

From (In) Involvement to (In) Territorialization of the Quilombola de Negros de Gilú Community, in Itacuruba – PE

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Abstract— *The aim of this study was to describe the trajectory of the quilombolas called Negros de Gilú, in their struggle for permanence on the land from the construction of the Luiz Gonzaga hydroelectric plant in the 1980s of the 20th century by CHESF - Companhia Hidroelétrica do São Francisco, in the locality of Itacuruba, in the state of Pernambuco. It is an exploratory study, developed through documentary research, involving reports and administrative process established by INCRA - National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform; anthropological report issued by UFPE - Federal University of Pernambuco; documents and reports from the Palmares Foundation, which advised this population on the paths to be taken in the search for their ideal, and minutes of deliberative meetings of the Gilú quilombola association, whose compiled data gave rise to this article.*

Keywords— *Quilombolas, blacks from Gilú, Itacuruba, sustainable development, Territory.*

I. INTRODUCTION

The Federal Constitution of 1988, Art.68 in the Transitional Provisions Act (ADTC), makes the term quilombo a legally juridical category in the validation of the rights to the remnants of African populations, regarding the title of the lands occupied by them, regardless of having a document. they referenced. As Arruti (2006) informs, the legitimation of the ownership of these traditional territories is the responsibility of the State, to meet the main claim of the quilombola movement as an act of resistance against slavery and territorial sovereignty (LEITE, 2000).

Territory is being conceived here as a process of social construction that involves different public and civil society actors. With this understanding, Tizon (1995), defines territory as “a space of life, action, and thought for a community, associated with identity construction processes”. Likewise, Pecqueur (2000), conceives the territory as “the meeting of social actors in a given geographical space, which seeks to identify and solve common problems.” In an approach closer to the sociology of development, Abramovay (1998), presents the idea that “a territory represents a web of relationships with historical roots, political configurations and identities that play a little-known role in economic development itself”.

In this sense, the territory is built as a space for social relations, with strong ties of solidarity and belonging between the actors (BRUNET, 1990). This sense of solidarity is defined by Scheren Warren (1998) as “the principle of individual and collective responsibility towards the social and the common good, whose practical implications are the search for cooperation and complementarity in collective action and, therefore, for work in partnership.”

The slavery period left marks in the population of African matrices that became ingrained, such as social inequalities, prejudice and racism, so present in society, whose consequences are the lack of opportunities for entering public higher education; the unequal treatment in the selection for occupation of positions; the difficulty in accessing public policies on health, housing, food, transportation and, especially, access to land to work, live and achieve social and economic autonomy there. In the case of the Gilú community, who owns their land, it is to repair part of the damage caused by slavery, ensuring its members the dignity of producing their own food, maintaining their culture and habits and taking care of the environment, since their way of planting and harvesting is based on the principles of agroecology and respect for nature. As titling is a collective act, it means that the titled land cannot be sold, and must remain “ad infinitum” with its descendants. This commitment greatly contributes to the strengthening of the quilombola identity and the feeling of ethnic belonging to the territory, preventing them from being tempted by the offers of those who want the land to speculate or to produce unsustainably, with the goal of unbridled profit, with the exploitation of wood, ores, or implementing the cultivation of commodities, which are highly consumers of agrochemicals.

The incentives of the Brazilian State to the agricultural sector have always been concentrated on large rural properties, aiming to improve the balance of trade, with resources aimed at agricultural production for the foreign market. In 2003, the then Ministry of Agrarian Development, through the creation of the Secretariat for Territorial Development, reoriented public policies for rural development, having as main focus the territorial approach, starting to operate with the strategy, whose concept of adopted territory is:

[...] a physical space, geographically defined, generally continuous, comprising cities and fields characterized by multidimensional criteria, such as the environment, the economy, society, culture, politics and institutions, and a

population with social groups relatively distinct, that relate internally and externally through specific processes, where one or more elements that indicate identity and social, cultural and territorial cohesion can be distinguished (BRASIL, 2003).

