

# The Black Woman Quilombola in Brazil

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quilombola communities, black women.*

**Abstract**— *In this work, we took the Quilombola Community Sítio de Lagoinha, from the Sertão do São Francisco Territory, as the space for this research, the only quilombola community certified by the Palmares Cultural Foundation in the municipality of Casa Nova, located in the north of the state of Bahia, 100 km from the municipality of Juazeiro and 600 kilometers from Salvador. The research is of a qualitative nature, in a necessary process and, in some aspects, of continuity of a work carried out between the years 2013 and 2020, in the communities of Juazeiro da Bahia, in the exercise of the public function in front of the Directorate of Diversity, sector of the Municipal Government of Juazeiro (BA), responsible for ethnic-racial relations, administratively linked to the Secretariat for Social Development, Women and Diversity.*

## I. INTRODUCTION

The black quilombola woman is one of the pillars of Brazil's social, economic, political and cultural history and, at the same time, is one of the subjects that suffers the most in racial relations in the country. The process that this woman undergoes is twofold: genocide and epistemicide. An intense process of oppression shaped mainly by racial and gender issues, crossed by many others, such as class and territorial issues.

Here, we take as reference the perspective of Sueli Carneiro (2005) about epistemicide as a constitutive element of a raciality/biopower device. For Carneiro (2005), epistemicide, in addition to being the disqualification and annulment of the knowledge of subjugated peoples, is a persistent process of production of cultural indigence on these peoples. This occurs,

[...] by the denial of access to education, especially of quality; by the production of intellectual inferiority; by the different mechanisms of delegitimization of the black person as a carrier and producer of knowledge and the lowering of the cognitive capacity due to material shortages and/or the impairment of self-esteem by the processes of discrimination current in the educational process. This is because it is not possible to disqualify the forms of knowledge of the dominated peoples without also disqualifying them, individually and collectively, as knowing subjects. And, in doing so, it deprives it of its reason, the condition for achieving “legitimate” or legitimized knowledge. That is why epistemicide kills the rationality of the subject or kidnaps it,

mutilates the ability to learn, etc. (CARNEIRO, 2005, p. 97).

According to the IBGE 2016, more than half of the Brazilian population is black (black and brown), 54%. Of this number, 28% are women, which denotes that the population of black women is the largest population group in Brazil, according to the 2019 Continuous PNAD. But they also share the worst rates of social inequality, illiteracy, underemployment and poor housing conditions.

In addition to being the biggest victims of violence: we can mention domestic violence, which occurs within and from family ties, as provided for in Maria da Penha Law 11,340. As well as gender violence, a type of violation affected by the social belief that feeds back that racist and patriarchal society “has the right” to dispose of the body of black women as they wish – including carrying out collective rape or harassment in their space. of work. These are just a few examples of what happens in the daily lives of most black women.

The official numbers, which are constantly published, show that Brazilian diversity is relegated to exclusion, misery and indigence processes. For a black woman, to win in a country like Brazil, it is necessary to exert excessive force to overcome many obstacles.

This context becomes more complex when referring to the Brazilian quilombola population. The next census, which would take place in 2020, and which was postponed by the Federal Government, due to the Covid 19 Pandemic, and which is scheduled to be carried out in mid-2022, being the first demographic census that will identify the population that self-declared quilombola of Brazil.

## II. HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHIC CONTEXTUALIZATION

According to the IBGE database, based on information from the 2010 census and the territorial base of the next census, there are already approximately 6,000 quilombola localities identified in Brazil, distributed in 1,672 municipalities. According to the Institute, the 5,972 locations are thus quantified and classified,

[...] 404 are officially recognized territories, 2,308 are called quilombola groups and 3,260 are identified as other quilombola localities. Among the groups, 709 are located within the officially delimited quilombola territories and 1,599 are outside these lands. (IBGE, 2022).

