# Insurgency, black consciousness and access to higher education: the Quilombos Educacionais experience

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**Abstract**

This work aims to provide an overview of *Quilombos Educacionais – Educational Maroons* -in Bahia, that is, preparatory courses for entry into higher education, whose priority audience is black youth from public schools. Existing since the 1990s, these black organizations, even before the approval of affirmative action laws, promote the teaching of African and Afro-Brazilian histories and cultures and fight for the democratization of universities in Brazil. As a result, we identified that these preparatory courses differ from others due to their emergence in the black struggle and the predominance of the so-called anti-racist pedagogical praxis based on education for ethnic-racial relations.

**Keywords:**

Quilombo Educacional, Pre-university course, Higher Education, Black Movement

## 1. Opening the ways

Education has always been one of the main trenches of the political struggle for the Black Movement in Brazil. Even before the abolition of enslavement in Brazil, black leaders already understood that education was an important instrument of insurgency. There are reports that Cosme Bento das Chagas (Negro Cosme), one of the leaders of the Quilombo – *maroon community* – da Fazenda Lagoa Amarela, located in the State of Maranhão, even created a school of First Letters – *elementary school* – for the quilombolas – *maroons* –, still at the end of the 1830s

(Cruz, 2005). Negro Cosme was also one of the leaders of the popular uprising known as Balaiada.

From May 1888, the year of the formal abolition of the slavery system in Brazil, other black educational initiatives emerged. This is the case of Sociedade Beneficente – *Charitable Society* – Luiz Gama, founded in São Paulo less than a week after abolition. According to Cleber Maciel (1985), the school maintained by this institution, in addition to classes for young people during the day, offered night courses for working students. In addition to this, there are records of other similar black initiatives in the decades following abolition, such as, for example, the initiatives of the Frente Negra Brasileira – *Negro Brazilian Front* –[1], the Teatro Experimental do Negro/TEN – *Negro's Experimental Theater* -, among others. The Teatro Experimental do Negro, one of whose founders was Abdias Nascimento, promoted the National Convention of Negro Brazilians in 1945, and from this convention came the Manifesto to the Brazilian Nation, one of whose demands was: "the admission of negro folk for secondary and higher education and the formulation of an anti-discrimination law accompanied by concrete measures to prevent it from merely constituting a legal proclamation, empty and meaningless" (Nascimento apud Cardoso, 2010, p. 58).

The Black Movement knew that education is one of the main forms of social emancipation, but that simply access to educational systems was not enough, considering that the Brazilian school curriculum is too Eurocentric. Given this, in addition to expanding access to different educational levels, black activism has, over the years, also demanded the inclusion of the teaching of African and Afro-Brazilian history and culture in basic education and higher education curricula.

An initiative that is hardly discussed, but deserves to be highlighted, is the Pedagogia Interétnica – *Interethnic Pedagogy* -, proposed by the Núcleo Cultural Afro-Brasileiro/NCAB – *Afro-brazilian Cultural Center* -, de Salvador. The proposal for Pedagogia Interétnica emerged in Salvador in 1978, the result of research on racial relations conducted by NCAB in partnership with the Universidade Federal da Bahia/UFBA – *Federal University of Bahia*. One of the research coordinators and also one of the founders of the Núcleo Cultural Afro-Brasileiro, the sociologist Manoel de Almeida Cruz says that Pedagogia Interétnica:

is based on the conception of a total language and aims to use the means of social communication, theater, lectures, debates in schools and communities, in order to

explain the causes and negative effects of racial prejudice, racism and ethnocentrism and, thus, create a new school that honors the cultural values of the dominated ethnic groups.

**(Cruz, 1987, p.74, our translation)[2]**

The *Pedagogia Interétnica* included not only black themes but also Native American themes. Furthermore, the proposal was comprehensive, as it was not restricted to changing the curriculum within the school walls, but involved dialogue with the community, and with the arts. Unfortunately, the proposal was not incorporated into the official education system more broadly.

