
Brasil's Disenfranchised: Quilombos and Agrarian Reform

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Glossary of Terms *(Portuguese words to appear throughout the text)*

- agrarianist:** one involved in/dedicated to the agrarian reform and/or fighting for their rights to land
- Cabocles:** the (genetic) union of European and Indigenous, or the child of the union
- Cabores:** the (genetic) union of African and Indigenous, or the child of the union
- Capela:** chapel
- Casa:** in this case, a house of worship
- CNBB:** National Conference of Bishops of Brasil
- comunidades rurais negras:** rural Black communities
- CONTAG:** National Conference of Agricultural Workers
- Dia de Consciencia Negra:** Black Conscious Day throughout Brasil, November 20; also known as Dia de Zumbi, or Zumbi's Day
- Estatuto de Terra:** land statute
- Estatuto do Trabalhador:** rural workers' statute
- exportar e desenvolver:** export and develop
- Ganga Zumba:** Great Lord
- gestão:** steering (of cattle)
- IBRA:** Brazilian Institute of Agrarian Reform
- imagem:** image
- INCRA:** National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform
- latifundia:** large plantation owners
- ligas camponeses:** country leagues
- meio rural:** agricultural
- MIRAD:** Minister of Agrarian Reform and Development
- Mocambos:** another name for a *quilombo*
- Moradores:** those living in a particular place
- Movimento Negro Unificado:** Unified Black Movement; established Black Conscious Day
- MST (Movimento Sem Terra):** landless movement
- paroco:** parish
- Paulista banderante:** bands of individuals hired for combat in Sao Paulo
- Palmares** also referred to as the "Negro Republic"; Brasil's most famous quilombo; also a state in the northeastern region of Brasil
- Palmarista:** one from Palmares, the quilombo or the northeastern state
- PIN:** National Integration Program

- quilombo:** a community established out of resistance or the need to safeguard a group, particularly Africans and their descendents escaping from the threat or actual condition of slavery (traditionally referred to throughout the Americas as a maroon society)
- quilombola:** a member of a quilombo
- reais:** Brazilian currency (approximate 2.6 – 1 reais to dollar exchange rate)
- reinvindicar:** reclaiming lost (quilombo) land
- remanescente:** a remaining member of a quilombo; Descendentes dos Remanescentes – descendant of (a remaining member of) an original quilombo community
- riachos:** waterways
- Santidade:** the religion produced by the union of Indigenous and Africans, which developed in quilombos
- Solos:** land and soil
- Superintendencia da Reforma Agraria (SUPRA):** agrarian reform superintendent
- “terra de Deus, terra de irmaos”:** “God’s land, Brother’s land”
- terras devolutas:** vacant lands
- terras dos pretos:** “Black lands”, or the name given to quilombos by non-members of the communities

Introduction

Land is the human's connection to a greater force—nature. Coincidentally, it is also the thing over which nations go to war, lives are lost, billions of dollars are made for some while lost for others. As a sustenance-producing element, land is both a symbolic and actual thing of ownership, growth, cultivation, and dedication. Because of land, communities and societies take shape as people settle and develop intimate relationships with the earth and those sharing in the earth around them. Unfortunately, many people who were at one time rich with land have since been subjected to forced removal or have had those lands stolen from them. Thus, for too many, land itself has become synonymous with oppression. In a global society obsessed with obtaining material goods despite the human costs, it is important to prevent complete societal destruction by remembering what is really valuable. And as a thing that can never truly be *owned*, it is necessary to see that—to the extent which it can be—land ownership is carried out in a manner that benefits society on a whole.

This research text is structured in a way that presents concise histories of both the quilombo and agrarian reform movements in Brasil. **Section A**, "History of Quilombos", presents answers to the questions: what is a quilombo, where are they located, what are their (physical) characteristics, and what is their historical and socio-cultural significance. "The Battle for Survival" presents the perspectives of both proponents and opponents of the quilombo debate. The "Case Studies" will give brief overviews of two quilombo communities in northeast Brasil. **Section B**, "Agrarian Reform", includes statistics concerning the inequalities of land distribution in the country. "Society Responds" gives further evidence of the urgency of Brasil's land situation as well as justifications for a union of the two movements. **Section C**, "Common Ground", discusses

both the obstacles and favorable circumstances of the proposed union as well as suggestions for making the union successful. Also given are recommendations for improving the academic programs instructing planners, as well as the effectiveness of actual planning techniques used by professionals and the government.

The author's hypothesis is that a union of the agrarian reform and quilombo preservation movements would result in greater success for both. This union would not have to take place on all fronts, as the two movements have distinct, defining characteristics. However, the main factor supporting and sustaining the proposed union is the fight for land equality, fairness, and opportunity for these particular marginalized sectors of the Brazilian society (which include the poor, women, Afro-Brazilians, and the Indigenous). These groups continue to struggle against oppression and inequality in a country with more than enough (although mismanaged) resources to provide and support promising existences and futures for all members of the society. This common history of disenfranchisement—when paired with their battles regarding access to land—is the strongest unifying factor between quilombolas and agrarianists.

Planners play a significant role in this proposed union, as those who strategize for the mental, physical, and social well-being of residents of a given area/region. Traditional ideals of planning have focused on the physical, failing to take into account the social aspects, and without considering culture as it relates to ethnicity, religion/spirituality, sex, and age. This author believes that, now more than ever, planners have a responsibility to those they serve to take cultural needs into serious consideration. Culture is ultimately what defines a nation, inclusive of values, traditions, institutions, and customs. Shaped and refined

over time, culture is a manifestation of knowledge. Roger Scruton states in *Architectural Principles in the Age of Nihilism*, “. . . good architecture comes to us through culture—in other words, through a habit of discourse, submission and agreement which is more easily lost than won . . . [architecture and culture] are not detachable. . . .” (76).

So why do governments and social architects continue to ignore this necessary component of development? It is as if they fail to see the legitimacy, potential and level of self-efficiency that already exists in communities and their people. Both quilombolas and agrarianists have cultures that play a dominant role in their daily lives, including interaction with those outside of their communities, business and commerce, religion and spirituality, ritual and tradition, and gender roles. Planners are concerned with the physical dynamics of community, however, when culture is left out, the work of planners only becomes more difficult, at worse, in vain. The community must then struggle to compensate for those neglected elements. When the social effects of planning are taken into consideration, physical and spatial conditions will improve, becoming more meaningful. While culture is entering the planning debates more often, there are still too many professionals in the field who have failed to incorporate it into their understanding of the planners' role.

Because the situation of quilombolas is relatively new in any field where there is a discussion of marginality, human rights, and land reform, this paper will outline why this specific movement deserves addressing. Peoples of color have historically been excluded from the benefits of land ownership. Whether denied the opportunity to own, or subjected to the theft of their lands, peoples of African descent in the Americas are owed at minimum the respect that comes with

recognition of their right to property. This paper is a proponent for the recognition and respect deserved by those victimized by what the author considers one of the greatest injustices committed against peoples of the diaspora.

The idea to push for a union between quilombos and agrarianists came when the author realized that unless joined with another more recognizable, and established (yet similarly marginalized) group, the quilombo battle could be swept under the rug. Even today, those working in quilombo-related areas constitute a small group (especially when compared to those working on agrarian reform). There is very little published and accessible information (in any language) on a topic that affects over 700 communities (and an estimated two million inhabitants) throughout rural Brasil. Many Brazilians this author spoke to had heard about "historical" quilombos, but were unaware that they still exist, and in such surprisingly large numbers. Agrarian reform in Brasil has gained the world's attention, while the battle for quilombo lands continues to go unknown in a country with the largest number of inhabitants of African descendants¹ and one of the most vast land areas in the world. While studying the land problem one quickly realizes the multitude of embedded issues. Not only is the battle over land and distribution, but also racism, culture, class, history, national character, and informed and active participation for all members of a society.

¹ Of 146 million registered in the 1991 Census, approximately 51% declared themselves white, 5% black, 42% brown. Most designated "brown" have African blood, ranking Brasil's Black population second only to that of Nigeria. (In the 2000 Census, those designated as black increased to 6.2%, due to change in attitude as opposed to actual population.)

Planners are social as well as physical architects who hold at least some of the answers to questions regarding socialization, social interaction, integration or the lack thereof, in Brasil and communities of the world. They work to promote the co-existence and co-dependence of land, its people and their way of life, in which both agrarianists and quilombolas believe.

This author proposes a serious re-examination of the battle for land reform, suggesting one that includes efforts to secure the rights and recognition necessary to preserve the culture of African descendants in Brasil (a group that has been forced to survive independent of the larger society, continues to face subjugation, and has been physically separated and isolated), while strengthening an already powerful, yet struggling agrarian reform movement. This paper is in support of the promotion of culture, the integration of separate societies within a single one (barring the threat of reduced sovereignty, assimilation and cultural theft), and the protection of rights, including the right to land. Finally, this author suggests a restructuring of the current education and subsequent role of planners to include a focus on the importance of culture.

Methodology

Information in this text was obtained through the methods of interviewing (formal and informal), site visits to communities in Brasil, and English and Portuguese literature. A majority of the references cited are from the literature presented in this paper's bibliography. Communities visited included Quilombo Valencia in Valencia, Rio de Janeiro, Brasil, and Vila do Rio Pardo in Santa Cruz do Sul. Interviews were conducted with Poet/Activist Dogival Duarte, Professor Sarita Amaro, Grupo de União e Consciencia Negra and President Elirio Jerônimo Felicio, Grupo Coletivo de Estudos e Debates Etnico Culturais de Santa

Cruz do Sul (CEDECS), Conselho de Participação e Desenvolvimento da Comunidade Negra (CODENE), and the quilombolas of Valença. Special thanks is given to Qa'id Jacobs, Shatema Threadcraft, Mestre Jelon Vieira, Grupo Niger-Okan, Moa and Grupo GingaSul Capoeira, Dawn and the Friends of the MST, the MST, Schutz & Kanomata English, Ricardo, Takako, and Veronica.

Information on quilombos is very limited, particularly in English. Most of the material obtained on this subject was translated from (Brazilian) Portuguese text. Such an important and time-spanning subject merits attention. The author's goal is to bring light to this subject while significantly contributing (with this and subsequent works) to the present catalog of information.

History of Quilombos

Quilombos, also known as maroon societies, are rural villages established by self-liberated Africans in Brasil during slavery in the first years of the XVII century. Slaves fled to strategic areas in dense interiors of forests, jungles, hills, and mountains where chance of capture was unlikely. They were generally far from the bustle of cities, and therefore outside of the economic market and larger Brazilian society. Even when located near major urban centers they were difficult to access, however, some did use proximity to urban centers to boost internal economy. While isolation did preserve the quilombos' territorial boundaries and subsequent freedoms, commercial transactions and exchange from agricultural production sometimes helped to maintain physical borders; as *quilombolas* (members of quilombos) and their societies became more visible they gained respect from these outside social segments.

