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# Analysis of the life conditions of quilombolas communities in Tocantins, Brazil

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**ABSTRACT.** The present study carried out a descriptive approach on the living conditions of families in some quilombola communities in the state of Tocantins. Through the application of a structured questionnaire, 414 families were interviewed, distributed in 21 quilombola communities in the State. From the interviews, it was observed that the communities were formed by a higher percentage of male quilombolas, in the adult age group. Many families had an income of up to one minimum wage, a value also made possible by the Bolsa Família Program, which complements the income of these families. In addition, a significant percentage of the residents engaged in farming and/or handicraft activities, and most of the population had Elementary School I (5th grade) as an educational level. The results of this study revealed that, despite having improved the access of quilombola communities to schools, many families are low-income and still lack basic sanitation and electricity in their homes. Therefore, the information presented here can contribute to the implementation of public policies aimed at quilombola communities in Tocantins.

**Keywords:** Black Communities, Socioeconomic, Public Politics.





## Análise das condições de vida de comunidades quilombolas do Tocantins, Brasil

**RESUMO.** O presente estudo realizou uma abordagem descritiva sobre as condições de vida das famílias de algumas comunidades quilombolas do estado do Tocantins. Mediante a aplicação de questionário estruturado, foram entrevistadas 414 famílias, distribuídas em 21 comunidades quilombolas do Estado. A partir das entrevistas, observou-se que comunidades estavam formadas por maior percentual de quilombolas do gênero masculino, na faixa etária adulta. Muitas famílias apresentaram renda de até um salário mínimo, valor possibilitado também pela ação do Programa Bolsa Família, que complementa a renda dessas famílias. Além disso, uma porcentagem significante dos moradores exercia atividade de lavoura e ou artesanato, e a maior parte da população possuía como nível de escolaridade o Ensino Fundamental I (5º ano). Os resultados deste trabalho revelaram que, apesar de ter melhorado o acesso das comunidades quilombolas às escolas, muitas famílias são de baixa renda e ainda não possuem saneamento básico e energia elétrica nas suas residências. Portanto, as informações aqui apresentadas podem contribuir para a implementação de políticas públicas direcionadas para as comunidades quilombolas do Tocantins.

**Palavras-chave**: Comunidades Negras, Socioeconômico, Políticas Públicas.

# Análisis de las condiciones de vida de las comunidades de quilombolas en Tocantins, Brasil

**RESUMEN.** El presente estudio llevó a cabo un enfoque descriptivo sobre las condiciones de vida de las familias en algunas comunidades de quilombolas en el estado de Tocantins. Mediante la aplicación de un cuestionario estructurado, se entrevistó a 414 familias, distribuidas en 21 comunidades de quilombolas en el Estado. A partir de las entrevistas, se observó que las comunidades estaban formadas por un mayor porcentaje de quilombolas masculinas, en el grupo de edad adulta. Muchas familias tenían ingresos de hasta un salario mínimo, un valor también posible gracias al Programa Bolsa Familia, que complementa los ingresos de estas familias. Además, un porcentaje significativo de los residentes se dedicaba a actividades agrícolas y/o artesanales, y la mayoría de la población tenía la Escuela Primaria I (5to grado) como nivel educativo. Los resultados de este trabajo revelaron que, a pesar de haber mejorado el acceso de las comunidades de quilombolas a las escuelas, muchas familias tienen bajos ingresos y aún carecen de saneamiento básico y electricidad en sus hogares. Por lo tanto, la información presentada aquí puede contribuir a la implementación de políticas públicas dirigidas comunidades de quilombolas en Tocantins.

**Palabras clave:** Comunidades Negras, Socioeconomico, Políticas Públicas.

### Introduction

The remaining quilombola communities belong to a social group with distinct ethnic characteristics. Located mainly in rural areas, they have a traditional way of life, expressed in the culture, customs, parties, dances and habits of their population (Araújo & Foschiera, 2012). Decree no. 4,887, of November 20, 2003, distinguishes these communities as "ethnic-racial groups, according to criteria of self-attribution, with their own historical trajectory, endowed with specific territorial relations, with presumption of black ancestry related to the resistance to the suffered historical oppression".

