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THE AFRICAN-DESCENDANTS' DIVIDED SPACES AND THE
TOWN-COUNTRY RELATIONS ON THE STATE OF SÃO PAULOⁱⁱⁱ

Social exclusion has always been part of African-descendent people's history in Brazil: in the past, this happened in a way that was visibly brutal and socially acceptable. Presently, it occurs in a disguisedly brutal and socially invisible manner. The *quilombola*^{iv} communities consist of peasant populations descending from African slaves that have been integrated partially and marginally to Brazilian society. This is the typical general situation of the African-descendent people in this country.

Quilombolas are located in many regions of the vast Brazilian territory, from Amazonia to the south of the country. Within the state of São Paulo, these communities are mostly located in the Southern bit, in the Ribeira River Valley, which is the poorest region of the State. They are dependently related to spatial processes and dynamics, considering that these processes concern the work market, political relations and cultural influence. The *quilombolas* often find many difficulties to complete the formal educational process, as well as difficulty in finding proper conditions for fulfillment of their living expectations in the urban locations surrounding the capital cities of São Paulo and Paraná.

There is a strong influence of the urban and industrial world on those communities, due to the presence of radio (mostly since the 1940's), the television (nearly two decades onwards) and the internet (within the latest years); an influence that has been enhanced since the arrival of electrical energy transmission. Therefore, it is not possible to affirm the absolute social exclusion of this population, for their social integration does happen, although it occurs in a way that is marginal and unstable, according to José de Souza Martins (1997, p. 20):

The contemporary economic policies in Brazil, as well as in other countries following the so-called neoliberal model, implicate a marginal and unstable kind of integration that purposely happens this way. These are not properly exclusion policies. These are policies of people's inclusion in the economic processes, in the

production and in the circulation of goods and services, developing strictly in terms that are rationally convenient and necessary to a more efficient (which means cheaper) reproduction of capital and for the maintenance of the political order in favor of those who dominate it. This happens in a way that clearly softens the social and class conflicts, which are politically dangerous to the dominant social classes.

Historically, the *quilombolas* have identified themselves as an African-descendant people consisting of (peasants já implica pequeno, e colocando em frente do sujeito parece que tá falando que eles são pequenos de tamanho) peasants (owners of small plots of lands). However, since 1988, when article 68 of the Transitory Dispositions of the present Brazilian Federal Constitution declared that “land ownership documents will be emitted by the State to those *quilombolas* whose land occupation is definitive and recognized”, those small peasants have conquered the right to fight for the recognition of the official *quilombola* condition for their communities. The *quilombola* identity, then, becomes the instrument of a political battle for the legal recognition of rights of land property (lands that have been occupied by their families for many generations); it also opens way for discussion of legal recognition of these lands as collective property.

Within this context, our intention is to analyze the fight for the territorial conquer of the Poça *quilombola* community, located in the Ribeira River Valley, more specifically, within the Iguape municipality, between the years of 2000 and 2003. We also intend to the town-country relations established throughout that period, considering, mainly, the situation of the community’s youth. Such a case displays an example of an African-descendent community’s struggle for keeping possession over their lands, occupied by their families for centuries.

The present study bases itself on fieldwork and interviews based on the method of oral history presented in the work of Antônio Carlos Diegues (2008). This methodological choice is due to the fact that the older inhabitants of the Poça community are formally illiterate, and consequently, their knowledge propagates through oral tradition. Our study also considers the analysis of documents concerning the Poça community, such as photographs and maps, among others.

The Poça community is located on the western (cê falou right, direito? não é meio subjetivo isso?) banks of the Iguape River, at the limits between the municipalities of Jacupiranga and Eldorado (see image 1). There are evidences that early inhabitants, such as Joaquim da Costa Campos and Rita Campos, lived on these lands since the beginning of

the nineteenth century. Their direct descendants, Belisário de Campos and Joaquim Salvador de Campos, are still present on the social memory of the living people of the group (CARVALHO, 2006).

The economic activities of the Poça community initially consisted of an agricultural system that combines several crops. Over time, these traditional activities began to be strongly threatened by farmers who were expanding their land possessions over the region. For this reason, the Poça inhabitants found themselves obliged to reduce the extension of their occupied lands and therefore it became necessary to reduce the diversity of their production (SOUZA, 2011). Such a fact has led to a greater dependence of urban markets mediated by the towns of Eldorado and Jacupiranga, as well as the location of Registro, which is the regional capital. According to the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), the population of Registro is about 55.000 inhabitants (<http://cidades.ibge.gov.br>; last access on 04/07/2014). Another agricultural system, consisting mainly of banana cultivation, has expanded among the *quilombolas* since decades of 1940/1950 (see figure 2). Such a dynamic has caused the very unfair insertion of these producers into trading networks, whose intermediaries buy the local products to resell in major commercial centers located in São Paulo and Curitiba (which are each about 250 km from the Poça community).