A majority of (past and present) quilombos are found in the northeast in Paraíba, Pernambuco, Maranhão, Sergipe, Bahia and Alagoas, with others dispersed in several villages of Goiás, Mato Grosso, São Paulo, Rio, Minas Gerais and deep in the Amazon (fig. 1-1a). Brasil has more maroon communities (also called "Black lands" or *terras de pretos*, *mocambos*, and rural Black communities or *comunidades rurais negras*) than anywhere in the world, including Columbia, Venezuela, Jamaica, Dominican Republic or Cuba. Present-day Brasil holds 743 officially documented quilombo communities, 42 of which are classified as "recognized", but only 29 holding titles to the lands. The current population of quilombo inhabitants is estimated at two million.

The National Commission of 'Remanescentes' of Quilombos (a group fighting for the rights and preservation of quilombos/quilombolas) outlines these societies as containing the following elements (in varying degrees):

1. a process of self-production in which there is unrestricted access to the land independent of outside control.
2. political/administrative self-organization and determinism
3. the preservation and use of ecological/natural resources for the community
4. self-defining collective agents
5. a degree of conflict and antagonism (particularly from external forces)
6. forms of common (both private and public) use

Additionally, these elements generally apply:

1. flight from slavery
2. a minimum of 5 persons²
3. a location marked by geographic isolation, difficult to access and keeping to the earth's natural form
4. habitual occupation of the land
5. lack of advanced agricultural technology

These groups of characteristics may describe quilombo communities to outsiders, but to quilombolas, it is important that they are able to identify *themselves* as people of this heritage and land. When defined by others, there is the possibility that quilombos will be equated to an uncivilized or barbaric entity, thus in need

² There was a described, considerable difference between a quilombo and an insurrection. The latter consists of 20 or more slaves for the purpose of obtaining freedom, as described in the Criminal Code, article 113 of the Imperial Period. In Maranhão in 1847 two or more persons constituted a quilombo, though the actual numbers were always greater. This reduction in the required number could be considered a way to invalidate autonomy, whether individual or collective.

of "supervision". The said objective of most fighting against the quilombos was to deliver them from outside the limits of the establishment to the inside. However, the quilombolas discovered once under the control of the large landowners that the system existed to serve the purpose of "reinstalling discipline" and bringing the self-liberated Africans back into the system of slavery. They were forced to work the fields of large landowners or were returned to previous owners, either to serve once again or be killed (thus becoming examples for other slaves contemplating escape).

Those living in quilombos today are often referred to (by those outside of the quilombo community) as *remanescentes*. Remanescente means remnant, something residual. In defense of the continued life in quilombos, quilombolas take great care in the land, which has sustained them and assisted in African cultural preservation for generations. Nature is intentionally preserved in a manner often absent in surrounding lands of those large landowners who ravage or under-use the land. Contrary to what the word remanescente represents, the practices of quilombolas are future-driven, as opposed to accidental occurrences or after-thoughts. The communities represent areas of common use (with little to no land division) in which the needs of the entire group are taken into consideration. Traditional use is passed down among generations, forest plants are used in healing, religion, and as protection against invasion (of persons as well as acts of nature), and woods are used in the construction of homes, furniture and tools. Villagers engage in fishing and hunting while corn, beans, manioc, sweet potato, pineapple, tobacco, cotton, and bananas are among the crops raised. Some quilombos do not have actual farmlands, but areas dedicated to herbs (medicinal and/or culinary), with foodstuffs received from trading or occasional raids.

Battle for Survival

Quilombos share an embattled history with the Brazilian state. Three types of active resistance (reminiscent of peasant rebellions in post-colonial times) ensued within quilombo communities: (1) fugitive settlements, (2) attempted power seizures, and (3) armed insurrections aimed at seeking amelioration. The latter two forms dominated during the first half of the 19 century at the height of political transition and the slave trade. During this time there were nine Bahian revolts between the years 1807-1835 which essentially could have been considered back-to-Africa movements which manifested as a recreated African society. This, of course, presented a threat to the plantation system, which relied on African servitude.

The battle against quilombos became an occupation for those involved on either side. Some quilombos survived well into the latter part of the 18 century. Palmares (considered the "Negro Republic" and the symbolic leader of the Afro-Brazilian movement) is the most famous and highest standing memory of Afro-Brazilian rebellion³.

The institution of slavery contributed a great deal to the disorganization of the agricultural productive system. The model of plantation land ownership remained well after abolition in 1888. Following, the problems regarding land burdened the society, as there was yet to be an established agrarian reform.⁴ The

³ This bastion lasted from (1672-1694), surviving approximately one Portuguese raid every 15 months. In the early 1740s, expeditions were sent out to capture those involved. The destruction of these villages began around 1769 in all known quilombo locations.

⁴ Brasil lacked the Black farmers movement that existed in the United States after abolition which may have proven beneficial to those living in quilombos.

legacy of slavery kept Blacks working the lands of whites for almost nothing. There are cases of Black children who were adopted only to be used as unpaid servants to tend to lands of large owners.

While quilombos were largely about group resistance, there were (and still are) those that contributed to their region's social and economic development. Although these groups have escaped persecution (sometimes narrowly) to survive to this date, their lands are increasingly in danger. 'Descendants of quilombolas' is how the Fundação Cultural Palmares (Cultural Palmares Foundation or FCP) refers to those who have survived to this day. This definition should aid in land acquisition cases in which the Transitory Provisions Act (ADCT) of the 1988 Constitution is used as defense. However, many simply ignore article 68, which assures the government-recognized and authorized quilombo descendants' possession of the lands they occupy.⁵ Enforcing the recognition of the right of possession is the task that the FCP and egalitarian scholars have undertaken in an effort to help these communities increasingly threatened by farmers and/or industrialists who have set sites on their lands. Battles are being fought over the lands' resources and potential wealth. The work of the Foundation coincides with a rising consciousness of Afro-Brazilians who are once again (and on a stronger level than in the past) asserting the value of African culture which is preserved in quilombo communities. Quilombolas and the larger population are at a point of developmental stagnation within the social pyramid and need to mobilize to become agents of force, demanding access and the benefits of citizenship.

⁵ A proposed amendment to the ADCT required that to be government-recognized persons must have occupied the land at least since abolition on May 13, 1888.

Quilombos are extremely impoverished, lacking any of the basic services that provide for tolerable, life-promoting conditions. In an effort to improve this, the FCP is working on seven strategic areas of action:

1. regulation of lands
2. infrastructure and basic services
3. productive activities
4. health
5. education and professionalism
6. cultural tradition
7. "*gestão*", or steering

Other things the FCP are taking into consideration include guaranteeing an area that preserves culture; titles that do not void, are definitive and non-transferable; the right to "*reinvindicar*" or reclaim; and titles that are collective and provide incentive for persons to resist pressures to sell.⁶ Another important part of the discussion regarding the future of quilombos is mapping, or locating the remaining communities. This has been a very slow and late-occurring process. The FCP has thus led this important mission of including this population into the social, economic, and cultural development that is taking place in Brasil today.⁷

However, until quilombolas are granted land titles, they have no legal basis upon which to demand government services and assistance for things such as

⁶ The present agrarian reform is not taking into account re-settlement relating to formal titles to property and communally-managed resources. Re-settlement directly affects farmers while titling affects quilombolas; communal resources affect both groups.

⁷ Another proposed amendment to the ADCT was that all procedures for identifying quilombo communities be completed by October 31, 2001.

electricity, roads, plumbing, water and garbage disposal, much less resources for health and education. Government assistance is required, yet only to the extent that it allows for these communities to increase self-sufficiency and develop in a way that is culturally relevant without having to relinquish their modes of self-governance (this is addressed in more detail in **Role of Government**, pg 49).

Property Rights and Possession

Property rights are all those rights, both personal and real, which confer on their holders inalienable and exclusive entitlement to use (or not use) their property to the exclusion of all others. In most social disciplines the belief is that rights to property encourage investments by owners. If this is the case, then the most significant cost of the absence of a good property law is the absence of secure, reliable property rights. Incentives for investing are greater when there is increased guarantee in benefiting from yields, whether the producing element is land, housing, or equipment. In the case of quilombolas, who already take great care in their lands on the premise of sustenance, culture, and tradition, the investment into land would only increase with the security of titles and recognized property rights. Benefits would not only be received by the quilombolas, but by the larger society in the form of resource collaboration and innovations. Ideally, when one member of a society benefits legally, the entire society benefits along with the individual. While it is improper to imply that quilombola organization is ineffective without secure contracts, it is understood that contracts—which recognize ownership—promote a sense of purpose for the owner, thereby increasing efficiency. In this case, the presence of contracts would provide a shield to random and unexplained infringement upon space and rights on the part of officials looking to stymie or halt the movements of informals (those outside of the recognized, governmental guidelines).

According to Carol Rose (“Possession as the Origin of Property”), when discussing property rights, possession enters as the next logical part of the debate. Possession is a clear and recognizable system understood by outsiders, including would-be pursuers (Rose, 12). There are three theories of possession: in the (1) labor theory, John Locke purported that the original owner is the one who mixes his or her labor with a previously unowned thing⁸; this union establishes ownership in the thing. Following the (2) consent theory, the original owner gets title through the consent of the rest of humanity, God’s recipients (Rose, 11-12). The power behind this idea is in the belief that man cannot own land because it belongs to Nature. The final theory is that of (3) common law (sharing characteristics of both the labor and consent theories), in which possession or “occupancy” is the origin of property, with first possession serving as the root to entitlement.

From an economics standpoint it is clear that titles encourage market efficiency and minimize waste:

we can bargain rather than fight, and through trade, all items will come to rest in the hands of those who value them most. If property lines are clear, then anyone who can make better use of my property than I can will buy or rent it from me and turn the property to his better use. In short, we will all be richer when property claims are unequivocal, because that unequivocal status enables property to be traded and used in its highest value (Rose, 16).

Still another form of possession comes through the clear-act principle, in which common law defines acts of possession as a kind of statement declaring one’s

⁸ Sited in Rose, 11: “The original version of this essay appeared in 52 *University of Chicago Law Review*. 73-88 (1985). Reprinted by permission of *University of Chicago Law Review*.”

intent to appropriate (Rose, 12-13)⁹. The emphasis is on notice, requiring some form of communication to the outside world; this communication must continue or possession can be denied or taken away. It is presumed and necessary that the communicatory "text" be perceived and understood as a clear act by the relevant audience within a timely manner. Possession would serve as a roadblock, arresting the intent of anyone else trying to lay claims. Following this principle, the idea of suitable use becomes subjective, thus invalid, as the decision would most likely be left to the relevant communities. In the case of quilombolas and agrarianists, the relevant communities are families and small farmers versus national and multi-national corporations and the government.

Some would argue that understanding land ownership and possession is as simple as identifying the taxpayer. More than likely, these same people are those with the capital ability to purchase as much land as they desire. Based on the world's system of land production, slavery, and indentured servitude, it is usually not the case that those who cultivate, manufacture, and develop the land are the owners. Acts of possession are not always clear; take ideas, for example. Translation into a secondary, more recognizable set of symbols may be necessary. As with patent and copyright systems, entitlement to an idea is expressed when there is translation into written document and a registration process. In this process one may legitimately question if the need for secure investment and trade is greater than the costs of creating these symbols of possession.