The groupings considered to be remaining quilombola communities were formed from a great diversity of processes. Among these diversities, there are the escapes with the occupation of available and generally isolated land, which occurred in Brazil, between the years 1530 to 1888, as a form of protest against slavery, especially to the conditions of mistreatment to which Africans were subjected in the Colonial Brazil period. Also noteworthy are the communities formed from inheritances, donations and land receipts as payment for services provided to the state, the simple stay on the lands they occupied and cultivated inside large properties, in addition to the purchase of land, during the slavery regime as well as after its extinction (Carvalho et al., 2011; Malcher & Nahum, 2010).

Quilombola communities have been resisting time and outside influences, trying to maintain and reproduce their way of life. In this context, territoriality plays a fundamental role in the construction of the group's own identity, as the different appropriations of spaces shape, in a particular and unique way, each of these locations (Nery, 2004).

With the promulgation of Article 68 of the **Transitional** Constitutional Provisions Act. of the Federal Constitution of 1988, the first legal instrument that refers to land rights by ex-slaves and their descendants was drafted. Another great achievement of quilombola people was the launch of the Programa Brasil Quilombola (PBQ), on March 12, 2004. The program was created to consolidate the state policy framework for quilombola areas, and consequently, improve living conditions and increase access to public goods and services for people living in these locations. However, despite the advances obtained with the PBQ, coordinated by the Secretariat of Policies for the Promotion of Racial Equality (SEPPIR)<sup>i</sup>, Brazilian quilombola communities are still inserted in the context of social vulnerability.

Social vulnerability refers to a condition of material fragility, of people or groups with few financial resources, education. health housing, and opportunities for their social development. The factors that trigger "social exclusion" historical. involve gender, sexual orientation, geographic and race issues (Carmo & Guizardi, 2018; Monteiro, 2011; Pizzio, 2010), which lead to social invisibility.

For Santos (2002) the Afrodescendants are part of a group whose ways of knowing, living and feeling have been disqualified, placed in a position of existence so "inferior" that it cannot be considered as a credible alternative for life, which has been ignored by society and produced its social invisibility.

In the state of Tocantins, according to a report made in 2005, linked to the State Plan for the Promotion of Racial Equality, the social invisibility of the remaining quilombola communities was an emergency and risk issue. In this sense, Esteves (2012) reported that when visiting the quilombola communities of Tocantins (Malhadinha, Córrego Fundo, Barra de Aroeira, Distrito do Morro de São João, Redenção and Cocalinho), he revealed that they presented a situation of insecurity, about the possession of the land they occupy, as well as the precarious access to

basic infrastructure, which are necessary to maintain the minimum quality of life.

In 2018, Brazil already had 2,685 quilombola remaining communities distributed in 24 Brazilian states, with the exception of Acre, Roraima and the Federal District. The state of Tocantins, in turn, had 38 communities certified by the Fundação Cultural Palmares (2018).However, it is estimated that the number of quilombola communities in Tocantins is greater, but what is more aggravating is that the reality of these communities and their needs is not known. In this context, the present study carried out a descriptive approach on the living conditions of families in some of the quilombola communities in the state of Tocantins.

## Methodology

The present study was carried out in 21 quilombola communities in the south, southeast and central regions of the state of Tocantins, which are: Malhadinha, Córrego Fundo, Curralinho do Pontal, and Manoel João communities (municipality of Brejinho de Nazaré); Mata Grande community (municipality of Monte do Carmo); Santa Maria das Mangueiras community (municipality of Dois Irmãos); Barra do Aroeira community (municipality of Santa Tereza do Tocantins); Carrapato, Formiga e Ambrósio, Mumbuca and surrounding communities, and Quilombolas Rios (municipality of Baião Mateiros); and Poço Dantas communities (municipality of Almas); Chapada de Natividade communities, and São José (municipality of Chapada de Natividade); Kalunga do Mimoso and Lagoa da Pedra communities(municipality of Arraias); communities of Laginha and neighboring areas, and São Joaquim (municipality of Porto Alegre Tocantins); Lajeado community (municipality of Dianópolis); Distrito do Morro de São João community (municipality of Santa Rosa): Redenção community (municipality of Natividade).

Initially, contact was made with representatives of the quilombola communities, by telephone, in order to inform them about the objective of the study and to verify their interest in participating in the research. With the agreement of the representative, the date for the visit was scheduled.

The survey of socioeconomic data occurred through the application of a structured questionnaire (Marconi & Lakatos, 2004), which was developed from a fixed list of questions, whose order and writing remained constant for all respondents. It was applied to one representative per family, preferably the

father or mother, who informed the data of all members. Families who were not in the community on the days of the visits did not participate in the survey, which took place between June 2011 and October 2012.

