

Artigo

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DOS ANJOS

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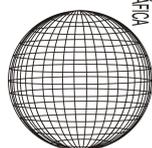
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THE BRAZILIAN AFRICA – POPULATION AND TERRITORIALITY^(*)

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ABSTRACT: One of the structural issues related to the African culture in Brazil that still deserves investigation and knowledge is related to the historiographic and geographic aspects of formation and distribution of the African descendent population in the Brazilian territory. This paper rescues the main references of the Africa-America-Brazil Diaspora and configures the spatial expression of the contemporary African-Brazilian population. The prejudiced social thinking and the lack of knowledge of the country's population, in what refers to the African continent are still a structural barrier to a realistic perspective of racial democracy, as well as creating in the decision-making sectors the necessary conditions to implementing more articulate and efficient public policies.

Key Words: African-Brazilian Geography, Ethnic Territory, African matrixed population, African Cartography, Africa-Brasil Diaspora.

RESUMO: Uma das questões estruturais relacionada à cultura africana no Brasil que continua merecendo investigação e conhecimento, está relacionada aos aspectos historiográficos e geográficos da formação e distribuição da população de ancestralidade na África do território brasileiro. O *paper* resgata as principais referências da diáspora África-América-Brasil e configura a expressão espacial da população afro-brasileira contemporânea. O pensamento social preconceituoso e o desconhecimento da população do país, no que se refere ao continente africano, continuam sendo um dos entraves estruturais para uma perspectiva real de democracia racial, assim como, a criação no setor decisório, das condições necessárias para a implementação de políticas públicas mais articuladas e eficazes.

Palavras Chave: Geografia Afro-Brasileira, Território Étnico, População de matriz africana, Cartografia Africana, Diáspora África-Brasil.

INTRODUCTION

Brazil, before anything else, is a country of continental dimensions, with its historicity in a reconstruction process, an ethnic diversity with conflicts, a complex political structure, extensive geographic landscapes, different territorial transformations and alterations levels and with a challenge of assuming decisively the multicultural nation that we constitute. These are structural points that preconize a search for equilibrium in the society and territory and mainly, an ethical treatment. For this reason, broader interpretations of forms of organization, especially the essential elements of the real historiography, of the territorial identities and of the components of the racial plurality are necessary.

In this sense, the earth, the *terreiro* (yard), territory and territoriality assume great importance in the thematic of the Brazilian culture's plurality, in the teaching, planning and managing process, mainly concerning the territorial characteristics of the different ethnic groups that live together in the national space. We preconize that it is possible to point out the spatial aspect of the social-economical and exclusionary inequality that permeate the Brazilian society, in other words, a contact with a Brazil of complex territorial matrix, multifaceted, who's population isn't properly known nor valued and which cannot be interpreted in a simplistic manner.

We can point out the African matrixes present in the country as the most remarkable cultural and ethnic reference in the formation of our population and our territory. The true incorporation, respect and space of the African culture in Brazil is still one of the structural issues that still calls for investigation, knowledge and action, that is, for reaching the effective rights of a full participation in the national life. In this sense, the demands for comprehension of the complexity of the dynamics of our society are huge and there are only few disciplines more appropriate than geography and cartography to aid this representation and interpretation of the numerous questionings of this historical moment.

In this paper, we try to aid the broadening of reflection over the distribution aspects of the African matrixed population and its rebound on the formation of the Brazilian territories. This work is part of one of

the operationalized stages in the *Projeto Geografia Afro-Brasileira* (African-Brazilian Geography Project) that is being developed in the Applied Cartography and Geographic Information Center (CIGA – *Centro de Cartografia Aplicada e Informações Geográficas*) of the Geography Department of University of Brasília.

Through these references we look to contribute effectively to the broadening and continuity of discussions, in a way that the knowledge of the Brazilian population, the ethnic geographic education and the racial issue in Brazil are treated more seriously.

1. GEOGRAPHIC SPACE, CARTOGRAPHY, ETHNIC TERRITORY AND AFRICA

Geography is the science of territory and this fundamental component, the earth, in a broad sense, is still the best observation instrument of what happened because it presents the marks of spatial historicity; of what is happening, that is, it has registered agents that act upon the present geographic configuration e what may happen, in other words, it is possible to capture the strength lines of the territorial dynamic and point out the possibilities of space structure in a near future. We cannot forget that this area of knowledge has the engagement of taking the world and its dynamics and making it comprehensible to society, of explaining the territorial transformations and pointing out solutions to a better organization of space. Geography is, therefore, a fundamental discipline in forming the Brazilian people's citizenship, which present a singular heterogeneity in its ethnic, social-economical composition and in the spatial distribution.

Territory in its essence is a physical, political, social-economical, classifiable, scalable fact, where usually the State is present and the cultural and symbolical references of the population are recorded. In this way, the ethnic territory would be the space constructed and materialized from cultural references of territorial identity and belonging and usually its population has a trace of common origin. Historical demands and conflicts with the dominant system have printed on this type of spatial structure demands for organization and the institution of a political-social-economical-territorial self-affirmation.

Maps, in their turn, are graphic representations of the real world, stand as efficient tools of interpretation and reading of the territory, allowing the revelation of social constructions' territoriality and natural features of the space, and exactly for this reason we show geographic facts and their conflicts. These allow to graphically reveal what happens in the dynamics of the space and become each time more indispensable since they constitute a bridge between the observation levels of reality and the simplification, reduction, explanation and clues for decision making and problem solving. It is important to remember that a map is not the territory, but that in cartographic products can be found

the best possibilities of representation and reading of a space's history, that is, the geographic data become more significant and allow more complete analytical constructions when observed in a spatial context, the same way a cartographic tool constitutes a powerful and effective vehicle in the vast universe of visual communication and geographic information.

The African territory, a fundamental component to a more accurate comprehension of issues that involve the role of the African descendent population in the Brazilian society, has to be understood as a space produced by the social relations along its historic evolution, its inequalities, contradictions and appropriations that this and other societies have made and still do from natural resources. Populations of the Northern hemisphere and its domination and exploitation process starting from the XV century have fixed a hostile image of the tropics, filled with adverse natural forces to the colonizers and occupied by so called idle men. This "geography of the image and justified domination of the tropics" was expanded and did not consider the historical processes as modeling factors of the social and political organization, even beyond natural elements. One of the political effects of this distortion and invisibility of Africa in the dominant system's strategy is the insignificant and secondary place that was dedicated to its historiography in all histories of humanity. The cultural and technological matrixes of the African continent were more compromised by the scientific rationalism and the domination, secretion, and appropriation of knowledge strategies are still unresolved contexts since the beginning of the XXI century.