In 1983, the then federal congressman Abdias Nascimento by the Partido Democrático Trabalhista – *Democratic Labor Party* -, one of the most prominent intellectuals and black activists, proposed Bill No. 1,332/83, which was probably one of the first legislative proposals to implement public affirmative action policies within the federal scope[3]. In this project, in addition to the proposition to create quota reservations for black people in public service and higher education, there was the proposition of inclusion, at all levels of education, of the teaching of African and Afro-Brazilian history and culture. It is important to highlight that the bill established the need for the involvement of black organizations and engaged black intellectuals in the formulation and execution of the policy, mandatory annual reports, and the indication of sources of resources for implementing the measures. However, the project was shelved in 1989 without even being voted on by the House plenary.

Two years later, on April 25, 1985, the Bahia State Secretary of Education and Culture published ordinance No. 6,068, which established the inclusion of the curricular component *Introduction to African Studies* in the curricula of primary and secondary schools, public and private. The publication of this ordinance was the result of the struggle of entities of the Black Movement in Bahia, such as the Núcleo Cultural Afro-Brasileiro, the Afro and Afoxé carnival groups, the Movimento Negro Unificado/MNU – *Unified Black Movement* – and the Terreiros de Candomblé (Candomble houses). According to Arany Santana:

The positive effects of the lyrics of the Afro carnival groups' songs at the time, which had the firm purpose of combating racism, uncovering the heroes and

heroines of black resistance, deconstructing misconceptions and stereotypes in textbooks, reinforcing the standard of black beauty, telling the history of Africa (its kingdoms, empires, its riches), value and safeguard African origin religions. All this encouraged Ilê Aiyê, the Movimento Negro Unificado (Unified Black Movement), and the Candomblé houses to request from the Universidade Federal da Bahia (Federal University of Bahia), the State Government, the Universidade do Estado da Bahia (State University of Bahia), the inclusion of African and Afro-Brazilian themes in the curricula of public elementary and high schools, at the time.

**(Santana, 2014, p. 250, our translation)[4]**

Years later, in 2003, was finally sanctioned – by the government of then President Lula – the Federal Law No. 10,639/03, which made the teaching of African and Afro-Brazilian History and Culture mandatory in basic education throughout Brazil. A few years later, in 2012, Federal Law No. 12,711/12, known as the "quota law", was approved, which established the reservation of university places for public school students and black students in federal educational institutions. The brief background we made shows that the approval of these laws was not an act of kindness from the Brazilian government, but rather the result of years of struggle and political engagement by the Black Movement in Brazil. Drawing this timeline is necessary so that we can understand the context of the emergence and importance of the Quilombos Educacionais – *Educational Maroons.*

## 2. The Movement of Quilombos Educacionais – Educational Maroons – in Bahia

The emergence of the QEs, Quilombos Educacionais, is intrinsically linked to the engagement of the Black Movement and its struggle in defense of so-called education for ethnic-racial relations. In 1989, the 40th Congress of the União Nacional dos Estudantes/UNE – *National Union of Students* – took place in Brasília. Gathered there, some black students began to idealize the 1st Seminário Nacional de Estudantes Negros Universitários/SENUN – *National Seminar of Black University Students* -, which would be held four years later, between the 3rd and 7th of September 1993 in the city of Salvador, with the theme: "The university that black people want".

During their university experiences in Salvador, and when participating in the UNE Congress, black youth found that the number of black students was tiny in relation

to the total number of higher education students. From this, they had the idea of creating a pre-university course for black youth. It is in the context of the organization of SENUN that, on July 31, 1992, the Cooperativa Educacional Steve Biko – *Steve Biko Educational Cooperative* – was founded in Salvador, today the Instituto Cultural Beneficente Steve Biko – *Steve Biko Beneficent Cultural Institute*. The name is a tribute to Steve Biko, Stephen Bantu Biko, one of the main leaders and activists in the fight against apartheid in South Africa, and one of the creators of the Black Consciousness Movement.

The Biko, as it became affectionately known, is the first pre-university course specifically aimed at the black community known throughout Brazil, thus becoming the first Quilombo Educacional. But what are Quilombos Educacionais?

“Quilombos Educacionais” is how they are known in Bahia, especially in Salvador, the social pre-university courses aimed at black students. In addition to the specificity of the audience, what differentiates a Quilombo Educacional from other popular/community pre-university courses is its political intentionality. The objective of a Quilombo Educacional is not just limited to the approval of its students in the entrance exam. These organizations value so-called anti-racist training, through a curriculum that prioritizes the teaching of African and Afro-diasporic histories and cultures. Because of this, in the Quilombos Educacionais, in addition to traditional subjects, there is a mandatory curricular component, Cidadania e Consciência Negra – *Citizenship and Black Consciousness* -, better known as CCN, which can appear either as a separate subject (which is more common) or have its discussion diluted throughout the curriculum (Conceição, 2019).

