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# Ordinary Management at *Quilombola* Community Paiol de Telha in Parana State: Leaders' Memories About Daily Practices Before They Were Expelled from Their Territory

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## Abstract

The aim of the present study is to learn more about the ordinary management of daily practices based on memories told and experienced by leaders at *Quilombola* Community “Invernada Paiol de Telha - Fundão” before they were expelled from their territory in 1974. Management practices in ordinary men’s daily life are not set from academic knowledge, but rather developed in a very peculiar way based on both their experiences and the context they live in. The qualitative methodology was herein adopted and it meant researchers’ insertion in this community and working with oral and written sources, mainly with oral history. Results have shown that “Fundão”

set conviviality bonds by producing memories in order to turn space into symbolic places. It allowed better understanding their daily lives as space enabling the adoption of verb “to manage” linked to “Knowhow”. It is possible observing that practices adopted before their expelling from the territory were full of activities stressed by residents’ personal and collective repertoires about their routines and by the very essence of their management. Housing, eating and subsistence practices were observed at first, and solidarity, faith and leisure were the target in a second moment. Ancient community leaders “gave voice” to ancestral territoriality by recalling these daily practices. Such a territoriality highlighted the perspective of territory as space for lived experiences, whose relationship between *Fundão* residents and nature (physical and social) aimed at associations full of feelings and symbolisms represented by places.

**Keywords:** ordinary management; daily practices; territorialization; *Quilombola* communities.

## Introduction

The aim of the present study was to learn more about the ordinary management of daily practices based on memories told and experienced by leaders at *Quilombola* Community “Invernada Paiol de Telha – *Fundão*<sup>1</sup>” before they were expelled from their territory, in 1974. From the perspective of traditional knowledge in Business, ordinary management is devalued because it takes into account common people’s “art of doing” (Certeau, 2014) in their daily routines, rather than companies’ doing. According to Barros and Carrieri (2015), knowledge in this management type, which is also known as popular and common folk knowledge, as well as the organizational practices applied to their activities, are always stigmatized and seen as amateur, as lacking professionalism and credibility, and as based on improvisation.

Carvalho (2006) and Holanda (2011) state that business and managerial practices are diversified, and that they could be better understood from the perspective of small details that guide several individuals who manage their own daily lives. It is worth mentioning people who manage their organizations based on preserving traditional ways of doing and acting, such as the case of the herein assessed remaining *Quilombola* community that happens to be the *locus* of the current research.

Accordingly, it is essential answering some questions linked to this choice: How could a research on the management of/at daily lives or on the “art of doing” of a remaining *Quilombola* community contribute to the Business/Organizational Studies Field? After all, what would an organization be? And, what is management? What would be the definition of management to ontologically and epistemologically guide the present research? Can researchers and professors in this field take a remaining *Quilombola* community as an organization?

If one starts from the theoretical assumption advocated by Donaldson (2003), it is possible stating that organizations “would be institutions with clear and defined boundaries that built a series of subdivisions that act in a joined and oriented way towards a common goal” (p. 32). On the other hand, based on Hatch and Yanow (2003), an organization would be the ‘locus’ where people relate to each other to build their own sense of experience and work”. Therefore, this perspective is advocated by the anti-functionalist paradigm, which is herein adopted, since organization is understood as the process according to which people build meanings and consolidate them to live in society (Ibarra-Colado, 2006; Carrieri, 2014).

Thus, can a remaining *Quilombola* society be seen as an organization? Yes, these communities are social organizations or groups of organized people, or, yet, that are getting organized to guarantee their rights, mainly those related to land and cultural traditions bond to this process. In other words, this organization process enables these communities to be acknowledged as symbol of an identity, a culture and, most of all, of a black fight and struggle model. After all, it can work as formal expression of the sense of *Quilombos'* contemporary profile, because they keep specific memories that help telling the Brazilian history. The history of the so-called "minorities" is nowadays starting to occupy minorities' place of subjects, rather than that of mere collaborators (Araújo, 2011; Carraro, 2016).

It is essential pointing out that some research in the Organizational Studies field have taken remaining *Quilombola* communities as social organizations. Silva (2019, 2020) carried out a study about the history, memories and social organization of Luizes community (Minas Gerais State) based on their elders' memories. Results in his study allowed telling the history of the referred community, and it regarded the group's dynamics and its dynamics with other social groups. This finding pointed out that stories and memories can be combined to an identity discourse. Furthermore, his study has evidenced discourses linked to the structural racism that has led to the process that made stories invisible and humanities erased.