This was a quantitative study, with a descriptive approach of the results (Triviños, 1987), to assess the profile of the quilombola population regarding the number of families, gender (male or female), age group, family income and whether benefited by federal government programs, economic activity and education level. The data were categorized, according Triviños (1987), as fundamental variables, with the discrete variables being the number of families, the number of people, gender and economic activity; and continuous variables: age group, economic income and education. The data was organized into their analysis categories and the results transformed into percentages (%) for descriptive analysis.

This study was authorized by the Research Ethics Committee of the Federal University of Tocantins (UFT), process no. 048/2009, and all interviews were conducted only after signing the Free and Informed Consent Form.

## **Discussion and Analysis**

In this study, interviews were carried out with 414 families from the 21

quilombola communities studied, presenting the economic condition of 1,755 quilombolas, about 80% of the total population of these communities<sup>ii</sup> (Table 1). There was variation in the number of families and people by community, which may be related to historical factors associated with their origin, distance from communities to urban centers, presence of schools in the community and physical structure of homes.

The Mimoso Kalunga do community, located in the southern region of the state, was the one with the largest number of sampled families (75), totaling 243 quilombolas. It is a remnant of the Kalunga de Goiás quilombola community, dated 1749, and their families distributed in small residential centers (Curral Velho, Esperança, Deus Ajuda, Cana Brava, Mimoso, Forte, Aparecida, Matas, Ponta da Ilha, Belém and Albino) (Pires & Oliveira, 2006). It was one of the first communities from Tocantins to be recognized as a quilombo, however, the benefits achieved by the community were few. Kalunga do Mimoso, is located 110 km from the city of Arraias/TO, its dwellings are extremely simple and rustic, most were built using palm straw, wood and clay (Araújo & Foschiera, 2012), they do not have electricity, treated or piped water, and basic sanitation. Even so, the

presence of schools in the region and the strong family bond keep the population in their homeland.

The community with the lowest number of families was São José, also located in the southern region of the state (8 families and 39 quilombola residents) (Table 1). This is a rural community, located in the municipality of Chapada de Natividade/TO. It has scattered settlement, residences built of adobeiii, without treated or piped water, without septic tank and electricity present only in some residences. Its isolated location makes it difficult for residents to access health and education, which considerably reduces their quality of life and contributes to the population's migration to the city.

The presence of a septic tank for the storage of domestic sewage was verified in benefited communities by the PAC the Quilombola program, such as Malhadinha and Córrego Fundo communities, both in the municipality of Brejinho de Nazaré/TO. However, many of the communities that were not benefited by the program did not have any type of structure to treat domestic waste, discarding it in nature.

Table 1 - Number of families, people sampled and gender (female and male) of the population, in quilombola communities in the state of Tocantins. Data collected in the years 2011 and 2012.

COMMUNITIES	Families (N)	People (N)	Females (%)	Male (%)
Baião	13	55	47.3	52.7
Barra do Aroeira**	19	107	43.9	56.1
Carrapato, Formiga e Ambrósio	45	218	43.1	56.9
Chapada de Natividade	23	109	53.2	46.8
Córrego Fundo*	12	63	50.8	49.2
Curralinho do Pontal*	11	41	41.5	58.5
Distrito do M. de São João**	30	110	45.5	54.5
Kalunga do Mimoso	75	243	416	58.4
Laginha e áreas vizinhas	12	79	46.8	53.2
Lagoa da Pedra	15	59	47.5	52.5
Lajeado	9	45	48.9	51.1
Malhadinha*	12	62	41.9	58.1
Manoel João*	13	43	37.2	62.8
Mata Grande**	18	78	50.0	50.0
Mumbuca e arredores	24	108	53.7	46.3
Poço Dantas	15	52	40.4	59.6
Quilombolas Rios	14	70	38.6	61.4
Redenção	14	51	49.0	51.0
Santa Ma. das Mangueiras	22	74	43.2	56.8
São Joaquim	10	49	43.1	52.9
São José	8	39	48.7	51.3
TOTAL	414	1755	45.4	54.6

Data presented by \*Souza et al. (2013); \*\*Andrade et al. (2015).

When assessing the number of males and females, there was a relatively higher percentage of male quilombolas (54.6%) compared to females (45.4%), also shown in Table 1. Analyzing them individually, only Córrego Fundo, Mumbuca and Chapada de Natividade had a higher percentage for females (50.8%, 53.7% and 53.2%, respectively) compared to males (49.2%, 46.3% and 46.8%, respectively). However, the small difference diagnosed between genders in this work reveals that in the communities there is a balance between the male and female population.