CCN classes focus on discussions about ethnic-racial relations, combating racism, and African and Afro-Brazilian histories and cultures. However, it is up to all classes in a Quilombo Educacional, whether in the area of languages, human sciences, natural sciences, or mathematics, to contemplate the knowledge and practices of black and indigenous peoples.

For this reason, we can consider the Quilombos Educacionais as pioneering institutions in teaching Education for Ethnic-Racial Relations (ERER, as its acronym is known in Portuguese). Even before the approval of Law No. 10,639 of 2003, Quilombos Educacionais already promoted a policy of social reparation and teaching African and Afro-Brazilian history and culture. Even before the enactment of the quota law in 2012, the Quilombos Educacionais were already demanding the reservation of places for black students, even having active participation in the

implementation of the quota policy at the Universidade do Estado da Bahia/UNEB – *State University of Bahia* -, which in 2002 became the second Brazilian university to establish quotas for black students. In this sense, we agree with Nilma Lino Gomes (2017, p. 16-17, our translation) when she states that:

Social movements are producers and articulators of knowledge constructed by non-hegemonic and counter-hegemonic groups in our society. They act as pedagogues in political and social relations. Much of the emancipatory knowledge produced by sociology, anthropology and education in Brazil is due to the educational role played by these movements, which interrogate scientific knowledge, make new themes emerge, question concepts and dynamize knowledge.[5]

In addition, we can say that many (if not all) public affirmative action policies that benefited black people in this country were the result of the actions and struggles of the Black Movement.

As previously mentioned, the first Quilombo Educacional is the **Instituto Steve Biko** – *Steve Biko Institute* -, founded in Salvador in 1992, now 31 years old. Influenced by him, other Quilombos Educacionais were created. In 1999, the **Curso Popular de Pré-Vestibular Quilombo do Orobu** – *Popular Pre-Entrance Course Quilombo do Orobu* – was created, in Cajazeiras V, a peripheral neighborhood of Salvador.

In 2001, there were already many other Quilombos Educacionais: o **Centro de Cultura, Orientação e Estudos Quilombo/** COEQUILOMBO **–** *Quilombo Culture, Guidance, and Studies Center* -, founded in 1999 in the Plataforma neighborhood; the **Curso Milton Santos** – *Milton Santos Course* – in the IAPI neighborhood; the **Quilombo Educacional Santa Bakhita** – *Saint Bakhita Educational Maroon* – in the Sussuarana neighborhood; the **Curso Alternativo Santa Terezinha** – *Saint Terezinha Alternative Course* –; and **Quilombo Asantewaa**, in the Federation neighborhood. All of these, are peripheral neighborhoods of Salvador. In 2001, the **Curso Dom Climério** – *Dom Climério Course* – also existed, located in the Bahian municipality of Vitória da Conquista, and the **Curso de Cruz das Almas** – *Cruz das Almas Course* -, another Bahian municipality. Together, all these aforementioned Quilombos Educacionais founded the Fórum dos Quilombos Educacionais da Bahia/ FOQUIBA – *Bahia Educational Maroons Forum* -, which we will talk about later.

In 2003, the **Quilombo Cabula** pre-university course was created, initially in the community of Engomadeira and, later, also with a center in Mata Escura. In 2004, the **Pré-Vestibular Semear** – *Semear Pre-university Course* – was founded, in the São Gonçalo do Retiro neighborhood in Salvador. In 2006, **Quilombo Ilha** was founded, in Vera Cruz, on the Island of Itaparica. In 2007, in addition to those already mentioned, we have records of **Quilombo Cabricultura**, in the neighborhood of Cabrito de Baixo; **Quilombo MARV**, located in the Itinga neighborhood in the municipality of Lauro de Freitas; **Pré-Vestibular Irmãos Emaús** – *Emaús Brothers Pre-university Course* -, in the Boa Viagem neighborhood; and **Quilombo de Ilha de Maré**, located on Ilha de Maré, belonging to the municipality of Salvador. In 2008, the **Pré-Vestibular Quilombola de Vitória da Conquista** – *Vitória da Conquista's Maroon Pre-university Course* – was founded, in the municipality of Vitória da Conquista.