Fig.1. Banana crop at Quilombo da Poça. Picture by Marcos Henrique Martins (2013).

Among the 1.400 hectares corresponding to the original lands occupied by Joaquim da Costa Campos, 1.116,6 are required for the *quilombola* territory delimitation. This process of delimitation began with the official recognition of the *quilombola* condition for the community of Poça by the Land Institute of the State of São Paulo (ITESP) in the year of 2009. This extent of land, however, is not sufficient for the reproduction of the Poça's families – 41 families according to a technical report (CARVALHO, 2006); 65 families according to the inhabitants of Poça themselves (SANTOS; TATTO, 2008).

The official process for the quilombola status recognition has not been easy, and the community of Poça still hasn't obtained the legal documents attesting the collective property of their lands. This is occurring despite results of an anthropological study, concluded in 2008, attesting that the Poça's territory is an ancient space of living for that African-descendant community (figure 3).



Fig. 2. Building of the communitarian association of Quilombo da Poça. Picture by Júlio César Suzuki (2013).

The conflicts around the official recognition of the *quilombola* territory on *Quilombo da Poça* relate mainly to the uncertainty regarding the destiny of the lands that currently belong to owners who do not recognize themselves as *quilombolas* nor are they recognized this way by the community's members. Therefore, the fragmentation of the African-descendants space on the Poça community is going on because of the presence of people who are not recognized as members of the community.

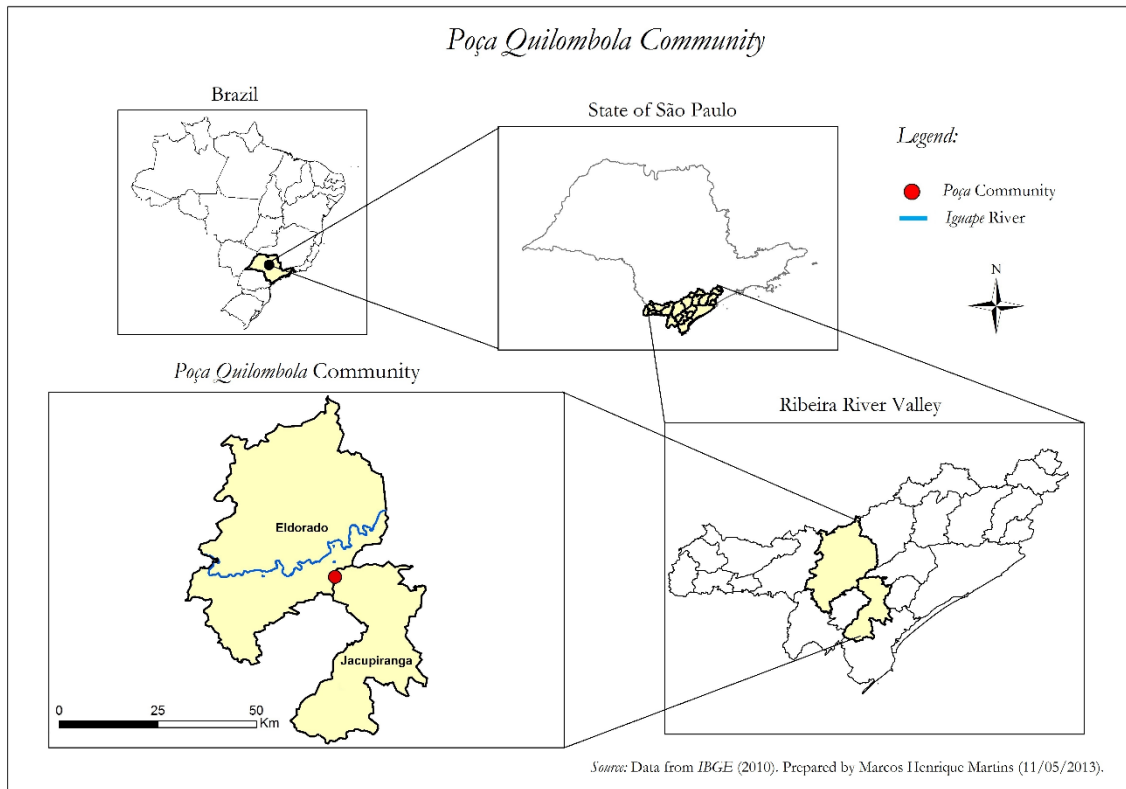


Fig. 3. Location of Poça quilombola community.