According to Delgado et al. (2007), the territorial approach offers another perspective for development, in which the different local actors are invited to think and decide about their own future, their demands, their projects and the way of managing the initiatives to be implemented. However, the great challenge is to move from rhetorical innovation to a true process of institutional change, with the participation and involvement of community-based organizations (FAVARETO, 2009).

This article, in addition to the introduction, is divided into three parts. The first points to the history of occupation and resistance of Negros de Gilú. The second, addresses the main discussions about said development and the damage caused by it. The third part shows how the community reconstructed its identity, memory, culture and what mechanisms they use to activate their territorial rights, highlighting the impeccability to guarantee them, in addition to the final considerations.

II. HISTORY OF OCCUPATION AND RESISTANCE OF GILÚ'S BLACK QUILOMBOLS

The Negroes of Gilú, come from free slaves, whose origin goes back to the couple Antonio Isidoro and Maria Rufina da Conceição, who abandoned the Palmares quilombo in Alagoas and came to the São Francisco backlands, at the end of the 19th century. The place they chose was Fazenda Retiro, in the municipality of Floresta - PE, in the hope of guaranteeing land to produce and improve the quality of life, which occurred, first planting in the river's ebb, which is the wet earth process after the flood, leaving the land fertile and very suitable for farming. Then, by buying a piece of land from one of the landowners, being able, from there, to maintain his family and increase the number of children, to serve as labor on the property.

The fact that an ex-slave became the owner of land displeased the colonels in the hinterland and Antonio Isidoro was soon murdered. It didn't take long for Maria Rufino who took control of the land, to have the same end, being murdered. Intimidated by the events, the couple's children decided to sell the property and each took their own course. However, four of the seven children decided

to live in the territorial limits of the town of Itacuruba-PE, giving rise to the so-called “Rua de Baixo”, where the Negroes of Izidoro and Maria Rufino decided to organize themselves socially, to constitute their families respecting their identity and its culture. There, Rua de Baixo, came to be called “Comunidade Dona Gilú”, in honor of a strong and determined woman, who stood out for the struggle in favor of the dispossessed. She had many children, whose descendants still reside on the site and identify themselves

as “Negros de Izidoro and Maria Rufino”, due to the story they weave day after day.

The quilombola community of Negros de Gilú, after the flooding of the old city of Itacuruba, was located in a neighborhood of the municipality of the new city of Itacuruba, state of Pernambuco, in the middle São Francisco, better known as the microregion of Itaparica and is 466 km from Recife, the state capital, bordering the cities of Belém de São Francisco, Floresta and Petrolândia, in Pernambuco; and Rodelas, in the state of Bahia.



Fig.1: Map of Itacuruba –PE

Source: Google Maps, 2020

The old Itacuruba was flooded by the waters of the São Francisco River, with the installation of the Luiz Gonzaga hydroelectric plant, which belongs to CHESF - Companhia Hidroelétrica do São Francisco, which caused the displacement of several families of Negros de Gilú to other regions. This relocation of families caused many social, economic and cultural conflicts, in view of the deterritorialization caused by the breaking of family and friendship bonds, built in years of coexistence, struggle and resistance. In addition, the ecosystem where many families were forced to live, in some cases very different from what they were used to planting, left the feeling of helplessness, for not knowing what to do and how to live to feed their children. Those who stayed in the newly created municipality took up residence in Alto da Caixa D’Água, on the outskirts of the city, facing for the second time the adversities of those who need to defend their

space; the guarantee of work and income; the benefits of treated tap water; basic sanitation; electrical energy; paving in the streets; social facilities such as daycare, so that mothers can work; public school, to ensure citizenship for children and young people; public transport, which allows the necessary displacement; sports and leisure areas for young people to engage in educational activities; ecumenical temple for religious practices and cultural center that ensures the valorization of its practices.

According to Martins (1993), these ruptures have caused the inconvenience of living with strangers in the rural population, who, in his view, not only invade their territories but also bring different habits and customs, imposing values that are not yours. This trajectory, likewise, brings suffering to those who arrive and realize they are not welcome.