Discussing the Brazilian cultural diversity in a geographic and cartographic context, looking to therefore recognize, represent, and overcome the discrimination that exists here is having a role on one of the structural mechanisms of social exclusion, a basic component to moving in the direction of a more democratic society, in which the African descendent populations in Brazil mainly, can feel and be in fact Brazilian. This is because a significant part of this population contingent does not feel like it belongs in Brazil due to such a great exclusion. This point will be discussed soon, under the next item.

2. LACK OF TERRITORIAL BELONGING OF THE AFRICAN-BRAZILIAN POPULATION – SOME ISSUES

In Brazil, where the citizenship issue is generally limited, mutilated, the situation of the African-Brazilian population is troublesome. Some geographic aspects of this secular issue deserve attention. First, the reference the Brazilian system has induced throughout times, explicitly and sometimes subliminally, that the African-Brazilian population's territory is across the Atlantic Ocean, in Africa, as if here is not their place. It is not their right to own land or territorial identity references here. The

country has declared itself officially European and this strategy of denying the African and indigenous components is a form of registering the disinterest in problems such as prejudice, attempt to subjugate, the secular exclusion from the dominant system and the points are not treated ethically.

It is important to remember that human traffic from Africa to the New World was, throughout nearly four centuries, one of the greatest and most lucrative activities of European traders to such an extent that it became impossible to precisely number all African men and women that were taken from their habitat as cultural baggage to be incorporated in basic chores for the formation of a new economical and social reality. Researches diverge until present days in relation to the statistics of this African Diaspora's period. It is agreed in the African community, however, that the traffic dynamics has brought problems of depopulation in numerous areas of the continent. The barriers of environmental conditions and resistance of the African population to the destructuring of their society will impose differentiated levels of territories affected by the removal of population to be enslaved. **Map 01** shows the extension of the territory affected by the traffic dynamics and the different gradients of intensity of population removal. One of the base issues that the cartographic document brings up is: where were so many components of society and political states that have been destructured dislocated to? **Graph 1** shows an estimate of African people disembarked in the main ports and different regions of the world. At least two aspects are important to be observed due to the numbers being represented:

1. Brazil presents the greatest statistic, exceeding the mark of four million humans being transported, fact that allows the comprehension of why this territory was the most ultimately enslaving and in its turn, the one with greatest racist extension;
2. The French, Spanish and British, European people of remarkable influence and pressure in the slave system in America, have data of about one million six hundred and fifty African slaves disembarked. It is evident that *Portuguese Brazil* bothered because of the territory's dimension, the mobilized population contingent and the commercial dynamics' diversity.

Bloody wrestles, violence, completely new situations of dislocation and adaptation, death and cruelty – all this had influence to the multiplying effects of the great business that was the traffic of African populations, such as expansion of the naval industry, the war industry, agriculture, mining, and financial activity, closing the cycle of primitive capital accumulation.

The geographic concept of Diaspora has to do with the reference dispersion of a population and its cultural and technological matrixes. Throughout histories of humanity we can identify the construction of territories through the mobility of migration, as far as voluntary and forced migrations. In Africa, we can identify some of these great demographic movements, to begin with the *first Diaspora*, which relates to the millennial spatial population process and occupation of the continent and later to other

emerged lands of the world. The geographic phenomenon we approach in this opportunity is connected to centuries of African slave traffic to America, result of long periods of forced migration from the African continent, propellant context to the slave system and fundamental basis for the primitive capitalism.

The African continent was, during four centuries, the center of the world's attention, of greed over the mineral resources, of knowledge appropriation, of capital accumulation and destructuring of societies and the State. This established trading game has printed precise relations between clients and suppliers of both sides of the Atlantic and strategically, the distribution of African populations from different *kingdoms* and *nations* was done indiscriminately in the American territories. Quickly the Transatlantic market became more important than the old routes of the Transarian markets (forest-savannah-desert), where gold, glue and the African enslaved passed and disembogued. This route became secondary beyond the force of the connection savannah-forest-beaches.

In territorial responses of the traffic dynamics for nearly four centuries, Brazil appeared with a few highlights: it was the contemporary country with the largest African population importation and *quilombo* records (past and present ethnic territories); it was the South American nation that continued to impose the slave system, even after the independence from Portugal (66 years) and one of the last States to leave the slave regime (see **Map 02**).

The extension of African empires and intensity of commerce of African people during the centuries of the Diaspora point to an ample dimension of difficult reconstitution, which is the ethnographic characteristic of Africans and their descendents in Brazil. To constitute the formation of the Brazilian territory are brought in human beings of the type: *Minas, Congos, Angolas, Anjicos, Lundas, Quetos, Hauças, Fulas, Uruás, Ijexás, Jalofos, Mandingas, Anagôs, Fons, Ardas*, amongst many others, who allow simply the denomination of African people in Brazil, African-Brazilians, Brazilians of African matrix or African descendent population. With these denominations is *hidden* or *embedded* typological richness which is still not properly studied or quantified.

Brazil knows with clarity that in the period between 1871 and 1920, 3,390,000 European immigrants *arrived* in the country, of which: 1,373,000 were Italians; 901,000 were Portuguese; and 500,000 Spanish. It is important to notice this number comes close to the nearly 4,000,000 Africans that were taken from their natural habitat and brought to Brazil officially between 1520 and 1850. It has to be taken in fact that the spatial, temporal and quantitative references of the clandestine traffic period are still to be characterized by the Brazilian historiography. There lies one of the structural issues of the country. The great spatial and temporal references and punctual documents no longer fulfill the demands of the African-Brazilian people, who require more plausible and precise answers.

This is one more geographic factor that contributes to the lack of ancestral references of a Brazilian population of African matrixed origin, with profound interferences in its citizenship and in the felling of territorial belonging. Phrasing to this contingent that their ancestors were “brought” from the African continent is vague, inconsistent, disrespectful when a territory with a space of 30,277,467 km² is being discussed, the third continent in territorial extension in the world and constituted by hundreds of former kingdoms, empires and ethnic groups unknown to the official historiography of the country. This secular demand, which would allow a more referenced, more precise spatial connection in Africa remains without a satisfactory answer or perspective of solution. This structural context of fragility in the national unity brings upon another issue that is barely discussed: how does the process of requesting double citizenship for the African originated population in Brazil work? Who and how many are the Brazilian men and women that can request this possibility of broadening of their family and ancestral references? The nation still does not have an answer to these relevant questionings that remain “silent” in the bulk of the dominant system.

