



A Survey of Quilombola Family Agriculture in the Amazon State of Amapá, Brazil

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Expedient

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PRESENTATION

The Brazilian Team for Amazon Conservation (hereafter Ecam), in partnership with the Coordination of Rural Black Quilombola Communities of Amapá (CONAQ-AP), has been working to build strategies, models and mechanisms for territorial and environmental management and governance with a focus on increasing the visibility and strengthening of quilombola communities.

The present study, elaborated by Ecam and CONAQ-AP, in partnership with the Institute Clime and Society (iCS), aims at diagnosing the family agriculture production practised by quilombola communities in the state of Amapá. Hence, in a participative way, it can establish an action plan to strengthen the agricultural production of the communities for food security and income generation from the commercialisation of the surplus production.

Family agriculture is the primary source of income for quilombola communities (as shown in the study "Quilombos and Quilombolas in the Amazon - The challenges to recognition"¹). However, it is still necessary to provide further visibility to the quilombos' way of farming and how these territories have contributed to the maintenance of biomes and Brazilian sociobiodiversity.

In Brazil, according to the Palmares Cultural Foundation, there are 3,471 certified quilombola communities² (data from April 2021), of which 369 are in the North region. In Amapá, there are 44 accredited communities and only three titled communities. According to CONAQ-AP, Amapá has more than 250 quilombola communities in 12 of its 16 municipalities.

"The discrepancy between these counts and estimates is also a reflection of historical invisibility, as well as an obstacle to the elaboration (and collection) of adequate policies to attend these communities. The way to solve this invisibility is through, as occurred in the indigenous case, introducing the quilombo category in the IBGE's demographic censuses and counts". (CEBRAP, 2013³).

Given the diversity of existing information on the number of existing quilombola communities, this diagnosis sought to involve a significant number of communities to obtain a representative sample of Amapá's quilombola communities.

The analyses, results and recommendations presented in this study aim to support quilombola communities and their representative and partner organisations in developing strategies to strengthen quilombola family farming.

It is important to note that this diagnosis was made during the Coronavirus pandemic (COVID-

1 Available at: <<http://ecam.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/Quilombos-e-Quilombolas-na-Amaz%C3%B4nia-Os-Desafios-para-o-re-conhecimento.pdf>>.

2 Available at: <<http://www.palmares.gov.br/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/quadro-geral-por-estados-e-regioes-22-04-2021.pdf>>.

3 Available at: <<https://cebrap.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/Informativo-6-O-impacto-da-Covid-19-sobre-as-comunidades-quilombolas.pdf>>



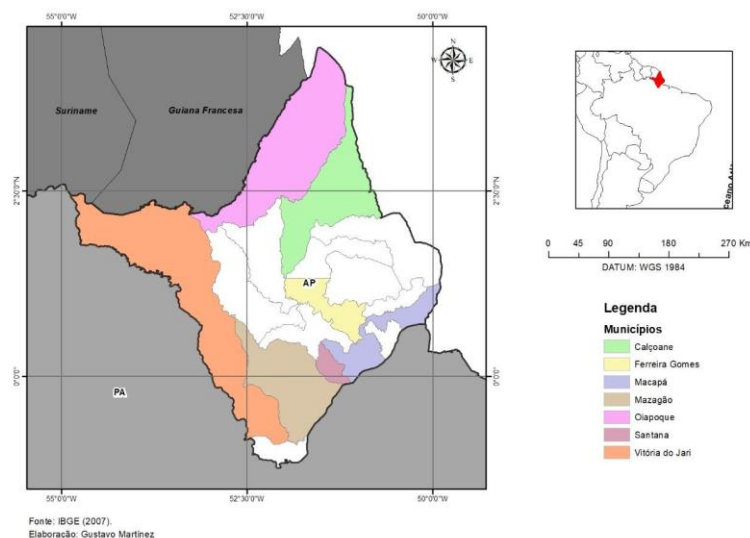
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1. RESEARCHED COMMUNITIES AND COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS

The field survey was carried out by Ecam and CONAQ-AP⁴, between August (2020) and February (2021), with 51 representatives of community organisations⁵ quilombolas in the state of Amapá, spread over 7 municipalities of the state.

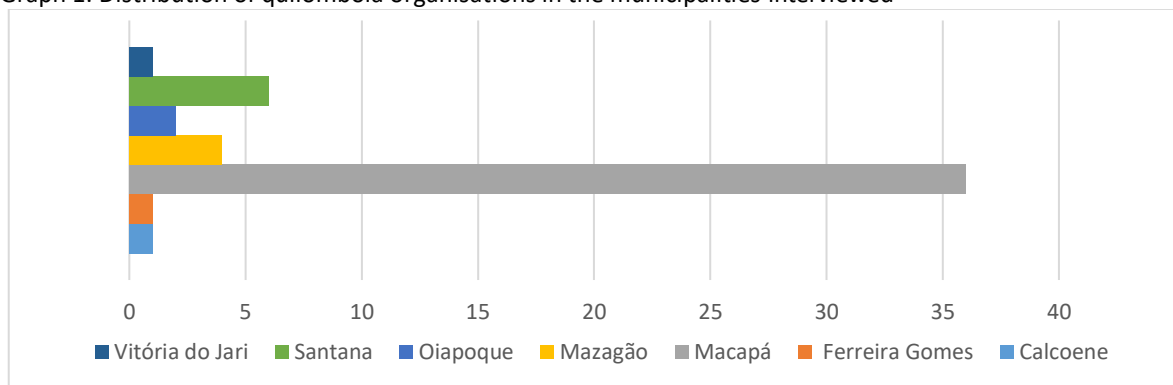
Map: Municipalities of the interviewed communities



Most of the interviewees represented quilombola communities located in the municipality of Macapá (36), respectively in decreasing order: representatives of quilombola communities from Santana (6), Mazagão (4), Oiapoque (2), Calçoene (1), Ferreira Gomes (1) and Vitória do Jari (1).

Approximately 70% of the interviews were conducted with representatives of quilombola communities located in the municipality of Macapá.

Graph 1: Distribution of quilombola organisations in the municipalities interviewed



Source: Field research (2021)

The 51 community organisations participating in the study have 3,147 members and benefit 8,723 families.

⁴ The survey was based on interviews with leaders involved in community production in order to obtain systematized information. In some cases, the interviews were carried out with community representatives who had more practical knowledge about production.

⁵ In this study, organisations are considered to be: formally constituted associations and informal groups that do not yet have a CNPJ.

Table 1: Distribution of families benefited by the organisations per municipality.

Municipalities	Organisations Community	Members	N° of families served
Calçoene	1	147	95
Ferreira Gomes	1	120	15
Macapá	36	2150	3524
Mazagão	4	396	4527
Oiapoque	2	30	131
Santana	6	248	385
Vitória do Jari	1	56	46
Grand Total	51	3147	8723

Source: Field research (2021)

According to data from the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE in Portuguese), through the 2017 Agricultural Census⁶, 67% of the individual farmers in the state of Amapá were in the seven municipalities that had communities participating in the diagnosis. It is worth noting that IBGE does not present specific data on the number of quilombola farmers present in this region.

In Amapá, subsistence agriculture predominates with the commercialisation of surplus production. Crops are generally cultivated using their financial resources. Most of the labour used is family-based.

Of the 51 organisations identified in the diagnosis, 44 (approximately 86%) are formalised, primarily as community associations, intended for political representation of the Quilombola community. However, we also identified associations linked to the production of family farming, fishermen, extractives and the "Marabaixo" folkloric manifestation (an African origin dance, typical of the northern region of Brazil).

Of the formalised organisations, only 14 do not have their boards duly recognised. Another four interviewees were unable to inform the status of the registration of their boards with the competent body, as required in Article 45 of the Civil Code.⁷

Two informal groups were identified as community groups located in the municipalities of Santana and Mazagão, and five other organisations whose representation structure were not identified.

⁶ Available at: <<https://censos.ibge.gov.br/agro/2017/>>

⁷ See legislation at: <http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/leis/2002/l10406compilada.htm>

Table 2: Name of organisations, distribution per municipality and record of minutes.