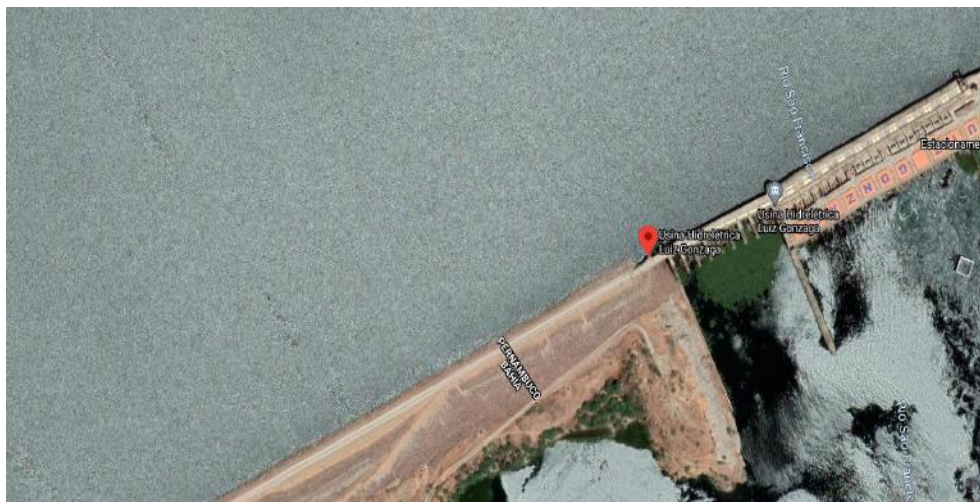


Fig.2: Luiz Gonzaga Hydroelectric Plant

Source: Google Maps, 2020

In this sense, for the Gilús da Caixa D'Água, the struggle for the territory has a symbolism and a wealth that cannot be measured, because there they can maintain their ethnic identity; traditions; the culture; kinship ties and the possibility of triggering other rights, which until then were neglected by the oppressive state, in favor of a concept of economic development that does not involve traditional communities, making them increasingly invisible to society.

III. DEVELOPMENT AND DETERRITORIALIZATION OF GILÚS

The environmental crisis in the world was driven by the destruction of natural resources, resulting in desertification; the increase in the greenhouse effect with the emission of gases; deforestation; the use of pesticides that contaminate soils and the population; the destruction of rivers, lakes, seas and oceans; the reduction of animal and plant species, generating social, ethnic, racial and gender inequalities, increasing poverty. Leff (2009), guarantees that the environmental crisis is the portrait of the appropriation of nature by capital in the expansion of profits, being the result of economic rationality.

In the mid-1980s, the mobilization of civil society around the Constituent of 1988, redefined the role of the State and the decentralization of public policy management, triggering the transformations that took place in the Brazilian economy, politics and society. Such changes observed in this period, must be noticed, taking into account what Dagino (2004), called "perverse confluence", due to the coexistence of two projects, fruits of the crises experienced in the country in the struggles for

democracy: the neoliberal project in progress and the democratizing project. Therefore, two strategies were adopted: to continue with the policy of promoting business agriculture, encouraging competitiveness; maximizing productivity; exporting agricultural products and the trade balance surplus, through the Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Supply (MAPA), and the other, to promote agrarian reform and develop family agriculture through the then existing Ministry of Agrarian Development (MDA), now extinct.

Bonnal and Kato (2010), state that thinking about development through a territorial approach implies the strengthening of local social groups and their organizations, the consolidation of collective actions, the articulation and harmony between the different dimensions of development. Likewise, Veiga (2008), tells us that development is not only the result of the action of the government, but of the strength of organized populations and the idea of sustainable development leads to the search for solutions that contemplate the environment and traditional peoples and communities, such as indigenous, quilombolas, riverside and forest peoples.