In some quilombola communities, men and women have different roles. In the communities of Mateiros/TO, for example, men plant cassava, beans, potatoes and harvest the buriti straw. Women are responsible for the Capim Dourado Association, including the manufacturing, sales and distribution of the money collected, also, they take care of the harvest and preparation of flour, as well as being engaged in the community politics (Lopes, 2009).

Regarding the age group of the quilombolas, it was observed that 33.2% were adults, followed by 24.3% children,

RBEC	Tocantinópolis/Brasil	v. 5	e8671	10.20873/uft.rbec.e8671	2020	ISSN: 2525-4863

15.5%, 15.9% and 11.0% were teenagers, young adults and seniors, respectively (Table 2). In most communities, the adult age group prevailed, as in Manoel João (41.9%), Kalunga do Mimoso (40.2%), Lagoa da Pedra (42.4%), Distrito do Morro de São João (41.8%) and Poço Dantas (40.4%). In contrast, the children age group stood out in five of the communities studied: Barra do Aroeira (36.4%),Carrapato, Formiga e Ambrósio (35.8%), Joaquim (32.7%), Laginha neighboring areas (27.8%) and Redenção (27.5%), also where very large families were found. The greater number of children in these quilombola communities signals a growing population.

Regarding family income, most of the interviewed families stated that they had a monthly income above one minimum wage (42.3%), while 29.5% and 28.3% of families declared an income of one minimum wage and less than one minimum wage, respectively (Table 3). Analyzing the communities individually, in four of them, most families had a monthly income below the minimum: Barra do Aroeira (42.1%), Carrapato, Formiga e Ambrósio (40.0%), Santa Maria das

Mangueiras (40.9%) and Lagoa da Pedra (40.0%). In eight communities, half or more than half of the families had an income above the minimum wage: Córrego Fundo (50.0%), Curralinho do Pontal (81.8%), Mata Grande (66.7%), Quilombolas Rios (50.0%), Chapada de Natividade (73.9%), Lajeado (55.6%), São Joaquim (70%) and São José (75.0%).

The Curralinho do Pontal community had the highest percentage of families with income above the minimum wage (81.8%), which is also related to the percentage of elderly people in the community (27.5%; Table 2). This amount can positively influence the increase in family income, due to the existence of one or more retired people in the same residence. The percentage of families with an income above the minimum wage was also high for the Chapada de Natividade (73.9%) and Mata Grande (66.7%) communities, which is related to their location, the first is an entirely urban community, the municipality of Chapada de Natividade/TO, and the second has part of the families residing in the municipality of Monte do Carmo/TO.

Tabela 2 - Age group of residents of quilombola communities in Tocantins. Data collected in the years 2011 and 2012. (child - from 0 to 12 years old; teenager - from 12 to 18 years old; young adult- from 18 to 29 years old; adult - 29 to 60 years old; and senior - 60 years and higher).

COMMUNITIES	Child	Teenager	Young Adult	Adult	Senior
COMMUNITIES	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Baião	23.1	13.5	9.6	34.6	19.2
Barra do Aroeira**	36.4	19.6	18.7	23.4	1.9
Carrapato, Formiga e Ambrósio	35.8	18.1	16.3	25.1	4.7
Chapada de Natividade	22.2	15.7	20.4	31.5	10.2
Córrego Fundo*	20.6	12.7	11.1	41.3	14.3
Curralinho do Pontal*	5.0	12.5	22.5	32.5	27.5
Distrito do M. de São João**	20.9	6.4	15.5	41.8	15.5
Kalunga do Mimoso	20.5	13.8	8.8	40.2	16.7
Laginha e áreas vizinhas	27.8	19.0	25.3	20.3	7.6
Lagoa da Pedra	15.3	15.3	15.3	42.4	11.9
Lajeado	22.2	28.9	8.9	33.3	6.7
Malhadinha*	25.8	6.5	17.7	37.1	12.9
Manoel João*	20.9	4.7	11.6	41.9	20.9
Mata Grande**	17.9	12.8	25.6	34.6	9.0
Mumbuca e arredores	23.1	19.4	23.1	30.6	3.7
Poço Dantas	15.4	7.7	19.2	40.4	17.3
Quilombolas Rios	20.3	15.9	18.8	39.1	5.8
Redenção	27.5	23.5	9.8	21.6	17.6
Santa Ma. das Mangueiras	28.4	16.2	8.1	33.8	13.5
São Joaquim	32.7	20.4	12.2	30.6	4.1
São José	17.9	23.1	17.9	25.6	15.4
TOTAL	24.3	15.5	15.9	33.2	11.0

Data presented by \*Souza et al. (2013); \*\*Andrade et al. (2015).