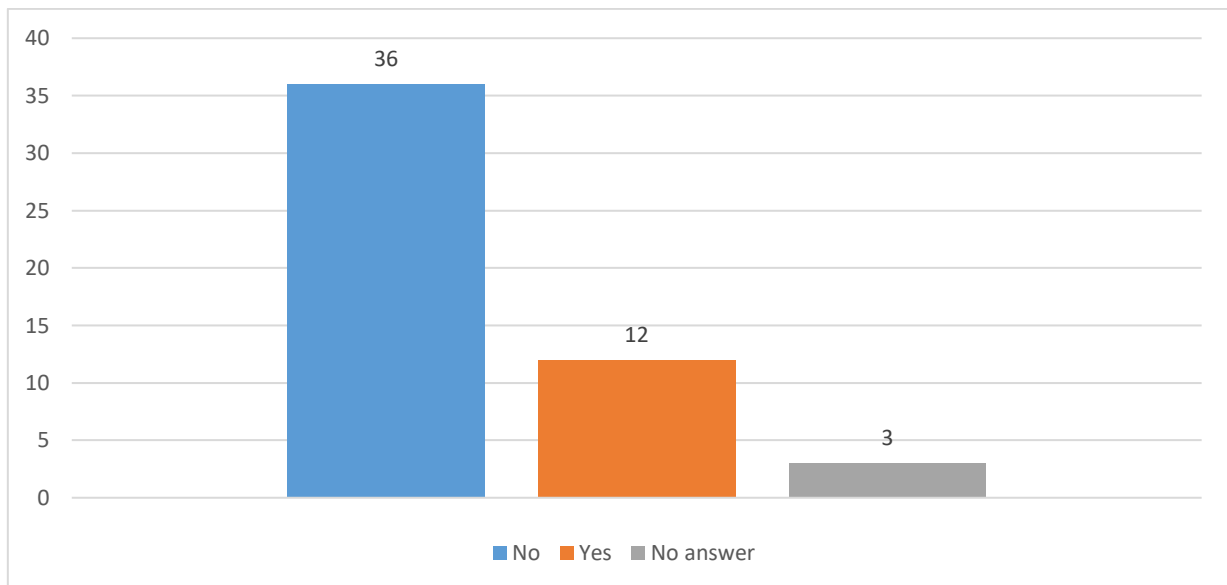
Names of associations identified during the interviews	Municipality	Updated registration of Minutes
ASSOCIATION OF YOUNG PEOPLE AND RESIDENTS' RURAL PRODUCERS OF SANTA LUZIA DO MARUANUM	Macapá	Yes
ASSOCIATION OF RESIDENTS AND RURAL PRODUCERS REMAINING FROM THE CARMO DO MARUANUM QUILOMBO	Macapá	Yes
ASSOCIATION OF RESIDENTS AND RURAL PRODUCERS REMAINING FROM THE QUILOMBO SÃO JOÃO DO MARUANUM 2	Macapá	Yes
ASSOCIATION OF RESIDENTS AND PRODUCERS OF IGARAPÉ DO LADO	Santana	Yes
COMMUNITY GROUP NOVA ESPERANÇA FROM PIRATIVA	Santana	N/A
ASSOCIATION OF PRODUCERS LIVING IN THE COMMUNITY OF RAIMUNDO MARUANUM	Macapá	No
ASSOCIATION OF RESIDENTS REMAINING FROM THE QUILOMBO CURRALINHO COMMUNITY	Macapá	Yes
ASSOCIATION OF RESIDENTS OF THE RURAL PRODUCERS OF SÃO PEDRO CARANA	Macapá	Yes
ASSOCIATION OF RESIDENTS OF TESSALÔNICA	Macapá	No
ASSOCIATION OF QUILOMBOLA RESIDENTS AND FARMERS OF SÃO FRANCISCO DO MATAPI	Macapá	No
ASSOCIATION OF THE REMAINING QUILOMBOLA RESIDENTS OF MEL DA PEDREIRA	Macapá	No
ASSOCIATION OF RESIDENTS SÃO LUIZ FLEXAL	Macapá	No
ASSOCIATION OF RESIDENTS OF ILHA REDONDA COMMUNITY	Macapá	No
QUILOMBOLA ASSOCIATION REMAINING OF CAMPINA GRANDE	Macapá	Yes
ASSOCIATION OF RESIDENTS AND QUILOMBOLA FARMERS FROM RESSACA DA PEDREIRA	Macapá	Yes
QUILOMBOLA RESIDENTS' ASSOCIATION OF ABACATE DA PEDREIRA	Macapá	No
ASSOCIATION OF RIVERSIDE RESIDENTS, EXTRACTIVE FISHERMEN QUILOMBOLA OF THE LONTRA DA PEDREIRA COMMUNITY	Macapá	Yes
NO INFORMATION	Macapá	N/I
ASSOCIATION OF RESIDENTS AND PRODUCERS OF THE REMAINING QUILOMBOLAS COMMUNITY OF SÃO JOSÉ DO MATA FOME	Macapá	Yes
ASSOCIATION OF RESIDENTS AND FOLKLORIC GROUP OF SÃO PEDRO DOS BOIS	Macapá	Yes
SÃO TOMÉ CULTURAL ASSOCIATION	Mazagão	No
ASSOCIATION OF RESIDENTS AND FARMERS OF CASA GRANDE	Macapá	No
ASSOCIATION OF THE REMNANTS OF THE IGARAPÉ DO LAGO MARACA COMMUNITY	Mazagão	Yes
ASSOCIATION OF REMAINING QUILOMBOLA RESIDENTS OF CUNANI	Calçoene	Yes
ASSOCIATION OF MORADORES ASSOCIATION OF COMMUNITY QUILOMBOLA CONCEIÇÃO DE CACACOARÍ	Macapá	Yes
MARABAIXO'S ROOTS CHILDREN GROUP - MARABAIXO DA GUNGÁ	Mazagão	N/A
CULTURAL ASSOCIATION OF SÃO SEBASTIÃO DE MAZAGÃO NOVO	Mazagão	No

QUILOMBO PATUAZINHO RESIDENTS' ASSOCIATION	Oiapoque	Yes
QUILOMBOLA ASSOCIATION OF THE REMNANTS OF VILA VELHA	Oiapoque	Yes
ASSOCIATION OF FARMERS AND RESIDENTS OF THE COMMUNITY OF TORRÃO DO MATAPÍ	Macapá	Yes
ASSOCIATION OF FARMERS AND FAMILY MEMBERS OF THE SÃO THIAGO COMMUNITY	Macapá	Yes
ASSOCIATION OF RESIDENTS AND FARMERS	Macapá	Yes
ASSOCIATION OF QUILOMBOLA RESIDENTS, FARMERS AND EXTRACTIVE FISHERMEN OF DOIS IRMÃOS	Santana	Yes
QUILOMBOLA ASSOCIATION OF THE REMNANTS OF SÃO JOSÉ DO MATAPÍ	Macapá	Yes
ASSOCIATION OF RESIDENTS AND FARMERS OF AREAL DO MATAPÍ	Macapá	No
ASSOCIATION OF FARMERS' AND PRODUCERS' RESIDENTS REMNANT OF QUILOMBO CINCO CHAGAS DO MATAPÍ	Santana	Yes
QUILOMBOLA ASSOCIATION OF THE REMNANTS OF ALTO PIRATIVA	Santana	Yes
QUILOMBOLA ASSOCIATION SÃO RAIMUNDO DO PIRATIVA	Santana	Yes
ASSOCIATION OF AFRODESCENDANTS RIVERSIDES OF SÃO JOÃO DO MATAPÍ	Macapá	Yes
NO INFORMATION	Macapá	No
NO INFORMATION	Macapá	No
ASSOCIATION OF RESIDENTS FAMILY FARMERS OF SÃO FRANCISCO DO PIRIRIM	Macapá	Yes
EXTRACTIVE ASSOCIATION OF RESIDENTS OF SÃO BENEDITO DO PORTO ABACATE DA PEDREIRA	Macapá	Yes
ASSOCIATION OF RESIDENTS OF THE SANTA LUZIA DO PACUÍ DISTRICT	Macapá	N/A
QUILOMBOLA ASSOCIATION OF TAPEREIRA	Vitória do Jarí	No
ASSOCIATION OF WOMEN AND FARMERS OF SÃO BENEDITO DO PIRIRIM	Macapá	Yes
NO INFORMATION	Macapá	N/I
NO INFORMATION	Macapá	N/I
QUILOMBO DO PESCADA ASSOCIATION	Macapá	Yes
QUILOMBOLA ASSOCIATION OF THE IGARAPÉ DO LAGO COMMUNITY	Ferreira Gomes	Yes
QUILOMBO DO CURIAÚ RESIDENTS' ASSOCIATION	Macapá	Yes

Source: Field research (2021). Subtitles: N/A (Not applicable) N/I (Not informed).

Concerning financial debts of the quilombola organisations recognised by the interviewees, it is observed that 36 organisations (76%) did not contract debts in 2020, which is a highly representative result in the diagnosis.

Graph 2: Financial debts of organisations representing quilombola communities.



Source: Field research (2021).

However, of the 12 organisations that reported having debts, all reported being in debt with the Federal Revenue. Of these, seven have obligations with taxes and only one with public funding.

It is important to stress that due to its application dynamics, the diagnosis did not seek to identify individual quilombola producers' access to public or private funding.

With specific reference to public funding, the National Programme for the Strengthening of Family Farming (Pronaf), launched in 1995 by the federal government to provide differentiated credit for small rural producers and to strengthen the productive capacity of family farming, contribute to the generation of employment and income in rural areas and to improve the quality of life of family farmers, stands out. In practical terms, Pronaf can be aimed at financing crop funding, technology acquisition, and agro-industrialisation of production, among others.

To access Pronaf, family farmers should meet the following criteria:

- 1) To have at least 80% of the family income originating from agriculture and cattle-raising activities;
- 2) Owning or exploring establishments with an area of up to four fiscal modules (or up to six modules when the establishment's activity is livestock farming);
- 3) Exploiting the land as owner, sharecropper, partner or lessee;
- 4) Use exclusively family labour, but may have up to two permanent employees;
- 5) Reside on the property or in a nearby rural or urban settlement;
- 6) To have a gross annual family income of up to R\$ 60,000.00.

Based on the criteria listed for financing in this modality, one can see a low adherence of quilombola farmers to these requirements. In Brazil, historically, quilombola communities have little access to Pronaf. However, this information is not systematized so that more conclusive analyses can be made. What may partially explain the low entrance of these communities to Pronaf is the PRONAF Aptitudinal Declaration (DAP in Portuguese) issue, especially for communities not certified by the Palmares Cultural Foundation⁸.

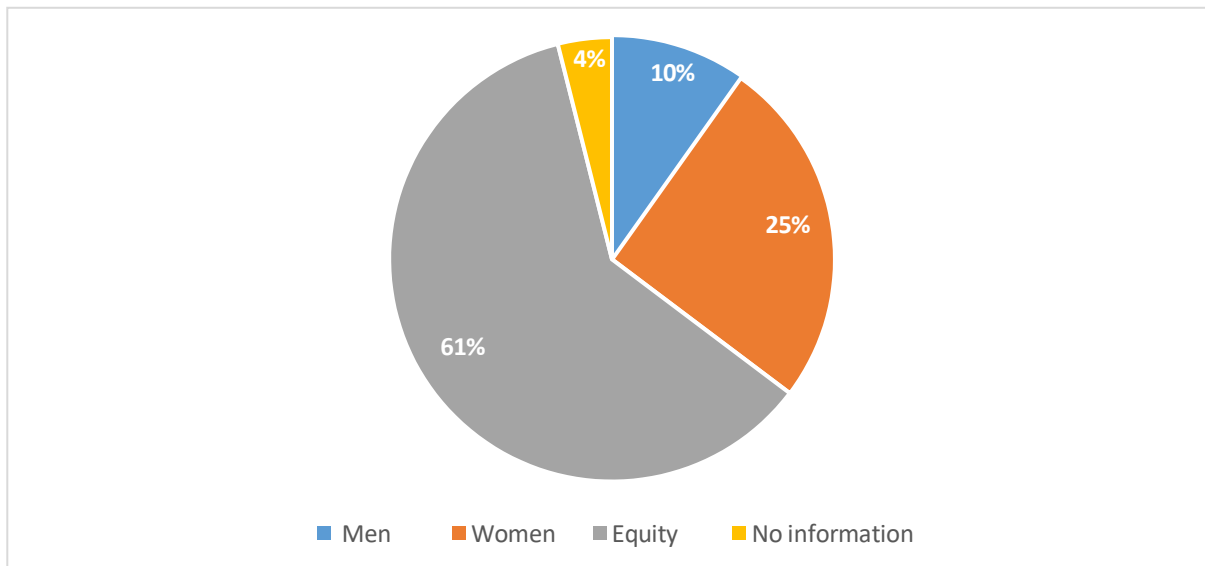


⁸ Ordinance No. 90/2013, of the Ministry of Agrarian Development (MDA in Portuguese), brings provisions on the regulation and conditions for granting rural credit. According to the document, the DAP will be issued for all communities certified by Palmares Cultural Foundation. It is noteworthy that the issuance of the statements is carried out upon request of the families concerned. Available at: <<http://pesquisa.in.gov.br/imprensa/jsp/visualiza/index.jsp?jornal=1&pagina=85&data=01/11/2013>>.