Of the regions of Brazil, the study points out that it is in the Northeast where the largest number of quilombola communities are concentrated (3,171). In sequence, the

Southeast region with 1,359 quilombos. “The other regions have the lowest numbers: North (873), South (319) and Midwest (250) (IBGE, 2022). And of the Brazilian states, Bahia is where they are most concentrated, followed by the states of Minas Gerais, with 1,021, Maranhão, with 866, and Pará, with 516 quilombola locations. (IBGE, 2022) About a population estimate, the National Coordination of Quilombola Articulation (CONAQ), pointed out that in 2017, there were more than 130 thousand Brazilian quilombola families (UN Women, 2017).

Considering this initial scenario presented by the IBGE, in relation to quilombola communities spread over much of the national territory, the fact that only in 2022 this population segment will be considered, denotes an erasure of at least three decades, considering the Federal Constitution of 1988. which in its article 68 of the Transitional Provisions recognized the existence of quilombola populations and guaranteed them the right to occupied lands. A process of indigence that reflects the realities of structural inequalities that portray most of these communities.

Thus, when we take the lives of black quilombola women into perspective, these inequalities coalesce, deepen and take root, causing developments that span entire generations, as the UN Women in Brazil states,

While men migrate to the nearest cities in search of work, they remain. There, they guarantee sustenance, based on the management of natural resources, acting for the social organization and transmission of ancestral knowledge. (...) exposed to the various forms of violence, they are the main ones impacted by territorial conflicts, development projects and the suppression of rights, which significantly compromises the social and economic development of these women. Even in this adverse scenario, these communities resist marked by female and black protagonism. (UN WOMEN, 2017).

Therefore, the path to equity is increasingly distant, because with each political coup that we experience and that further weaken the democratic process in Brazil, in addition to health crises or any other type, they directly affect the non-white Brazilian populations and mainly black women.

According to the national movement “Black Women Decide”, “the narrative dispute is urgent and black women need to be included, considering that they represent” less than 2% in the Brazilian National Congress, and in the municipalities they do not reach 5% in legislative positions (Black Women Decide, 2020, s/p).

It is against the grain of the process of indigence that this work joins many others that seek to legitimize black people and black women as producers and bearers of knowledge, knowing subjects capable not only of learning, but, above all, of teaching. Thus, inspired by Sueli Carneiro (2005), we propose the quilombola universe as a universe of life, despite the hegemonic social system in Brazil making an effort to threaten it, in particular through invisibility. In this context, the black quilombola woman emerges as a subject who has her life as a constant struggle – for survival, social and political position.

The life story of a quilombola woman is, therefore, the life story of a subject who constantly subverts and resists the relationships that subjugate and marginalize her. In this way, it is possible to affirm that every quilombola woman is synonymous with struggle and resistance.

Starting from this problem, we built this work having as a paradigm the black quilombola woman and their life stories, that is, the quilombola woman as a historical subject possessing an ancestral tradition of anti-racist resistance. Reflecting with her is, academically, an anti-epistemic exercise and reaffirms, as political subjects, that their lives make up the social frameworks, even with the effort of whiteness to erase them.

In this work, we took the Quilombola Community Sítio de Lagoinha, from the Sertão do São Francisco Territory, as the space for this research, the only quilombola community certified by the Palmares Cultural Foundation in the municipality of Casa Nova, located in the north of the state of Bahia, 100 km from the municipality of Juazeiro and 600 kilometers from Salvador. The research is of a qualitative nature, in a necessary process and, in some aspects, of continuity of a work that I carried out between the years 2013 and 2020, in the communities of Juazeiro da Bahia, in the exercise of the public function in front of the Directorate of Diversity, sector of the Municipal Government of Juazeiro (BA), responsible for ethnic-racial relations, administratively linked to the Secretariat for Social Development, Women and Diversity,