Pinheiro et al. (2013) identify the reasons that led part of the quilombola families of the Mata Grande community to migrate to the city, their relationship with their new home and the influence caused by the urban environment. As a result, he found that the displacement of these families occurred in the search of better living conditions, related to income, infrastructure, housing education children and access to health. However, despite the improvements, there was a feeling of cultural identity loss. Family customs changed considerably with the move to Monte do Carmo/TO, because life

in the city brings other habits and the distance from activities linked to the land.

The Bolsa Família Program stood out in all communities, being present in 46.1% of the interviewed families (Table 3). Two communities stood out for having more than 60% of their families benefited by the program: Barra do Aroeira (68.4%) and Lagoa da Pedra (66.7%), both mentioned in the previous paragraph because of their low income. It should be noted that the amount transferred by the Bolsa Família Program, instituted by Law no. 10.836, of January 9, 2004, and regulated by Decree no. 5.209, of September 17, 2004, depends

RBEC Tocan	tinópolis/Brasil	v. 5	e8671	10.20873/uft.rbec.e8671	2020	ISSN: 2525-4863

on the number of people in the family, the age of its members and their income. In addition, there are specific benefits for families with children and young people up to the age of 17, pregnant women and nursing mothers.

**Table 3.** Income declared by the families of the quilombola communities in the state of Tocantins and the benefits that contribute to family income. Data collected in the years 2011 and 2012.

	DECL	ARED IN	COME	GOV	ERNMENT	BENEFIT	S (%)
COMMUNITIES	< 1 Salary (%)	1 Salary (%)	> 1 Salary (%)	None (%)	Bolsa Família (%)	Social Energy (%)	Other (%)
Baião	15.4	38.5	46.2	61.5	38.5	-	-
Barra do Aroeira**	42.1	21.1	36.8	31.6	68.4	-	-
Carrapato, Formiga e Ambrósio	40.0	28.9	31.1	46.7	48.9	4.4	-
Chapada de Natividade	4.3	21.7	73.9	56.5	39.1	4.3	-
Córrego Fundo*	25.0	25.0	50.0	58.3	41.7	-	-
Curralinho do Pontal*	18.2	-	81.8	54.5	45.5	-	-
Distrito do Morro de São João**	13.3	50.0	36.7	66.7	33.3	-	-
Kalunga do Mimoso	34.7	26.7	38.7	41.3	57.3	-	1.3
Laginha e áreas vizinhas	33.3	41.7	25.0	66.7	33.3	-	-
Lagoa da Pedra	40.0	26.7	33.3	26.7	66.7	-	6.7
Lajeado	22.2	22.2	55.6	44.4	55.6	-	-
Malhadinha*	25.0	50.0	25.0	75.0	25.0	-	-
Manoel João*	23.1	30.8	46.2	46.2	53.8	-	-
Mata Grande**	22.2	11.1	66.7	66.7	33.3	-	-
Mumbuca e arredores	33.3	37.5	29.2	62.5	37.5	-	-
Poço Dantas	33.3	20.0	46.7	80.0	20.0	-	-
Quilombolas Rios	21.4	28.6	50.0	50.0	35.7	14.3	-
Redenção	21.4	50.0	28.6	14.3	35.7	50.0	-
Santa Maria das Mangueiras	40.9	40.9	18.2	45.5	54.5	-	-
São Joaquim	10.0	20.0	70.0	40.0	60.0	-	-
São José	25.0		75.0	50.0	50.0	-	-
TOTAL	28.3	29.5	42.3	50.5	46.1	2.9	0.5

Data presented by \*Souza et al. (2013); \*\*Andrade et al. (2015).

On the other hand, a reduced percentage of quilombola families (2.9%) registered a Social Energy Tariff benefit, that is, a benefit that gives discounts on the electricity bill, for families enrolled in the Single Registry for Social Programs of the federal government. The low number of families contemplated with the benefit may be related to the lack of electricity in many of the communities studied. According to

Oliveira e Silva et al. (2008), the lack of access to electricity is considered a factor of difficulty in employment and income in quilombola communities, preventing the development of production cooperatives, for example.