1.1. LEADERSHIP AND RELATIONSHIP OF GENDER

From the information on the exercise of leadership in the 51 organisations and gender relations (Graph 2), the majority of management is shared between men and women (61%), which demonstrates gender equity, and that in 25% of these organisations' women occupy leading positions.

Graph 3: Gender relation in the leadership of the interviewed communities.



Source: Field research (2021)

In a recent study, Custódio (2019)⁹ stated that black women lead their communities in many traditional quilombola territories in the Amazon. Still, according to the author, in the official history of the state of Amapá, there is a gap in the role and contribution of black women in the period of slavery and post-abolition. He also states that when one searches the memory of the municipalities, one rarely finds information regarding the protagonism of black women.

In addition to the predominance of quilombola women in leading positions in the community organisations that took part in the diagnosis, it is important to highlight their central role in the management of agroforestry yards and the cultivation of mixed vegetables in the communities. These activities play a strategic role in producing foodstuffs that complement families' food and nutritional security.

From this perspective, it is fundamental that development programmes aimed at strengthening quilombola communities highlight the leading role and experiences of quilombola women in the management of community organisations and rural family production, as these women's actions are often made invisible.

9 Available at: <<https://revistas.pucsp.br/revph/article/viewFile/43093/pdf>>

1.2. TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE AND EXTENSION RURAL

In general, access to agricultural and livestock technical assistance by family farming has meant lower production costs, greater access to productive technologies, increased productivity, more rational use of available labour and, finally, improved food and nutritional security for communities, in addition to enhancing family income by marketing surplus production.

The diagnosis identified that 31 organisations declared they received technical assistance, 19 interviewees claimed they did not receive it, and one interviewee did not answer the question asked.

The questionnaire used for the interviews listed the prominent organisations in Amapá which work directly or indirectly with technical assistance and rural extension.

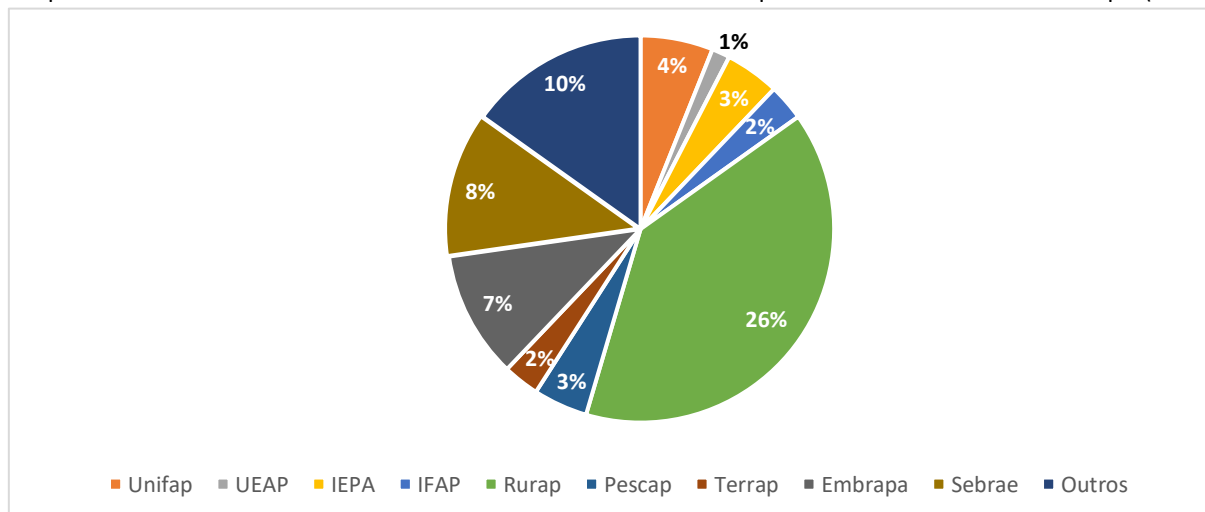
Table 3. Organizations that provide technical assistance and rural extension services to quilombola communities are linked to the interviewed organizations.

Portuguese Acronym	Name of organisation
EMBRAPA	Brazilian Agricultural Research Corporation
IEPA	Institute for Scientific and Technological Research of the State of Amapá
IFAP	Federal Institute of Amapá
PESCAP	Amapá State Fishing Agency
RURAP	Rural Development Institute of Pará
SEBRAE	Brazilian Support Service for Micro and Small Enterprises (SEBRAE)
TERRAP	Amapá Lands Institute
UEP	Amapá State University
OTHER	Municipal governments and National Commercial Apprenticeship Service (SENAC)

Source: Field research (2021).

The diagnosis points out that 26 of the 31 interviewees who responded that they receive technical assistance declared that their communities are served by RURAP, an official public organ of the Amapá State Government, to offer free technical service and rural extension to farmers.

Graph 4: Distribution of technical assistance and rural extension in quilombola communities in Amapá (2020).



Source: Field research (2021).

RURAP works with social-economic management activities, support for the implementation of fairs, dissemination of technology, and experimentation, among others. The fact that it has 22 technical assistance offices distributed among the 16 municipalities of Amapá means it is highly capillary. The body also implements the Food Purchase Programme (PAA) in the state.

Although to a lesser extent, all the other organisations listed in the diagnosis were mentioned by the interviewees. Other organisations not included in the initial list were also mentioned as providers of technical assistance to farmers, such as the Secretariat of Economic Development of the Municipality of Macapá, the National Commercial Apprenticeship Service (SENAC) and the Municipal Government of Macapá.



1.3. FUNDING

Of the 19 respondents who answered that their organisations had received funding in recent years, 18 reported receiving public funding and only one private funding. All of them reported that the funding has been paid.

With regard to the destination of the financial resources received, interviewees listed a series of investments, such as the acquisition of agricultural implements, construction of flour houses, purchase of tractors, preparation of cultivation areas, acquisition of fishing kits and even access to Federal Government programmes, such as "My House, My Life"¹⁰, for the purchase of homes. When analysing the interviewees' answers about access to "financing", we conjure up the possibility that the question was not understood by the interviewees as expected, since there were also mentions of access to training courses on racial equality. Also mentioned in this item was the acquisition of flour mills, for example, which probably were not carried out by funding, but by public or private donation.

It is also observed that, when asked about the amounts financed, there was a certain discrepancy, since the amounts reported were much higher than the historical series of the amounts that can be financed to quilombola family agriculture by public agents.



¹⁰ "Minha casa, minha vida" is a Brazilian Federal Government initiative that offers attractive conditions for the financing of housing.

2. CHARACTERISATION OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

Quilombola agricultural production systems in the Amazon comprise the dynamic interaction between various agricultural activities, such as the cultivation of coivara plantations, agroforestry backyards, agroforestry systems, vegetable gardens, extractivism and livestock farming.

In this sense, this diagnosis seeks to contribute to expanding information on agricultural production in quilombola communities concerning production volume, diversity of production and identification of outlets.

Knowledge of the reality involving productive activities in quilombola communities is fundamental in the social context. In this sense, the diagnosis of agricultural and livestock production in quilombola communities enables us to understand the socio-economic specificities linked to land use and labour relations, especially in this period in which we are experiencing the impacts generated by Covid-19.



2.1. DIVERSITY

Of the 51 organizations interviewed, 39 responded that their organisations are involved in some form of agricultural production.

According to the survey data, the communities with the greatest diversity of production are the Quilombola Association of Vila Velha Remnants and the Association of Residents Remnants of Quilombo of the Currallinho Community.

Table 4. Name of the organisations and diversity of the main products reported by the interviewees.

Name of organisation	Diversity
QUILOMBOLA RESIDENTS' ASSOCIATION OF ABACATE DA PEDREIRA	2
ASSOCIATION OF RESIDENTS OF ILHA REDONDA COMMUNITY	2
ASSOCIATION OF RESIDENTS AND FARMERS	4
ASSOCIATION OF PRODUCERS AND RESIDENTS OF THE COMMUNITY SÃO RAIMUNDO MARUANUM	2
CULTURAL ASSOCIATION OF SÃO SEBASTIÃO DE MAZAGÃO NOVO	2
ASSOCIATION OF QUILOMBOLA RESIDENTS AND FARMERS OF SÃO FRANCISCO DO MATAPI	3
ASSOCIATION OF REMAINING QUILOMBOLA RESIDENTS OF CUNANI	5
QUILOMBOLA ASSOCIATION SÃO RAIMUNDO DO PIRATIVA	4
ASSOCIATION OF RESIDENTS AND PRODUCERS OF IGARAPÉ DO LADO	2
QUILOMBOLA ASSOCIATION OF THE REMNANTS OF ALTO PIRATIVA	3
SÃO TOMÉ CULTURAL ASSOCIATION	2
ASSOCIATION OF THE REMNANTS OF IGARAPÉ DO LAGO DO MARACA COMMUNITY	6
ASSOCIATION OF RESIDENTS OF TESSALÔNICA	3
ASSOCIATION OF RESIDENTS AND RURAL PRODUCERS REMAINING FROM THE CARMO DO MARUANUM QUILOMBO	6
QUILOMBOLA ASSOCIATION OF THE REMNANTS OF VILA VELHA	8
ASSOCIATION OF RESIDENTS AND RURAL PRODUCERS REMAINING FROM THE QUILOMBO SÃO JOÃO DO MARUANUM 2	3
ASSOCIATION OF REMAINING QUILOMBO RESIDENTS OF THE COMMUNITY OF CURRALINHO	7
QUILOMBOLA EXTRACTIVIST FISHERMEN AND RIVER DWELLERS ASSOCIATION OF THE LONTRA DA PEDREIRA COMMUNITY	4
ASSOCIATION OF RESIDENTS OF THE RURAL PRODUCERS OF SÃO PEDRO DO CARANA	6
QUILOMBOLA ASSOCIATION OF THE REMNANTS OF CAMPINA GRANDE	6
QUILOMBOLA FARMERS, FISHERMEN AND EXTRACTION WORKERS ASSOCIATION TWO BROTHERS	6
ASSOCIATION OF FARMERS' AND PRODUCERS' RESIDENTS REMNANTS OF QUILOMBO CINCO CHAGAS DO MATAPÍ	4
CHILDREN'S MARABAIXO ROOTS GROUP - MARABAIXO DA GUNGÁ GROUP	2
ASSOCIATION OF RESIDENTS AND FARMERS OF CASA GRANDE	5
NEW HOPE OF PIRATIVA	2
ASSOCIATION OF FARMERS AND FAMILY MEMBERS OF THE SÃO THIAGO COMMUNITY	3

