduction of the quilombos due to the falling of native and riparian forests. The general purpose of the author was to understand this process and contribute to the dissemination of subsidies for the social history of the fight for land in the quilombos in Paraná, through the comprehension of the role of the "Elders" in the process of organization of the quilombola community from the action of the "Council of Elders". It also attempted to collaborate with the debate on the processes of racial equality promotion in Paraná from the agrarian question. To do so, a qualitative research was used, counting with a number of participants, conducted through interviews during two months, in 2007, in the cities of Guarapuava, Pinhão and Reserva do Iguaçu. Finally, the author declares the importance of mapping business groups involved in land conflicts and the educative role of the elders.

The work by Paula (2008), entitled "Quilombola Communitarian Policing in the state of Paraná" is a monograph written for a specialization course of the Federal University of Paraná. It was based on bibliographic and field research, with questionnaires sent to the operational units of Paraná' Military Police. Considerations about black people in the history of Brazil are made, with a section dedicated to black militias. It certifies the theme of legality and reports that the job of the military police has been historically associated to situations of repression and persecution of black people, linked to political and ideological interests. She states that her proposal is to present a change of conception on Quilombola Patrolling that leads the military police to guarantee not only the legal rights of quilombolas, but also the maintenance of the material, immaterial and cultural patrimony of the communities.

"'Sutil' community: history and ethnography of a black group in Paraná's rural area", by Hartung (2000), is a doctoral thesis that details the origins, habits, culture, routine and social organization of the black group of the "Sutil" community, located in the city of Ponta Grossa. The author brings details on this social group, the way it was consolidated, the social relations established and the rituals practiced in that space. It is possible to note the search for several elements to understand the totality of this community.

"The ethno-botanic knowledge of the quilombola community of Varzeão and sustainable development", by Lopes (2007), is a doctoral research in progress. The purposes of that research are to know and interpret the ethno-botanic knowledge of the quilombola community of Varzeão, in the city of Dr. Ulisses, Paraná, portraying the reality they live and listing the main factors that represent risk to the perpetration of this knowledge, besides studying the local flora as a subsidy for the development of sustainable policies and income generation, and policies for health promotion.

The mapping of these productions and the assessment of their content contribute to the recognition of researches that identify quilombola communities and try to make them visible, so that they can leave their marginal condition. Different areas of knowledge have participated in this process, although others can still intensify the struggle, describing, assessing, analyzing and disseminating data collected on field, with direct intervention with the communities themselves, in order to value their citizenship, and with governmental and non-governmental institutions.

It is worth remembering that, out of the 21 productions mapped, direct access was possible only to 17 of them, since two were not available for assessment - the study by Steuernagel (2007) and Pinto, Lewandowski (2007). Also, only a limited access was possible to the work by Cruz ([199-?]) and Lopes (2007); the latter is still in progress. The list of the categories present in the theoretical production about quilombolas assists in the identification of the focuses of the research.



## CATEGORIES IN THE THEORETICAL PRODUCTION ABOUT QUILOMBOLAS

The scientific production about remnant communities of quilombo in Paraná (or quilombolas) started to be shaped in the end of the 1990s, but quilombola communities were mapped only in 2005, by the Clóvis Moura Workgroup, responsible for the articulation between the state government and the quilombos. Until then, Paraná's quilombola communities were basically inexistent in history, especially due to the focus on the large-scale European immigration (OLIVEIRA, 2007).

The research conducted on existing productions about quilombola communities in Paraná verified twenty-one productions referring to areas of agrarian, human and health sciences. Thus, throughout the research, the readings and synthesis of the productions allowed us finding categories in the works mapped, visibly perceived in the materials analyzed, namely: "legality", "agrarian/territorial question", "concept of 'quilombo'" and "education". The category "bodily practice" was found in only two of the twenty-one works researched.

The first category, "legality", appears in all of the productions. The legal question allowed the new concept of quilombo becoming public. The law on quilombolas figured in the Constitution in 1988, in its art. 68, in the ADCT [Transitional Constitutional Provisions Act], affirming that "to the remnant people of the communities of quilombos who are occupying their lands the permanent property is recognized, and the State must grant them their respective titles" (BRASIL, 2008). After this act, the interest in studying these communities increased.