⁹ In the classic wild animal case *Pierson v. Post* (3 Cai. R. 175 N.Y. Sup. Ct. 1805), Post was fox-hunting on an unowned beach, "when an interloper appeared, killed the fox, and ran off with the carcass." Post sued, arguing that his pursuit granted him rights to the animal. The court's majority voted against Post; possession would go to the one who killed or mortally wounded the animal, bringing it under "certain control", thus warranting ownership.

Nomadic populations would have a significantly more difficult time meeting the common law requirements for establishing property in land. This is one reason why those most adversely affected by this common law of first possession are agrarian and/or commercial peoples. Their activities concerning their products are protected by “delineation of lasting control so that those objects can be either managed or traded.” (Rose, 19)

Historically, individuals, governments and nations have claimed that which was already owned. One such case is that of *Johnson v. M’Intosh* regarding lands in Illinois and Indiana, U.S.A.. The plaintiffs claimed through Indian tribes, on the basis of deeds made out in the 1770s; the defendants claimed under United States titles. The Court found for the defendants, asserting that the Indians’ claims were invalid for reasons derived mainly from international law as opposed to that of first possession. According to the defendants and the Court, the Indians had never carried out acts sufficient enough to signify possession. An important aspect in this and similar cases is the relationship between human beings and nature. Indians were confused by the thought of owning the land. In their *cultures* they moved lightly through it, harmonizing with the land and its creatures. “You are undone if you once forgot that the fruits of the earth belong to us all and the earth itself to none,” agreed philosopher Jean Rousseau in his 1754 *Discussion on Inequality*. Clearly, the decision-makers in *Johnson v. M’Intosh* did not agree with this naturalistic view to land claims. Conversely, “outside of nature” is how human beings are viewed in the first possession doctrine, thus in the minds of those with the power. “. . . It gives the earth and its creatures over to those who mark them so clearly as to transform them, so that no one else will

mistake them for unsubdued nature. The metaphor of the law of first possession is, after all, death and transfiguration . . ." (Rose, 18-19).

Case Studies: Communities of Culture

An understanding of the severity of the problem facing quilombo communities can best be understood by taking a look into specific conditions that have (and continue) to affect the communities individually. While conditions have been both less and more severe than the following described cases, they present an example of the need for reform.

In 1989, communities located in the Basin of the Trombetas River in the northern state of Para were facing the invasion of mining companies, farmers and lumber dealers. In addition, they were in dispute with the employees of IBAMA (Brazilian Environmental Institute), who protect the Trombetas Biological Reserve. The Reserve was established in the region that was already being occupied by communities of self-liberated Africans. In the state of Bahia, 300 families from the Rio das Ras community faced perils of a land grabber and only after a lengthy dispute obtained a court injunction granting them ownership of the land. In the state of Sergipe, there is a dispute between the 100 Black families of the Mocambo quilombo and local farmers. In the state of Goias, the Blacks, dispersed in an area that comprises three towns, are being warned that plans to fill the lake for a hydroelectric plant will flood 50% of the land where crops are currently raised. Members of the Mocambo community in Sergipe are finding that 90% of their lands are entering into the hands of farmers.

Today, quilombos have varying degrees of contact with the larger society. Descendants of the quilombos are gradually becoming aware of the importance of their culture and search for their place in a society which has kept them

discriminated against and isolated. Disenfranchisement is still dominant, however. Until recently, one could only reach the centers of quilombos by embarking on endless journeys through difficult paths, rugged terrain, sometimes on the back of a donkey. Many quilombola elders have never left the quilombo to see the town, however, the youth are beginning to venture out more often.

Cultural preservation must be integral to the battle for quilombos. Traditional customs are still widely practiced, particularly in those communities having little to no contact with the larger Brazilian society. In some of these villages, traditional African dialects are still spoken, solely or in addition to Portuguese. These villages are comprised of Blacks, Indians and *Cabores* (a union of the two). African tribes had basically been diffused by slavery, while Amerindian tribes often came into contact with Africans. Land was stolen by the Portuguese from both the Indigenous and Africans for war and commercial uses. While there was sometimes a dubious relation between Indians and Blacks, they were united against a common enemy. Indians were employed by slave owners in the capture of Blacks during the 16th and 17th centuries, but when they joined with Blacks cultural similarities were embraced, becoming a catalyst for unity. The strengthened *Santidade* religion is a good example of how the synthesis occurred between the two groups. At São Vicente—one of the first quilombos taken in the raids—Portuguese was spoken and Christian ideals were practiced. In addition, a communal lifestyle, priests, magic, and “witchdoctors” utilizing charms and poisons pointed to a clear incorporation of traditional African beliefs.

One hundred and thirty families live in the Cafundo quilombo in the Pirapora waterfall in the state of São Paulo, 130 kilometers from the city. The inhabitants

work in the fields and live in homes made of wattle and daub. Their descendants still use words from their ancestors' vocabulary: hat, for example, is *chicongo*; nose, *muchinga*; man, *tata*; *ture* is land, and corn is called *pungo*. Even *ki-lombo* is Jaga for war camp while *mu-kambo* is Ambundu for hide-out (Jaga and Ambundu were tribes from along the River Congo in West Africa). Currently, the Cafundo population lives confined to an area of 90 hectares, which land grabbers are conquering little by little.

Despite outside pressures, quilombolas' attempt to redeem and safeguard old traditions. In many communities, festivities and dances reminiscent of ancestral African ceremonies are abundant. Elders are cherished heads of the communities, passing on cultural practices, stories as griots, and knowledge of ways to function efficiently in terms of food, medicine, and all of nature and her resources. Gleaning knowledge from the elders is key to the ideas of community and the benefits to the larger society. Re-integration (of morals, rituals, ideals, beliefs, traditions, etc. back into the larger community, particularly where youth are involved) is a very significant tool when speaking of development and culture. Elders would be properly cared for by members of their community who know and love them; this would reduce the societal costs of placing them in senior homes or leaving them to wander the streets. In return, the elders would be easily accessible to those who would seek their council and benefit from their knowledge. In "Comprehensive Planning and Social Responsibility," author Melvin W. Webber suggests that, "[An] expanding aged [population], relieved of [its] role as productive members of the society, must find new ways of contributing their skills and knowledge for the welfare of others and more important, for recapturing their own sense of personal pride and dignity" (13). Planners can and should aid in this necessary process of re-integration,

considering it a benefit to the entire society. The passing down of knowledge from generation to generation adds to the value system of the cultures within a nation and the character, culture, and body of knowledge of that nation's communities.

Palmares, the Negro Republic

As the most famous quilombo in Brazilian history, and possibly maroon communities throughout the globe, the history of Palmares clearly demonstrates the threat presented to quilombos and quilombolas, their culture, and their sovereignty. In addition, this history makes it easy to understand the level of resistance members of these communities needed to develop in order to withstand opposition from the government and other members of society. Palmares was (and remains) a testament to the culture of a people.

The history of Palmares is particularly significant because of its leader, Zumbi. There is a recognized Day of National Afro-Brazilian Awareness (November 20) throughout the country in honor of Zumbi. Called Dia de Consciencia Negra (Black Conscience Day), the Movimento Negro Unificado (Unified Black Movement) designated the day in 1978. November 20 represents opposition to May 13, 1888, considering it a false date of the abolition of slavery.

In existence for about a quarter of a century before the Dutch presence in Brasil, Palmares was formed in 1604 by 40 self-liberated Africans around the Portuguese-Dutch battles for Pernambuco. The Dutch become highly threatened by its presence around 1640. Languages and remnants of group culture and identifications point to a variety of African origins, making Palmares a large pluralist system based on a Central African model. This type of system is significant in the sense that it transferred to a different continent to govern a vast

array of people and survived almost an entire century against tyranny of Holland and Portugal. Africans in these villages were originally thought to have originated from Guinea (at the time a broad descriptive area, possibly pertaining to anyone from a small portion of West Africa to the entire continent!). The Jaga presence is not known to have existed before 1605. Because of the Loanda slave funnel¹⁰ from the 1580s into the 17th century, it was unlikely that *Palmaristas* (those from Palmares) were from beyond the Angola-Congo perimeter or of Crioula¹¹ origin.

The standing hypothesis is that Palmaristas were Bantu-speaking peoples from different sub-groups. Palmares, however, was basically open to fugitives (escaping enslavement) from across all ethnic groups. In total, the population of this community was said to have neared 6,000, with the larger area of this subdivided community inland.

Dutch troops attempting to raid were killed or arrived to find only thick, already-deserted bush. Palmaristas then 'stole' slaves from the Portuguese in order to 'free' them back into the community of Palmares. At times there was a recognizable hierarchy consisting of Brazilians, crioulos, then Angolans, showing a conscious system at work within the community. As religious acculturation continued to occur between the various groups present in Palmares in 1645, free commoners began to outnumber the fugitives. While the native-newcomer ratio

¹⁰ (São Paulo de Loanda) The Funnel was a seaport in Angola, situated in a bay between the Bango and Kwanza rivers. Founded in 1576, for over two centuries it served as the chief center of the slave trade between West Africa and Brasil.

¹¹ An ethnic classification. Zonalatina.com data shows that in 1976 Brazilians used a self-classification system; crioula was one of 134 titles, meaning "little servant, slave, African". Dictionary references show "creole" to mean various things, such as West Indian with European/Spanish ancestry, French, or Black and European together.

waivered within the leagues, unity was not threatened because all were fighting against the Portuguese.

Palmares defended itself against raids until 1672, when a “sustained war” began, lasting until the destruction of the community in 1694. Until its demise, Palmares was thought to have been invincible. The strength of Palmares had been in the provision of food and security for the self-liberated and the land tillers who grew and stored their vegetables throughout the winter and during the wars. Inhabitants were under protection of the king, called *Ganga Zumba* or Great Lord. There were some 1500 *casas*, (houses of worship); religion was an integral part of the society. The quilombolas worshipped in *capelas* (chapels) and had baptisms and marriages overseen by the *paroco* (parish). There were governing chiefs under Ganga Zumba; the second most important city, Subupaira, was ruled by the king’s brother, Zona.¹²

While *moradores* (those living in Pernambuco) complained of the kidnapping of white women and the loss of field hands and servants, women were rare in the communities. When white women and servants were present in quilombos they were held temporarily to be returned for ransom (arms, food, materials). The veritable absence of women in these communities coincided with a cultural lean towards patrimony. In Palmares, the culture of patrimony can be traced back to a traditional patrimony that may aid in identifying the African society from which

¹² Five generations of rulers in the leagues of Palmares trained Blacks to fight against the invasions. During the end of Ganga Zumba’s reign and for a time afterwards, a young Zumbi (born in 1655) took over as the leader of Palmares (1675). His tactics were more vicious and he did little bargaining with the state, distrustful of their intentions. Zumbi was killed by the treachery of a “friend”, which led to his ambush. He is the hero of the Afro-Brazilian movement throughout Brasil, and the anniversary of his death (November 20) commemorates The National Day of Black Awareness.