It is important not to lose sight of the many sectors of the Brazilian population that are still being victims of discrimination and prejudice of every kind. Amongst the types of discrimination, the ethnic type, which reaches particularly the contingent of African ascendance in the country, is undoubtedly the one with largest social and territorial extension due to its great demographic expression. Problems are revealed already in finding out what is the real number of “black” men and women or the African descendent population present in Brazil. The word “black” was a colonialist invention, of the slave system, of the removal of human beings from the African continent denominated as “black traffic”. Secularly, a pejorative meaning was associated, meaning something bad, not human but related to an animal. This is a point for reflection and necessary historical correction that requires a political and consequently educational action because it is consistently incorporated in the social thinking of Brazil. If it was not for the “black” dealers and their ships, dealers of enslaved populations of the African continent, there would be no “blacks”, treated as a commodity. From this arises the “invention” and promotion of a secular mistake denominated “black race”.

One of the structural problems that makes it difficult to identify and quantify the African-Brazilian population is in this prejudiced mentality, is in the lack of basic information that contaminates the social collective thinking of the Brazilian population. One of the huge damages of this problem is the permanent hypocrisy and not-treatment of the subject in an appropriate and systematic manner.

Some considerations around the spatial expression of the African-Brazilian population are discussed in the following item.

3. THE CONTEMPORARY SPACE OF THE AFRICAN DESCENDENT POPULATION IN BRAZIL

The demographic issue of “African Brazil” historically has not been answered adequately due to a group of complex factors. One of the structural factors is related to the criteria of official racial census which leads to an underestimation of the real number of African-Brazilian matrixed citizens that are a part of the country. The Brazilian Geography and Statistics Institute (IBGE - *Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística*), the main organ responsible for the production and promotion of the nation’s demographic information, still groups individuals as “whites”, “blacks”, “yellows” and “mixed”, considering “whites”, “blacks” or “yellows” those who declare themselves so and “others” get classified as “mixed”.

Recent history of census executed in the Brazilian territory reconstitutes very well the denial and abashment of the African descendent population existent in the country. **Graph 02** shows the evolution of the “black” and “mixed” population recensused through 1940 and 2000, some of the most relevant aspects established were: first, the discrepancy between the ever growing number of the “mixed” contingent throughout the decades and the small addition of the “blacks” register, with one occurrence of decrease (1940-1950), evidencing the demographic expansion of the population denominated as “black” shows evolutionary problems, unlike the “mixed”, who’s historical statistics show significant numbers. Another relevant component evidenced in the graphical representation is in the 1970 decade in which the data of the distinct ethnic matrixes existent in Brazil were not researched or computed. In this way, the historical series of data was compromised by the inexistence of information, fact that reinforces the social exclusion process established in the official Brazilian system. **Figure 01** is one of the few examples in Brazil that registers schooled children of an African descendent family.

Part of the informed and uninformed demographic contingent of Brazil, usually without a firm identity and deeply divided in their individual and family references, register in the recount as “mixed” or “whites”. The continuous manner in which the country “shows” itself, represented and valued through European references, constitutes one of the structural components of denial of the other existent cultural matrixes. It could be a conscious form, or not, of being accepted or inserted in the dominant system, that is, of feeling like an “insider” to an explicit social frontier of the “included” and “excluded” from the dominant system.

Map 03 (ANJOS, 2005), which does not intend to reveal the complexity of the presence of the African-Brazilian population, shows only the quantitative spatial expression recounted as “black” in the last demographic census accomplished (2000-IBGE). The cartographic document, even with data of 10

(ten) years ago, reveals an expressive distribution of this population throughout the country, highlighting mainly that urban, peri-urban and rural Brazil are significantly African.

The great population contingent registered in the cities of Salvador, Recife, São Luís, Belém, São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, as in the concentration in the Brazilian coastline is a spatial configuration that reaffirms the African descendent population's presence in the territory's structure, especially in the extensions of where the great economical cycles take place. It is relevant to remember that the development of production activities of tropical products in the colonial system were propelled by technologies from the tropics of African reference and labored by African populations and their descendents. Every structuring process of the Brazilian geographic space will be processed with the development of a network of cities and of circulation systems (roads and railway) arising from the economical dynamics of primitive capitalism.

We cannot lose sight that the way the national system deals with the population of African reference is in reality the way it deals with itself as a country: denying its human and cultural richness; not admitting its true identity; neglecting the labor done by other ethnic matrixes; feeling superior, but deeply dependent; revealing an image that does not correspond to reality; living, therefore, from appearances. In this fact lies retrogression in the collective mentality and secular elites, a national misunderstanding, because Brazil no longer needs to admit that racism has been a strategy for maintaining historic power.

If we simulate and gather the Brazilian population recounted by IBGE as "black" or "mixed", in the year 2000, we'll have 69,649,861 inhabitants (47% of the national contingent). It is important to remember the popular saying: "at night, all cats are mixed". That is, associated to "mixed" is this undefined identity, its place in society, its ancestral reference, summarizing, its territoriality. Thousands of men, women, children and elders who feel internally that they still don't have a defined place in the social structure of the country. Being a population contingent arising from a secular process of ethnic "mixing", the values of relationships associated systematically to European people as a reference "model" and accepted by the dominant system print many mismatches in the way of thinking, being inserted and fitting into the Brazilian society. **Figure 02**, which shows two boys in the *quilombola* territory of *Conceição dos Caetanos*, in Tururú, in Ceará, shows this population's complexity with records of African, indigenous and European references.

There are evidences that show that the Brazilian population contingent of African matrix is not a minority and that this is one more of the system's strategy to classify discriminated groups as minorities, leading to the belief that these reach a lower number of people that in reality, using numerical artifices. If we assume that the population considered to be "mixed" in this census is in fact a

mestizo population with different degrees of African ascendance, it becomes evident that the African-Brazilian population is not a minority. The cartographic representation of **Map 04** (ANJOS,2005) uncovers this significant quantitative expression and a spatial revelation that Brazil is a country of African essence and truthfully, only one who doesn't know the African continent can ignore how much of all "Africas" there is in each of us, in our essence, in our human condition.

This is a convenient moment to ask ourselves: what would Bahia, São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Pernambuco, Maranhão, Goiás, Minas Gerais, Rio Grande do Sul, Mato Grosso, and ultimately Brazil be without the presence of African people and their descendents? What territorial configuration would we have in Brazil without the presence of Africa? How would our religiousness be? And the medical practices? The construction and architectural patterns? And the forms of agricultural activities? These are necessary simulations for a postural reconstruction of erroneous concepts and crystallized impressions of our society and the Brazilian territory. "Deep down" what we cannot lose sight of is the fact that Brazil is what it is because it irreversibly had and has African references marked in its geographic space, in its population and overall, in its culture.