The Sertão do São Francisco Identity Territory, located in the northern region of the state of Bahia, is composed of 10 municipalities Campo Alegre de Lourdes, Casa Nova, Canudos, Curaçá, Juazeiro, Remanso, Sobradinho, Sento Sé, Pilão Arcado and Uauá. With a total population of 494,431, mostly urban, 315,797 thousand, and a rural population of 168,634 thousand, according to data from the IBGE, Census 2010 and published by the extinct Ministry of Agrarian Development (MDA). The Sertão do São Francisco Territory (TSSF) has a majority of black population (IBGE 2010) and contains six quilombola communities recognized so far by the Palmares Cultural

Foundation: Jatobá (Curaçá), Alagadiço, Rodeadouro and Barrinha da Conceição (Juazeiro), Lagoinha (New house). Traditional territories safeguarding an ancestral tradition, some date back more than 200 years (SANTOS, 2016), as is the case of the Alagadiço de Juazeiro da Bahia community. Stories like that of the Sítio de Lagoinha Community, with 111 years of resistance, which, after many generations of unpaid work, “received” from the boss, as payment, these lands, in the rural area of the municipality of Casa Nova/BA.

It is necessary to report that many researches about these communities have already been carried out, but gender issues were little problematized. Therefore, in this research, I propose a dialogue with these black quilombola women, strengthening the value of alternative histories, memories and epistemologies, such as black feminism, through intersectionality as a tool of analysis, contributing to the process of breaking the invisibility of these subjects. historically neglected by the State and even by the academy or the school system, as well as contributing to their empowerment, while I call attention to the importance of their protagonist role in the maintenance of that territory and in the struggle for access to numerous basic rights that have historically been denied to them, such as the right to land, treated water, energy,

In this process of invisibility, black quilombola women experience an even more perverse process, conditioned to their vulnerabilities, which demonstrates the need to deepen this academic framework, revealing, from the life narratives of black women from the Quilombola Communities of the Sertão do Território San Francisco, fundamental aspects in understanding the development of the Territory, such as issues of gender, identity, ancestry, life history, living conditions, resistance, rights and female protagonism.

According to Nilma Lino Gomes (2003), the paths for the construction of black identity are complex, which is neither static nor unique – “possible to be constructed by subjects who belong to this ethnic/racial group” (GOMES, 2003, p. 171). The author states that, within the multiplicity and social identities that black people construct, black identity is one of them, being a “continuous process, built by blacks in the various spaces – institutional or not – in which they circulate (.. .)” (GOMES, 2003, p. 172).

In this sense, adds the author

As social subjects, it is within the scope of culture and history that we define social identities (all of them, and not just racial identity, but also gender, sexual, nationality, class identities, etc.). These multiple and distinct identities constitute the subjects, insofar as they are challenged from different

situations, institutions or social groups (GOMES, 2003, p. 171).

Given this understanding, it is possible to perceive the complexity of the identities of black women in Sítio Lagoinha, forged within the scope of racial and gender relations, crossed by economic, social, territorial and geographic inequalities. As Rezende (2014) reflects, quilombola communities face several difficulties and obstacles to guarantee their rights – territorial, cultural, social and ancestral. In this context of struggles, the author states that political-cultural identities are created, recreated and invented, above all, as a black political subject. Therefore, the Brazilian quilombo needs to be reflected in an intersectional perspective with categories that intertwine and complement each other such as race, gender, collectivity, identity and subject.

The constitution of the quilombola identity must be understood in light of the need “to fight for the maintenance or reconquest of a material and symbolic territory” (Rezende, 2014, p. 12). In this way, the production of identity in quilombola territories can be considered as a constant, creative and anti-racist production, precisely because it starts from black subjects in a racist society, that is, operating anti-racist subversions of identity. This problem is exacerbated when we take a gender perspective, especially the issue of black women. In power relations, the black quilombola woman suffers a sociopolitical invisibility, causing vulnerability, marginalization and violence on these people. Historically, black women, especially those from or residing in rural quilombola communities, have their lives and stories relegated to oblivion. Such a group lives almost “invisible” in our society, suffering all kinds of prejudice, disrespect and distant from government public policies. Thus, the problem of this research unfolds in the question: How has the historical experience of women from the Quilombola Community of Lagoinha/BA been, based on issues related to social class, territory, gender and race?