AFRO-DESCENDANT RIVERSIDE ASSOCIATION OF SÃO JOÃO DO MATAPÍ	5
QUILOMBO PATUAZINHO RESIDENTS' ASSOCIATION	4
ASSOCIATION OF RESIDENTS AND PRODUCERS OF THE REMAINING COMMUNITY OF QUILOMBOLAS FROM SÃO JOSÉ DO MATA FOME	3
ASSOCIATION OF QUILOMBOLA RESIDENTS AND FARMERS OF RESSACA DA STONE	4
ASSOCIATION OF THE REMAINING QUILOMBOLA RESIDENTS OF MEL DA STONE	4
ASSOCIATION OF RESIDENTS FAMILY FARMERS OF SÃO FRANCISCO DO PIRIRIM	3
ASSOCIATION OF RESIDENTS SÃO LUIZ FLEXAL	2
ASSOCIATION OF RESIDENTS AND FARMERS OF AREAL DO MATAPÍ	4
ASSOCIATION OF RESIDENTS OF THE QUILOMBOLA COMMUNITY CONCEIÇÃO DE MACACOARÍ	4
QUILOMBOLA ASSOCIATION OF THE REMNANTS OF SÃO JOSÉ DO MATAPI	5
ASSOCIATION OF FARMERS AND RESIDENTS OF THE COMMUNITY OF TORRÃO DO MATAPÍ	1
ASSOCIATION OF RESIDENTS AND FOLKLORIC GROUP OF SÃO PEDRO DOS BOIS	4
NO INFORMATION	2

Source: Field research (2021).

Still on the diversity of production chains reported by the interviewees, four crop groups were defined, namely: crops grown in gardens, fruit production (agroforestry systems and/or agroforestry backyards), extractive products and vegetable production.

Table 5: Agroforestry systems and agroforestry farms.

Agroforestry systems	Agroforestry farms
<p>They can be defined as a form of multiple cultivations where different plant species interact in the same area, at least one being arboreal and the other managing for agricultural production in a short time.</p> <p>The main species cultivated in agroforestry systems (SAFs in Portuguese) in traditional Amazonian communities are açaí, cupuaçu, bacaba, and graviola, among other fruit species. In SAFs, forest species such as freijó, mahogany, marupá, paricá, andiroba, among others, are also cultivated.</p> <p>This system makes it possible to increase total production in a staggered manner in time and space by integrating forests with agricultural species and/or livestock, applying management practices compatible with the cultural standards of the local population.</p>	<p>They are characterised as small orchards close to homes, a smaller modality than agroforestry systems. Their primary function is to produce food for family consumption.</p> <p>Developing crops close to homes and managing useful plants save time and are practical ways of obtaining food and home remedies.</p> <p>The main species mentioned in studies are avocado, pineapple, acai, acerola, araçá, bacaba, cocoa, cupuaçu, and guava, among others.</p> <p>Another standard function of backyards is to serve as shelter for livestock during the day or only at night after returning from grazing.</p>

Source: Field research (2021).

Table 6: Composition of the cropping systems developed by the quilombola communities.

Cropping systems	Species description
Grassland Crops	Sugar cane, cassava, cassava and corn.
Fruit Production	Pineapple, acerola, banana, cocoa, cashew, cupuaçu, soursop, jackfruit, passion fruit and watermelon.
Extractivism	Açaí, andiroba, bacaba, Brazil nut, pracaxi, taperebá.
Vegetable Production	Leafy vegetables in general, pepper and medicinal herbs.

Source: Field research (2021).

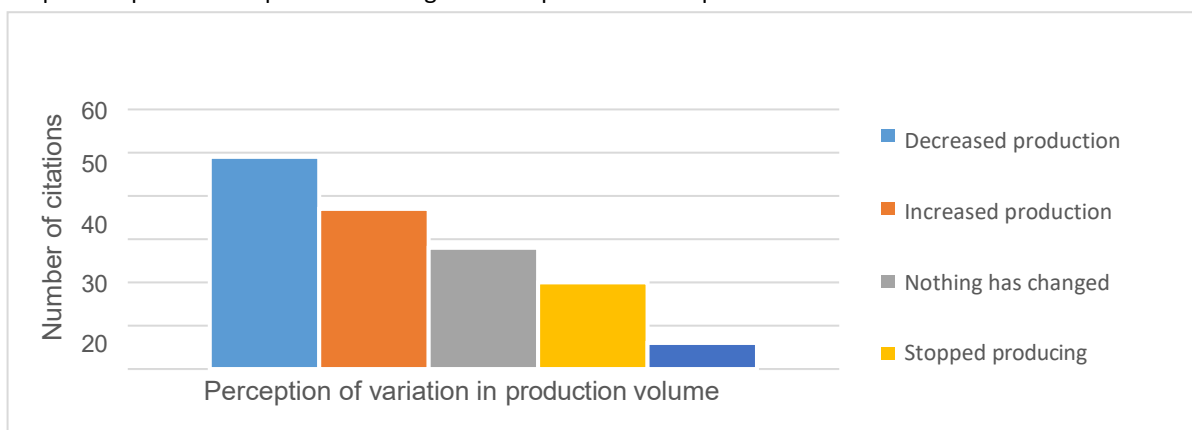
Since the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic, the challenges faced by family farmers in the Legal Amazon in terms of cultivating, processing, disposing of and marketing the food produced in their family units have increased. These challenges could not be different in quilombola communities in Amapá state.

Faced with a scenario of restrictions on the movement of people, the market for short-cycle products for consumption "in natura", which is the production base of quilombola family agriculture, and even for processed products such as fruit pulp, were negatively impacted by the pandemic, which directly contributes to a decrease in income for traditional communities.

From the perception of the interviewees in the diagnosis, it can be gauged that there was a decrease in food production in 2020, which may be directly related to another impact of COVID-19 on quilombola communities.

The diagnosis indicated that in the 140 crops¹¹ distributed in the communities, it is possible to verify that 49 crops (35%) had their production reduced, in 37 (26.5%) production was maintained similar to previous years, in 28 (20%) there was an increase in production, in 20 (14%) there was no production and in 6 (4.5%) of the cases the interviewees were unable to inform the status of production in 2020

Graph 5: Impacts of the pandemic on agricultural production in quilombola communities.



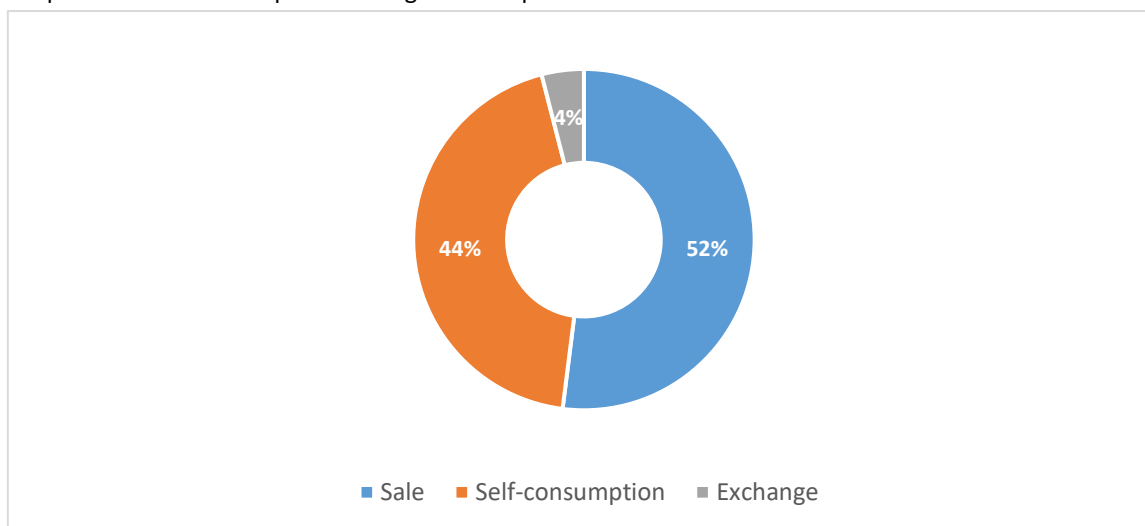
Source: Field research (2021).

¹¹ The same species is produced in different communities. However, in this study, we chose to use the interviewees' perceptions of the impacts of the pandemic on each crop produced in their community.

2.2. VOLUME

Of the 51 communities interviewed, 41 stated that their organisations have agricultural production. The study showed that 52% of the production is for sale, 44% is for self-consumption, and 4% is for internal exchanges within the communities.

Graph 6: Destination of quilombola agricultural production.



Source: Field research (2021).

From the data analysed, it is possible to verify a balance between production for sale and self-consumption. It was not found the existence of the production of a species intended exclusively for sale. In general, the diversity of foodstuffs sold is also part of the diet of the communities.

From the data analysed, it is possible to infer the four most expressive crops in terms of volumes produced, whether for self-consumption or the sale of surpluses. They are manioc flour, açaí, banana and cassava.

The highlight, however, is planting cassava for flour production, which is present in 27 of the 40 communities, or 75% of the communities. The cultivation occurs conventionally, and the processing is carried out in flour houses, not mechanised and family labour.