Apparently, some opportunities emerged in the latest years because of the recognition of the quilombola condition for the community of Poça present a contradictory characteristic: although the *quilombolas* try to guarantee their rights over their lands, they end up making it easier for young individuals to leave the community.

Youth has been the focus of many researches and analysis considering a variety of aspects. According to Viana (2009), it is a social phenomenon, a *state of mind* consisting of the relation between the *individual* and *the others*. Consequently, the criteria for the identification of individuals in our study deals more with people who affirm themselves as young – as a kind of identity - than with people who seem to belong to a specific range of age.

According to Oliveira (2006, p. 210), “the term youth, and the way that this particular period of life is identified, refers to a social and cultural construction which varies historically [...]”. Therefore, there is a difference between what it means to be young in Poça nowadays and what it meant to be young there forty years ago. Presently, in Poça, youth begins when the individual feels prepared to begin by himself his own biography. This is an individual path, often unstable and uncertain. Therefore, the definition of youth does not only correspond to a *period of life*, but it relates itself to a *state of mind*. According to Oliveira (2006, p. 215):

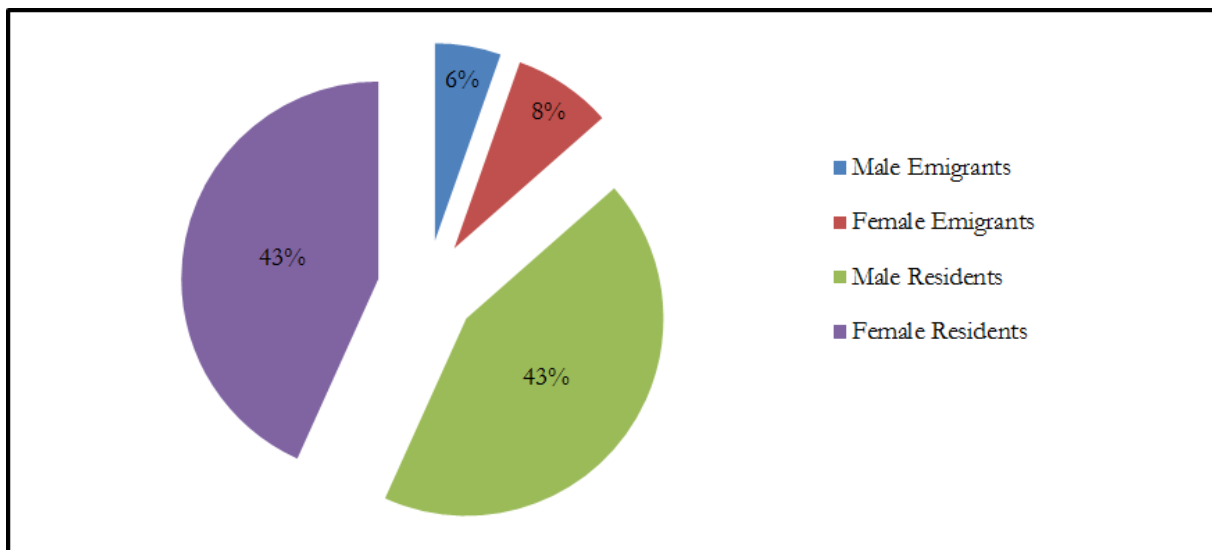
[...] the idea that youth consists on a “break”, on a period of waiting and suspending the conduction of personal projects related to work and other activities belonging to the adult universe, has been modified. [...] Now, it becomes a notion referring to *several possibilities of living and experiencing things* such as work, studies, and sexuality, in a way that differs from the adult experience. All of this implies the inclusion of fun, exercise and work, but with less duties comparing to people who marry and have children. Therefore, it means more availability for experimentations, less definitive relations – dating, with more freedom and happiness, thanks to the greater disposition (OLIVEIRA, 2006, p.214, *our stress*).

Hence, the young individual is the one who precisely has this possibility of experimenting what’s new and has the opportunity of living singular situations. Concisely, “[...] youth is more often defined as a life period of experimentation” (OLIVEIRA, 2006, P. 214) and the young individual is the one who “[...] may live whatever’s new and may help to build the new; the young person is singularly defined by doing such things” (OLIVEIRA, 2006, p. 21).