Along black history, in Brazil, we see that the exploration of the African-Brazilian worker continued after the abolition. This worker stood then at the margin of society, unemployed and underemployed, subjected to poor housing, education and health conditions. Thereby, this population used to rebel for all rights denied throughout history. During the Brazilian military dictatorship, afro-descendants resisted, along with other strata of society, capitalist military impositions. It was in the end of this regime when the afro-descendant community presented some of their claims, forming, thus, the Brazilian Black Movement (FIABANI, 2005).

With the Decree No 4.887/2003, some other documents and governmental projects for insertion of quilombola communities in public policies appeared. One of them is the "Programa Brasil Quilombola" [Quilombola Brazil Program], instituted in 2005, that aims to put into practice actions for improvement of quality of life and the organization of quilombola communities, besides guaranteeing to them the access to social services necessary to their development. This program was proposed by the Federal Government, through the Brazilian Ministry of Agrarian Development (MDA), the National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform (Incra), the Brazilian Ministry of Social Development and fight Against Hunger and the Brazilian Ministry of Culture/"Palmares" Cultural Foundation, under coordination of Brazil's Special Secretariat of Policies for Promotion of Racial Equality (SEPPIR).

With the legal documents, it is perceivable that what the law proposes and what quilombola communities live are totally opposite things. That can be confirmed in the productions analyzed, in the images, descriptions, reports of residents and opinions of authors investigated, evidencing a reality that is different from what the documents establish. These communities face problems referring to basic needs for survival, lack of basic sanitation, food, health, housing, education, among others. This is also due to the historical process of this population in Brazil, diminished and massacred because of their color in the spaces they live, because of the whitening ideology and naturalization of violence against black people.

Racist theories spread in the Brazilian society in the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century by the ideology of racial democracy (FREYRE, 2006). The early Republic (1889) was marked by the

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idea of modernity and progress of the country, a question that was closely articulated with the whitening of the population, since the European immigration and the miscegenation would generate a decrease in the number of blacks (JACCOUD, 2008). The idea of whitening of the Brazilian population remains, perceptible in didactic books and other means of communication, identifying as positive the relationship with what is from outside (foreign), especially with the European and North-American culture.

The second category found refers to the land question of the quilombola territory. The “right to land” figures as a primary condition for the production of the food of these peoples, as well as the form how they have traditionally organized themselves. Land is what allows for survival and has a strong connection with ancestry. Unequal distribution of land in Brazil has historical reasons, and the fight for territory involves economic, political and social aspects. The first lands in the country were donated to farmers – the “sesmarias”. From the Portuguese verb “sesmar”, meaning dividing lands, the sesmarias law was created in Portugal, in 1375, aiming to make agriculture in the country progress. “Sesmaria” was the system of land concession by the Portuguese Crown to farmers in order to promote the appropriation of the colonial territory, to stimulate production and to bring profits to the Kingdom. This system generated a great concentration of land in the hands of a few people, and nowadays many plantations in Brazil still have their origins in this idea (SILVA, 1989).

With the decline of slavery and the end of African slave trade, as Fiabani (2005) states, the Land Law is created, in 1850, to discipline the access to land, with the intention to prevent or hinder the possession by the poor population and immigrants. The author also declares that farmers of the state of São Paulo feared the lack of workforce in coffee plantations, for this reason, it was necessary to apprehend the land to implement free labor. The land law aimed to favor the conjuncture of that time to the Brazilian elite, maintaining the monopoly of the access to land.

In face of this reality, there is the question: how were the quilombola territories, in that time, and the conflicts they face today constituted? According to Fiabani (2005) and the Quilombola Observatory (2003), some owners left, while alive or in their will, portions of land to be cultivated by their slaves. An example of this practice occurred in Paraná, in the city of Guarapuava, where the owner of the “Capão Grande” farm, Lady Balbina Francisca de Siqueira, declared in her will, in 1860, that she would leave her lands (Invernada Paiol de Telha) to her slaves (HARTUNG, 2000). This land, up to the present days, faces territorial conflicts with public organs and private companies.