Table 7: Production volume of the main crops in quilombola communities.

Product	Volume	Number of Communities
Cassava flour	25.050 bags/60l	27
Açaí	680 tonnes (fresh fruit)	12
Banana	3636 bunches	6
Cassava	5.5 tonnes	3

Source: Field research (2021).

2.3. CHALLENGES

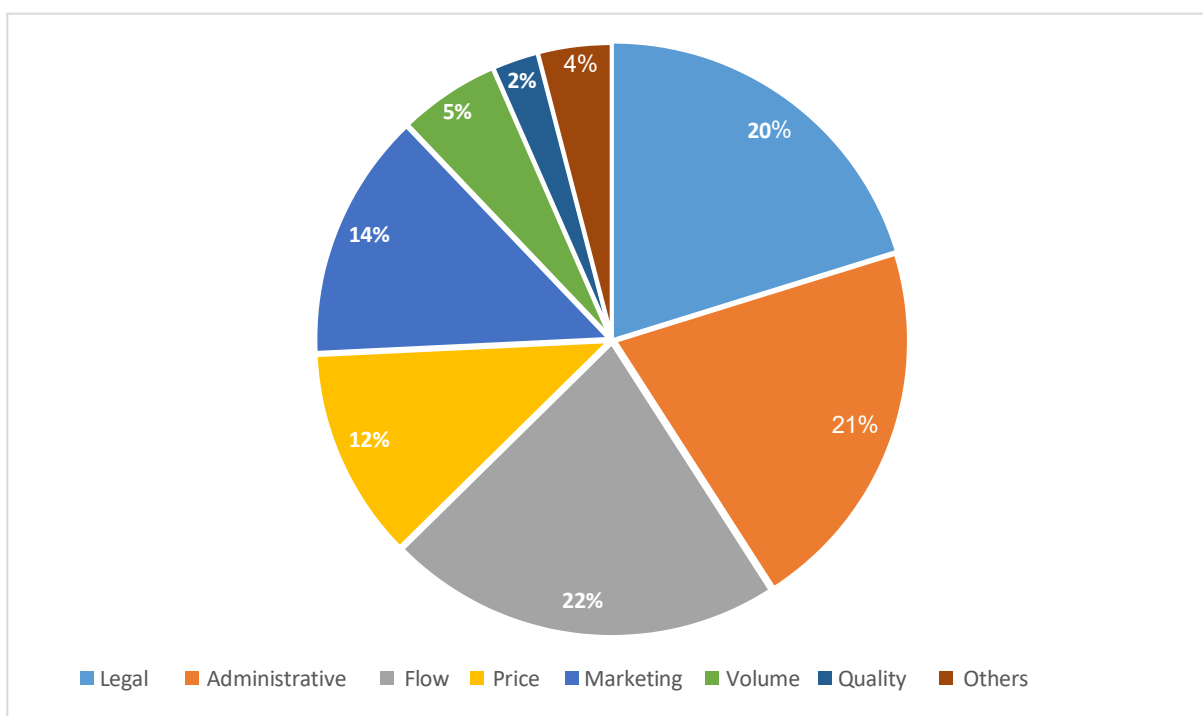
Regarding possible barriers to agricultural production, respondents were presented with a list of options, where they could choose more than one challenge. The main answers selected by the interviewees were: the flow of production (22%), which is probably linked to the lack of quality transportation and the precariousness of access routes to consumer markets; administrative problems (21%), linked to the organisations' management of production; and legal problems (20%), which may be linked to the legalization of the organisations. Less frequently mentioned were, respectively, marketing, price, volume, quality, and others (Graph 6).

The interviewee could also comment on other factors influencing production that were not available in the list. The following were spontaneously cited:

- Lack of investment
- Lack of finance (access to credit)
- Irregular power supply
- Low access to technical assistance for communities
- Access to technology, such as tractors for preparing the area for cultivation
- Land regularisation

Finally, it is important to note that the interviewee representing the Patuazinho community reported that the cultivation area has been losing space due to the constant invasions of community areas.

Graph 7: Main obstacles for agricultural production of quilombola family farming (%).

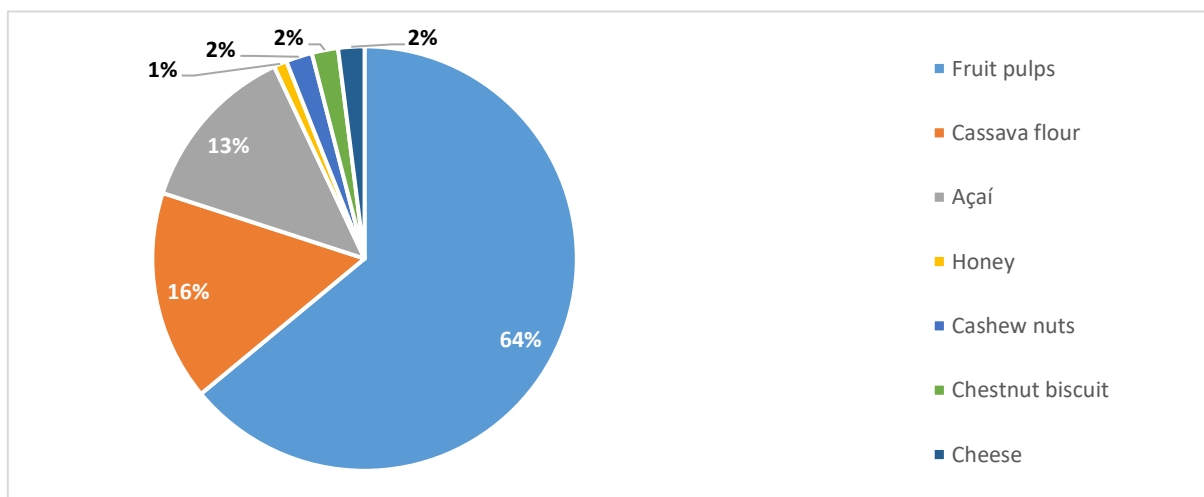


Source: Field research (2021).

3. IMPROVING OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

Regarding the products processed by the communities, fruit pulp stands out (64%), such as acerola, cupuaçu, cashew, soursop, mango and taperebá¹². In descending order, manioc flour (16%) and açai (13%) were also mentioned. In addition to these products, the processing of honey, cashew nuts, cheese and cassava were also reported.

Graph 10: Challenges to increase production processing in quilombola communities.



Source: Field research (2021).

Quilombola communities have a great diversity of fruit grown in their backyards, as pointed out in the diagnosis. The production that exceeds family consumption is sold as *fresh fruit* or processed and made into pulp.

The legal problems reported by the interviewees regarding agricultural production may be directly related to the need for sanitary adequacy of fruit pulp production to local legislation, as well as storage and transport conditions of the production due to its perishability.

Cassava flour, the second most frequently mentioned product by interviewees, plays an essential role in food security for families and in generating income for quilombola communities.

According to the Amapá State Secretariat for Rural Development (SDR), cassava flour was the best-selling product at open fairs in Macapá and Santana in the years 2018 and 2019, with a turnover of more than R\$ 24 million¹³. The amount represents 27.29% of everything that was purchased at the fairs. It is noteworthy that the SDR does not inform the origin of the flour sold at the fairs, i.e. if they come exclusively from family farming or if there is also the participation of the employer agriculture¹⁴.

¹² Also known as Cajá or Spondias mombin, also known as yellow mombin or hog plum is a species of tree and flowering plant in the family Anacardiaceae.

¹³ Available at: <<https://portal.ap.gov.br/noticia/1202/em-2-anos-farinha-de-mandioca-movimenta-mais-de-r-24-milhoes-no-ap>>.

¹⁴ Employer farming is an economic and legal concept adopted in Brazil, which contrasts with family farming, and which relies, in its production, on permanent or temporary employees. This type of agriculture aims at national trade, with emphasis on the region where the farm is located, while family farming focuses on subsistence production and the sale of surpluses.

The data survey indicated that, of the nine reports on processing cassava flour, only the Association of Residents and Remnant Rural Producers of the Quilombo São João do Maruanum 2 has a mechanized production structure. The others are classified as manual or semi-mechanized.

A manual flour mill has all the machines powered by human force, except for the grater powered by electricity, while the term "semi-mechanised flour mill" is used to indicate the flour mills that have a mechanised oven. A flour mill considered mechanised has most of its equipment industrialised and practically no manual work.

Souza (2013)¹⁵ conducted a fascinating study in 3 family groups of producers of cassava flour in the district of Calama, municipality of Porto Velho/RO, regarding the perception of producers on the health impacts arising from the different stages of flour production, using mechanised and semi-mechanised flour houses. The study showed that the stage of peeling cassava was mentioned at least once by all family groups. Therefore, both manual and semi-mechanised flour houses can significantly negatively impact producers' health.

Table 8: Mechanization Level x Critical Activities.

Family groups	Casa de Farinha		Critical activities		Complaints and Pain
	Manual	Semi-mechanised	More tiring	Longer	
I		X	Peeling and plucking	Peeling	Headaches, back pain, joint pain, burning eyes, burning beads, warmth.
II	X		Peel, stand and toast	Peeling	Pain in the leg, elbow, shoulder, under the foot, head, warmth, burning in the eyes and heat.
III	X	X	Peeling and scalding	Peeling	Hip pain, headaches in the eyes, legs, arms, shoulders, wrist, knees, tired eyesight and warmth.

Source: <https://www.revistaacaoergonomica.org/revista/index.php/ojs/article/view/242>

Furthermore, the results of the mechanization of the flour production process are evident in the quantity of flour produced. With manual work, the producer can prepare a maximum of 250 kilos of flour, equivalent to 5 sacks a day. With mechanization, production quadruples and can reach a ton a day, equivalent to 20 sacks. In addition, mechanisation reduces the physical wear of the producers, maintaining the quality of the flour.