Molina, Ichikawa and Angnes (2022) carried out a study about the memories of *Quilombola* women to better understand how daily practices set the territorialization, deterritorialization and reterritorialization process (TDR) at the Remaining *Quilombola* Community Adelaide Maria Trindade Batista (PR). Their results have shown that these *Quilombola* leaders are "women who guard the traditions and their kids' education" (p.34).

Lima (2022) conducted a study at *Quilombola* Community Manoel Ciriaco dos Santos (PR) and problematized the close bond between the legitimate claim for territories by *Quilombola* communities and the sense of fixed territoriality. Their results have pointed out that the process to rebuild history and bonds with the region of origin experienced by part of *Quilombola* communities in Guaíra/Paraná State is not limited to the instrumental and managerial scopes, but it rather has an important emotional dimension.

Accordingly, these studies allow observing that these social organizations bring along other ways of organizing/managing experiences other than those imposed by "magic pills" prescribed by Business gurus. Misoczky (2010) reinforces that organization practices are not the meaning of managerial practices. The cooperation observed in social groups points towards organization practices; thus, they can be considered organizations, based on the definition by the aforementioned author.

Little (2002) states that in order to understand the organization process a group sets with society, it is essential analyzing its cosmography, which is defined by him as the collectively created and historically situated traditional knowledge, ideologies and identities used by this group to set and keep its life organized. A group's cosmography includes its ownership regime, emotional bonds with its specific territory, and the history of its occupation, which is kept in the collective memory, in the use they give to the territory and in the way they defend it.

Therefore, it would not be possible discussing the territory of a given remaining *Quilombola* community without taking into account its daily reality and identity as *Quilombola*. Silva (2020) carried out a study in a *Quilombola* community in Belo Horizonte City (Minas Gerais

State) and stated that self-identification is essential to understand its practices and to differentiate it from the others. Besides, the violence suffered by these communities in present and past times is something that bonds the history of *Quilombola* communities' countrywide, in Brazil. Therefore, in order to open room for such delicate matters, research on individual and collective memories become an important investigation source.

Territory, in these communities, is built over stories, memories, identification, conflict between nature and man, and over their own ways of both living and creating at the time to work the land, over their celebrations and/or specific religions, on a daily basis. Accordingly, the concept that remaining *Quilombola* communities are resistance organizations was herein adopted, so they are taken as "spaces to build alternative organization possibilities" (Barcellos & Diniz, 2016, p. 685; Barcellos; Dellagnelo & Salles, 2014, 2017, p. 17). It is real when it comes to shine light on a multiplicity of social experiences turned into waste by the dominant organizational discourse. Thus, there are organizing experiences that challenge the dominant model (Carrieri, 2004; Misoczky; Flores & Böhm, 2008; Morais & Paula, 2010).

It is clear that the general aim of the research is not linked to the traditional Business field, as first approached by Silva (2019). With respect to the current study, its aim was to disclose the management of daily routines from the perspective of the interpretative paradigm. The present study starts from the ontological and epistemological assumption that management is relationally and socially built over daily life. In other words, there is a whole diversity of organizations based on different shapes, structures, people, contexts and history (Carrieri; Perdigão & Aguiar, 2014). It is necessary restating the need of reassessing the social-place of both the subject and the social practice based on action and history rescue.

Thus, by bringing along the study of daily routines by Certeau (2012, 2014), the current study also highlights his sense of respect for daily strategies and tactics that form social practices accounting for these communities' survival and daily arts of doing. From this perspective, daily life is used as socially built territory where individuals and groups of individuals get related to produce memories and to make history in order to turn spaces into "symbolic place" (Certeau, 2014). According to Carrieri (2014, p. 27), "there is something extraordinary in ordinary life". Based on his own words, the sense of daily life as routine and habits arena, of no change and no reflection, must be replaced by a new sight over daily life as space for possibilities.

Based on Carrieri (2014), it is essential defending the understanding of the symbolic, historical, identity and emotional dimension of a territory called *Quilombola* community. It means seeing the extraordinary in the ordinary profile of this daily routine. Thus, by learning about the ordinary management of ordinary daily practices, based on memories told and experienced by older leaders at *Quilomobola* Community "Invernada Paiol de Tellha – Fundão" and on understanding the territorialization process lived by residents in this community before they were expelled from their territory in 1974, it will be possible better understanding the historical and hard way of the tenuous and endless "management of doing" of/on the daily lives of these individuals. It will be done from the perspective of a long economic, social, moral and cultural process suffered during the process to expropriate its lands.