The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, an event that took place in 1992 in Brazil, in the city of Rio de Janeiro, greatly contributed to defining the limits between economic rationality and the challenges of environmental degradation in the civilizing project of society (LEFF, 2006), bearing in mind that the developmental practices proposed by large companies and by the State itself have caused many land conflicts; violation of rights; violence in the countryside; emission of gases, which causes environmental and social damage.

The Negros de Gilú Community in 1988 was affected by the construction of the Itaparica dam, now Luiz Gonzaga, in honor of the “Rei do Baião”, becoming deterritorialized, in the name of economic development. Deterritorialization, when it occurs at the desire of the population, is understood as something natural in the dynamics of society, however, when it occurs in an authoritarian way, through the exercise of political power, it can bring consequences that are difficult to assimilate. As stated by Haesbaert (2006), deterritorialization does not exist without reterritorialization, as geography defends, because man is a territorial being. Thus, the Negros de Gilú population without territory cannot manage it, but it can manifest its relationship with the land and its culture.

From the point of view of Almeida (2008), territoriality is a factor that functions as identification, defense and strength, in which the bonds of solidarity and mutual help are informers of a set of rules established on a physical basis considered common, essential and inalienable (ALMEIDA, 2008). In this way, the Gilús are in a permanent state of struggle, in search of their constitutional rights, to reconstitute their territory. Leff (2006), explains that the territory is a peculiar place of the wishes, demands, and complaints of the population, being a space to reconstruct their ways of life and reconfigure their identities through cultural and environmental valorization, designing new strategies for the re-appropriation of nature.

IV. THE RECONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITY AND THE FIGHT FOR THE RIGHT TO EARTH

With the installation of the Luiz Gonzaga hydroelectric plant, the territory of Negros de Gilú disappeared, and they began to live in invisibility. For CHESF, the reparation of damages to the population, took place with their resettlement in other spaces. Emotional issues, belonging to the place, cultural identity, were not addressed universality of all dimensions, that is, solutions that lead to growth that is environmentally beneficial, and not socially destructive. In this perspective, only solutions that promote economic growth with positive socio-environmental impacts can be called sustainable development (VEIGA: 2008).

In 1983, the General Assembly of United Nations (UN) organizations, concerned with the change in nature caused by forms of development, created the World Commission on Environment and Development, an independent body linked to governments and the United Nations system, but not subject to its control

(BRUNTLAND, 1991). However, the concern about man with the planet was not yet latent and it was necessary that this control of actions was more forceful. In this sense, the World Commission on Environment and Development, proposed the idea of sustainable development, with a view to meeting the needs of the present, without affecting the ability of future generations to meet theirs (Bruntland Report, 1987).

Based on this framework, the debates on sustainable development were gaining visibility in all fields, in the academic, governmental sphere, by private companies and by civil society organizations, seeking to reconcile economic development and socio-environmental development, with respect to the environment in count. In order not to be separated from their relatives, many gilus abandoned the land that CHESF assigned to them, and began to live as households, next to their own. In this case, these families were harshly penalized, compromising the assets they had, without the descendants in the future being able to enjoy it.

In triggering the right to land, the community that still did not have information on article 68 of the ADCT, was instructed by the Fundação Cultural Palmares (FCP) to rescue the common use of the land, that is, to tell their own story, as remaining quilombo, for certification. It was the first step towards the group's social reorganization, creating the Association considered a symbol of ethnic emergency.

The ethnic emergence of the Gilús was reaffirmed with the return of those who returned from other locations where they were relocated. In the fight for their territorial rights, they were building fundamental fundamental partnerships for the solution of their problems, such as, the National Coordination of Articulation of Quilombolas Black Rural Communities-CONAQ; Pernambuco State Articulation; Itacuruba Rural Workers Union; Movement of People Affected by Dams - MAB, whose goal was the reconstruction of their territory. These social networks were decisive for understanding the process of claiming the territory, which at the time was under the responsibility of Fundação Cultural Palmares.