### III. EPISTEMIC AND METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

As mentioned, in the exercise of the professional activities of the Diversity Board of Juazeiro da Bahia, in the applicability of the Promotion of Racial Equality, a policy that aims at ethnic-racial relations, the elaboration and execution of policies aimed at the black population of Juazeiro, among them, the traditional peoples and communities, in the last seven years of my work (2013 to 2020), I came into contact with the quilombola communities in the region.

This approach took place through the Research Project Photoethnographic Profile of Quilombola Populations of the Submédio São Francisco: identities in movement, coordinated and led by researcher Márcia Guena dos Santos, from the Department of Human Sciences III, at the State University of Bahia (UNEB), for the demands raised in carrying out the research, which resulted in the Quilombola Articulation Group, and brought together the participation of various institutional, governmental and non-governmental partners and leaders of the quilombola communities of Juazeiro (Alagadiço, Rodeadouro and Barrinha da Conceição) and the Quilombola Community Lagoinha site in Casa Nova Bahia.

The Diversity Directorate, a sector that integrates the administrative structure of the Secretary of Social Development for Women and Diversity, represented the City Hall of Juazeiro da Bahia, in the Quilombola Articulation Group of the Department of Human Sciences III, UNEB, whose main objective is to minimize the distance history, mainly of governmental organizations, in relation to the pressing demands of Quilombola Communities in the region, and, with this initiative, many public agents and non-governmental organizations reached the communities, guaranteeing some access to public policies and the construction of partnerships that carried out actions in these communities.

My first contact with the ground of these communities was acting institutionally and becoming aware of the degree of institutional oblivion to which these communities were subjected. Researcher Márcia Guena, black woman, university professor, photographer, intellectual and activist of the black movement, aware of institutional absences and the impact of racism on the lives of these people and communities, exercised two types of action: institutional and militant, when, on weekends, he called on us to organize a joint effort to clean up a disabled school in one of the communities, for example.

Working with the black population, with women, with the LGBTQIA+ population, in the Diversity Board, has given new meaning to the way I see myself and the world. In this context, the quilombola communities were fundamental in understanding both my professional performance and activism. Experiencing the construction of these intervention processes in the communities, representing only my sector, did not mean that the city hall institution as a whole was present. In addition, other communities in the Sertão do São Francisco Territory also contacted us through the Quilombola Articulation Group, as was the case of the Sítio de Lagoinha Community in Casa Nova - Bahia, the locus of this research.



The first time I was in Lagoinha was when the Community, in partnership with the Quilombola Articulation Group, held the 1st Forum for the Promotion of Racial Equality in Casa Nova/BA, an event and moment in which the municipality of the municipality entered as a supporter, in November 2018. A bold but necessary initiative, since the municipality of Casa Nova has almost no policy for the Promotion of Racial Equality (PIR), or for serving quilombola communities. From the PIR forum, we found that it was the first time that a representation of the government of Casa Nova attended this community, in which it was represented by the Education and Social Assistance secretariats, in addition to a technician from the Secretariat of Culture, the only one who had a relationship with the community. On that occasion,

After this event, contact with the community was constant and we held significant moments for the community, in the context of struggles for rights and affirmation of the quilombola identity. Some notable moments, in addition to the Forum, which we can list here, the celebration event on July 25th, the day of the Black Latin American and Caribbean-American and Caribbean Woman, in which the Quilombola Articulation Group brought together the quilombola women of the region, at a table entitled “Quilombola Women in the Resistance” to combat invisibility, a space for speech and exchange of experiences between them, which took place in the quilombola community of Barrinha da Conceição in Juazeiro, with the participation of women from Sítio de Lagoinha.