In the Kalunga do Mimoso community, there was a family that confirmed the receipt of basic monthly food baskets, while in Lagoa da Pedra,

RBEC Tocantinópolis	/Brasil v. 5	e8671	10.20873/uft.rbec.e8671	2020	ISSN: 2525-4863

another one claimed to be covered by the Tocantins state program Sem Fome<sup>iv</sup>. It is important to note that these programs complement the income of quilombola families, especially those with low income, and/or with individuals in more vulnerable age groups (children and teenagers).

In addition to benefits, such as the Bolsa Família Program (PBF), mentioned above, Brazilian quilombola communities can benefit from other government programs and actions, such as the Food Acquisition Program (PAA), food baskets, community gardens, Continuous Provision Program (PPC) and Child Labor Eradication Program (PETI). All of them have the objective of improving the quality of life of people who live in quilombola communities. However, the lack information regarding the programs and the form of registration of the community and/or families becomes an obstacle to the fulfillment of this purpose (Fundação Euclides da Cunha, 2009). Furthermore, Esteves (2012) stated that in the state of Tocantins, the discontinuity of actions in favor of communities is evident, mainly due to the lack of preparation and constant changes in management in the responsible bodies.

The income of families in different communities is related to the various economic activities carried out by residents. These activities vary depending on the community and its geographic location. Thus, in these locations, there are people who work in the most diverse professions and attributions, such as, for community example, agents, administrative assistants, teachers, drivers, cooks and nursing technicians. The main economic activities of the residents of the communities are those focused agriculture and handicrafts. In this study, 42.2% of quilombolas declared themselves to be farmers and/or artisans. INSS benefits also contribute to family income, with 22.8% of the people interviewed being retired or pensioners, while only declared themselves employed 13.6% (Table 4).

The data presented in Table 4 further demonstrate that, in seven communities, more than 50% of their population lives of farming and/or handicrafts: Santa Maria das Mangueiras (64.3%); Barra do Aroeira (53.1%); Carrapato, Formiga e Ambrósio (55.9%); Mumbuca and surroundings (51.6%); Kalunga do Mimoso (57.4%); Laginha and neighboring areas (61.9%); and São Joaquim (69.6%). Many of these communities combine some activities with subsistence farming, plant extractivism, fishing, livestock, processing of flour and oil, and handicrafts.

In the Carrapato, Formiga e Ambrósio, and Mumbuca and surrounding communities, located in the municipality of Mateiros/TO, handicraft is a practice strengthened by residents. Using *capim* 

dourado, quilombolas in this region produce goods, such as jewelry, bags, and hats. Handicrafts are sold mainly to tourists who frequent the Jalapão region.

Table 4 - Economic activity exercised by quilombolas in the state of Tocantins. Data collected in the years 2011 and 2012.

COMMUNITIES	Employee	Autonomous	Agriculture / Craftsman	INSS Benefits	Unpaid Activity	Unemployed	Uninformed
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Baião	5.7	-	34.3	37.1	20.0	-	2.9
Barra do Aroeira**	18.4	-	53.1	14.3	8.2	-	6.1
Carrapato, Formiga e Ambrósio	15.7	4.9	55.9	10.8	1.0	2.0	9.8
Chapada de Natividade	41.2	8.8	10.3	16.2	13.2	5.9	4.4
Córrego Fundo	14.3	-	28.6	28.6	11.9	-	16.7
Curralinho do Pontal	20.6	-	20.6	32.4	11.8	-	14.7
Distrito do Morro de São João**	13.8	3.8	32.5	23.8	21.3	-	5.0
Kalunga do Mimoso	4.9	-	57.4	30.9	0.6	-	6.2
Laginha e áreas vizinhas	7.1	4.8	61.9	16.7	4.8	2.4	2.4
Lagoa da Pedra	12.2	-	48.8	26.8	9.8	-	2.4
Lajeado	36.4	4.5	31.8	22.7	-	-	4.5
Malhadinha	2.3	4.7	18.6	18.6	25.6	-	30.2
Manoel João	3.3	-	30.0	30.0	26.7	-	10.0
Mata Grande**	24.1	14.8	11.1	22.2	13.0	-	14.8
Mumbuca e arredores	14.5	3.2	51.6	12.9	-	-	17.7
Poço Dantas	10.0	2.5	45.0	22.5	7.5	7.5	5.0
Quilombolas Rios	24.4	6.7	40.0	8.9	4.4	4.4	11.1
Redenção	-	-	42.3	46.2	-	-	11.5
Santa Maria das Mangueiras	-	-	64.3	28.6	7.1	-	-
São Joaquim	8.7	-	69.6	21.7	-	-	-
São José	4.3	-	47.8	30.4	-	-	17.4
TOTAL	13.6	3.1	42.2	22.8	8.3	1.1	8.9

Data presented by \*\*Andrade et al. (2015).