All in all, we consider that the historical concentration of land impaired the social reproduction of many families. For this reason, we see several social movements organizing to fight for territories and other large private properties as a form of resistance. In this context, we also observe the reasons why farmers threat quilombola territories when the INCRA demarcates and regulates the land of remnant quilombos. In view of that, we observe that popular social movements in Brazil are always faced with unfavorable positions, because the interests of the capital, in the country (in consonance with the interests of the international capital), are incompatible with an agrarian reform that alter the political and social structure on Brazilian fields.

The third category refers to the concept of “quilombo”. The authors of the productions about quilombolas mention quilombos as spaces of resistance and ethnic identity, based on the Decree No 4.887/2003, which defines remnant community of quilombos as ethnic-racial groups, according to self-attribution criteria, with their own historical trajectory, endowed with specific territorial relations, and those of presumable black ancestry related to resistance against the historical oppression suffered.

This term acquired several connotations over the centuries. In the historiography of the blacks and quilombos, as verified in several works analyzed here in about quilombolas in

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Paraná, we have found two interpretative chains: the culturalist and the materialist. The first one, as Gomes (2006, p.10) clarifies, started around 1930, having as main exponents Nina Rodrigues, Gilberto Freyre, Ramos, Oliveira Vianna and Afrânio Peixoto, understood that “[...] the quilombos represented a counterculture phenomenon, with origins in the persistence of the African culture, in response to the permanent process of “acculturation” of the slave society; that is, it was supported by the idea that, in the quilombos, the subjects had the intention to reproduce the African culture. This chain considered blacks as inferior and submissive to their masters, but did not see them as enslaved workers. The criticism made to this perspective is that slaves are seen as passive before the exploration under which they lived, not representing any threat to the slavery system.

Replying to the conceptions that saw the relationships between masters and slaves as kind and paternalist, in 1960s, the materialist conception is created. This one presents itself as a collective view, of slave resistance. Authors like Clóvis Moura (1986) and Florestan Fernandes present the quilombo as a space of resistance and class conflict, emphasizing the actions (revolts, insurrections, creation of quilombos) of the slaves against the system in force at that time. Gomes (2006, p. 13) points that this chain “[...] portrayed the image of a “violent” and “rebellious” slave, because the alleged kindness of the captivity was denied through the exaltation of the reaction of the slaves against it”. He also declares that this approach stresses the revolutionary aspect of leaders and large quilombos in Brazil.

From the 1970s, the term “quilombo” is seen in a new context – of political reopening. With the re-democratization of the country, a new look over the texts of the past was searched. It is in this moment when the history about quilombos gains ground, leading to the appearance of articulation between scholars (anthropologists) and militants of the black movement, and to the review of the historiography of blacks and quilombos (FIABANI, 2005). The Decree No 4.887/2003 translated the ethnic identity allied with materialist studies.

The category “education” is also recurrent in the works analyzed, mainly with the measure of recognition of the black population’s rights, through the insertion of their history in high school. The National Education Guidelines and Framework Law (LDB) went into effect in January 2003, whose articles 26-A, 79-A and 79-B establish that the inclusion of the theme “Afro-Brazilian History and Culture” in the official curriculum of Elementary and High School in public and private institutions is mandatory” (BRASIL, 2003). These articles of said law defines as syllabus the history of Africa and Africans, the fight of blacks in Brazil, the participation of blacks in the formation of the national society, among other questions. Later, it was replaced by the Law No 11.645/2008 (BRASIL, 2008), with an alteration: the inclusion of the indigenous culture in school curricula

It is worth remembering that the imposition of this law at national level was due to the hard work of the social black movement, which had been defending this idea since 1986 (MOURA, G., 1986). On the other hand, in spite of the great importance of this initiative, we cannot affirm that it ensures the approach of the content in a conscious and concrete way. There should be critical consciousness from educators, didactic books monitoring, development of the otherness, recognition of democratic processes, identification of discriminatory practices, toward overcoming racial inequality in education.