Along with the urbanization process that has been going on in the community of Poça, especially between the years of 2000 and 2013, which has been accelerating because of the

influence that modernity has over young members of the community^v, migration has become an option for those social actors to fulfil their expectations.

Among 19 families who we have interviewed during fieldwork at Poça community, we counted 32 male individuals and 32 female individuals, that is, a sum of 64 individuals. Besides them, we have also counted 10 individuals, emigrants who have moved away from Poça, representing 14% of the individuals we have interviewed so far.



Graphic 1. Proportion between the number of emigrants and inhabitants of counted individuals (divided by gender)

Among the 10 emigrants we have counted, six were female and four were male. Eight of them left the community after 2004, especially between the years of 2010 and 2013, when five of these emigrations occurred. Among the emigrants, only one (who had moved away in 1974) moved back to the community (in the year of 2013), although he has informed that he would stay at the Poça community for a short period. The reason he wasn't going to stay longer is that he was not “used to living in that place anymore”^{vi} (verbal information), considering that he had lived and worked for a long time in the town of São Paulo.

The emigrants who have moved away from Poça within the last years have worked in several areas, mainly in the services area, as clerks in stores, bricklayers, phone attendants, waiters, and as industrial proletarians. Generally, these individuals have moved to regional towns and mostly to Curitiba (the capital of the State of Paraná).

The young *quilombolas* decide to move away from Poça to these towns for many reasons. One of the most important reasons relates to the fact that these individuals often have relatives or friends who can provide them some help at the town of arrival.

During one of our interviews, when we asked a young *quilombola* about what he would do after finishing his formal education,

he answered “I intent to leave this community and find myself a job” (verbal information)^{viii}. The same person told us he would rather live in Curitiba with his sister, who has already left the *quilombola* community and now works as a clerk. Two other young individuals, aged 19 and 17 respectively, also had siblings who moved away from the community, one of which worked in a store in a small town and the other worked in a restaurant in Curitiba.

Hence, it is possible to affirm that the unfavorable economic conditions for the life of the young *quilombolas*, as well as the low-income activities in which they find employment at towns, lead them to reside in neighborhoods where often times live a great share of the immigrants and the poor population in general. In small towns, those regions are usually far away from the urban center; while in São Paulo the young *quilombolas* (as well as the other immigrants in general) inhabit degraded areas of downtown, which are residential areas built for poor people and residential suburbs.

There has been a notable change in productive activities at Quilombo da Poça over the last forty years, according to the older inhabitants. In the past, the prominence of a productive system based on the “*surplus economy*” demanded the transmission, through familiar relations, of a *modus operandi*, of values and habits that were essential for this kind of economy and its agricultural practices, also producing the collective consciousness of the *quilombolas* itself. However, deep transformations began to occur at Quilombo da Poça as the old productive system turns into a market-based economy.

According to Martins (1975, p. 106), “[...] the commodity for the *caipira* society is the surplus itself and their economy is the surplus economy, which reflects on the society and on the culture of surplus”. This kind of economy exists because the market doesn’t mediate the obtaining of means of life for the peasants, and yet, their exceeding production is often calculated, rationalized and non-occasional. The cropper who works this way knows how to differ between what to eat and what to sell.

In the surplus economy, the surplus already appears this way at the production itself. What's essential about this interpretation is that the *means of life for the*

cropper do not establish through the mediation of the market. Even though the peasant comes to commercialize part of his means of life, he *knows* that selling something that was originally destined for the family's subsistence. This is different from the situation of the proletarian and even of the small capitalist. In the first case, in the production process, the proletarian *does not know* and cannot distinguish between what is going to constitute his means of life nor what is going to constitute the surplus expropriated by capital. In the latter situation, the small capitalist doesn't know what is going to be destined for his own accumulation (MARTINS, 1997, p. 189, *our stress*).

The basis for this kind of economy is the appropriation of the surplus by the producer as well as his control over the production. He intentionally produces and commercializes the surplus products in order to acquire whatever he cannot produce for himself as a peasant. Those who work under these conditions “[...] dedicate themselves primarily to their own subsistence and secondarily to the exchange of the product obtained in a way that will exceed their needs” (MARTINS, 1975, p.45). “Hence, the surplus product is a good that acquires an exchange value because there are economic conditions for its commercialization and not because it has entered the exchange relations as a result of the division of labor” (MARTINS, 1975, P. 46).

Thus, along the history of the Poça community, the *quilombola* people went from an economy of the surplus to a primarily market-based economy supported by the production of banana. Within this transition, one may observe fundamentally the inversion of the way by which the surplus' appropriation takes place. In the surplus economy, the producer himself appropriates of the surplus; in a market-based economy, it is the opposite: as the market relations enter the production, other social characters such as the intermediaries (“*atravessadores*”) begin to take advantage of the surplus value.