Other studies carried out in rural quilombola communities in Brazil demonstrate the importance of agriculture receiving aid from the federal government for their population. Júnior et al. (2008), in the work carried out in quilombola communities in Vale do Ribeira, state of São Paulo found that the main source of family income for this population was the receipt of pensions and the Bolsa Família program. On the other hand, quilombola in the rural communities of Pinheiros and Macuco,

state of Minas Gerais, Lima & Tubaldini (2009) report that family farming was predominant, with peasant traits, in the organization of work, with the economy being guided by the subsistence of the family group as first priority.

Table 5 shows the level of education of the inhabitants of quilombola communities in Tocantins. Most people who reported their level of education had elementary school level (28.1%), complete or incomplete, followed by those who had middle school level (24.2%) and high

RBEC	Tocantinópolis/Brasil	v 5	e8671	10.20873/uft.rbec.e8671	2020	ISSN: 2525-4863

school level (16.8%). As for illiteracy, 13.2% of quilombolas declared themselves to be illiterate, especially in Kalunga do Mimoso (28.8%) and Baião (27.5%) communities.

The majority of the illiterate were elderly people who, in their childhood, had difficulties attending school. Because many communities are located in rural areas, far from urban centers. Currently, rural schools guarantee access to education for the greatest number of residents. In addition, when the community does not have a school or does not have all grades, many municipalities provide free transportation for students to travel to schools located in the city.

Even so, many quilombolas abandon their place of origin when they realize the difficulties involved with school education, as in the Mata Grande community, in Monte do Carmo/TO, as previously mentioned (Pinheiro et al., 2013). Souza et al. (2013) also reported that the low concentration of young people teenagers in the Malhadinha, Córrego Fundo, Curralinho do Pontal and Manoel João communities, located in the municipality of Brejinho de Nazaré/TO, was due to the need for them to go to neighboring cities to study and work. Júnior et al. (2008) observed that schools present in communities located in Vale do

Ribeira/SP offered only the first four grades of elementary school and that the students needed to travel to the nearest cities to attend the following grades.

Knowing the economic and social conditions of quilombola communities makes it possible to analyze their health and well-being aspects. Fry (2004) refers to two factors that aggravate health rates, related to the social and economic conditions of quilombola families. First, there are genetic diseases, linked to a specific ancestry or ethnicity, and, second, diseases linked to their socio-economic and educational conditions, resulting from unfavorable social, cultural and economic positions.

The black population in Brazil shows poor health conditions due to poverty, housing, sanitation, education and work problems, among others. This situation is further compounded by its "ethnic composition", which results in diseases that predominate in this group, such as high blood pressure and sickle cell disease (Souza, 2013, Teles et al., 2017). These difficulties, especially the distance from large urban centers, hamper access to health in quilombola communities and the continuous and indispensable monitoring of people who need specialized medical care (Andrade et al., 2015, Freitas et al., 2011, Silva, 2007).

This condition was also confirmed in a survey conducted by the Euclides da Cunha Foundation (2009), with 60 quilombola communities, in 22 states in the five major regions of Brazil. The survey revealed that one of the most prominent problems in all regions was related to poor health care. The lack of health facilities in many communities, coupled with the limited coverage of the

Saúde da Família program, restricts quilombola access to medical services, even at the most basic levels of care. This absence leads them to seek assistance in distant and difficult to access places, subjecting them to poor road conditions and the high price of available means of transport.

Table 5 - Education level of quilombolas in the state of Tocantins. Data collected in the years 2011 and 2012.