The category “bodily practices”, intentionally chosen for reflection, and constituted, in its historical conditions, from a set of experiences that are built in the body, from the body and through the body, was observed in only two of the theoretical productions. As Silva (2005) observes, the term “practice” should be comprehended from its meaning of “putting into action” or “expressing” a certain intention or sense and doing so through the body.

The undergraduate course monograph and the article found about the theme “bodily practices” in quilombola communities’ address, coincidentally, the investigation in the same

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community, whatever it may be, of *Invernada Paiol de Telha*. Both studies affirm that the “KundunBalê” is a group that claim improvement for their community through their artistic spectacle and, through the wealth of movements, also show the meaning of gestures, the ecstasy, the dance that communicates and the expressive body. Thus, it is possible to consider that the category “bodily practices”, although it is approached only in two productions, points rich discussions that help to reflect on the sense/meaning of bodily manifestations in society and the relevance of studying them.

Researching bodily practices (games, dances, plays, sports, fights and gymnastics) in quilombola communities is a rich and curious study, although it lacks investigations. The process of acculturation of the communities in face of urbanization and contemporary values impaired even the performance of manifestations that belong to their culture. In fact, since the slavery period, the artistic manifestations brought by African slaves adapted themselves to the historical conditions of the colony, creating elements different from the original ones. Sometimes this “new” emerges totally distant from what has originated it, to the point of no longer being recognized as such anymore.

Discussing sports, leisure, dance, gymnastics, plays, games, body, movement and culture is a form of searching the social dimension of bodily expressions, enabling the consolidation of a new understanding in relation to these manifestations. Bodily practices, the field of movement and cultural production are legitimate forms of manifestation of the community, of resistance, of ethnic appreciation, of political struggle, and cannot be camouflaged and suffocated by other hegemonic policies or practices.

#### FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS

This research aimed to analyze the production of knowledge about quilombola communities in Paraná, identifying their content and, especially, whether bodily practices are contemplated in these investigations. The work mapped the studies conducted about quilombos in Paraná and identified specific categories of the quilombolas in the production selected for study, discussing them from theoretical frameworks.

The academic productions found about quilombola communities in Paraná goes from small texts to doctoral theses, and refer to areas of agrarian, human sciences (history, geography, sociology, anthropology) and health sciences (physical education). They address themes on education, culture, work, security, ethnic identity, fight for land (agrarian question), legality, production of knowledge and dance. A total of twenty-one works were found, constituted of five articles, three abstracts, four books, five monographs, two dissertations and two doctoral theses.

We can also point here in a limitation of the study regarding the content of the academic production mapped, since two productions have not been analyzed due to difficult of access, and other two for being in progress during the development of the present research. Nevertheless, as the investigation has not ended, especially if we consider that quilombola communities, nowadays, have been receiving special attention among the different areas of knowledge, other studies need to be developed about a production that tends to become an inexhaustible field of knowledge.

With the mapping performed, it can be observed that some works aimed to contribute to the production of historical knowledge about the communities, providing data referring to several aspects of the social group, such as the landscape and geographic aspects into which the quilombos are inserted, the origin of the inhabitants of the communities and of the subjects that live there, as well as the importance of this memory. Others propose conceptions of the term “quilombo”, ensuring that it is a territory of resistance, political organization and struggle of people for their rights. Other studies, also, point actions of

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education, understanding the quilombos as a patrimony that has to be preserved as cultural heritage and social memory. Thus, we observe, according to Saviani (1997, p. 1), “that since when the man is a man he lives in society and develops through education”. Thereby, the subtexts of history should not be omitted. Formal education must be based on a comprehensive formation that guarantees that human beings are critical, aware and capable of intervene in the reality with the possibility of constructing new social relationships.

In this sense, we consider that the materials mapped are wealth in information, because they allow the reader to recognize historical and routine situations of quilombola communities, and thus contribute to the organization of intervener actions. The little theoretical investment in bodily practices in Paraná’s quilombola communities points to the existence of a vast field to be explored, especially by the Brazilian physical education, which has rarely been turned to the study of the minority deprived from decent living conditions and their cultural production. To recognize this gap is to allow that other studies are potentiated, contributing to the recognition and appreciation of these communities in all social spheres.

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