The 1st Meeting of Quilombola Communities of the TSSF, which took place in the Quilombola Community of Alagadiço, in Juazeiro and the requalification workshop of the Apiary of Sítio de Lagoinha, a project financed by the Secretariat for the Promotion of Racial Equality of the State of Bahia (SEPROMI), in which we spoke about the Buzios Revolt. In addition to experimentation as an extension worker, which also took place on a site in Lagoinha, on that occasion, together with other colleagues from the Rural Extension Master's, we carried out a survey of the socio-productive profile of the community, through the use of participatory methodologies, which resulted in the presentation of the article “Socioproductive Dynamics of the Quilombola Community Sítio de Lagoinha de Casa Nova – Bahia”, at the II International Congress of Agroecology, held by UNIVASF in 2019.

Throughout our educational and professional trajectories, we have been reflecting and discussing what most attracts our attention in the entire social and community universe, whether urban or rural, of the realities we know.

The effort to carry out this research with black quilombola women is intended to provide the field of agencies and agents of rural extension, the general public and the social movements themselves with a more comprehensive look at visibility, appreciation and recognition. political life of these subjects, emphasizing the protagonism of quilombola women. The methodology proposed for the feasibility of this research has an ethnographic approach and took place in a qualitative way, through listening to the narratives of lives, as well as participant observation, based mainly on listening to the narratives of the lives of women who occupy positions of reference in the quilombola community Sítio de Lagoinha, located in the municipality of Casa Nova Bahia, in the Territory of Identity – Sertão do São Francisco.

In this sense, semi-structured interviews were carried out, formed by questions thought as a strategy to guide the memory that would allow us to understand the reality of the performance of these women in the formation of the quilombola territory Sítio Lagoinha. Even in some questions that, at first were considered simple or mere formalities, took on another relevance in the course of the research. Like the name, which appeared in the interviewees' speeches, as an element that had an ancestral relationship. The realization of this led the research to Anas and Marias de Lagoinha, as pillars of this traditional community.

Saying the name was a moment of grace, the pride they had in saying the origins of their names are linked to strength, faith and the path taken by their elders. The intergenerationality of the universe apprehended by the research – women who were between 90 and 30 years of age – making evident the present oppressions that mark the women of Lagoinha, from generation to generation. The stories of childhood, history with education, work, the formation of the territory, the relationship with the land, with men, and the interference of racism and sexism while gender discrimination in the lives of the quilombolas of Pond.

Observing these oppressions, from an intersectional analysis (CRENSHAW, 2002), the data are indicative of inequalities of race, gender and the problem of social class, when we consider the different forms of exploitation in which it is involved, not only domestic work and the struggle for schooling, which, based on the speeches of the women of Lagoinha, became a central focus of this work, but how much, really, “black lives matter” in a country like Brazil.

According to Patricia Hill Collins (2002), intersectionality is,

A conceptualization of the problem that seeks to capture the structural and dynamic consequence of the interaction between two or more axes of subordination. It specifically addresses the way in which racism, patriarchy, class oppression, and other discriminatory systems create basic inequalities that structure the relative positions of women, races, ethnicities, classes, and others. Furthermore, intersectionality deals with the way in which specific actions and policies generate oppressions that flow along such axes, constituting dynamic or active aspects of disempowerment. (COLLINS, 2002, p. 177).

To this end, it is black feminism as an epistemology that, through its framework, subsidizes us to address aspects of black women's lives and that demonstrates as "a fundamental issue of black feminist thought [...] the analysis of women's work, black women, and especially their victimization as 'mules' in the labor market". (COLLINS, 2019, p. 99). The author mentions the "mules" in the sense that they represent "dehumanized objects [...] living machines and can be treated as an object of the landscape" (COLLINS, 2019, p. 99). The history of the quilombolas of Lagoinha allows us to demonstrate this reality.