Palmaristas came. There is not sufficient historical record or evidence of moradores killed in raids by Palmaristas. As it would have supported the actions of the fighting against Palmares, this lack of historical data can signify that Palmaristas did not commonly kill moradores, as was most likely popularly conveyed at the time. Some moradores had contracts with the Palmaristas for the exchange of firearms, gold and silver; others trading utensils for agricultural products and the supply of info on future expeditions. Those moradores suspected of interacting with the Palmaristas were jailed.

The lure of Palmares grew among plantation slaves. The movement away from the coast began in the 1650s (from Bahia, Sergipe and Espirito Santo). Nearing the end of the 17th century the domain was approximately 1,100 square leagues. Ganga Zumba repeatedly approached the new Pernambucan governors requesting peace for at least those *born* in Palmares, promising to return some of the other fugitives who were not (Palmares-born). On June 18, 1678 Zumba was confirmed as the ruler of Palmares with the entrance of the new governor (de Souza) into the embassy.

De Souza granted peace for the return of women from Palmares, however, territorial limits were not addressed in the agreement. The colony treated Palmares as a nation-state, but, occupying forces were never de-mobilized during this time and some of the 92 leagues of land promised to the Palmaristas were distributed amongst those who had fought against Palmares. This resurrected another war between the colony and the community. In order for Zumba's requests to be met, a 150-year-old policy of Portuguese exclusive claim to the land would have to be released, a policy of which Souza was aware. A completely modern totalitarian state would have been necessary. Consequently,

Zumba did not return any refugees. There was no nearby state that was threatened enough to join the battle. This lack of support was one of many obstacles that led to the demise of the community. In addition, cultural heterogeneity made rule different and more difficult after time. Palmares was presented with the option to continue independently or to face its end.

Six major expeditions to Palmares between 1680-1686 cost the military an estimated one million cruzados¹³. At the end of this period the community was still undefeated. *Paulista banderantes* (hired combat bands from São Paulo) trained in guerilla warfare reached Pernambuco in 1692. One hundred and ninety-two banderantes were lost in the battle while another 200 left the ranks due to hunger, thirst, and sheer agony. This particular battle lasted for two years, after which an additional 3,000 soldiers were provided from Pernambuco for the proceeding 22 days. On the night of February 5, 1694 there was death to hundreds of Palmaristas while Zumbi was decapitated, his head publicly exhibited on November 20, 1695. This display symbolized the end of Palmares.

Following this defeat there was an increased effort to prevent the concentration of Blacks from the same country, region, tribe or even the same ship from congregating or being purchased together. There has yet to be found any written documentation out of Palmares directly, and accounts are few as it took 20 days of marching to reach the community from the coast.

¹³ In 1990 the cruzeiro replaced the cruzado, 1:1. In 1993 the new cruzeiro real = 1000 cruzeiros. In 1994 the real replaced 2750 cruzeiro reais. Eight cycles of change later, Brasil's money is expressed as reais per dollar (1995-1999). In 2003, \$1 = 2.7 reais (approximately).

Land Inequalities

The 1996 United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (HABITAT) global report of rural poverty in 114 developing countries showed that 52% are dealing with a problem of insufficient land holdings while 24% are landless. Lack of land (which directly affects lack of income) is the underlying factor of rural poverty. Latin America and the Caribbean have the lowest proportion of small farmers and the highest proportion of landless among the world's rural population due to unfair land-owning practices and high agricultural commercialization. Only 15-20% of Brasil's population enjoys the riches, keeping the minimal needs of the larger population from being met. The Landless Workers' Movement (MST) in Brasil is the largest in Latin America, involving an estimated 1.5 million, organized in 23 of 27 states. The MST has been occupying lands for cooperative farms since 1985, winning land titles for more than 250,000 families in 1,600 settlements while some 70,000 still await government recognition.

Agrarian reform is a subject in great need of attention when taking into account the following statistics:

- less than three percent of the entire population owns two-thirds of prosperous land in the country
- thirty percent of farmers own less than twenty acres of land
- the largest farms occupy 2,000+ acres of land for a total of 1.6% of the total land supply and 53% of all usable land in the country
- almost five million rural families in Brasil have no land and are temporary laborers
- 88% of arable land in the country is presently idle
- sixteen million Brazilians live below the poverty line

- 63% of rural poverty and 32% of poor Brazilians are concentrated in the country's northeast

These statistics prove that the masses are necessary in the steps toward equity and standing in the larger society. In essence, the position of the small farmers represents the position of the society's majority. While there is a century between the abolition/quilombo and the agrarian reform movements, there are definite causes for the union of the two. It is the battle of two different, yet both under-valued sectors of Brazilian society. How to achieve distributive justice with a nation's resources is a central issue in Brasil (though relevant in many parts of the world). Present allocation of wealth, information, and other social goods are clearly in debate, and it is going to take a lot more than technical, tangible means to reach a solution; social attitudes are going to play a major role.

History of Reform (*coincides with figures 3 - 9*)

Agrarian reform and rural democracy movements began after abolition in 1888 as producers fought against the power of the *latifundia* (large plantation owners). Farmers, country-men, social bandits, and religious fanatics began fighting—sometimes violently—for non-alienable use of land. This movement acquired legal organization just a little over 50 years ago, in 1950 with the *Ligas Camponeses* (Country Leagues) and the presentation of workers rights through the *Estatuto do Trabalhador Rural* (Rural Workers' Statute) and the *Estatuto da Terra* (Land Statute).

The Land Laws of 1850 favored large plantation-owners who sub-divided land and depended heavily on those who inhabited these parcels. There was ease in expansion, forced sale of small parcels, expulsion, and a history streaked with

death and violence toward Blacks, Indigenous, mulattos, *cabocles* (union of European and Indigenous), and small farmers. The 1891 Republican Constitution¹⁴, specifically article 73, also fought for the rights of landowners and was defended by intellectuals who supported the production of export articles, racism, and stratification.

The 1930s saw the emergence of the service workers' revolution. In the Constitution of 1934, article 121 regulated agricultural work and agrarian issues of betterment. Article 122 declared that the right of the owner could only be challenged facing the charge of misappropriation or the need of the land(s) for public use, and in these cases government would provide the landowner with compensation at the market price. Article 141 guaranteed the right to ownership, admitting that misappropriations were made out of public/social interest. Article 147 established the promotion of just distribution and equal opportunities for all, repeating the same tenets that were previously established in the Statute of 1934—public lands, owners' protection, and *meio rural* (agricultural) education.

Proponents of modernization, capitalism, and foreign interests pushed for agrarian reform. The Communist party was integral in attempting to organize rural workers in Ligas Camponesas, uniting salaried agriculturists and small producers with or without land. These leagues had great influence in areas close to the urban centers. The 1950s capitalist evolution expanded commerce forcing small producers to evacuate their lands. Pernambuco saw the first organized league with a 1955 compensation case. This case helped to expand the league to

¹⁴ (Slavery was abolished in 1888.) 1891 saw Brasil's first Constitution; it established a presidential system and executive, legislative, and judicial branches. This structure was retained in the 6 subsequent constitutions.

the northeast where they acquired property and attempted to establish a socialist agricultural system in Maranhão, Paraná, Goiás, and Mato Grosso. This was followed by a process of land occupations by those who had been forced off their lands of origin to “unclaimed” forests, usually already inhabited by Indigenous. Forests were destroyed and lives were taken by large landowners supported by the state police. This spawned the true agrarian reform—supported by the Communist Party and the leagues—organized on March 2, 1963. The National Confederation of Agricultural Workers pressured the governor into creating the *Superintendencia da Reforma Agraria* (SUPRA). In 1964 President Castelo Branco produced Law 4,504 — the Land Statute. The Land Statute contained two branches; IBRA, the Brazilian Institute of Agrarian Reform, and its fundamental structure, The National Institute of Agricultural Development. It was the Land Statute itself that drove the colonization process. The two sectors joined in 1969 to form INCRA, The National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform (one of the least-funded of the government programs); this happened during the time when the government was looking to integrate the Amazon and attract migrants from north and south of the country (fig. 2).

“*Terras devolutas*” (vacant lands) were to be used for large political colonization to lessen pressures of landless workers in critical social areas. In the 1970s, the government started urging the migration of workers to other regions within the country under the motto “land without men for men without land”. The government policy of occupying “empty space”, clearing Indigenous off of their lands, and “compensating” them at prices so low that only the government and

future business prospects were benefiting led to the destruction of the forests and the jungles in the most predatory manner.¹⁵ There was mass destruction of *solos* (land and soil), *riachos* (waterways), the slaughtering of animals, and widespread expulsion. While this mass migration only led to increased unemployment and conflict, the National Integration Program (PIN) which quickly followed justified the construction of great roadways benefiting companies and opening space for colonization, concession, or the sale of the lands to companies in the Amazon.

During the authoritarian regime, the power of the *latifundia* (large plantation owners) was reinforced. Modern farms of national and multi-national companies were developed and financed through agro-industrial and agro-pecuriary projects. These farmers began importing products to stimulate agricultural production, attempting to increase production of prime commodities—sugarcane, coca, soy, tobacco, and coffee—items that small farmers output locally. The slogan of the movement was “*exportar e desenvolver*”—export and develop, necessitating faster, more frequent output. This changed the methods of production, with mechanization replacing hand production, contributing to river pollution and unemployment.

The authoritarian regime closed the Ligas Camponeses without fully prohibiting the rural syndicates’ action. During this time, there was much retaliation by the small farmers opposed to the actions of the government. They were successful at increasing salaries through strikes. The workers movements had two paths; the

¹⁵ Following the rule of eminent domain, government has the right to take property for public purposes, but the owner must be compensated for the value of what is taken (condemnation award). If a decision cannot be made the case must go to court. This exemplifies the limitation of governmental power reinforced by the Constitution (Levy, 63).

first was developed by the National Conference of Agricultural Workers (CONTAG). Recognized by the government, documentation was received in favor of the leagues and the execution of a land statute. The second path was the Landless Movement (MST), a more radical movement implemented in southern Brasil. A movement to reclaim the land involved the invasion of unexplored property and the set-up of camp site installations. Often, workers were encountering parcels of land that were once their own. Commitments of the MST included environmental protection, reforestation, the avoidance of monocultures and agro-industrial poisons, and food production for hunger elimination. Even today, most of the country's food is produced on small and medium farms. Nearly two million children under the age of five suffer from malnutrition while large farms produce items—coffee and soy—of little to no nutritional value to the general population.

The Ministry of Agrarian Reform and Development (MIRAD) was created in an attempt to bring about a democratic system based on the old Land Statute of 1964. Priority was given to the internal market, the creation of new business to boost this market, decreasing the number of workers (indentured servants) at the sub-level, and the promotion of diminished exodus from the country to stop pressures on the urban areas. The goal to replace 7.1 million rural workers in 15 years on lands that they were once displaced from would require some 482 million hectares, joining government and latifundio lands for size and exploration. However, after 15 years of little change, rural workers began occupying un-approved lands, later turning up dead, while the killers (large landowners and other government-supported factions and/or individuals) faced no repercussions. Workers had to hold shifts and form virtual private militias to protect their lands against invasion and one another from murder.