Almost ten years later, the **Pré-Vestibular Social Quilombo Amigos do Bem** – Pre-*University Social Course Quilombo Amigos do Bem* – was founded in 2016, in the Plataforma neighborhood. In 2017, **Quilombo Educacional Vilma Reis** was founded, which operated at the Faculty of Education of Universidade Federal da Bahia/UFBA and currently operates at the Faculty of Economics/UFBA, in the Praça da Piedade, Salvador (although it is located at UFBA, the project is independent and has no institutional link with the university); and **Quilombo Educacional Kabengele Munanga** in the municipality of Cachoeira. In 2018, **Quilombo Educacional Onnim** was founded, also in Cachoeira-BA. In 2020, **Quilombo Educacional Gbesa** was founded in Salvador, whose classes are online; and the pre-university course of **Instituto Comunitário Princesa Anastácia** – *Anastácia Princess Community Institute* -, in the São Caetano neighborhood. And finally, the **Pré-Vestibular Ana Santos**, which was founded in 2021 and located in the Nordeste de Amaralina neighborhood.

Over the more than 31 years of history of Quilombos Educacionais (1992-2023), we are aware of the existence of at least 22 organizations in Bahia. Of these, only five are still in operation: the Instituto Steve Biko[6], in the Santo Antônio Além do Carmo neighborhood; Quilombo do Orobu[7] in the Cajazeiras V neighborhood; Quilombo Ilha[8], on Vera Cruz Island; Quilombo Educacional Vilma Reis[9], at the UFBA Faculty of Economics; and Quilombo Educacional Gbesa[10], with online classes. We believe that the disappearance of the other courses is due to the difficulties of maintaining an institution with the profile of the Quilombos Educacionais. Several factors contributed to this disappearance: except for the

Steve Biko Institute, none of the other quilombos had or have the ownership of their headquarters. Many operated and/or operate in spaces provided by the Catholic Church. This is because many of these courses were promoted or supported by the Pastoral Afro-Brasileira[11] of the Catholic Church. But their stay in these spaces depended on the goodwill of the priests: a priest gave access to the space at one time, but another priest who arrived later could request the space to be returned.

Another factor that contributed to the disappearance of some courses was the availability of teachers. The teachers at Quilombos Educacionais are volunteers. The work in Quilombos Educacionais is generally carried out by people engaged in black activism. The challenge for many teachers is to be able to balance employment in other institutions, studies (when they are still university students), and teaching work in Quilombos Educacionais. No matter how much you want, sometimes structural and material issues make it impossible to endure. These two factors – the lack of dedicated space for classes and the instability of the teaching staff – are the main causes of the extinction of many Quilombos Educacionais. It is worth noting that these institutions offer pre-university courses for free or at prices well below those charged by the market.

In other Brazilian states, there are pre-university courses with characteristics similar to those of a Quilombo Educacional. This is the case of the Curso Pré-Vestibular para Negros e Carentes – *Pre-University Course for Black and Needy People* -, founded in 1993, and EDUCAFRO in 1997, both in the state of Rio de Janeiro. The two courses also demonstrate concern for the political training of youth and debate racial issues in the curriculum. Regarding EDUCAFRO, an interesting fact is that, like many QEs in Salvador, it also has links with the Catholic Church. The difference between these courses in other states and Bahia is that only on Bahian soil did they become known as Quilombos Educacionais.

## 3. The Fórum dos Quilombos Educacionais da Bahia/ FOQUIBA – *Bahia Educational Maroons Forum*

The Fórum dos Quilombos Educacionais da Bahia/FOQUIBA, was founded in Salvador on October 21, 2001, from the articulation between nine Quilombos Educacionais, seven of which are from Salvador, and two from municipalities in the interior of Bahia. The idea of founding FOQUIBA arose from one of the forwarding proposals approved in an assembly held at the Educational Seminar for the Black Community, promoted by the Centro Arquidiocesano de Articulação da Pastoral