In spite of the "whitening" policy designed for Brazil and put to practice in the end of the XIX century and beginning of the XX century, where Asians, Chinese and Africans were considered inferior beings, the maps' answers show the affirmation of the African-Brazilian demographic mosaic that constructed the territorial, social and economic structure of the country, without privileges or opportunities.

Statistic point Brazil as the second largest nation with African descendent population in the planet and in relation to this contingent are calculated more discriminatory statistics and of social-economical depreciation. In the worst places of the society and territory, with rare exceptions, are the African-Brazilian populations.

In a big Brazilian city it is possible to confirm, without consulting sophisticated statistics, the evident social-spatial segregation, for example: who is the man – woman who begs for alms in the traffic lights? What is the aspect of the human being who sleeps in the street or subway? What is the reference of a child characterized as a "street boy" or "street girl", occurring in the country's urban space? What is the profile of the men and women, dwellers of the Brazilian "*favela*"? What are the conditions of collective transportation that goes to the city suburbs? What is the citizen that rides this bus or train like? These positions in society are occupied predominantly by African-Brazilian populations and in a country where nearly 50% of its official population's contingent is of African matrix, we realize that we face a national structural problem. In the spaces of privileged occupation and appreciation there is another social extract and another ethnic reference.

No longer is it possible to hide that we have social, economic, territorial, secular and structural differences, for which the “remedies” are yet to come and the topics are pushed to another day, to next week, to next month, to next year or to the next government that never comes. And centuries go by!

In this way, being a descendent of the African continent in Brazil secularly continues being a risk factor, a challenge to the maintenance of human survival, an additional effort to have visibility in the dominant system and overall, placing some extra energy to be – remain included. It is a secular quarrel against territorial, social and economic exclusion.

4. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

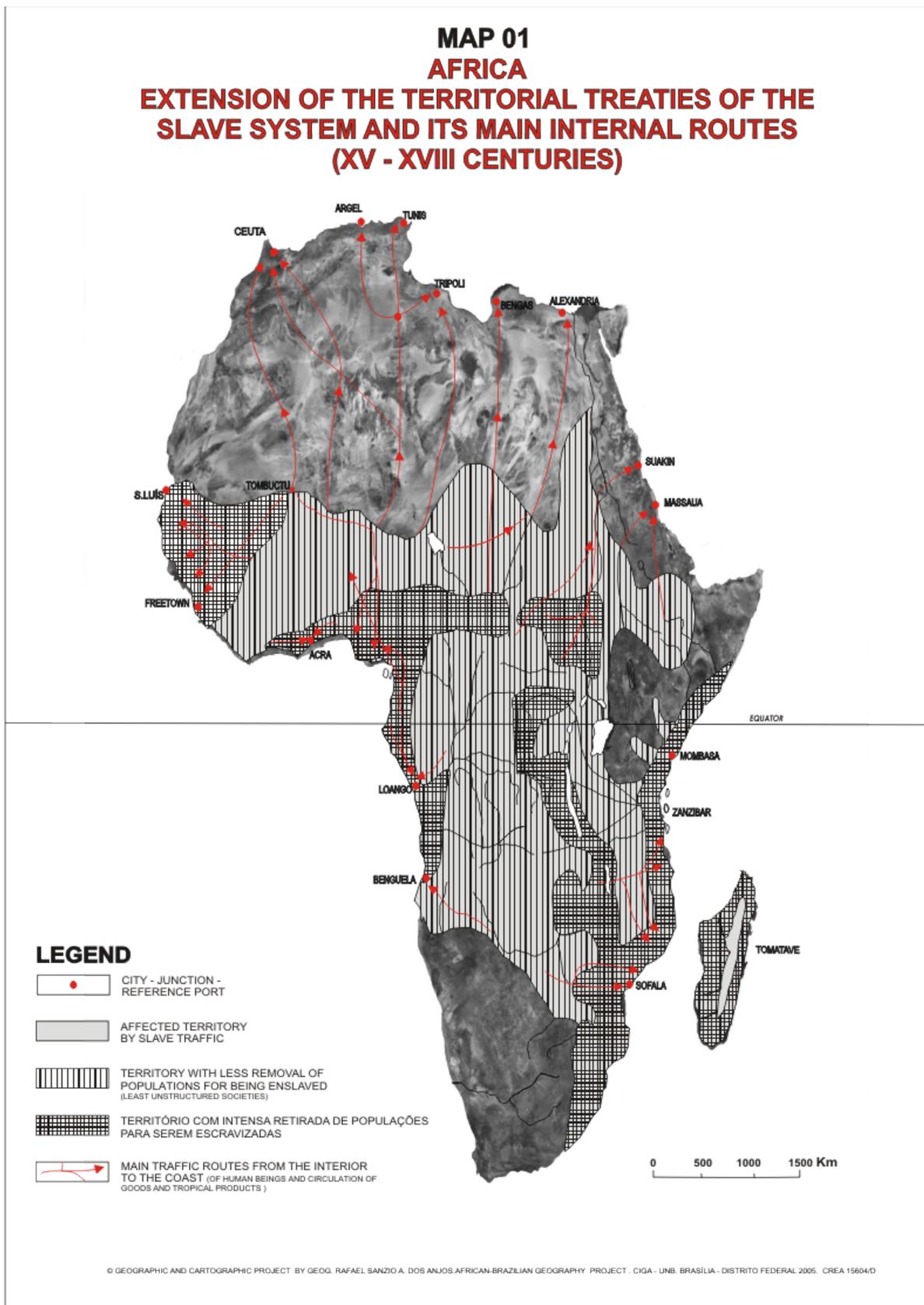
Considering the analytical constructions and speculations have not run out, we conclude and recommend the following:

- The obliviousness of the Brazilian population in what refers to the African continent is an obstacle to a realistic perspective of the racial democracy in the country. We cannot lose sight of the fact that amongst the main obstacles created by the system to include the African matrixed population in the Brazilian society is to subjugate this population in education. This context can only change with a more aggressive educational policy and focused on demystifying the African continent to the Brazilian population. Brazilians can no longer go on believing that Africa is a country; neither can they believe that there are only diseases, primitive human beings and cultures; spaces for safaris and exotic animals, etc. The main damage in this erroneous information is aiding the maintenance of a population prejudiced against its African references and an immediate association to the African-Brazilian men and women. This is a structural point to a change process, where the African descendent Brazilian human being is in fact more respected in the system. A big part of the problem is still the lack of information, in other words, Africa’s position, usually one of the last continents in the schools’ and official compendiums, needs to be altered;
- Another structural point, still directed to the decision-making sector of the country, refers to the creation of appropriate conditions to perform a more realistic demographic census that better portrays Brazil’s ethnic diversity. This is a complex theme because it means changing the population admeasurement methods and in consequence, the possibility of an official record of