COMMUNITIES	Illiterate	Literate	Pré-school Education	Elementary Education	Middle School	High School	Higher Education	Postgraduate Studies	Uninformed
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Baião	27.5	-	-	15.7	37.3	17.6	-	-	2.0
Barra do Aroeira**	5.8	-	2.3	29.1	36.0	24.4	-	-	2.3
Carrapato, Formiga e Ambrósio	19.9	3.3	0.6	31.5	27.6	11.6	-	-	5.5
Chapada de Natividade	2.0	2.0	-	26.3	22.2	43.4	1.0	1.0	2.0
Córrego Fundo*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100.0
Curralinho do Pontal*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100.0
Distrito do Morro de São João**	11.2	1.0	2.0	33.7	26.5	19.4	5.1	-	1.0
Kalunga do Mimoso	28.8	6.1	-	36.2	21.4	4.4	0.4	-	2.6
Laginha	7.4	1.5	-	27.9	38.2	25.0	-	-	-
Lagoa da Pedra	14.8	3.7	-	31.5	22.2	18.5	7.4	1.9	-
Lajeado	7.5	2.5	-	27.5	42.5	12.5	5.0	-	2.5
Malhadinha*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100.0
Manoel João*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100.0
Mata Grande**	5.6	-	-	32.4	25.4	35.2	-	-	1.4
Mumbuca e arredores	4.3	6.5	-	24.7	33.3	29.0	1.1	-	1.1
Poço Dantas	24.0	8.0	-	14.0	22.0	28.0	4.0	-	-
Quilombolas Rios	15.6	1.6	-	21.9	23.4	25.0	10.9	-	1.6
Redenção	20.8	2;1	2.1	33.3	27.1	14.6	-	-	-
Santa Maria das Mangueiras	10.4	4.5	-	59.7	22.4	3.0	-	-	-
São Joaquim	7.1	-	-	38.1	26.2	14.3	2.4	-	11.9
São José	7.9	15.8	-	31.6	23.7	21.1	-	-	-
TOTAL	13.2	3.1	0.4	28.1	24.2	16.8	1.7	0.1	14.0

<sup>\*</sup>Data not collected. Data presented by \*\*Andrade et al. (2015).

Oliveira e Silva et al. (2008) highlights that rural quilombola communities have a relative degree of geographical isolation, social inequality and health. Souza (2013) reported that the lack of medical care, linked to the distance from the community to the urban center of Brejinho de Nazaré/TO, represents the greatest difficulty for families located in

the Curralinho do Pontal community. In Kalunga do Mimoso (TO), according to Lopes (2009), the trip to the hospital happens when the medicinal remedies are no longer having an effect, as the trip to the cities generates expenses.

Installation of basic sanitation, transportation and education are also impaired, especially in rural quilombola

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communities, as they depend solely on the government, which is unable to meet all the needs of the population. In Caiana dos Crioulos, a community located in the state of Paraíba, Silva (2007) observed the lack of appropriate sanitary conditions, such as clean running water for human consumption, treated sanitary sewage and garbage collection. In the quilombola community of Cedro, state of Goiás, the situation experienced by its inhabitants is no different, they live daily with the lack of garbage collection, sewage and school, along with the lack of public actions aimed at generating income and employment (Silva, 2012).

In relation to education, according to Araújo e Foschiera (2012), in addition to the absence of a curriculum and tailored content, which incorporates a local culture in classes, the infrastructure of most quilombola schools is still very heated, even with the allocation of funds specific to that need. Many communities from Tocantins, as reported at the II Meeting of Quilombola Communities in Tocantins, held in 2010, highlighted the need for programs that help keep quilombola teachers and students at their community school, such as, for example, using primary and secondary education and the training of quilombola teachers to work in schools in the communities.

According to the final report of the Socio-Economic-Cultural Diagnosis of the Remaining Ouilombola Communities (Fundação Cultural Palmares & Fundação Universidade de Brasília, 2004), these locations deserve special attention from the public authorities, due to their social invisibility, in the development process that the country has been experiencing in recent decades. This reality is found in most quilombola communities in the state of Tocantins, where the lack of electricity, basic sanitation, investments in the areas of health and education negatively influences socio-economic development quality of life of quilombolas.

### Conclusion

The characterization of the communities in question showed that they deserve special attention from the public services, as they are formed mainly by people who perform rural activities, crafts and/or farming, and most families live with an income that does not meet their basic needs. In addition, the lack of schools, health centers and sanitary conditions in the communities reveal their social vulnerability and the exclusion of full conditions of citizenship to which they are submitted. In this context, the results presented in this research may contribute to the implementation of public policies aimed at quilombola communities in the state of Tocantins.

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ii Population number of communities informed by Tocantins State Department of Citizenship and Justice (2012) and community representatives

iii Rudimentary brick made of earth, water and straw, by an artisanal process

iv Tocantins State Government's hunger control program

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