Afro/CAAPA – *Archdiocesan Center for Articulation of Afro Pastoral* -, held in 2001. The objective of holding this seminar was to discuss the Bahian educational scenario, especially about the entry and permanence of the black community in higher education. In addition to the nine Educational Quilombos mentioned above, also participated in this seminar: the Eugenia Anna dos Santos School, founded in 1978, which to this day operates within the Ilê Axé Opô Afonjá Candomblé house, in the São Gonçalo do Retiro neighborhood, and the CEAFRO (*Study and Professionalization for Racial and Gender Equality*) Institute, founded in 1995 and linked to the Centro de Estudos Afro-Orientais – *Center for Afro-Oriental Studies* – at the Federal University of Bahia, also known as CEAO-UFBA. We highlight the pioneering spirit of Escola Eugenia Anna dos Santos and its political-pedagogical project (PPP) entitled Irê Ayó*[12]*, created by researcher Vanda Machado, with regard to teaching African and Afro-Brazilian history and culture in Salvador. Both Escola Eugenia Anna dos Santos and CEAFRO supported FOQUIBA but did not form part of the Forum.

FOQUIBA was responsible for strengthening the Quilombos Educacionais, which began to operate as a network after its creation while maintaining the administrative and pedagogical autonomy of each Quilombo Educacional. The Forum began to establish dialogue between the Quilombos Educacionais and other institutions, whether public or private. Through FOQUIBA, for example, Quilombos Educacionais received support, in 2004 and 2005, from the Secretariat of Continuing Education, Literacy and Diversity (SECAD) linked to the Ministry of Education, which promoted the Diversity Program at the University, a program that supported Innovative Course Projects. Furthermore, FOQUIBA was part of the Municipal Education Council of the city of Salvador, acted in the Permanent Ethnic-Racial Discussion Forum of the Secretariat of Education of Bahia, has already had a seat on the Council for the Conselho de Desenvolvimento da Comunidade Negra/CDCN – *Development of the Black Community Council* -, a body linked to the Secretaria de Promoção da Igualdade Racial/SEPROMI – *Secretariat of Promotion of Racial Equality* – in the state of Bahia.

Between 2007 and 2010, FOQUIBA had a project financed by the Coordenadoria Ecumênica de Serviço/CESE – *Ecumenical Service Coordination* -, through the Programa de Apoio Estratégico/PAE – *Strategic Support Program*. During this project, FOQUIBA promoted training for teachers from Quilombos Educacionais, built content modules for pre-university courses focusing on issues of race and gender, and meetings between teachers, students, and the community in general. FOQUIBA

also played a decisive role in the adoption of the quota policy in Bahian universities and in the exemption from paying the entrance exam registration fee for public school students.

Although it is not known for sure when pre-university courses for black people started calling themselves “quilombos educacionais”, without a doubt, it was because of FOQUIBA that the nomenclature became popular. And the choice to use the term “quilombo” already highlights the insurgent nature of this movement. Historically, quilombos were the most radical enterprise against colonialism and the slavery system. In the face of all the violence, perversity, and dehumanization perpetrated by the colonial system and racism, the quilombo is not only a place of refuge but also a place of strengthening, preservation of ancestry, spiritual practice, and counterattack. According to Clóvis Moura (2001), during the slavery system, it was only in quilombos that black men and women acquired citizenship. Still according to Moura:

The land, the quilombola space, is a free stronghold that also denies the slave property system. […] The quilombola territory is also a dialectical denial of the type of legal property in slavery. The same thing can be said from a political point of view. The quilombo is a stronghold that expresses its radicality through the formation of another power: the Quilombola Power. Only in this way can the quilombo be governed. Socially, quilombo is also an expression of radicalism. It does not reproduce the type of property, family, and income distribution according to the slave system. On the contrary. Economically, its work system, carried out by free men, is another denial of the slave labor practiced on mills, large estates, and farms. Furthermore, it is also a denial of export monoculture, producing polyculture for consumption. At all levels of its structure, therefore, the quilombo expresses this radical denial of the slave social order, its institutions, and its values. (2001, p. 106, author’s emphasis, our translation).[13]

Quilombo dos Palmares (16th and 17th centuries), the largest known quilombo and which was in the region that today comprises the state of Alagoas, is without a doubt the biggest reference for Brazilian black militancy. With the end of slavery in Brazil, in 1888, the idea of quilombo was given new meaning. The two main theorists who will work with the contemporary concept of quilombo are Abdias Nascimento and Beatriz Nascimento. For Beatriz Nascimento (2005, p. 124, our translation):

Quilombo became synonymous with black people, synonymous with black behavior, and hope for a better society. It became the interior and exterior headquarters of all forms of cultural resistance. Everything, from attitude to association, would be quilombo, as long as it sought greater appreciation of black heritage.