Our experience with the quilombolas of the Lagoinha/BA Community can be thought of, in this sense, as an activist research. Mainly because of my approach with Ana Rita and José Henrique, who I can consider them as co-authors in this process.

#### IV. RESEARCH CONTRIBUTIONS

The research presents as a product the e-book "Lagoinha: Um Território Quilombola erected by Anas e Marias" in which life narratives of six women from the quilombola community Sítio Lagoinha will be presented, Ana Rita Santos Silva, 61 years old, Maria Roberta Santos Silva, 60 years old, Maria dos Anjos, 39 years old, Maria Jesuína, 83 years old, Maria da Silva Pacheco, 58 years old and Raimunda dos Santos.

In addition to her ancestors present by the orality of her descendants: the beginning of the walk by Maria Saturnina, popularly known as Maria Tô Bôa, following Ana Maria do Espírito Santo and Dona Cícera dos Santos, Lagoinha's mother, who died in 2021. By Through their trajectories, we will know more about the complexity of their fortunes and misfortunes, as well as the violence that crosses the existence of these women over time, among these, the struggle for schooling, the nuances of housework, childhood completely resignified by the hard work,

domestic violence. Relationships that are, therefore, permeated by racism and machismo, as well as the problem of classes and the exclusion of ethnic groups.

In the midst of this harsh reality, the policy of affection and belonging of the quilombo, as a safe place, with the possibility of return and affection, as well as collective and transgressive action for a process of self-definition that opposes violence. The narratives demonstrate the social and cultural relevance of the agency of quilombola women who are in the constant struggle for the existence of their territory, establishing daily survival strategies.

It is important to highlight that the editorial decision to produce the e-book was directed towards the construction of a light and very didactic product, in which we used only part of the material from the narrative interviews, the parts in which the characters presented themselves. It manifests a wealth of possibilities, among so many, learning from the history of these women and the Quilombo Sítio Lagoinha.

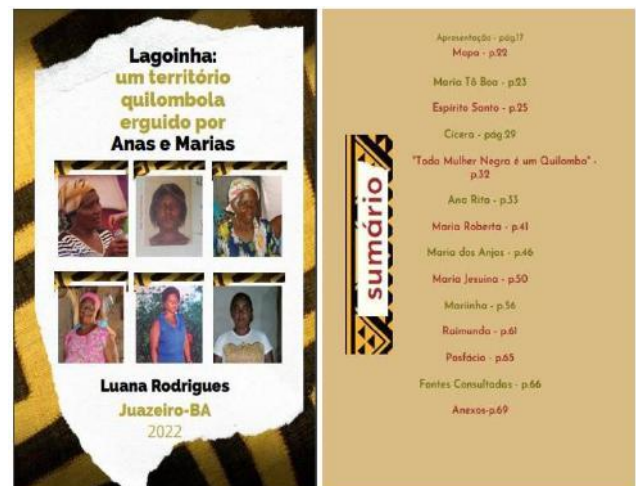


Fig.1 - Cover and summary of the e-book

Source: RODRIGUES, et al 2022.

The book has 85 pages and has as co-authors the quilombola women of Lagoinha. In addition, there is the preface written by the activist of the national black women's movement, Céres Santos, professor at the Department of Human Sciences - III at the State University of Bahia.

Thus, as an afterword written by the professor at the Federal University of Vale do São Francisco, Nilton de Almeida, activist of the Black Movement in the São Francisco region and supervisor of this research. The images are from the photographic collection of the characters themselves, from the Quilombola Association of Lagoinha/BA, as well as photographs from the collection of the researcher and photographer, Márcia Guena dos Santos.