Society Responds

In 1980 the National Conference of Bishops of Brasil (CNBB) described two necessary forms of land ownership: work land to provide the necessities to man and business land used for capitalist exploration. "*Terra de Deus, terra de irmãos,*" (God's land, brother's land) was their slogan at the time. Positive steps toward reform came with the approval of the New Republic in June of 1986. Support came from government sectors, churches, progressives, and public majority. Small producers began working within the economic and social plan of Brasil to link to foreign capital and multi-nationals. Unfortunately, as the government acquired land to distribute to those in need, police and judges often curtailed the process; clearly this was done in an effort to protect their past (and continuing) nefarious actions, as well to support large landowners, for whom they essentially worked.

While the majority of Brazilians would clearly benefit from land redistribution, the desire of the government has been to "modernize" rural areas by turning them into large, profitable export estates that will end up in the hands of multinationals. It is clear that as multinationals and latifundias benefit, so does the government; the financial flow between these three sectors of the population is a cyclical, reciprocal one. Those in control of these lands would then control scientific and biotechnological research to genetically modify food and life, which would allow for the production of goods beyond the ability of farmers. Besides the threat to employment, this presents health and environmental hazards for the entire society and ends the much-needed regulation of foodstuffs. Food products would become more susceptible to manipulation, producing side effects, all of which cannot be foreshadowed and may be just as difficult to

reverse once encountered. One can, however, take note of the pitfalls experienced in the United States with regards to the scientific manipulation of food: steroids given to animals in the effort to produce larger, meatier products in a shorter amount of time are resulting in birth defects and overdeveloped youth; chemicals used to heighten the color in fruits and vegetables are causing food allergies in segments of the population that were previously unaffected.¹⁶ Essentially, adverse effects of biotechnology are limitless, yet government is willing to jeopardize the health of an entire society in favor of increasing production/profit. Small farmers are better agents at preventing further environmental degradation and preserving bio-diversity. However, the World Bank is working to implement an initiative that would privatize land reform, forcing the landless to apply for loans to purchase parcels from landowners at market prices. The terms of the loans would be difficult if not impossible for landless farmers to fulfill. Additionally, there would be no controls implemented to pressure (large) landowners to sell. This type of policy would only increase poverty, while the privatization would breed conflict between states and those whose livelihoods depend on their access to land-based production. For reform to truly work, the new agricultural techniques must be affordable and subsidized.

Government and large landowners have publicly admitted that they would like civil society to stay out of the land reform debate. Landowners believe that reform could disrupt chances for economic development; meanwhile, large

¹⁶ Reports of the Food and Drug Administration, the Environmental Protection Agency, and the Center for Food Safety and Applied Nutrition show that methods of biotechnology can have adverse effects, i.e., birth defects, nerve damage, cancer, stunted organ development, food allergies and food intolerance.

landowners and corporations have caused environmental destruction and widespread poverty. Bradesco Bank has 85 thousand hectares of land, Bamerindus Bank 60 thousand, Volkswagon 139 hectares, and this is just an example of the unequal distribution of the country's greatest resource. An estimated 90,000 square miles are owned by businesses, yet provide work for only 63,000. One of the roles of government is to nurture members of a society to a level of self-sufficiency. Unfortunately, it is undeniable that in this case government is functioning to protect the rights of the multi-nationals and Brasil's upper class (the top 2% of the population).

While the government claims that there are not enough resources for land reform, approximately R\$110,000 *reais* (the equivalent of \$45,550) are spent on *each* land eviction. Proponents of land reform are denouncing the government's blatant disregard for the Brazilian Constitution, which states the right to life, freedom, work, education and specifically, the use of land for social functioning purposes:

It is incumbent upon the Republic to expropriate for social interest, for purposes of agrarian reform, rural property which is not performing its social function, against prior and fair compensation in agrarian debt bonds with a clause providing for maintenance of real value and redeemable within a period of up to twenty years as from the second year of issue, and the use of which shall be defined in the law (Article 184 [Agrarian Reform], *Brazilian Constitution*).

Recognition of the 1988 Brazilian Constitution would obligate the federal government to distribute those unproductive lands to the reform movement in accordance with the Constitutional tenets. Compliance with this compulsory redistribution is necessary in order for land reform to be effective in decreasing/eliminating land-related poverty. Evictions, illegal arrests, death-

threats and assassinations of landless workers are all examples of tenet violations. More than 80,000 families live in sub-human conditions in encampments without infrastructure, facing the constant threat of death. In the past fifteen years more than 1,500 persons involved in the landless movement have been killed and only 89 persons have been prosecuted and found guilty of committing these murders. Injustices of this magnitude are being committed against Indigenous, Blacks, and popular movements alike. All other trials relating to the MST and land acquisitions have been delayed for years, but the majority have never been brought to the courts for the reason that judges refuse to preside due to their sympathies and/or involvements with military police.

Invisibility

Low income families in urban slums, migrant farm workers and other low-income rural families, blacks and other ethnic minorities in any location, and American Indians . . . all invisible to government planners and administrators . . . existing bureaucratic institutions inherently discriminate against those who do not have access to upper levels of the hierarchy (Grenell, 119).

While a large portion of the Brazilian population are easily made invisible in the eyes of the elite, it is even easier to ignore groups such as quilombolas and agrarianists when they are separate entities as opposed to unions or collectives working together to exert their collective strength in numbers. Often times, when they *are* seen, they are compartmentalized and marginalized in a way that belittles their very existence - even when settlements house millions of people. It is during this point that efforts to assert their rights are seen as misguided or disjointed.

The fact that these groups are invisible is evident in the lack of infrastructure and services provided in these communities: water, drainage, transportation services, health, electricity, and all other things that governments are responsible for supplying to citizens are most often forsaken. If and when they are supplied at all it is in a manner that is incomplete, and comes only after years and years of residents fighting for basic human rights. While waiting—often in vain—for their needs to be met, these forgotten people become more efficient with what are essentially survival tactics, and more democratic in their self-governing. This demonstrates competency and ingenuity; both quilombolas and agrarianists work with what they have, utilizing the land in the most resourceful manner possible:

. . . the unnamed millions who build, organize and plan illegally are the most important organizers, builders and planners of Third World cities. But governments do not recognize this, they do not see these people as city-builders; indeed, they usually refuse to recognize that they are citizens with legitimate rights and needs for government services (Hardoy, Satterthwaite, 15).

The Union—Quilombolas and Agrarianists

If the objective of the land reform movement is to truly represent the larger society, the involvement of all Brazilians is required. Land reform must now take into account not only issues of equity and redistribution, but also privatization, mistreatment of common lands, and the securing of natural resources. In addition, new owners need to be assisted with inputs, markets, credit, and technology. This huge task is going to require active participation of the entire society. “Parameters of the political system are [born] through popular reaction to repression and exclusion: landlordism, casteism, degradation of women, slavery, and untouchability,” (Herring, 13). Urban Planning Professor Shlomo Angel points out in Housing Policy Matters the power in numbers as the

invisible become visible. “[Numbers] render politicians and bureaucrats more accountable to their constituencies” (38.)

It may not always be clear to the relevant parties how a union could further an individual cause. Potential barriers to collaboration can include gender (inequality), social stratification, and fragmentation. Collaboration occurs for different reasons (social, religious, economic, etc.), but always for the purpose of attaining (more) power. Additionally, most unions can be considered social institutions established to remove social barriers. These institutions can be kinship systems, community organizations and informal networks affecting productivity of economic assets, strategies for coping with risk, capacity to pursue new opportunities, and the extent to which voices are heard. When the union is based on social capital these ties can be bonding, bridging, or linking. Bonding ties are those of family, neighbors, close friends, business associates, and peoples with similar demographic characteristics. Bridging ties are said to be weaker, joining people of differing ethnicities and occupational backgrounds, with broadly comparable economic status and political power. Linking ties, the most uncommon, are those between the poor and influential. All three of these ties will be necessary for success to occur in the case of quilombolas and agrarianists.

Autonomous and independent peasant-led mass oppositions are rising in Brasil as it becomes increasingly clear that change will not happen unless these sectors take matters into their own hands and fight for complete socio-political agendas concerned with more than rural issues. Desperation leads people to realize the need to unite, as struggle, injustice, and mobilization against a common enemy prove sufficient as factors necessitating action. Agrarian farmers are joining

forces with urban classes (aiding in the organization of slum dwellers) and organizations for increased strength and transformation. However, while rural-urban relationships are developing, rural-rural relationships (like that of quilombolas and small farmers) should also be introduced and reinforced. Cooperatives should be fundamental. An example of a successful, yet previously believed unlikely alliance occurred in Brasil in 1996 among peasants, the Indigenous, and trade unions. Success can occur again when the different areas of the existing rural-centered reform are brought together. These areas include land reform, human rights in the countryside, and unionization of farm workers.

In the United States, the failure to hold up to the promised "forty acres and a mule" for Blacks during Reconstruction post-Civil War led to an imbalance in the agrarian sector. While the imbalance was based on race, the effects crossed class lines to incorporate Whites as well, proving that lack of inclusion in land ownership is a gateway for all other civil exclusions. These unfulfilled promises accelerated the steady erosion of rights for Blacks in America (in the areas of education, voting, employment, etc.), which became a catalyst to the spread of racist actions against all other minority groups. Where Blacks were lacking in strength and voice, they could have been bolstered by partnerships with others, yet a multiracial union was not a political option at the time. This disjointedness led to increased power of the white-majority, one-party rule which "helped define the contours of American politics and weaken the prospects not simply of change in racial matters but of progressive legislation in many other realms" (Eric Foner, Herring, 15).

Even today, the movement for titles for quilombolas has not been integrated into the larger agrarian movement. The Movimento Sem Terra (MST) would

positively benefit the quilombola community, which is more than likely pigeon-holed to the resources of groups working with Afro-Brasilians. Resources of the international community¹⁷ drawn to the agrarian battle are missing in the quilombo struggle. The broadening of the agrarian movement should incorporate additional social forces dealing in equality, which, along with their domestic and international allies, would form newer, stronger coalitions. The more coalitions are made, the more the commonalities between the movements would reveal themselves. Reciprocally, quilombolas have the benefit of legacy on their lands. Although they are fighting for titles and the acknowledgement of their rightful ownership, they are not fighting to gain initial access to the land, which the farmers do have burdening their struggle. The idea of holding titles to land is something that farmers are likely to face in the future. Once the government is made familiar with the process of granting titles to the quilombolas, grants to farmers may be easier to obtain as well. Thus, the quilombo and agrarian communities will benefit reciprocally.

There is a strong relationship between land reform, citizenship, and democratic development. In most, if not all countries, land is the symbol of power and a tool of empowerment. Poverty is directly related to land ownership, or lack thereof. Landlessness fosters dependency, political inequalities and underdevelopment of human capital, which affects the progress of an entire society. Clearly, egalitarian societies are more effective at increasing growth and eliminating poverty.

¹⁷ Such international allies include the European Commission, Friends of the MST, Food First, Grassroots International, Agricultural Missions, Kensington Welfare Rights Union, Latin America Coordination of Rural Organizations (CLOC), Via Campesina, the U.S. and Canada's Poor People's Economic Human Rights Campaign, March of the Americas (D.C., '99), and the audience of the World Social Forum.