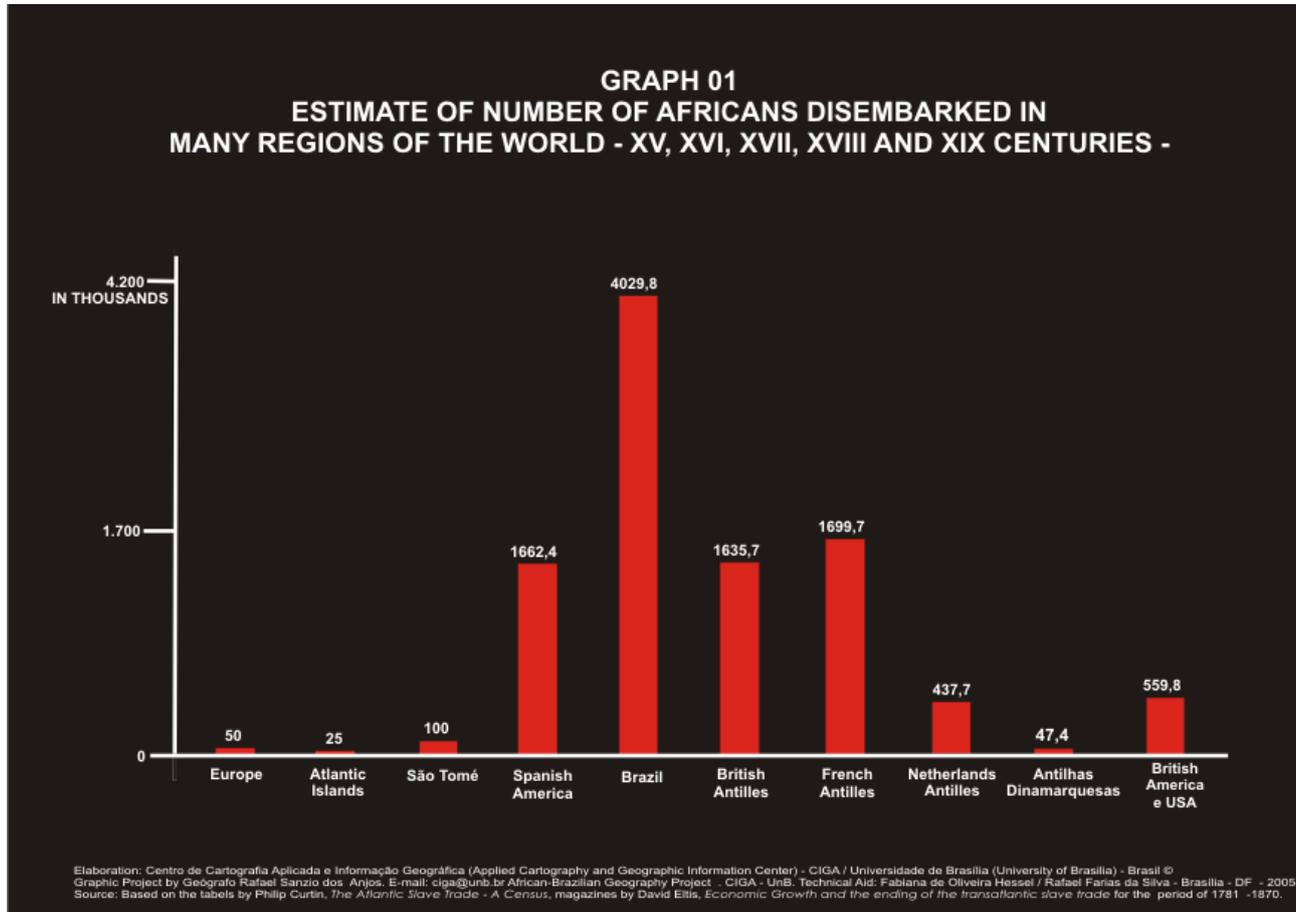
an “African Brazil” until then unevidenced. We believe that in the case of a political priority there can still be a review of the methodological procedures of the official demographic census, which could incorporate advances already conquered by the hundreds of experiences of scholar ethnic census already realized by teachers and principals of the nation’s schools. A structural component in this process are the educational programs of awareness and clarification of the ethnic matrixes that form and sustain Brazil;

- It is important not to lose sight of the fact that we live in a historical moment of redefining in the country an identity for the African-Brazilians. This social inclusion process includes a challenge for both parts: A Brazil “in Europe makeup” that is being pressured to change, to include, to recognize historic citizenships and rights of other ethnic and cultural matrixes and in the other hand, the “Brazilian Africa”, secularly excluded, with its internal conflicts emerging, searching for effective forms of dialogue with the system and with the challenge of diminishing the “European Brazil’s” “fear” that we will take Brazil away from them. We can live together with less hypocrisy, more respect for differences and social-economical balance!
- We believe the educational process is an element of transformation and reconstruction of the erroneous purport and information, as well visibility in the civil society as tools for the broadening of knowledge and diminishing prejudice. In this sense, some itinerant activities, such as the *Exposição Cartográfica: A África, o Brasil e os Territórios dos Quilombos* (Cartographic Exposition: Africa, Brazil and the *Quilombos* Territories) and the *Oficina Temática: Matrizes Africanas do Território Brasileiro* (Thematic Workshop: African Matrixes of the Brazilian Territory), are educational events that have sought a greater spatial visibility and along with the educators and students to these structural geographic issues of the ethnic formation of the country. Another important segment are publications with all the cartographic and historiographic documentation of the *quilombola* communities (2000, 2005, 2006 and 2009) and the volumes of *Coleção África-Brasil: Cartografia para o Ensino-Aprendizagem* (Africa-Brasil Collection: Cartography for Teaching-Learning) (2005 and 2007), that constitute a group of many thematic maps to aid teachers in transmitting information about Africa’s geography and the African-Brazilian geography. More information of the *Projeto Geografia Afro-Brasileira* (African-Brazilian Geography Project) and these products can be accessed through the website www.unb.br/ih/ciga;
- We have as a premise that information by itself does not imply knowledge. However, the reveal to us that with the aid of science and technology, we can contribute in the modification of punctual and superficial politics to subsidize the adoption of concrete actions to alteration in a structural manner of the situation of the “African Brazil’s” populations;