The graphic project proposal was elaborated and carried out by a militant woman of the social movements in the

region, Carmem Costa, who used as a reference images from the Bogo Já Festival, in which 429 women illustrated their homes with mineral paintings, held in the village of Siby in Mali. , from the year 2021, published on the Instagram page of the Brazilian artist, Jhon Bermond. According to the Bermonds, the illustrations made by the women in their homes bring ancestral symbolism to their homes.”

Thus, in addition to the photographs, voices and ancestry of quilombola women, the African prints, intertwined, compose the aesthetics and message of the e-book “Lagoinha, a territory erected by Anas and Marias”.

A result like this is configured as an important instrument, of notes of a historical, economic, social and political reality of this ethnic group, from the point of view of the women of Lagoinha/BA.

In order to point out the reality, and also to emerge in the face of it, the deepening of the demands and the signaling for the elaboration of public policies that can contribute to the strengthening of the community, consequently, of the women and their families. In addition to expanding the range for academic performance, through teaching, research and extension, which also seek to act in this sense.

According to Ângela Tadei (2009), “to narrate is, above all, to fight against forgetting the traditions that shape us, the identities we invest in, the projects for the future that we cherish” and occurs in “all times in multiple” genres (2009). TADEI, 2008, p. 03). In this way, “narrate has been a recurring human activity” (TADEI, 2009, p. 03), even more so for traditional peoples and communities that preserve their oral history, perceived in everyday life as a transmission of knowledge and ancestral ways of life. .

According to Antônio Bispo dos Santos (Nego Bispo), contrary to what happens in capitalist society, which transforms knowledge into merchandise, in quilombola communities what happens is its sharing, because when knowledge is shared, the person who receives the knowing, has the possibility to add to that knowledge and want to know a little more (NEGO BISPO, 2020). This desire is shared by the women who built the research. Thus, the e-book was published and made available on the website of the Master's Program in Rural Extension, as well as the Nucleus of Ethnic and Afro-Brazilian Studies Abdias do Nascimento e Ruth de Souza (NEAFRAR) of Univasf, on the blog Quilombos e Sertões and others. platforms they wish to disseminate widely.

## V. FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Throughout this work we present the definitions about the modern quilombo in Brazil, as well as we seek to understand the state of the question of the research carried out in the Bahian context. This contextualization adds to the history of the Quilombo de Lagoinha, the first wanderings of the community's ancestors, as well as the construction of the quilombola kinship along the São Francisco River, culminating in the current community.

It marks the awakening of the academy to the reality of the region's ethnic groups, more especially the Sertão do São Francisco Territory (TSSF). The importance of this problematization, not only for the academy, can subsidize social movements, which, from this, join forces with traditional communities and the black people of the region in the search for guaranteeing the rights of historically marginalized populations. As well as understanding historical concepts of the formation of quilombos and the paradigms that explain the materialization of a contemporary quilombo, a concept in which it contemplates the formation of TSSF quilombos, within these, the community of Lagoinha.

For the historical context of the formation of this territory, we analyze the protagonist action of black women in the formation of a quilombola territory. In this way, we go back to the black history of a community in the Sertão do São Francisco Territory, from the point of view of black women.

The emergence of this quilombola territory is the result of a process of migration from a northeastern municipality to another, from Afrânio - PE to Juazeiro- BA, due to the lack of resources and the drought of the northeastern hinterland, which for centuries, the lack of investments in technology and incentives for coexistence with the semi-arid region has shaped the lives and destinies of a number of the inhabitants of the Brazilian semi-arid region.

In this way, it is essential to highlight that this reality has been modified by the agency of community-based movements that have long been putting pressure on the State to implement policies of coexistence with the semi-arid region. Faced with this context of water scarcity, the São Francisco River was configured in the river of hope that symbolized opportunity, at a time when Juazeiro was considered one of the main centers of river commerce. Over the generations, while male labor is exploited by the boss, female labor is used for both: production on the boss's land and the subsistence of the "next wave", the children who would grow up and provide more. a generation of unpaid work, just by “luck”.

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