Brasil and Paraguay are the two countries in Latin America with the worst income and resource distribution, therefore anti-poverty measures must be extreme. According to the 1999 United Nations Development Program (UNDP) ranking, with all of its resources and economic power, Brasil rates 74th (of 174 nations) on a world scale of quality of life; when just the white population is considered the number changes to 49th. The number shifts even more drastically to 120th when considering Afro-Brazilians alone. The Afro-Brazilian Human Development Index (HDI)¹⁸ would then be lower than that for Algeria and South Africa. This would equate the index of human development with Zimbabwe, one of the lowest in the world). In Broken Promises, William Thiesenhusen points out that in the scope of all of the land within Brasil—and all the poverty that has developed from unequal or complete lack of distribution—the agricultural movement, credited with being one of the largest in Latin America, is really not that large. He suggests that the government has overstated the progress of the movement in the media while simultaneously downplaying or ignoring the repression and violation that has stifled its growth.

In Carrots, Sticks and Ethnic Conflict, the authors warn about possible ethnic conflict when undertaking reform. Ethnic conflict has roots in the competition over resources, and has been surprisingly absent from the discourse of development, assistance, and reform. It is no surprise that values and behavior greatly differ among ethnic minorities than from those of the majority:

Poverty and the deprivations of racial minority groups persist as the most pressing social issues confronting municipal governments. They call for an all-out reappraisal of programmatic priorities and for imaginative new

¹⁸ Criteria evaluated in the HDI ranking includes: income per capita, life expectancy, literacy and educational level.

programs aimed, above all, at increasing a sense of personal dignity and at fostering positive images of self and group (Webber, 21).

The development of ethno-classes (groups whose ethnicity-based sensibilities and demands become independent causes of conflict) threatens the success of collaborative movements. However, ethnicity could play a significantly positive role in the union between farmers and quilombolas as the ethnic composition of both communities is people of color rather than white Brazilians. While the majority of Brasil's population is impoverished, Afro-Brazilians and the Indigenous¹⁹ are more likely to suffer from injustices²⁰. Sociologist Florestan Fernandes described the prejudice affecting darker-skinned Brazilians as a "mixed prejudice of race and class. . . therefore it is a color prejudice" (Justiça Global, 1). A valid concern of those interested would be whether class or ethnicity is a stronger uniting force. In the case of Brasil, the statistical data relating to poverty prove that class is the more dominant of the forces as the majority of Brazilians are suffering from land-related poverty. In addition, Brasil's lines of ethnicity and group affiliation/identifications are not very clear

¹⁹ According to CAFOD (Catholic Agency of Overseas Development), the Indigenous are the poorest, most vulnerable members of Brazilian society. They suffer the highest incidence of infant mortality and the shortest life expectancy. Brasil's Indigenous population totals less than 300,000, compared with an estimated 5 million at the arrival of the first Europeans. Brasil's Constitution requires that the government identify and protect Indigenous lands. FUNAI, the government agency for Indigenous affairs, estimates that approximately 50% of Indigenous lands have not been demarcated, and thus invaded by corporations, cattle ranchers, and land speculators. Demarcated lands are also being invaded. Indian reserves are cutting the group off from their sacred land. They are unable to practice religious and material customs and grow sufficient crops. The World Health Organisation has labeled suicide among the Indigenous an epidemic.

²⁰ While Brasil has been known as a "racial democracy", more persistently this ideal is being disputed. According to the 1990 Census, white Brazilians earn 2.12 times the average salary for browns and 2.41 times more than blacks. The same census shows that 18.9% of whites had eleven or more years of schooling, as compared to 6% of blacks who had reached the same level. These inequalities are present in all aspects of social development in the country.

due to the country's history of miscegenation²¹. Because of this, group identification on the basis of disenfranchisement would prove more effective. In espousing his Collective Action Theory in 1965, Mancur Olsen purported that ethnicity is a stronger unifying force than class because ethnic strategy is one of coordination as opposed to the free ride of class. Class manifests itself as more of an imagined than obvious community. Historically, democracies are most successful at attacking poverty when ethnicity and class coincide for the poor and when the union produces a large number of beneficiaries. This phenomenon produces a ranked ethnic system, one in which class and ethnicity coincide, as opposed to an unranked one in which the two clash.

With 8,511,996 square kilometers and a 47% continental area occupation there is enough land in Brasil to service the entire population. Conflicts between farmers and quilombolas over the same lands are unlikely to develop if there is proper distribution. Thus far, the existence of quilombos has gone virtually uninterrupted by those in the agrarian reform movement and would not be disputed for two reasons: geographically, the relevant lands of the two groups are in very different and separate locations. Additionally, they have different goals—the MST and the larger agrarian reform movement are fighting to obtain lands which are serving no social function, or to regain land which was once theirs. This is clearly not the case with the quilombolas, who are fighting to keep arable lands they already inhabit.

²¹ In the 2000 Annual Report of *Justiça Global* (Global Justice) it is noted that Brazilians do not use the term "race" (*raça*) to denote membership in a particular ethnic group. Instead they refer to a person's *cor* (color). The official categories of the Office of the Census (*Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, IBGE*) include: black (*preto*), brown (*pardo*), white (*branco*), yellow (*amarelo*), and indigenous (*indígena*).

Partnerships established through non-governmental (NGO) and international organizations are looking to support the mobilization of newly benefited groups towards obtaining their rights, as well as the creation of coalitions of the poor necessitating reach across traditional social barriers to broaden the scope of reform. NGOs are most effective when they serve as a link to the international development world and its constituents' assistance. One of their prime services is to expose human rights and other kinds of abuses; this continues to be their most important function in the battle for agrarian reform. NGOs can bring a mobilizing force to a rural community that it may be lacking otherwise. With rural communities being cast aside as the poor, weak, and ineffective, coalitions with social action groups will prove to be integral to the success of this movement. The disenfranchised sectors are essentially attempting to strengthen their collective voice; today there is clearer understanding that reforms which span across sectors (uniting those with previously separate and unrelated needs) produce more visible results and better utilization of goods, services, and resources. Large-scale programs can produce highly productive alliances that improve overall social integration. Efforts to alleviate poverty and protect human rights are producing a move towards the expansion of international aid.

Difficulty in uniting groups due to incompatibility may come in various forms: religion, ethnicity, ancestry, place of origin, etc. Group culture must definitely be taken into account. Struggles can appear in the areas of territory, religion, linguistics, community, and economics, yet are these differences significant enough to split up a union that could strengthen an entire community of ruralists? The authors of Carrots, Sticks and Ethnic Conflict mentioned that issues regarding ethnic territoriality, power relations, and the influence of patronage may arise. At the present time, power relations and patronage are two

things that do not affect either the quilombolas or the farmers; these groups have been relatively powerless and have no access to patronage or favoritism from the government or society in general. The concern about the redistribution of opportunity and status is empty when this was not previously a characteristic of either group.

The power to this movement towards unity is fueled by both groups' desire for self-sufficiency, placing them under the larger umbrella of the impoverished, unacknowledged, and disenfranchised, one of the social sectors most in need of reform in Brasil. The inclusion of yet another group, the Indigenous, increases the magnitude of the movement to a point where the invisible are suddenly seen, the voiceless are suddenly heard. If those in power ignore one group to aid another, conflict will subsequently follow. In effect, targeting reforms to benefit all those traditionally neglected (with their distinct identities) will dissipate potential conflict.

The Role of the Planner

Planners, for the most part have been the product of a conservative, antipopulist, pro-aristocracy movement. Maintaining the status quo appears to be the mission of our physical architects, who are either unaware of or unwilling to do what would be required to allow all members of a society to benefit. If this is not their mission, then they are unconcerned, which is not much better. Subsequently, residents/citizens have fallen victim to a paradigm that essentially should be in place for their benefit. The socio-economic consequences stemming from "decisions of physicality" by planners are many, yet the institution of planning has done little to either seek the cause of or the remedy to the social ills.

The planner's role requires broadening to include those issues that will have positive effects for all residents. Planning as a profession needs to take on a holistic approach in which law, social science, and physical design are all interconnected. There must be serious analysis of the conditions affecting those in a given place, as well as analysis of methods for solving problems. In behavior that merits encouragement, planners are increasingly aligning with members of the arts, humanities, and social sciences, while less often accepting and adhering to the confines of a mere technician.

Planners should be acting as educators; all who will be affected by the decisions of planning professionals need to be made aware of the decisions that will affect their communities. Opposition and critique of the canons of planning should be encouraged, acknowledged, and implemented where justifiable. Paul Davidoff suggests in "Advocacy of Pluralism in Planning" that planners see themselves as legal advocates. "The advocate planner would be more than a provider of information, an analyst of current trends, a simulator of future conditions, and a detailer of means. In addition to carrying out these necessary parts of planning, [he/she] would be a *proponent* of specific substantive solutions" (283). In "Comprehensive Planning and Social Responsibility" Melvin Webber refers to planning professionals as "agents of human welfare," providing therapy for social pathologies through the physical setting. Later in the text he goes further to call the planner an artist-scientist: artist because of his/her analysis of the world and scientist based on imagination and innovation.

In this revised bio of the planner, a position of value-neutrality will not suffice in serving the public in the best manner possible. Neutrality will hinder the advancement toward realizing desired goals. Those affected by a planner's work

should have a clear understanding—based on measurable objectives—of the values held by the planner. The results should be physical manifestations of social and environmental conditions that the planner thought most fitting.

The Role of Government

As the hand of government grabs hold of more aspects of planning and welfare, bureaucratic control must be considered in light of increasing specialized interest. In a diverse society, contention over (scarce) resources is inevitable. There is often a discrepancy between welfare of the majority and the minority, both figuratively and literally speaking. “Planning must be so structured and so practiced as to account for this unavoidable bifurcation of the public interest” (Davidoff, 279). Planners must be visible providers in this battle between the public and private sector. The difficulty comes in the fact that planners should be representatives of the people as well as the vehicles of government and special interest groups involved in community development.

Disenfranchised peoples live with constant threat to their freedom to live informed and effectively. The threat comes by way of the entities that have a vested interest in maintaining status quo. There is great disparity between the needs of community residents and the institution in control with its standards and values. This gap forms the base of the problems faced by invisible people. Development policies widen this gap instead of seeking to close it, threatening the quilombolas and agrarianists freedom towards this very development.

Invisible people do not have the property rights vital to achieve full economic efficiency. In his book [The Other Path](#), author Hernando de Soto suggests that there are three elements to a good law: property rights, contracts, and the extra-

contractual legal system. Without such a law, the burden of cost falls more heavily on informals than those protected by/ part of the system; the amenities afforded by protection of the law surely outweigh such harsh realities as displacement, servitude, theft and physical danger, all of which informals are subject to. Not only should a good law be neutral and discourage informality, it should stimulate the people and create incentive for economic and social opportunity offered by the government. In addition, it should allow for specialization of individuals' livelihoods and the use of resources in a way that is efficient for the particular society.