Those transformations related to the transition from a surplus economy to a market-based economy still haven't totally degraded familiar relationships, which are the basis for the *quilombola* way of life. Nevertheless, the difficulties concerning the economic reproduction in the community of Poça are weakening these familiar relations, especially for the younger individuals. Facing these difficulties, the migration of young *quilombolas* is the solution their families often find.

If the new opportunities that come along with the official recognition of Poça as a *quilombola* community end up making it easier for teenagers to move away (instead of staying at the community, as one might expect), the result in the future will be the predominance of older individuals in the community, leading to its eventual disappear. Besides that, the knowledge about the traditional productive activities (which is already being lost) depends not only on an oral

tradition, but also on an experiential and visual tradition. We agree with Diegues when he affirms that, “[...] there actually is a ‘visual tradition’ [among traditional people] and the production of knowledge takes place through it. People learn by watching the way other people do things, especially the more experienced individuals and the elderly” (DIEGUES, 2001, p. 4).

Concerning the migratory issue, it is imperative to mention that there is no consensus among researchers on how to deal with this subject. The field of political positions struggling with migrations is very wide and it evolves the comprehension of a variety of phenomena. Besides that, the migratory phenomena is certainly one of the essential elements for the comprehension of the town-country relations.

There is not [...] a uniform group of researchers and planners examining a whole collection of consensually delimited phenomenon. Instead of that, there is a field of *political positions* struggling concerning migration, which we call the migratory issue (PÓVOA NETO, 1997, p.45, *our stress*).

Despite the inexistence of a consensus, it is possible to comprehend the different points of view of the migratory issue according to three groups or theoretical approaches: 1) the neoclassical conception; 2) the historical-structural conception; and 3) the conception based on the mobility of work.

The neoclassical conception presents a descriptive, dualist and sectorial analysis on the migratory phenomenon. It highlights the isolated and punctual economical causes and considers the individual characteristics as the main reasons for the migratory movement. According to the neoclassical authors, those who migrate are the possessors of work; therefore, they are greatly importance for the productive process. Space, in this theoretical perspective, presents prosperous and decadent points in an economic point of view, considering the notion of space balance. The market conditions are universal and individuals are full of economic rationality (PÓVOA NETO, 1997).

Such a perspective presents a serious problem which is the lack of comprehension of the historical aspects of migrations. For this reason, as well as for other reasons already presented (excessive focus on the individual, homogeneous and punctual conceptions of market and work, a casual and isolated view), we will not assume this perspective, considering it insufficient for dealing with the issues and the problems we are facing.

The second theoretical approach that we must consider corresponds to a historical-structural perspective. Such perspective presents an interpretation of migrations as a historical

process. Instead of a casual and punctual view, there is a dialectical approach, always considering the trajectory of social groups and classes rather than the individual ones. Migration is not a natural phenomenon. It is not only about spatial flows, that is, the movements of the population from one point to another, as it appears on the neoclassical perspective. Migration is something produced historically; it is a human product and a social phenomenon (PÓVOA NETO, 1997).

Migration, therefore, is faced as a *social phenomenon*, which allows understanding it along with the other social processes. From its operational point of view [...], it is not important anymore to inquire the migrants, since the individuals, despite being sources of information, do not carry themselves the explanations of the processes they live. The relationship between the individual and the general people in research is, in this case, a basic difficulty for the researcher who adopts the historical-structural approach (PÓVOA NETO, 1997, p.50, *our stress*).

If the neoclassical model presented an extreme rationality of the individual being, the historical-structural approach totally withdraws individuals from the context, introducing the social group as the framework for the scientific analysis, underestimating individual projects and their reasons. As the first perspective exaggerates the way individuals decide their own fate, the second one is excessively determinist. Since we look for a complex analysis of reality evolving multiple scales, we consider that the historical-structural approach is too limited for our purposes.

The third theoretical approach refers to the concept of *mobility of work*. Such concept fundamentally considers the constitution of the workforce as a commodity. According to this perspective, *work* is not naturally immanent to the “human nature”, rather than it is a human creation. It is, therefore, *social* and *historical* (PÓVOA NETO, 1997).