During its trajectory, the quilombo serves as a symbol that encompasses connotations of ethnic and political resistance. As an institution, it maintains the unique characteristics of its African model. As a political practice, it promotes ideals of liberal emancipation that, at any time of crisis of Brazilian nationality, corrects distortions imposed by the dominant powers.[14]

As we said, pre-university courses for black men and women not only seek black people to enter universities. They also promote a “greater appreciation of black heritage” and “correct distortions imposed by dominant powers” (Nascimento, Beatriz, 2005), through education. Precisely for this reason, they are Quilombos Educacionais. Now, over these more than thirty years of history, Quilombos Educacionais have helped to increase the number of black students in higher education and, consequently, in professions and jobs. They, even before the State, have promoted social inclusion policies and affirmative actions. Based on this premise, we can also consider other black organizations directly or indirectly linked to education, even if they are not pre-university courses, such as Quilombos Educacionais. Taking the city of Salvador as an example, we can say that institutions such as Escola Eugênia Anna dos Santos, Escola Mãe Hilda Jitolu[15], Escola Olodum[16], Escola Comunitária Maria Gregória dos Santos[17], Instituto Oyá[18] and the afro and afoxé carnival groups that, through their music, educate generations of black people are also Quilombos Educacionais. These organizations promote what Abdias Nascimento (2009, p. 203, our translation) calls quilombismo:

Quilombism was structured in associative forms that could be located within difficult-to-access forests, facilitating its defense and economic-social organization on their own, but they could also assume models of permitted or tolerated organizations, often with ostensible religious (Catholic), recreational, charitable, sporting, cultural or mutual aid purposes. No matter the appearances and declared objectives: fundamentally, they all fulfilled an important social function for the black community, playing an important role in its support. Genuine places of physical and cultural resistance.[19]

It is inspired by the ideals of quilombismo that Quilombo Educacionais have resisted for more than three decades. Even though the scenario has changed in recent years, and the number of black students has increased in universities, the number is still far from ideal, especially in courses that enjoy greater social prestige, such as law, engineering, medicine, dentistry, architecture, and administration. In postgraduate courses, the scenario is even whiter, although the number of black students has also increased in recent years.

Even with all the structural difficulties (lack of ownership of their headquarters) and financial difficulties (financing only occurred at specific moments, as shown above), the Quilombos Educacionais continue to reinvent themselves. Maintaining themselves solely with the goodwill and ideals of the people who make them up, or with the low fees charged to students, these organizations of public benefit and social relevance continue to make history and set an example for the Brazilian State that it is indeed possible to promote what they understand as anti-racist education, which encompasses knowledge and practices of African origin in the Brazilian context.

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## Notes

[1] See: Domingues, Petrônio (2008). *Um «templo de luz»: Frente Negra Brasileira (1931-1937)*.

[2] se baseia na concepção de uma linguagem total e pretende utilizar os meios de comunicação social, o teatro, palestras, debates nas escolas e comunidades, a fim de explicar as causas e os efeitos negativos do preconceito racial, do racismo e do etnocentrismo e, assim, criar uma nova escola que prestigie os valores culturais dos grupos étnicos dominados.

[3] About Bill No.1.332/83, see: http://www.abdias.com.br/atuacao_parlamentar/atuacao_parlamentar.htm

[4] Os efeitos positivos das letras das músicas dos blocos afros da época, que tinham o firme propósito de combater o racismo, descortinar os heróis e heroínas da resistência negra, desconstruir os equívocos e estereótipos nos livros didáticos, firmar o padrão da beleza negra, contar a história da África (seus reinos, impérios, suas riquezas), valorizar e salvaguardar as religiões de matrizes africanas. Tudo isso encorajou o Ilê Aiyê, o Movimento Negro Unificado, os terreiros de Candomblé a

solicitarem da Universidade Federal da Bahia, do Governo do Estado, da Universidade do Estado da Bahia, a inserção da temática africana e afro-brasileira nos currículos das escolas públicas e privadas dos 1° e 2° graus, na ocasião.