The role of governments should be matched to capability, answering both how and which services to deliver. The World Bank's 1997 World Development Report outlines five fundamentals that should be at the core of all governments' missions, specifically when dealing with poverty reduction:

1. establishment of a foundation of law
2. maintenance of a non-distortionary policy environment, including macroeconomic stability
3. investment in basic social services and infrastructure
4. protection for the vulnerable
5. protection of the environment

"...excessive government interference results in a great waste of resources," comments de Soto. While the quilombolas and agrarianists need the support of becoming legal owners and the basic services provided by the government, a level of sovereignty is also crucial to the survival of the two movements and their respective cultures.

Conclusion

In this paper the author presented evidence for 1) the significance of the quilombo (and agrarian) movement(s), 2) the reasons why a union between the quilombo and agrarian movements would be both successful and beneficial, 3) why culture should be an integral component in planning and proposed ways to go about this inclusion, and, 4) what government's role could realistically be in this union and in the two movements as separate entities.

The quilombo movement preserves African culture. This is an important factor when we look at Brasil with the outsiders' eye. Many of the elements we know to be Brazilian are (whether we are aware of this fact or not) remnants of African culture. The food, music, dance, capoeira, colors, and even some religious faiths are all steeped in African tradition. Knowledgeable and purposeful preservation of these and other African-influenced elements would only add to Brasil's positive image.

Collaboration of resources and subsequent innovations in the fields of urban planning, agriculture, human rights, and citizenship (to name a few) would contribute to economic and social development of regions as well as the entire country. A holistic approach to poverty elimination and society-building will produce more far-reaching goals and objectives from which more people will benefit. While quilombolas must be cautious and careful of preserving their sovereignty, an alliance among quilombolas and agrarianists would reduce competition over resources and increase efficiency. Such a union would also have the effect of making its participants more recognized and respected as members of the society. Hunger would be reduced as the value of lands and

subsequent production would increase both for the quilombolas (now legal and visible within the system) and government officials (who become aware of the benefits of this recognition). Preservation and strengthening of the family would develop from strong, unified communities. Elders would remain visible, active and contributing members of societies, sharing wisdom with those inside the quilombos, who would then transfer those values and beliefs to the outside world. Information would reach the young more easily. The agrarian reform needs justification to few, as it has the attention and the assistance of both local and international communities. This particular battle has been going on for so long that it has nearly become a recognizable characteristic of the country. It is clear that land distribution is skewed and that small farmers and their families are going hungry unnecessarily.

A union between the Agrarian Reform Movement and the Quilombo Preservation Movement would be successful if based solely on numbers. As marginalized persons and disenfranchised groups make up the majority of Brasil's population, this union would make a big statement with regards to the country's societal standing. As depicted in the relevant statistics (see section on **Land Inequalities**, p. 29) the current distribution is completely inefficient. Using the quilombola-agrarianist union, a model for a rural-rural kinship could be developed, successfully redistributing land, and thereby reducing the levels of malnutrition and starvation.

Numerous psychological and sociological findings prove that the physical environment plays a significant part on mental, emotional and physical development. Ultimately, most planners would agree that the goal of their work is to effectively meet the needs of people and society. It is impossible to

imagine meeting this goal without considering culture and those characteristics of one society that distinguish it from another. The author proposes a revisiting of the curriculum of planning students. More consideration needs to be given to teaching students the importance of planning with culture in mind. It should not be just the concern of students with a focus on international planning to consider the difficulty of planning for people whose customs, lifestyles, traditions, and climates may differ vastly from the planner's own.

While a planning student, the author was excited by anything that referenced culture, yet those materials did not make their way into many classes—actually, only two come to mind, and both were taught by the same professor. The author believes that in addition to its inclusion in general planning studies, culture studies should have its own place as a concentration alternative for those students who may be interested in pursuing it on a deeper level. It may be the sort of topic that, once introduced, grasps the interest of the student who may have paid little attention to it before. It is the responsibility of planning faculty and directors in our universities to provide and inform students of all field options, while strengthening the desire of the student to go beyond the boundaries (of the industry) as we know it. New times call for new developments, and as we have not yet uncovered all the answers to development, we have a vast amount of unknown territory to cover.

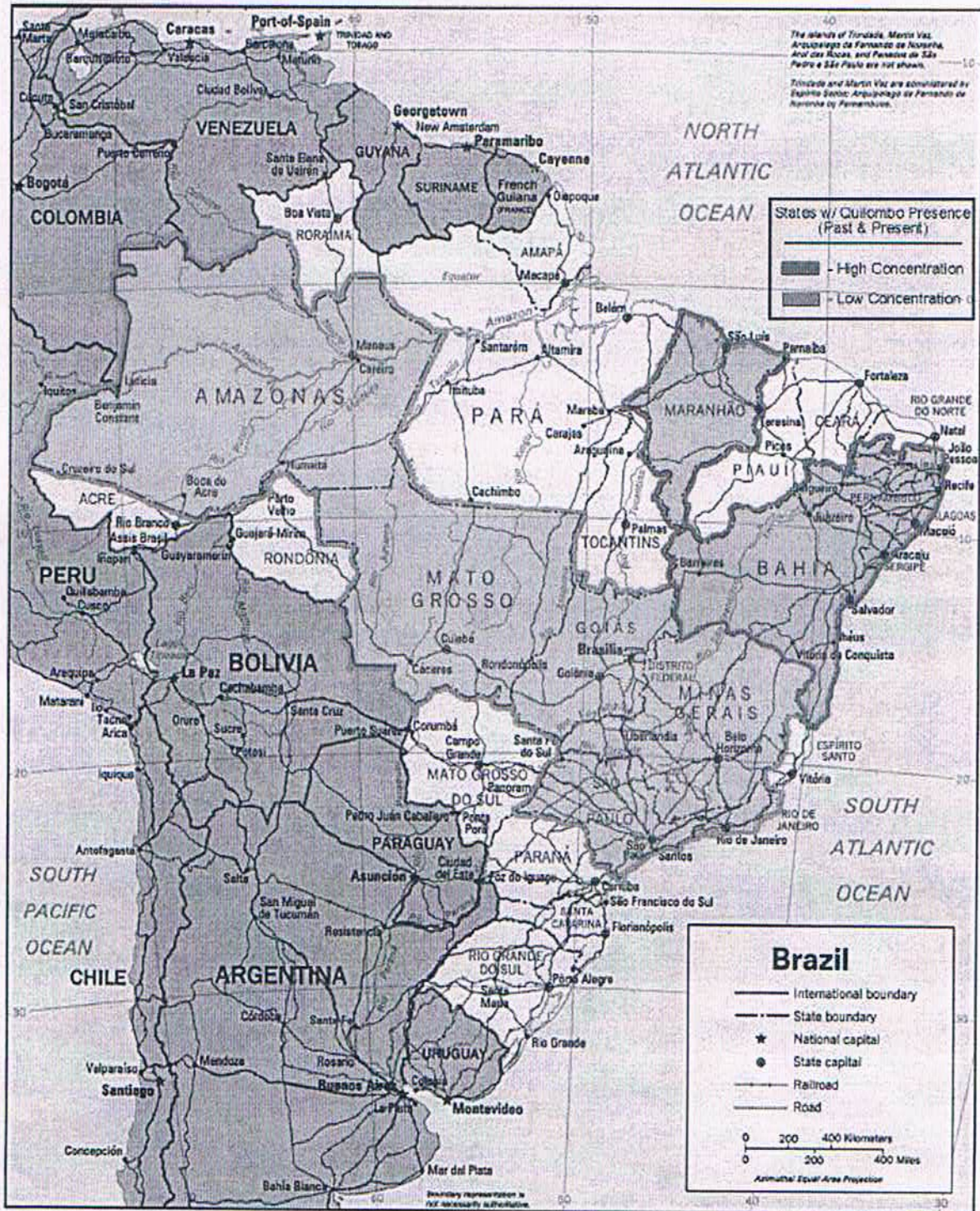
The purpose of this paper was not to prescribe the amount of government intervention that would be best, either in the case of a united quilombo and agrarian reform movement, or regarding two independent movements; this

issue sits at the heart of a different research endeavor. *Culture* makes it difficult to have a blanket world philosophy on the best type of government. In this way, government too is a function of and vehicle for the people who come with their cultures intact. A (simple) starting point regarding the level of government control versus sovereignty needed is an assessment of current conditions, level of efficiency, levels of marginality and invisibility, and general public need and welfare. If the people are neither able to obtain what they need for basic survival nor produce it for themselves, there must be a point where government has to meet the challenge of its role to provide for its people.

This paper was conceived and written in support of culture and its relationship to the field of planning. More specifically, the main purpose was to bring to light the existence of Brazil's quilombo communities and the problems jeopardizing their continued existence. In order to improve the condition of quilombolas, their history (including the history of their struggles in relation to land) must be recognized and validated, as these things are directly related to the culture that is (specifically) quilombola. Therefore, the author intended to illuminate their humanity from a historical perspective, but one that proceeds into today. By recognition, neither a presidential (public) apology nor a news report on quilombos will suffice. The recognition required to move forth with vigor is the titling of these lands in the favor of quilombolas. This—along with a proposed union with agrarianists and consideration of the level of government involvement—is what the author recommends for improving the lives of some of Brazil's most impoverished.