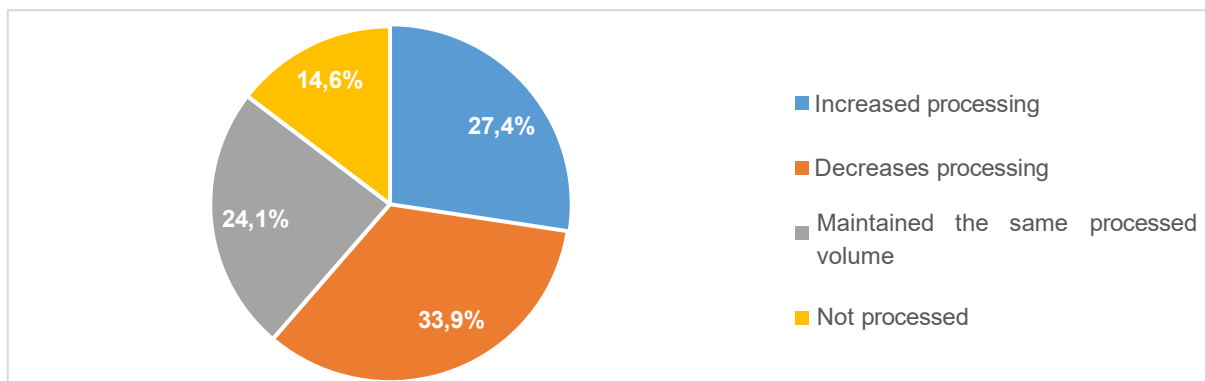
The acquisition of technology to produce flour in a mechanized manner, accompanied by the qualification of producers in Good Manufacturing Practices (GMP), is essential for the economic

¹⁵ Available at: <<https://www.revistaacaoergonomica.org/revista/index.php/ojs/article/view/242>>.

sustainability of the communities since it may represent a significant increase in income and social sustainability, by defining an economy of labour employed in this production chain.

As well as the sharp decrease in crops in 2020, respondents report that there has been a reduction in commonly processed produce. There was a 33% reduction in processing output, and 14.6% of that produced in 2019 was not produced in 2020.

Graph 9: Variation (%) in production processing.



Source: Field research (2021).

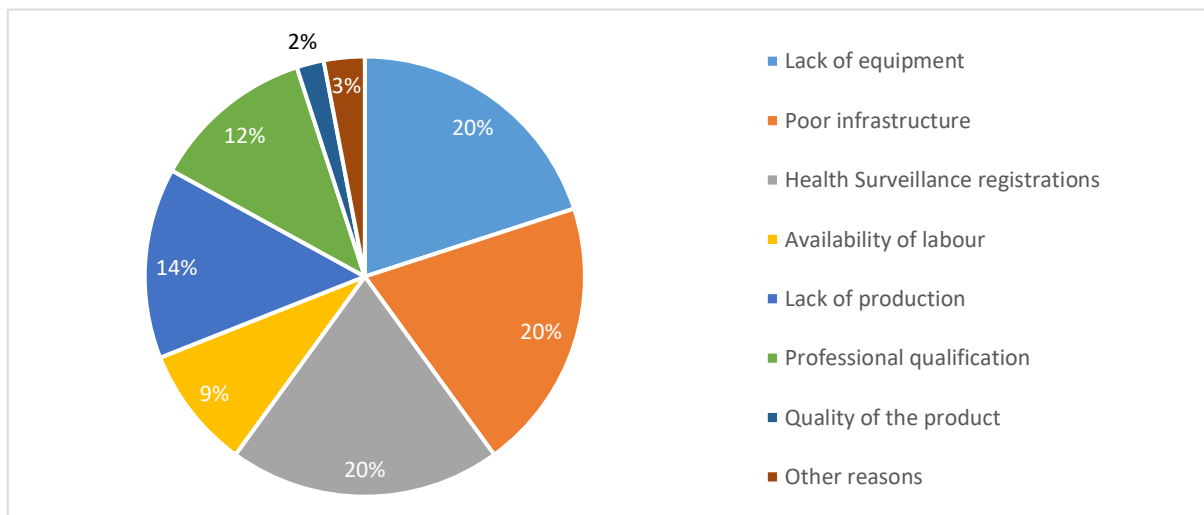
From these data, it is possible to ascertain that in 2020 the processing of the quilombola communities' production suffered an impact of 47.6%. Almost half of what was processed in 2019 was not carried out in 2020. Among the products observed, the processing of fruit pulp was most impacted.



3.1. CHALLENGES

When the interviewees were asked about the challenges that quilombola communities need to overcome to increase production processing, the main challenges are three: lack of equipment, precarious infrastructure, and lack of registration of products with the health surveillance agency.

Graph 10: Challenges to increase production processing in quilombola communities.



Source: Field research (2021).

The lack of equipment is exemplified in the low availability of mechanised flour houses because, as seen earlier, flour production is one of the main economic activities of the communities. Furthermore, flour houses can represent increased productivity, improved product quality and reduced labour effort employed for the activity.

The precariousness of the infrastructure indicated in the diagnosis is linked to the instability of the electricity supply, the low quality of the roads and the lack of agroindustry.

The lack of product registration with health surveillance is directly linked to the low availability of adequate processing infrastructure. The precariousness of processing structures, such as agroindustries, does not allow agencies responsible for health surveillance to carry out certification, which consequently represents a barrier to the marketing of processed products.

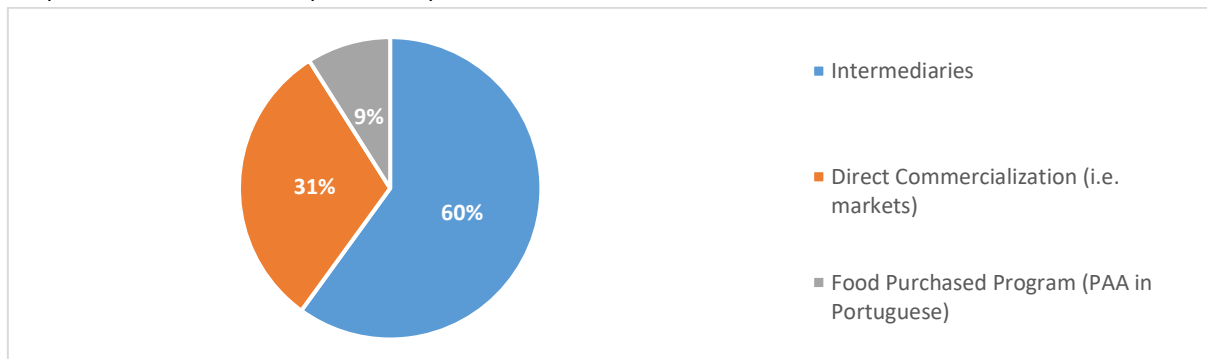
When the interviewees were allowed to report other challenges not included in the list, aspects such as lack of financing, lack of technical assistance and lack of adequate transportation for the distribution of the processed production emerged. The processing challenges are similar to the production challenges.

4. COMMERCIALISATION OF PRODUCTION

4.1. CHANNELS OF MARKETING

The diagnosis addressed the main channels used by quilombola communities to distribute their products. Interviewees could choose more than one channel.

Graph 11: Main outlets for quilombola production



Source: Field research (2021).

It was identified that 60% of the production is sold to intermediaries. The main products are flour, açai and fresh fruit, such as pineapple, banana, cupuaçu, lemon and taperebá. Around 31% sell their products directly, mainly at fairs. Flour is the main product sold through this channel.

According to the diagnosis data, only five organisations marketed products with the Food Acquisition Program (PAA in Portuguese), financed by the Federal Government. They are:

- Association of Resident Farmers and Remaining Quilombo Producers Cinco Chagas do Matapi (provides fruit pulp);
- Association of young people and rural producers of Santa Luzia do Maruanum (supplies: flour, tucupi and tapioca);
- Association of remaining quilombo residents from the Currealinho community (provides pumpkin, banana, watermelon, cassava and vegetables);
- Association of residents and rural producers remaining from the Carmo do Maruanum quilombo (supplying banana, watermelon, passion fruit and cassava);
- São Tomé Cultural Association (flour).

The Food Purchase Program (PAA) purchases food produced by family farmers with exemption from bidding procedures and provides food for people in a situation of food insecurity. In addition, the PAA also contributes to building public stocks of food produced by family farmers and to the reserves by family farming organisations.

Many families practice more than one form of commercialization. Despite this diversity, the families sell part of their products to intermediaries, for lack of a structured outlet and treacherous roads, for example, which reduces the opportunities to access direct sales markets.

4.2. IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FOOD ACQUISITION PROGRAMME (PAA)

Parallel to the development of the diagnosis, contacts were made with the Amapá Rural Development Institute (RURAP), which locally executes the Food Purchase Program (PAA).

Created in 2003, the PAA aims to promote family farming and access to quality food. This is done by purchasing products of this modality by public bodies without the obligation to go through tendering processes.

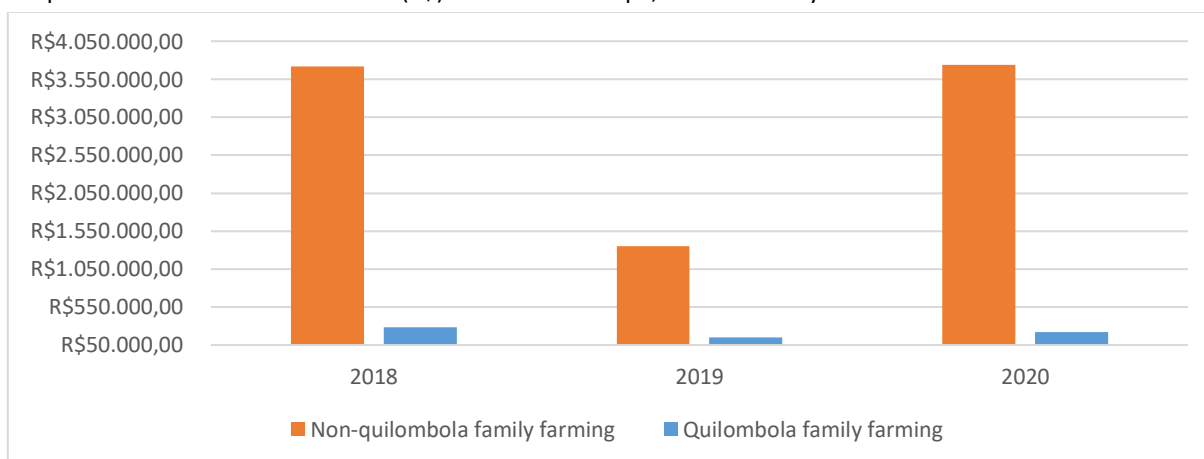
In Amapá, the program has been running since 2009, serving family farmers in 16 municipalities.