Lista de Figuras

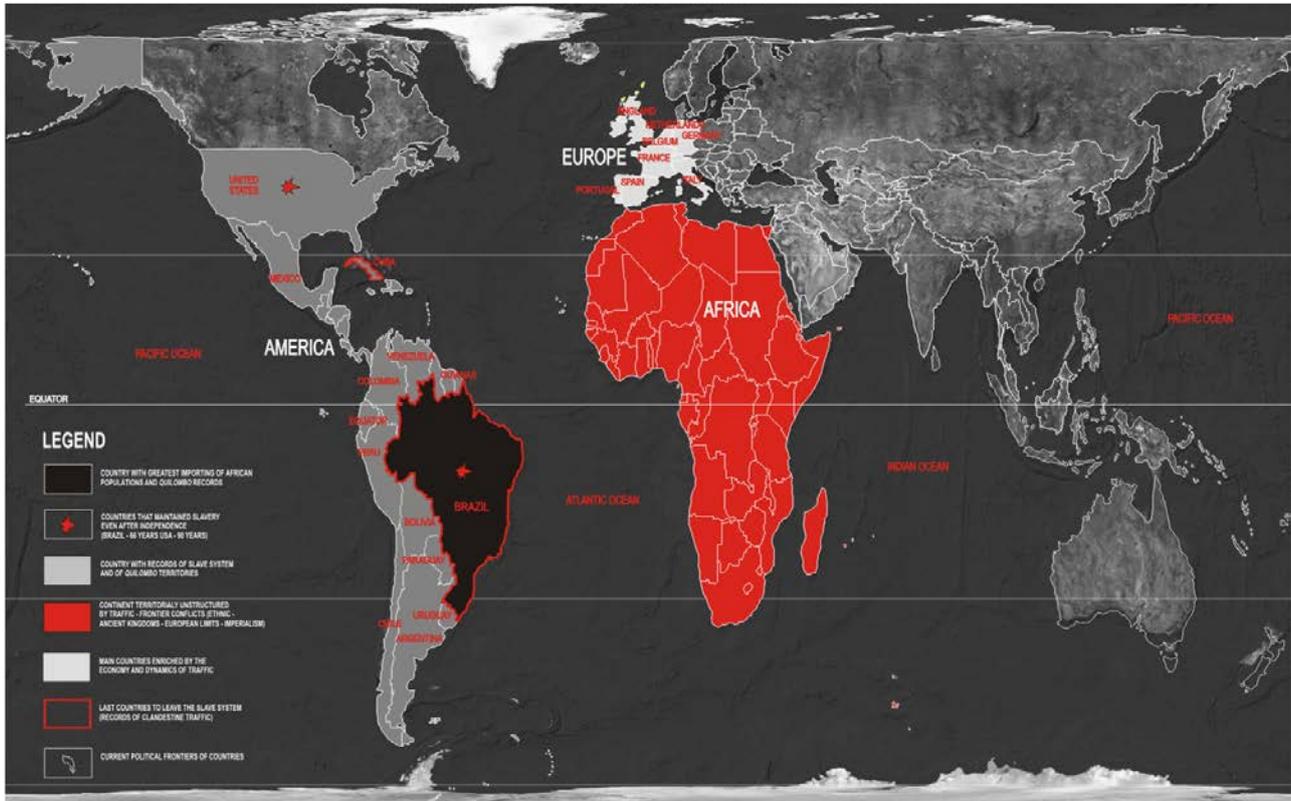


Map - 01

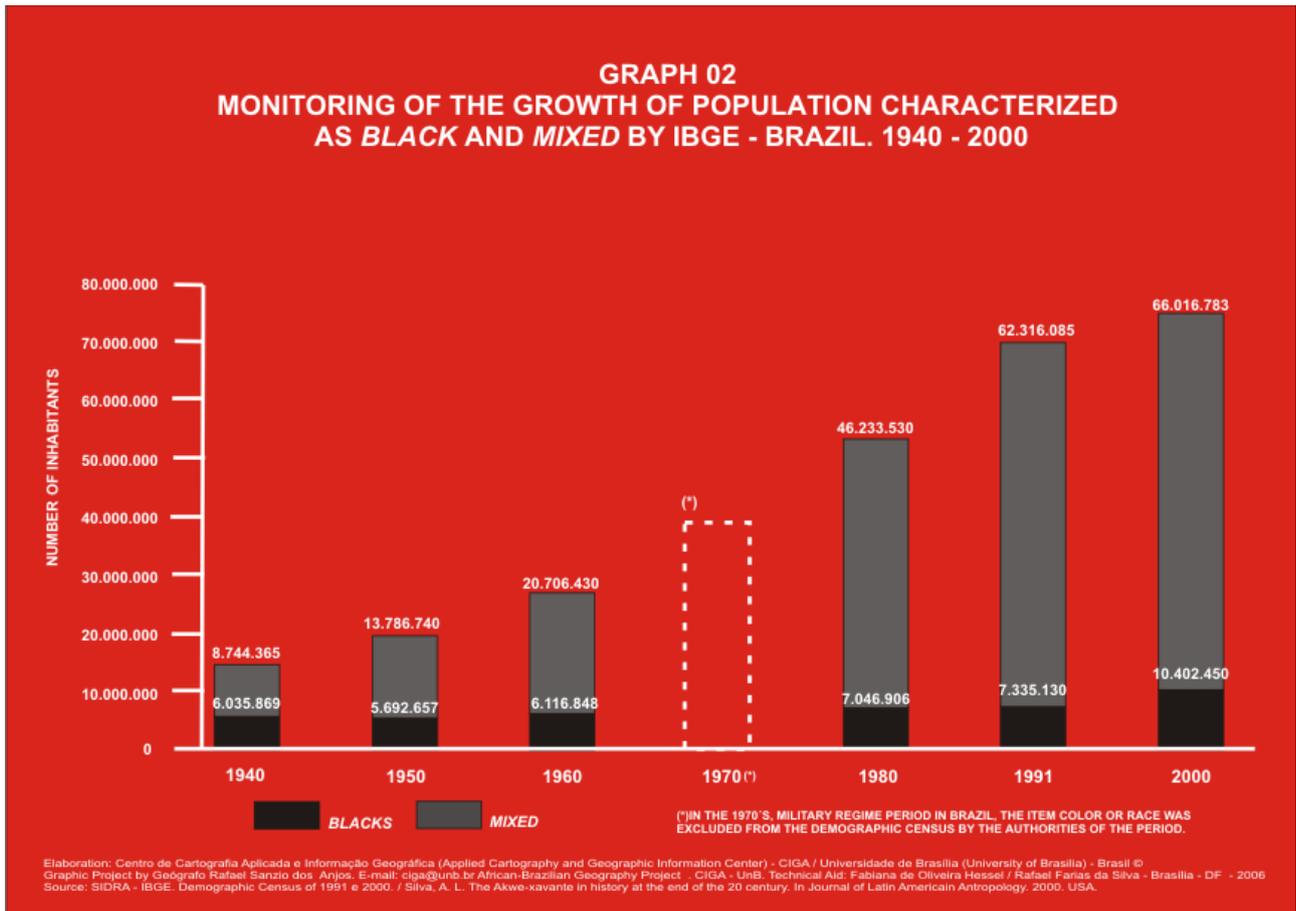


Graph- 01

MAP 02
AFRICA, AMERICA, EUROPE AND THE SLAVE SYSTEM
 - SOME SPATIAL REFERENCES OF THE SECULAR DOMINATION PROCESS -



Map – 02



Graph – 02

ANONYMOUS PICTURE: SALVADOR BAHIA, 1930'S. THE BROTHERS (IN SIZE ORDER): IRENE, JOSÉ TIBÚRCIO, NILDES CORBINIANA AND ANTÔNIO, CHILDREN OF JACINTO MANUEL DOS ANJOS E CLEMIÊNIA SILVA DOS ANJOS. ANJOS FAMILY PICTURE COLLECTION