[5] Os movimentos sociais são produtores e articuladores dos saberes construídos pelos grupos não hegemônicos e contra-hegemônicos da nossa sociedade. Atuam como pedagogos nas relações políticas e sociais. Muito do conhecimento emancipatório produzido pela sociologia, antropologia e educação no Brasil se deve ao papel educativo desempenhado por esses movimentos, que indagam o conhecimento científico, fazem emergir novas temáticas, questionam conceitos e dinamizam o conhecimento.

[6] About the Instituto Steve Biko, see: Cardoso, Nádia Maria. (2010). *Instituto Steve Biko: juventude negra mobilizando-se por políticas de afirmação dos negros no ensino superior*.

[7] About the Quilombo do Orobu, see: *História e ousadia, resistência na periferia: o caso do Quilombo educacional do Orobu*.

[8] About the Instituto Quilombo Ilha, see: https://quilomboilha.org.br/?page_id=20.

[9] About the Quilombo Educacional Vilma Reis, see: https://quilomboeduvilmareis.wixsite.com/prevestvilmareis/about-us.

[10] About the Quilombo Educacional Gbesa, see: https://www.quilomboeducacionalgbesa.com.br/sobre-nos.

[11] Action of the Catholic Church in Brazil, led by black devotees and priests, which aims to raise awareness in the church of Afro-Brazilian issues.

[12] About Project *Irê Ayó*, see: Machado, Vanda. (2019). *Irê Ayó: uma epistemologia afro-brasileira*.

[13] A terra, o espaço quilombola, é um reduto livre que também nega o sistema de propriedade escravista. [...] O território quilombola é também uma negação dialética do tipo de propriedade legal no escravismo. A mesma coisa podemos dizer do ponto de vista político. O quilombo é um reduto que expressa a sua radicalidade através da formação de um outro poder: o Poder quilombola. Somente assim o quilombo poderá ser governado. Socialmente o quilombo também é uma expressão de radicalidade. Ele não reproduz o tipo de propriedade, família e distribuição de renda de acordo com o sistema escravista. Pelo contrário. Economicamente o seu sistema de trabalho, executado por homens livres é outra negação ao trabalho escravo praticado nos engenhos, nos latifúndios e fazendas. Além disto, é também uma negação à monocultura de exportação, produzindo uma policultura para o consumo. Em todos os níveis da sua estrutura, portanto, o quilombo expressa essa radicalidade de negação à ordem social escravista, suas instituições e valores.

[14] Quilombo passou a ser sinônimo de povo negro, sinônimo de comportamento do negro e esperança para uma melhor sociedade. Passou a ser sede interior e exterior de todas as formas de resistência cultural. Tudo, de atitude à associação, seria quilombo, desde que buscasse maior valorização da herança negra.

Durante sua trajetória o quilombo serve de símbolo que abrange conotações de resistência étnica e política. Como instituição guarda características singulares do seu modelo africano. Como prática política apregoa ideais de emancipação de cunho liberal que a qualquer momento de crise da nacionalidade brasileira corrige distorções impostas pelos poderes dominantes.

[15] About the Mãe Hilda Jitolu School, see: Santos, Aurelielza. (2020). *Escola Mãe Hilda: território insurgente da pedagogia da ancestralidade antirracista.*

[16] About the Olodum School, see: http://blogescolaolodum.wilivro.com.br/index.html@page_id=4.html.

[17] About the Maria Gregória dos Santos Community School, see: https://betemel2.wixsite.com/escolamariagregoria/about-us.

[18] About the Oya Institute, see: https://institutooya.org/web/o-instituto/.

[19] O quilombismo se estruturava em formas associativas que tanto podiam estar localizadas no seio de florestas de difícil acesso, facilitando sua defesa e sua organização econômico-social própria, como também podiam assumir modelos de organizações permitidas ou toleradas, frequentemente com ostensivas finalidades religiosas (católicas), recreativas, beneficentes, esportivas, culturais ou de auxílio mútuo. Não importam as aparências e os objetivos declarados: fundamentalmente, todas elas preencheram uma importante função social para a comunidade negra, desempenhando um papel relevante em sua sustentação. Genuínos focos de resistência física e cultural.