The program encompasses six categories: Institutional Purchase, Purchase with Simultaneous Donation, Direct Purchase, PAA Milk, Stockpiling and Seed Purchasing.

In Amapá State, the Institutional Purchase modality is operated through public calls. These products from family farmers are used to supply public hospitals, barracks, prisons, university restaurants, daycare centers and schools, among others. Each family unit can sell for up to R\$ 20,000.00/year.

Between 2018 and 2020, the program invested R\$9,460,000.00¹⁶ in Amapá, of which only R\$653,509.50 was invested in purchasing products from quilombola families. Of the 2,718 families included in the three years, only 164 were quilombolas.

Graph 12: Volume of PAA resources (R\$) invested in Amapá, between the years 2018 and 2020.



Source: RURAP/AP, 2020.

As observed, Amapá's quilombola communities are low participation as PAA beneficiaries. It is necessary to map the challenges communities face in accessing public policies such as the PAA and PNAE.

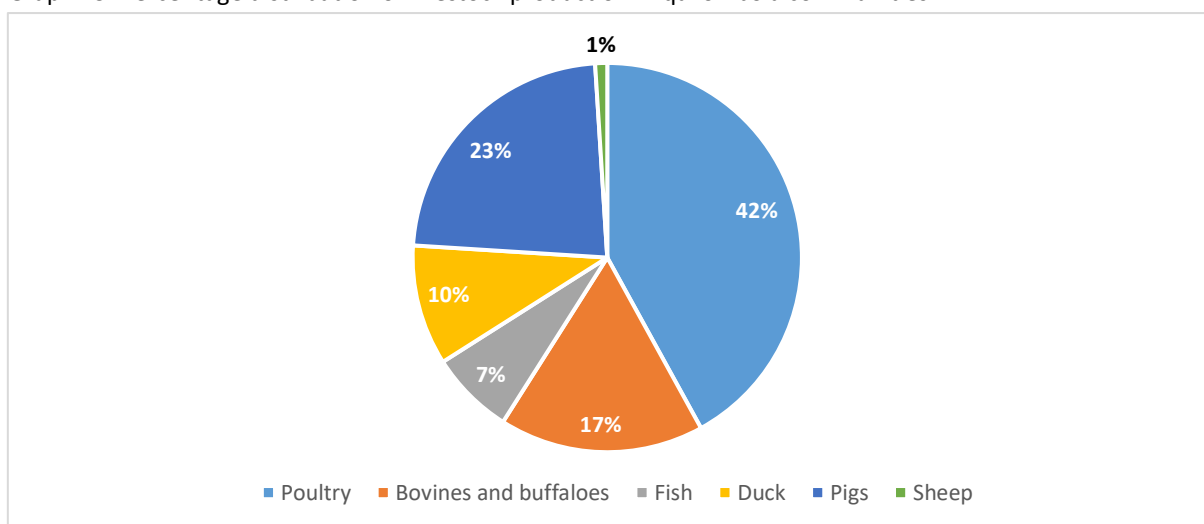
¹⁶ Available from: <<https://www.portal.ap.gov.br/noticia/0303/paa-ja-injetou-mais-de-r-1-milhao-na-agricultura-familiar-do-amapa>>.

5. CREATIONS

Cattle-raising activities in quilombola communities complement food security for families and an opportunity to generate income by selling surpluses.

Concerning the livestock developed by the quilombola communities, based on the interviews, the occurrence of poultry, pigs, ducks, cattle and buffaloes, fish and sheep, in descending order of production, was verified.

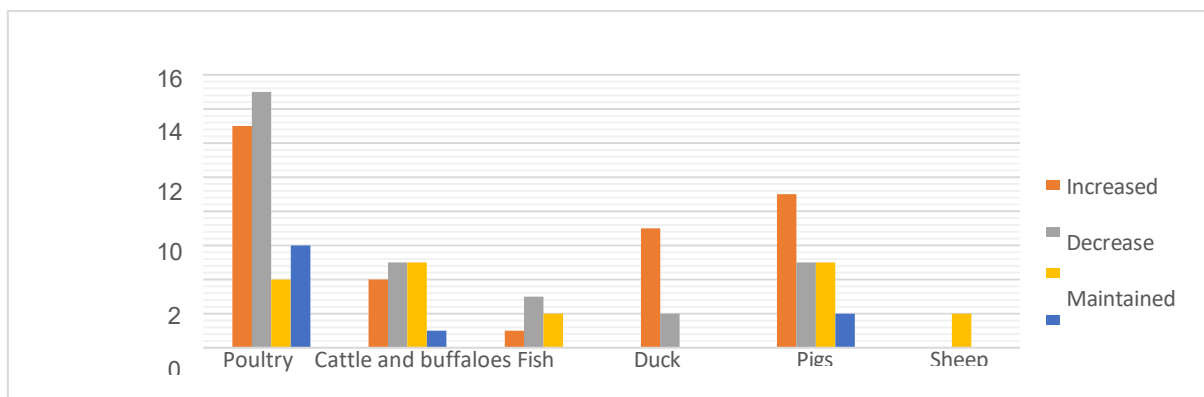
Graph 13: Percentage distribution of livestock production in quilombola communities.



Source: Field research (2021).

Regarding the variations in livestock production in 2020, there was a decrease in poultry, fish, cattle, and bubaline production. However, there was a slight increase in the creation of ducks and pigs. The production of sheep maintained the average of the previous year.

Graph 14: Variations in livestock production in quilombola communities.

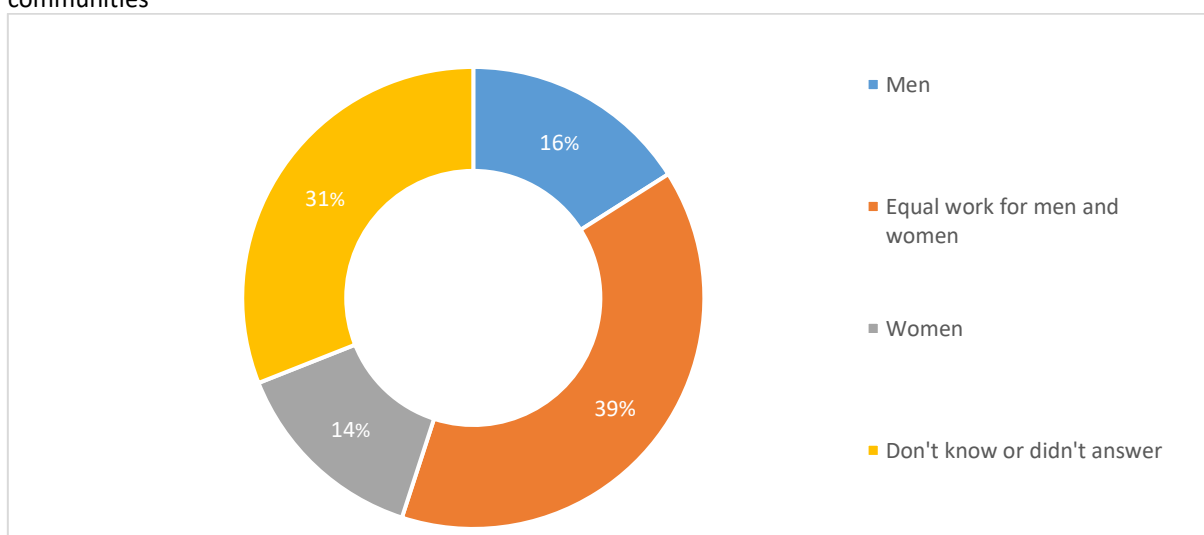


Source: Field research (2021).

It is essential to verify in a future study what factors led to the increase in the production of ducks and pigs in 2020, especially if there is any relationship between this increase and the impacts generated by the pandemic. In the case of the rise in pork production, it is assumed that it may have resulted from the decrease in the commercialization of the same on the local market in 2020.

In principle, the distribution of work between men and women in livestock production demonstrates balance since 31% of the interviewees informed that there is parity in the distribution of work. However, a significant number of interviewees (39%) could not answer this question.

Graph 15: Distribution of work between men and women in livestock management in quilombola communities



Source: Field research (2021).

The marketing of livestock production follows the same gender balance trend as activities related to animal management.

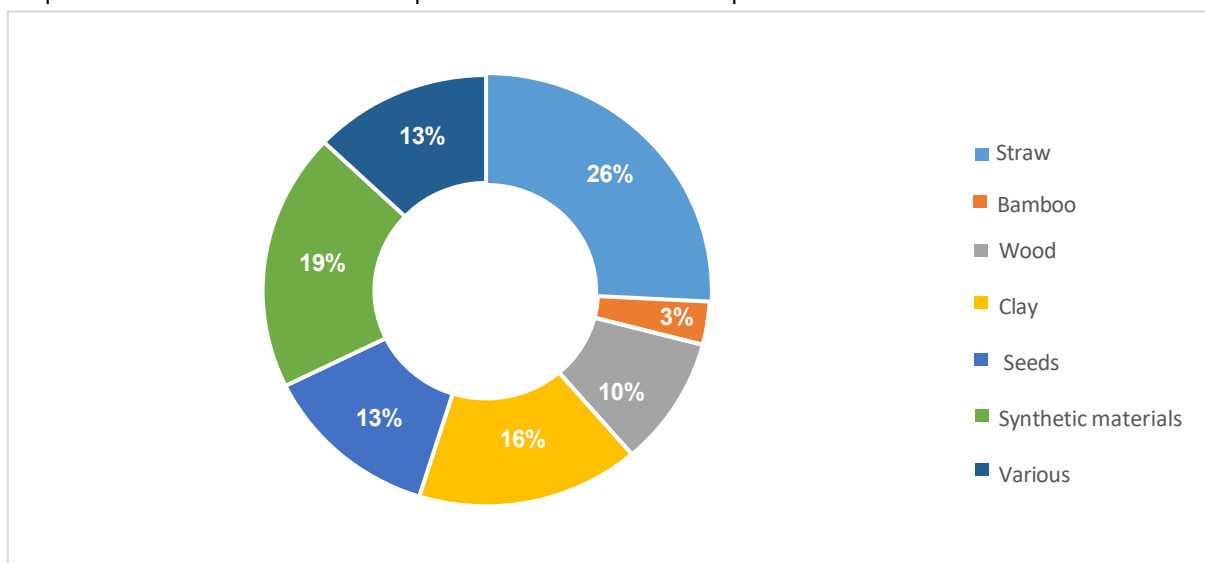


6. HANDCRAFT

In addition, the communities' actions concerning the production and marketing of handicrafts were verified. The quilombola communities produce a great diversity of handicrafts, such as Abano¹⁷, miriti benches¹⁸, bio-jewellery, Marabaixo box¹⁹, dolls, crochet, pots, sieves, clay pots, napkin painting, paddles, tipiti²⁰, vases, brooms, among others.