Even though the human being is the owner of necessary means of production, or even as a slave, he could not sell his workforce; hence, they couldn't be useful for the amplified reproduction of capital and capital itself could not exist. Consequently, some conditions become necessary, for instance, those which guarantee the *freedom* of the human being. Such *freedom*, though, is contradictory: on one hand, the worker must be free, that is, free to advertise his workforce as a commodity on sale based on his own will. On the other hand, the worker must be free from the means of production that are essential for his survival, that is, he must own nothing but his own workforce (GAUDEMAR, 1977).

Jean-Paul de Gaudemar (1977) presents three essential conditions for the existence of capitalism intimately connected with the *mobility of the workforce*: 1) production of the workforce; 2) utilization of the workforce in the production process; 3) circulation of workforce through

different spheres of production (social and spatial). Here, the mobility of work appears as something fundamental for the comprehension of the capitalist mode of production.

The concept of mobility of work designates a wide process, on which man become increasingly available for the compulsory use of his workforce under the capitalist framework. The spatial dislocations would be, according to that perspective, only one dimension of the process. Firstly, the concept implies the *production of the workforce*, which is the moment when the worker acquires mobility, designated by Marx as the moment of primitive accumulation. Secondly, there is the *utilization of the workforce*, when there is a deepening of the division of labor. Finally, at the *circulation of the workforce*, the forces of the market subsume the worker, making him dislocate (spatially and/or through the economic sectors) along many branches of the economic activity (PÓVOA NETO, 1997, p. 53, stresses on the original).

Therefore, the workforce, as understood by the classical Marxist literature, is not a natural phenomenon, but it is something that depends on determined social and historical conditions to exist. In this sense, migration becomes a fundamental and contradictory element of a wider process that is the mobilization of work.

The existence of a mobile mass of workers doesn't mean that this is a permanent condition for humanity, rather, that the process of capitalist development itself has produced it. More than a free and individual choice of possible placements for selling the workforce, there is a pressure over the worker by which the displacement becomes imperative to survival (PÓVOA NETO, 1997, p.53).

It is still possible to think of a richer comprehension of the *mobilization of work* process, as presented by Gaudemar (1977), if we also consider the reflections presented in the book *Fronteira* (*Frontier*) by José de Souza Martins. Although the central theme in this book is the issue of contemporary slavery in Brazil, its theoretical proposals, such as presented below, could also help us understanding other sorts of phenomenon:

Such kind of work exploitation [contemporary slavery] expresses the primitive accumulation because it partially is *production of capital within the processes of amplified reproduction of capital*. This becomes clearer if we understand that, historically, there is the *capitalist reproduction of capital*; reproduction of capital based on formal capitalist relations of production. However, there is no such thing as *capitalist production of capital*, because production of capital evolves mechanisms and procedures that properly belong to the primitive accumulation. It evolves, therefore, the conversion of non-capitalist or pre-capitalist means and situations into instruments of the specific capitalist production, that is, the production of surplus value. Essentially, the definition

of the processes refers to the *way* of obtaining the economic surplus rather than the result of it: the result is capital, it is capitalist, but the way of obtaining it is not (MARTINS, 1977, p.81, stresses on the original).

Although the particular situation we intent to analyze in this study differs from the situation analyzed by Martins (1977), it is possible to state that migration within the community of Poça, as well as the economic behavior of other social agents such as the intermediaries (“*atravessadores*”), are typical mechanisms of the primitive accumulation of capital. These elements belong properly to capitalist production although they are not elements of the capitalist reproduction; instead of that, they are elements of the *production of capital*.

There is production of capital because, on the one hand, when the young quilombola acts as a migrant seeking work in a town (becoming *variable capital*), he does that inspite of the fact that his survival had never before depended on salary, for neither him nor his parents had been proletarians. Up to this point, his life was the materialization of the ground rent that these social agents appropriated through relations established with his family, friends and the community in general.

When the young *quilombola* enters the work market, his employer appropriates of the rent in the end of the process instead of the *quilombola* community, because, as a commodity (workforce), the community does not determines his value and his utility anymore. The contradiction of this ground rent expropriation process is expressed this way: as a young *quilombola*, the individual produces and reproduces himself as workforce and, acting as workforce, he guarantees his survival as a young *quilombola*. Despite of that, in the end of the process, the result of migration, in terms of ground rent, is progressively negative for the community, since the salary the young migrants send to their families is always less than what they would produce if they were still working in the community.