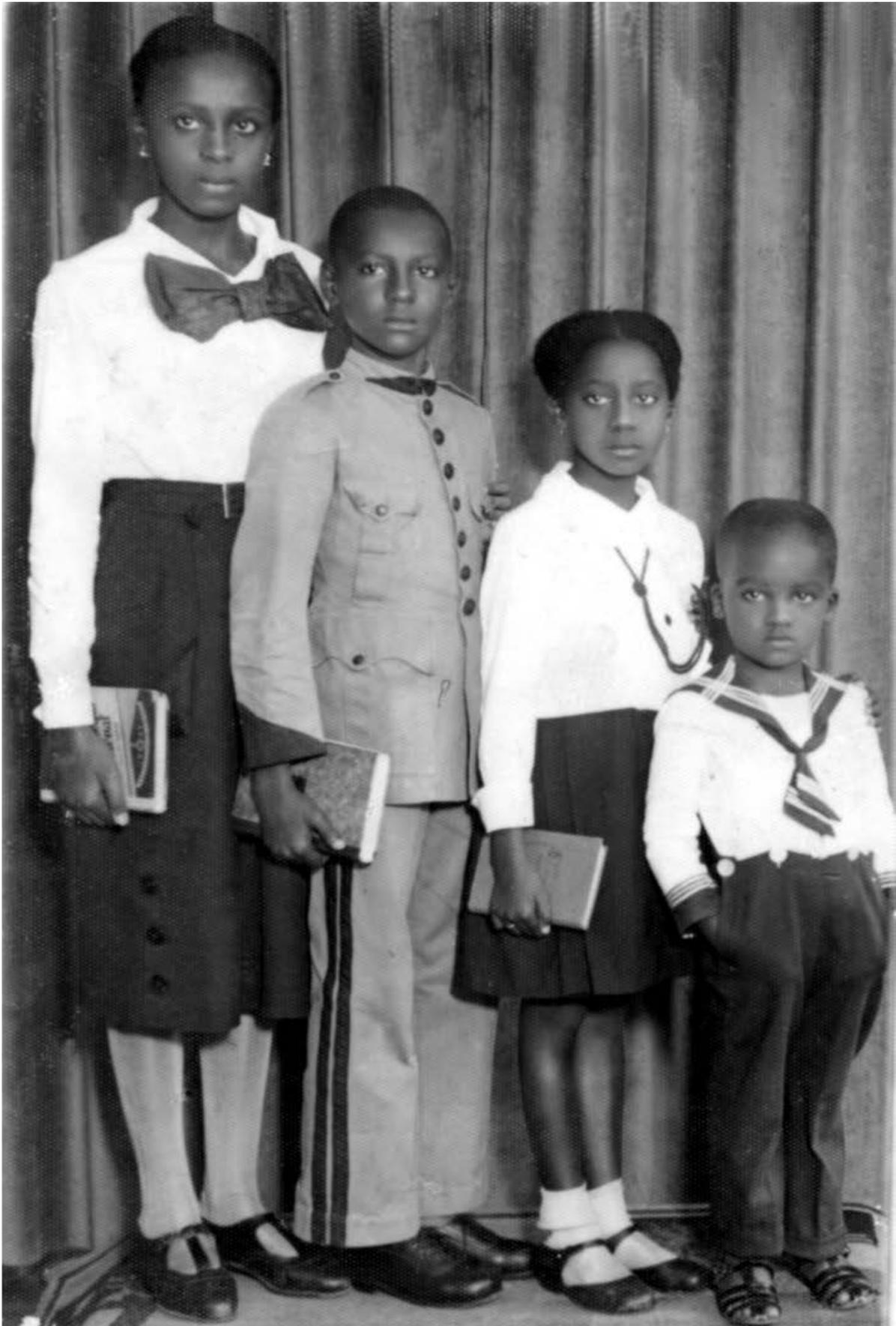
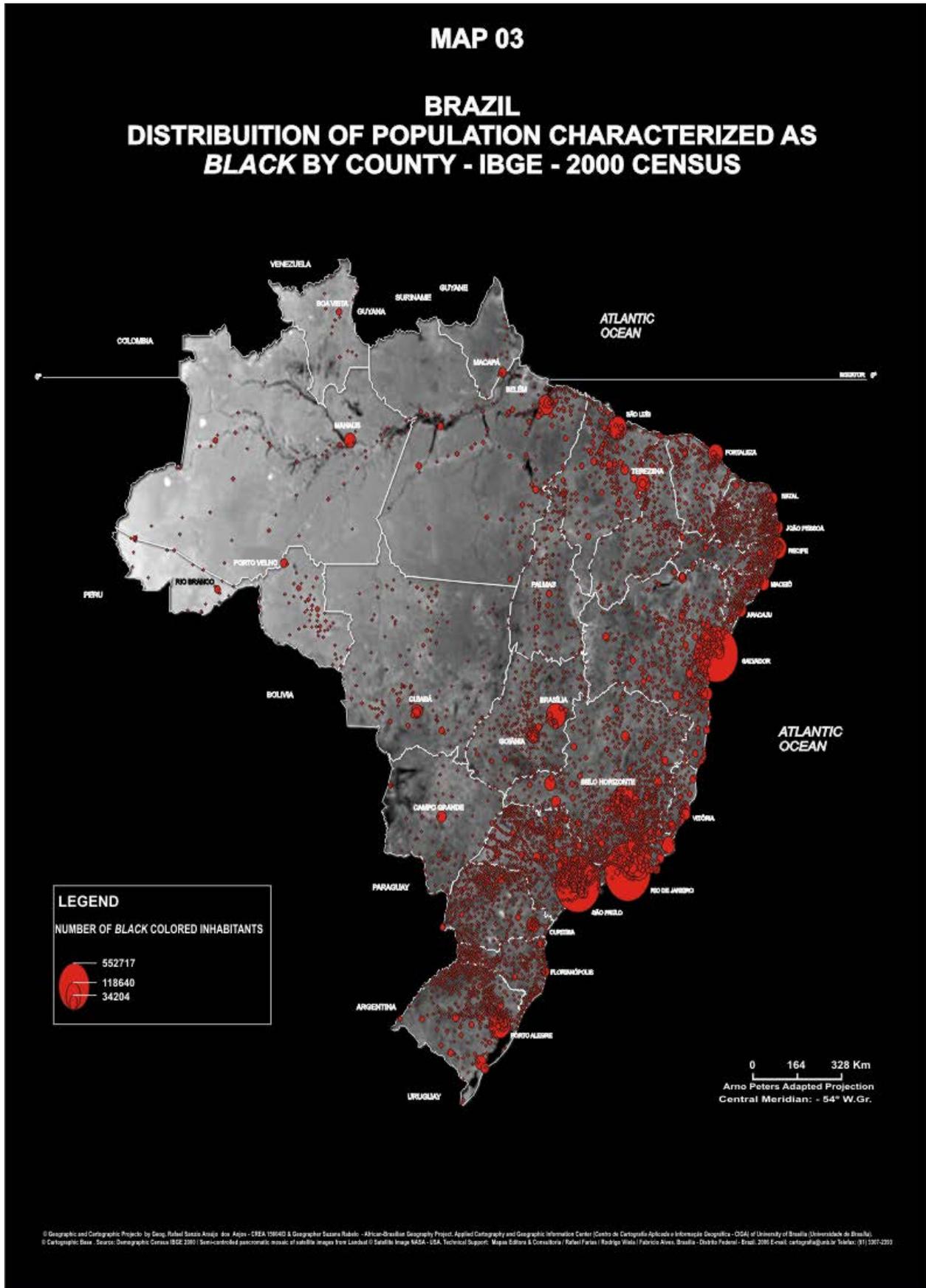
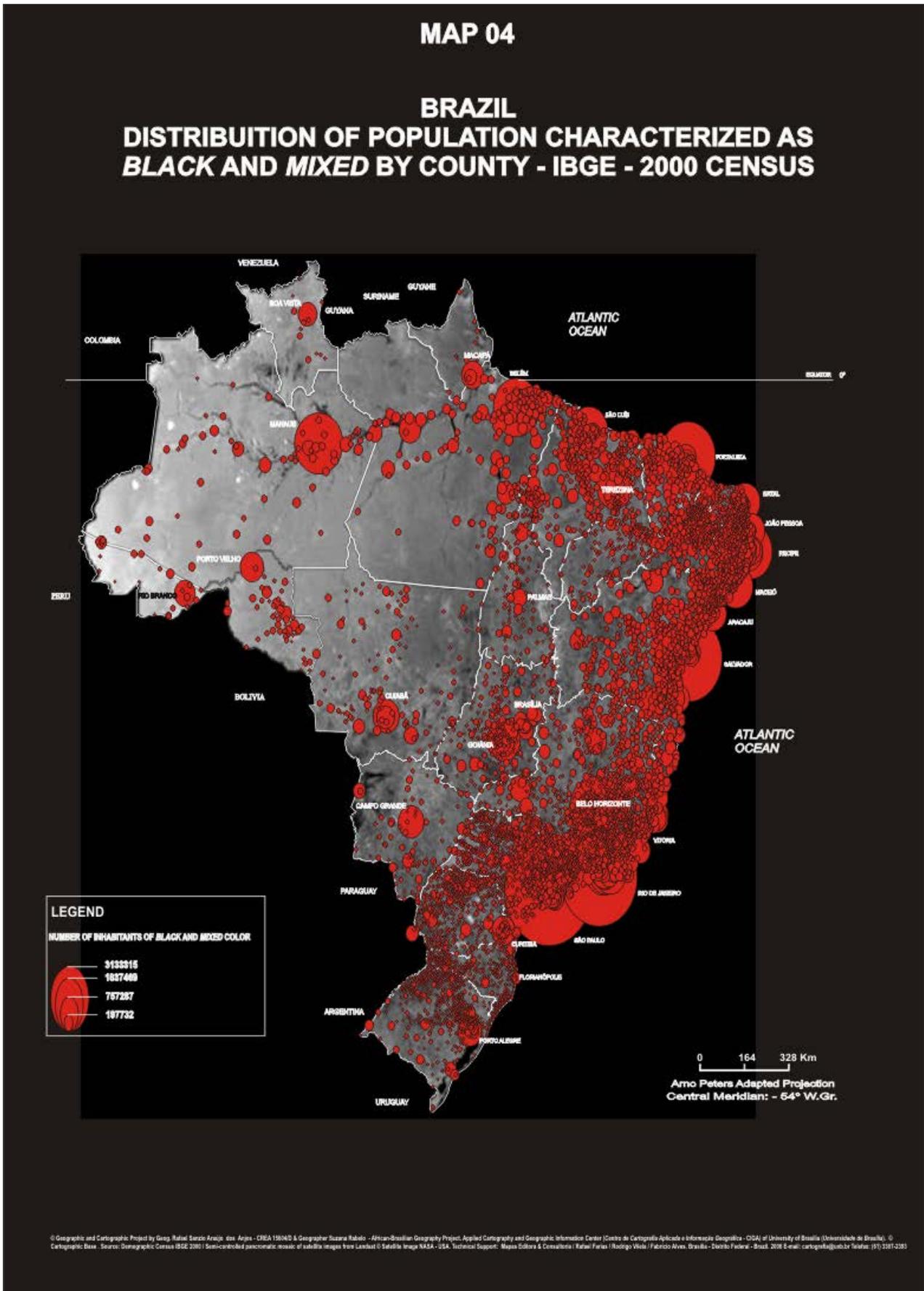


Figure – 01



Map – 03



Map – 04

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