The next step was the preparation of the anthropological report that tells the entire story of the occupation and deterritorialization of the Gilús. This action encouraged them to continue the struggle to get out of invisibility, participating in training moments to understand the constitutional and legal provisions of the re-territorialization process, which guaranteed certification at Fundação Cultural Palmares, as remnants of the quilombola community, issued on March 2 of 2005. Each

successful action contributed to the elevation of the group's self-esteem, through their recognition as quilombolas.

In the collective memory of the group, the memories are vivid and strengthened by the feeling of belonging to the territory, for which they seek title.

Decree 4,887 / 2003 (BRAZIL, 2003), which "regulates the procedure for the identification, recognition, delimitation, demarcation and titling of lands occupied by remnants of quilombo communities referred to in art. 68 of the Temporary Constitutional Provisions Act", is a legal provision under the responsibility of the National Institute for Colonization of Agrarian Reform (INCRA), which aims to guarantee the physical, social, economic and cultural reproduction of quilombola communities. It's throughof this legal provision, that the Quilombola de Negros de Gilú Community mobilizes politically and legally for the State to regularize its territory. In this context, the community filed a lawsuit with the extinct Regional Superintendence of the Middle São Francisco - SR 29, today the Advanced Sertão Unit (UAE), to request the regularization of their lands, since the requirement Anthropological Report - RA, carried out by the Department of Anthropology and Museology at UFPE - Federal University of Pernambuco, has already been completed and handed over to INCRA - National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform.

Anthropologists, through the Brazilian Association of Anthropology, have an important role on the notions that are the basis of judgment of quilombo remnants, when using ethnographic research materials and anthropological reflections on ethnicity, ethnic groups and the construction of different cultures to debate the themes of this field of application of constitutional rights (O'DWYER, 2007), although it is in the public domain, that the regularization of quilombola territory is a political act, of governmental interest.

Even though the struggle for rights is slow and arduous, the quilombolas of Negros de Gilú have transformed discouragement, tiredness and anger into hope, resistance and action. Thus, new legalities are being created in opposition to the dominant model of development imposed by the owners of power. In a determination of the MPF - Federal Public Ministry, a discriminatory action was carried out in the municipality of Itacuruba in 2009, to locate areas where families could be settled, as well as their registration, having identified 214 families, at the time residing in municipalities in the states of Pernambuco, Bahia, Alagoas and Ceará. These actions are considered important to achieve the main objective, which is the regularization of the territory, the

process of which is at INCRA in Brasília, awaiting the purchase of the Fazenda Boa Sorte, chosen by them, for the final outcome.

V. FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Even with the interventions of environmentalists, NGOs, unions, social movements, Brazil still experiences a development model that excludes vulnerable populations in the countryside and in the city. Quilombola communities are a constant target of developmental practices, which ignore socio-environmental sustainability, destroying territories, devastating forests, contaminating soils and public waters, separating families and destroying the culture and identity of traditional populations.

The social consultation environment as a space for planning, executing and monitoring sustainable territorial development in Brazil, has been built and faces many challenges. It is necessary to move forward in the discussion, having as a central idea the development focused on a new ethics and common goods, with environmental justice, social and economic inclusion. Some challenges arise: access to natural and energy resources, such as access to water, an essential element of life, and clean energy; the agrarian question and the urban-rural relations.

Public policies must, through the territorial approach, enhance and value the diversity and multifunctionality of rural spaces and strengthen the institutionality and participation of social organizations in their design and operation, with the incorporation of new actors. The diversification of productive systems and the preservation of natural resources should take into account the traditional knowledge associated with biodiversity.

In the case of Negros de Gilú, after thirty-two years, the community has not recovered from the damage caused by the installation of the Luiz Gonzaga hydroelectric plant. Without legalized land to produce, they cannot claim other rights, such as financing, loans, Safra insurance, sale of products to the school system and others. They are also deprived of education, health, basic sanitation, public transportation, paving the streets and a day care center for their children. However, the leaders have played their part in encouraging and maintaining hope, defending the motto that in a democracy, justice takes time but does not fail.

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