Most handicrafts are made from natural raw materials, such as straws (26%), mainly from the buriti tree; clay (16%), for making pots and vases; seeds (13%) and bamboo (3%). Some handicrafts are produced using natural raw materials and synthetic materials while, in smaller proportion, handicrafts are made exclusively with synthetic materials.

Graph 16. Raw materials used for the production of handicrafts in quilombola communities.



Source: Field research (2021).

From the perception of the representatives of quilombola communities, in 2020, there was an average reduction of 45% in the production of handicrafts, especially products from natural raw materials. It is suggested that the decrease in production is directly linked to the impacts of the pandemic on local markets.

Although handicrafts are an essential source of income for various traditional communities in Amazonia, a significant obstacle for artisans is the distribution of their production and its commercialisation.

Thus, the diagnosis sought to broaden the information on the markets accessed by quilombola

¹⁷ A type of fan made of straw.

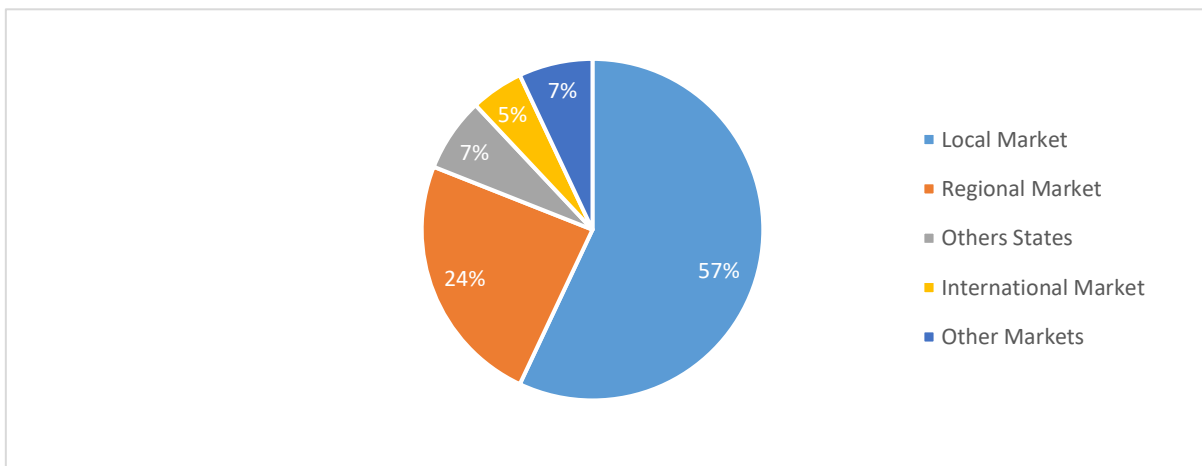
¹⁸ Miriti is produced from the leaves of a palm tree, *Mauritia flexuosa*, popularly known as Buriti, Buri, Carandaí-guaçu, miriti or mutiri.

¹⁹ Marabaixo box or warrior box is a type of handmade box. The marabaixo from the state of Amapá is made of hollowed out wood or recyclable materials and is the main instrument which guides, gives rhythm and sound in the Marabaixo tradition.

²⁰ Tipiti is a kind of press or squeezer made of braided straw used to drain and dry roots, usually cassava.

communities and therefore found that almost 60% of the handicrafts produced are directed at the local and regional markets.

Graph 17. Destination of the handicrafts produced by quilombola communities.



Source: Field research (2021).

The handicrafts produced by the communities have little access to national and international markets. In a future study, it is important to understand what factors influence the regionalization of handicrafts produced by quilombola communities and what actions are necessary for the qualification of production and to access other markets.

It is important to note that the diagnosis includes the Maruanum communities, which are known to produce handicrafts of crockery, such as cups, teapots, cutlery, stoves, platters, and various other items. The handicrafts developed by the communities are made manually from clay and caripé.

In 2020, the municipality of Macapá renovated a space in the city known as the Centre of Louceiras do Maruanum, which aims to disseminate and market the ceramics produced by quilombola artisans. However, the space is currently unavailable to the public due to Covid-19 restrictions. It has undergone maintenance, but has been suffering from bad weather, which damages the recently renovated structure.



7. TOURISM

The main objective of the diagnosis when addressing the tourism activities developed by quilombola communities was to verify what are the impacts of Covid 19 on this important source of income for the communities. In addition to the impacts of the pandemic, it was also possible to verify which activities were developed and how the gender distribution occurs in tourism activities.

Among the activities developed by the communities, several traditional festivals were reported in the communities, such as São Gonçalo, Divino Espírito Santo, São Thiago Festival, Nossa Senhora da Piedade, São Tomé, São Cosme e Damião, Santa Maria and Sagrado Coração de Jesus. Activities to visit communities and the Marabaixo, considered one of the largest cultural manifestations of Amapá, were also identified.

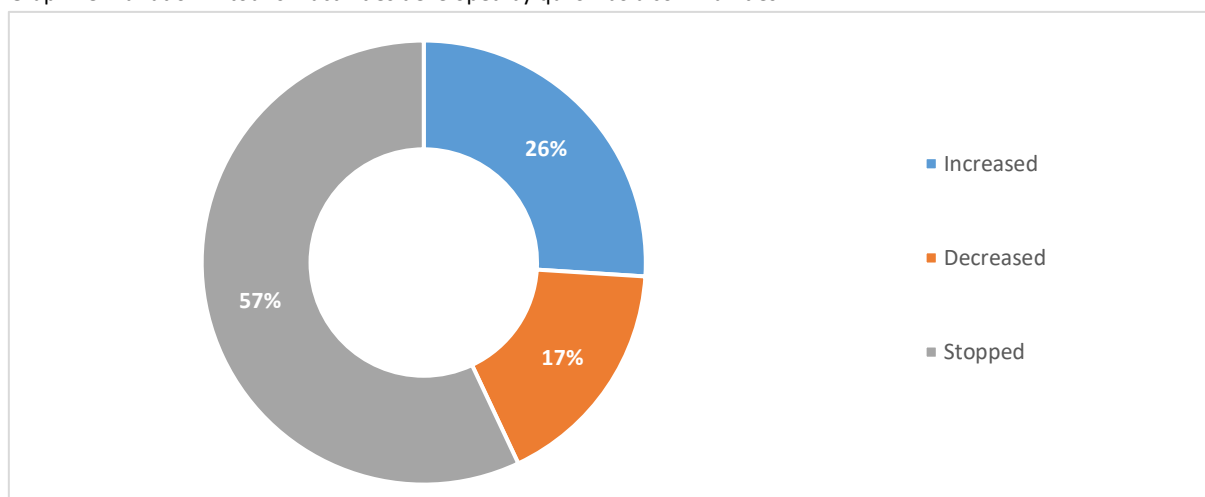
Visits to the bathhouses were also reported, but the assessment did not obtain information on how the communities conduct this activity.

Most of the tourism developed by quilombola communities is classified as Cultural Tourism. This modality consists of the development of a series of activities that provide access to the community cultural heritage, in other words, customs and beliefs that promote the strengthening of quilombola culture.

The tourism activities developed by the communities were highly impacted due to the restrictions on the movement of people, arising from the advancement of COVID-19 in 2020.

The interviewees report that 57% of tourism activities were paused, mainly those linked to traditional festivals and visits to communities. On the other hand, there was an increase of 26% in activities linked to visits to beach resorts.

Graph 18: Variation in tourism activities developed by quilombola communities



Source: Field research (2021)

8. CONSIDERATIONS AND RECOMENDATIONS

Quilombola communities in Amapá have a direct relationship with the land, the location of their form of production and reproduction of family community work, and also a very rich agrobiodiversity, which is directly associated with the cultural, traditional and ancestral baggage of the territories. With the diagnosis, it was possible to demonstrate, even if not profoundly, the relationship of the Quilombola communities with the land, the various agricultural and livestock production systems present and their relationship with the market.

The questionnaire and the current diagnosis had the primary objective of obtaining information on the agricultural practices of quilombola communities in light of the impacts of COVID-19. Although the questionnaire was linked to agricultural production, not all interviewees had precise and systematized information on agricultural production.

The study was carried out with information from a significant sample of Amapá's quilombola communities and allowed the identification of the main challenges and opportunities related to the strengthening of quilombola family agriculture in the state.

From the diagnosis, it is possible to make some recommendations on the main aspects raised in the study.

Quilombola communities show considerable diversity in agricultural and livestock production, directed initially to food security for self-consumption and later for the marketing of surpluses. However, it is necessary to act to overcome the main obstacles present in the production, processing, and marketing of products. According to the diagnosis, the main barriers to increased production are precarious access to consumer centers, production management problems, legal problems, and lack of technical assistance.

The pandemic is an important factor that should be considered in the increase of negative impacts on production. However, the show carried out in 2020 is deemed to have been fundamental for the food security of farming families.

From the point of view of access to technologies in production, the investment in automated/mechanical flour houses is an excellent opportunity to improve the quality of life of the producing families since this equipment can generate increased production, savings in employed labour and increased income generation. The installation of such equipment must be accompanied by specialized technical assistance and the establishment of internal regulations for the management of such equipment by the communities.

Concerning investments in strengthening quilombola family agriculture, we saw in this study that most communities in Amapá have remained distant from investments in public policies such as the PAA.

Considering that public policies for the purchase of family farming food represent an essential way to strengthen communities, it is recommended that communities receive technical support to diagnose the obstacles that lead to their low participation in the PAA and to dialogue with the public body that implements the program to increase their involvement in institutional market programmes.

The diagnosis did not indicate significant differences in the gender division in the development of the various activities inherent in agricultural production by men and women. From production to commercialization, the balance of work is perceptible and valid in handicraft and tourism activities.

A Survey of Quilombola Family Agriculture in the Amazon State of Amapá, Brazil