On the other hand, the way by which the intermediaries (“*atravessadores*”) act is also an element of the production of capital, for they also extract the ground rent materialized on the commodities that the quilombolas produce. In this case, the one who appropriates the ground rent is not the *quilombola*, but the intermediary, as one may observe through the following report:

There is a lot of profit for the *atravessador*. You see: yesterday, one kilo of *prata* type of bananas in Eldorado was costing R\$3,90 and the *nanica* type was costing R\$2,90. But we who produce often sell a whole box of bananas for R\$5,00 or R\$6,00. A box of bananas contains 25 kilos, sometimes 30. Then, you can see how big their profits are. If the *atravessador* buys a 30 kilos box and sell each kilo

of bananas for R\$2,00, he earns R\$60,00, but he pays only R\$5,00 for the producer. In addition, he effectively pays the producer only thirty days after he takes that commodity away. In spite of that, he is instantly paid when he delivers that commodity to the final salespersons from the market. At the market, they always earn in cash (verbal information)^{viii}.

The difference between the amount paid by the intermediary to the quilombola and the amount this intermediary receives when he sells the bananas (called *profit* by the person interviewed), actually is *ground rent* materialized in bananas, first, and in money, in the end of the process. This rent may turn into means of production or other commodities at the end of the process, but it does not belong to the quilombolas anymore.

Thus, when migration results in the exodus of the young quilombolas, it is also a mechanism of *ground rent* expropriation, as well as the role of the intermediary. The ground rent will enter the productive process whether through the form of workforce (young quilombolas), as means of production (property) or in the form of means of consumption (other commodities). Hence, it is possible to realize that both migration and the action of the intermediaries are extremely negative phenomena for the community of Poça. Both of them belong to the processes of *production of capital* and *mobilization of work*, which are essential for the maintenance of the amplified reproduction of capital. Therefore, the struggle of the quilombolas communities also included a resistance towards the capitalist mode of production, even though these communities (marginally) belong to the wider capitalist society.

The transition from the surplus economy to a market-based economy at the Poça community is not a merely symptomatic process in order to comprehend the mobilization of work as an element of both the production and the amplified reproduction of capital. We observe that, along the latest years, there has been a shift in the relations established between the community and the town. Such relation with the town is nowadays more complex than it was in the past because, besides the commodities that the quilombolas regularly bought in the past (essentially salt and cloths, which the community was not able to produce), there is also the expropriation of the ground rent as well as the mobilization of the workforce.

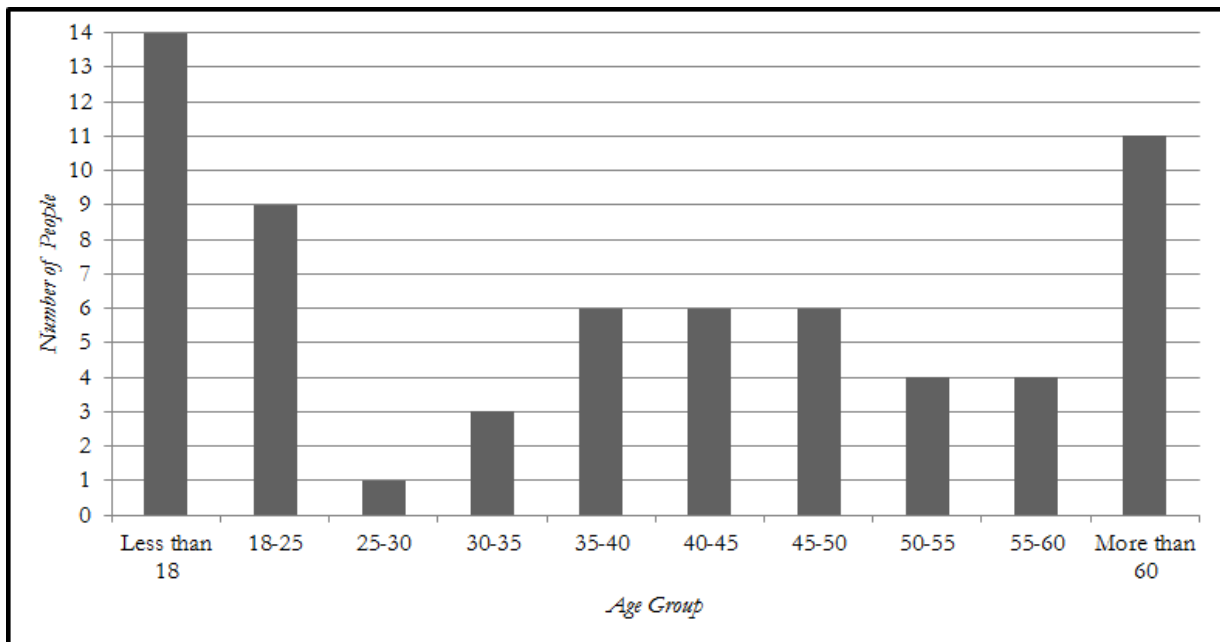
One of the quilombolas reported the following about the transition from the polyculture system (mixed farming) to the monoculture of bananas:

[Monoculture] began because rice, beans, corn we would grow only once a year. I have raised my children exclusively working on my lands. I have never bought even a kilo of rice in order to feed my children. We used to grow rice, mandioc and potatoes. So, I have never bought any of them. I would eat old

rice while I had a pile of sacks of new rice at home. In addition, I used to send piles of two, three, four sacks of rice in order to buy some salt. We were able to produce 60, 70 sacks of rice but, when we sold it, there often was very little money. People then began to grow bananas in Miracatu. Lots of people from Poça started to move to Miracatu because that was a chance for earning some money. So we started to grow bananas around here as well (verbal information)^{ix}.

Therefore, there has been a change in the relationship established between the community and the town. If the latter only used to be a place for the *quilombolas* to buy some very specific consumption goods, it has now amplified its functions for the inhabitants of Poça. Hence, the city, for the community of Poça, has turned into something that is has always been for the modern society: a market for consumption goods, for production goods and for the workforce (a mean and an object of the amplified reproduction of capital and an essential part of the production of capital process). This is the way we understood the information we collected during fieldwork.

The migrations of teenagers, as well as the interference of the intermediaries (“*atravesadores*”), seen as two interrelated phenomena, represent a great risk for the future of the community. The following graph, presenting the structure of the population of the Poça community, facilitates the observation that there is a relatively high number of elderly and children, along with a relatively low number of youngsters and adults. This graph reveals the trend of the community to become relatively old, mostly because youngsters have been migrating towards the city.



Graphic 2. Demographic structure of the Poça's population according to the age.

Thus, the new opportunities conquered through the official recognition of Poça community as a quilombola group present a contradictory characteristic: at the same time there is pursuit of recognition as an attempt to guarantee the permanence of the inhabitants, it ends up making it easier for youngsters to move away from the community. This happens because those new opportunities are elements of both the process of production of capital and the process of mobilization of work, and yet, still express the *quilombola* resistance.

Therefore, the community of Poça relates to wider processes than the ones that are possible to observe inside the community. Both the process of mobilization of work and the process of production of capital determine the struggle for the possession of their lands, as well as the permanence of the individuals. Such relations and processes are imperative for their future and the efforts to comprehend them reveals to be just as necessary and fundamental as ever.

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THE AFRICAN-DESCENDANTS DIVIDED SPACES AND THE TOWN-COUNTRY RELATIONS ON THE STATE OF SÃO PAULO. – Social exclusion has always been part of African-descendent people's history in Brazil. Presently, it occurs in a disguisedly brutal and socially invisible manner. The *quilombola* communities – the typical general situation of the African-descendent people in Brazil – consist of peasant populations descending from African slaves that have been integrated partially and marginally to Brazilian society. This paper analyzes the fight for the territorial conquest of the Poça *quilombola* community, located in the Ribeira River Valley. The community of Poça relates to wider processes than the ones that are possible to observe inside the community. Both the process of mobilization of work and the process of production of capital determine the struggle for the possession of the land, as well as the permanence of the individuals.

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^{iv} The groups nowadays considered remaining of the *quilombos* communities, or just *quilombos*, are constituted by a great diversity of processes, which include the occupation of non-private and usually isolated lands, and yet, inherits, donations, land receiving as payment for services to the State, the simple remaining of people on land that they would occupy and cultivate on the inland of major farms, as well as the buying of land during or after the slavery system (SCHMITT; TURATTI; CARVALHO, 2002).

^v “The most known elements among the *system of urban objects* are water, electricity, gas, which are followed by the presence of cars, televisions, plastic utensils and “modern” furniture, all of them containing new demands on “services”. Among the elements related to the system of values, we indicate leisure in the urban way (dance, songs), the mannerisms and the rapid acceptance of trends that come from the town. Moreover, concerns about security, the needs for predicting the future, concisely, a rationality propagated by the town. Generally the *youth, this group that corresponds to a certain age, actively contributes for this rapid assimilation of things a representations coming from the town* [...]” (LEFEBVRE, 1969, P.16-17, *our stress*).

^{vi} Information obtained in June 25, 2013, with Mr. Antônio da Costa.

^{vii} Information obtained in 06/27/2013.

^{viii} Information by Donizete, at Quilombo da Poça, in 03/29/2013.

^{ix} Information by Mr. José, at Quilombo da Poça, in 03/29/2013.