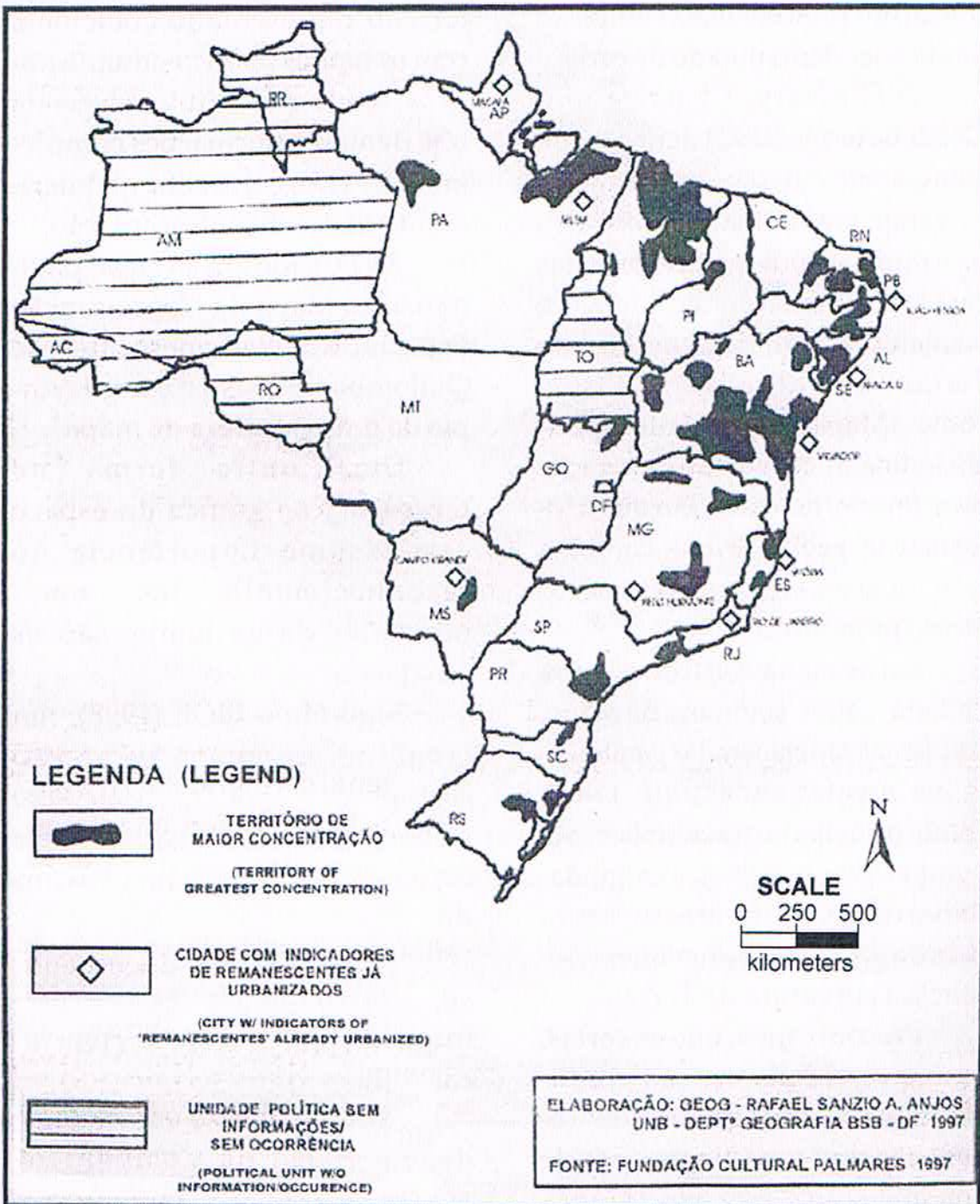
Appendix

Fig.1



Concentração Espacial dos Remanescentes de Quilombo, 1997. versão preliminar

Spatial Concentration of Remaining Quilombos, 1997. (preliminary version)



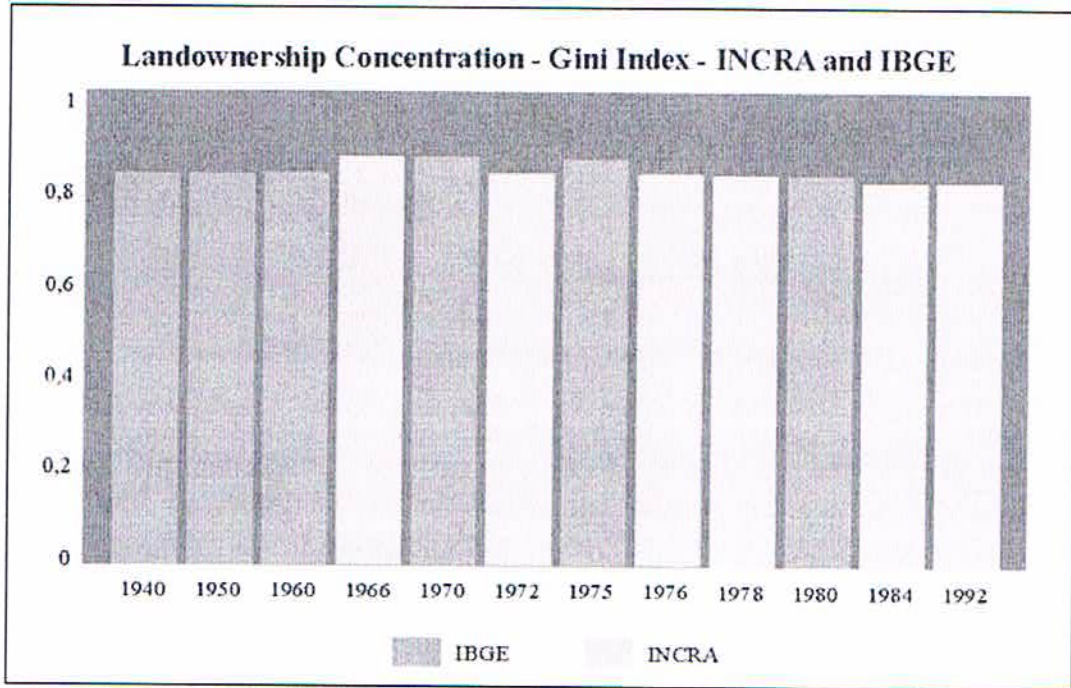
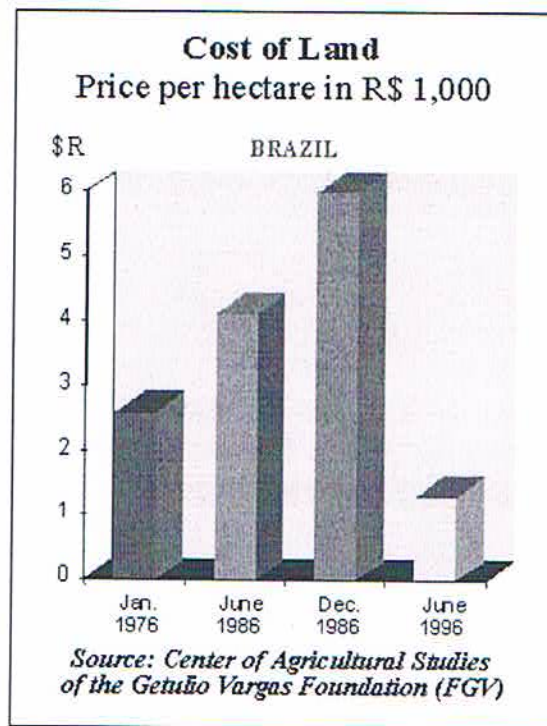


Fig. 3



PERIOD		AMOUNT OF LAND (hectares)		FAMILIES RESETTLED	
YEAR	MONTHS	TOTAL AREA	AVERAGE/MONTH	TOTAL	AVERAGE/MONTH
64-85	252	13,851,395	54,965	77,465	307
85-89	60	4,505,788	75,096	83,687	1,395
90-92	31	2,581,766	83,283	42,516	1,372
93-94	17	743,957	43,762	14,365	845
64-94	360	21,682,926	60,230	218,033	606

Fig. 5

PERIOD		AMOUNT OF LAND (hectares)		FAMILIES RESETTLED (estimates)	
YEARS	MONTHS	TOTAL AREA	AVERAGE/MONTH	TOTAL	AVERAGE/MONTH
1997	12	4,771,987	397,666	80,000	6,670
1998	12	5,964,983	497,078	100,000	8,333
Total	24	10,736,970	447,374	180,000	7,500

Fig. 6

RESETTLEMENTS	NUMBER	AREA (hectares-million)	No. OF FAMILIES
Agrarian Reform (Federal Gov.)	850	8.1	143,514
colonization (Federal Gov.)	726	5.0	122,114
states agrarian initiatives	49	14.1	85,181
TOTAL	1,625	27.2	350,809

Source: INCRA

Fig. 7

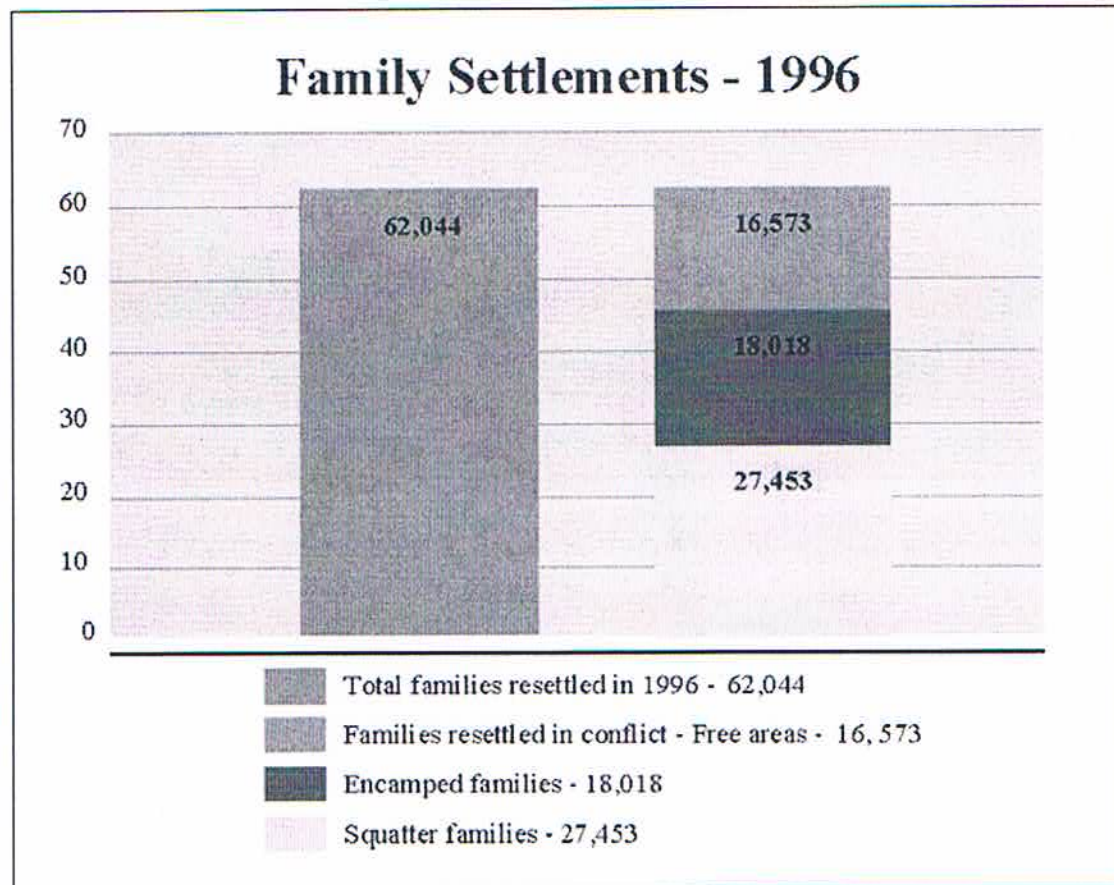


Fig. 8

Number of Families Resettled (Expropriations & Acquisitions) '95-'96

PERIOD		AMOUNT OF LAND		FAMILIES RESETTLED	
YEAR	MONTHS	TOTAL AREA	AVERAGE/MONTH	TOTAL	AVERAGE/MONTH
1995	12	1,242,334	103,528	42,912	3,576
1996	12	2,259,918	188,326	62,044	5,170
95-96	24	3,502,252	145,928	104,956	4,374

Agrarian Reform/Colonization Expenditures
 (values in US \$1,000 - constant dollars)

1980	7,973.76	1988	1,248,638.01
1981	42,540.43	1989	150,458.63
1982	49,428.66	1990	70,085.02
1983	56,770.79	1991	240,242.5322
1984	25,817.53	1992	107,137.9788
1985	27,956.51	1993	458,812.0745
1986	146,186.03	1994	390,168.208075
1987	145,562.94	1995	970,911.1686

Source: MF/STN

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