Therefore, based on the expropriation and expelling suffered by Invernada Paiol de Tellha *Quilombola* Community "heirs", the current research discloses symbolic learning about these subjects in their daily lives. At this point, one finds the research question that has guided its

conduction: How was the ordinary management of this remaining *Quilombola* community before it was expelled from its lands?

Why cannot the territorial unit be the element granting the sense of belonging to this *Quilombola* community? As herein exposed, so far, the process to break the social-territorial profile of the assessed community was remarkable. In geographic terms, the cores of “Invernada Paiol de Telhado – Fundão” were split among three municipalities, but it remains culturally and symbolically bond by the “fight to get their lands back. They are together in this sense of belonging since the 1990s, and they have been supported by both the Land Religious Ministry and the Legal and Anthropological Research Advisory of the Center for Studies on Identity and Inter-Ethnic Relations (NUER) of Federal University of Santa Catarina (UFSC), which have started this group’s organization process by creating the Heleodoro Association for the Reintegration of Invernada Paiol de Telha – Fundão. This Association now coordinates legal actions and processes to adjust the group to Art. 68 of the Transitional Constitutional Provisions Act, also known as ADCT.

According to Buti (2009), Heleodoro Association creation made the group gather members who were living out of Guarapuava and Pinhão cities, which held the largest concentration of Invernada families, to get together and organized as group. Together they can get back the lands inherited from Dona Balbina - this story will be herein told. In late 1998, Invernada Paiol de Telha Center was launched by the National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform (INCRA), as well as the other Centers (Guarapuava, Pinhão and Barranco), based on their respective Associations. Thus, from 2004 onwards, this Settlement center led to a managerial structure that has enabled the search for its acknowledgement as Remaining *Quilombola* Community. It was done to get back the territory inherited from its ancestors, as provided on Article 68 of ADCT and on Decree n. 4.887/2003.

The (re)signified concept of “*quilombo*” was herein used to achieve the aforementioned goal. Almeida (1996) and Gusmão (1995) stated that groups nowadays seen as remaining *quilombo* communities were formed from a large diversity of processes, including flees to occupy isolated free lands, and from the inheritance, donation and granting of lands based on paying services to the State, on simple settlement in lands they used to occupy and on farming inside large properties, as well as the act of buying land at times of slavery and after abolition.

Thus, by adopting a broader view that takes into account the several origins and histories of these groups, a new name to identify them as remaining *quilombos* would be “land of the black” or “black territory”. It would emphasize their peasant collectivity condition, which is expressed by the act of sharing a territory and an identity (Schmitt; Turati & Carvalho, 2012).

Nevertheless, it was only after the 1988 Federal Constitution and the Article 68 of the Transitional Constitutional Provisions Act (ADCT) that discussions about the classic concepts of remaining *Quilombola* communities emerged. This Article was the factor accounting for great mobilization by *quilombos* countrywide. It was quite surprising for researchers because of the large number of communities that have claimed for their rights. Brazil was not aware of so many *Quilombola* territories and of the injustice faced by most individuals living without the ownership of the lands they have occupied for decades or centuries.

These legal provisions allowed researchers to suggest the possibility of relativizing and adjusting some criteria in the discussion agenda to build the concept of “*quilombo*”, so that most groups that nowadays effectively claim for their land ownership-titles could be placed into a

category that can prove the social and ethnic identity shared by a given group, based on previous studies, as well as the ancient occupation of their land and their “resistance practices regarding the maintenance and reproduction of ways of life typical of a certain place” (Andrade, 2001, p. 76).

Accordingly, for a long time, invisibility and silence were *Quilombolas*' strategy to resist without being observed or buttered by the hegemonic society. It was from the 1988 Constitution onwards that they started being noticed. It is interesting observing that many communities refused to talk about their origin, but nowadays they seek lost memories from their *Quilombola* past in order to test their identity and to stand as legitimate target of policies set by the federal government (Carneiro, 2010). From this perspective, the words “*re-quilombing*” or “*quilombing*” rise as strength element among the remaining communities. In other words, it emerged from the visibility resulting from legal instruments. Many communities that had been forgotten, or that were erasing their past, started making several efforts to rescue their *Quilombola* identity.

This is why it is impossible disregarding the fact that daily life is associated with political issues. These matters – managing of/within daily life - comprise power and resistance relationships. Therefore, the historical approach combined to the investigative category in/of daily life in Paíol de Telha – Fundão Community was herein adopted as shown in the research by Silva (2019, 2020), Lima (2022) and Molina (2022).

This is why daily life in these communities is featured by constant struggling for being acknowledged by their daily routines and organization, which is different from that adopted by the rest of the national population. This resistance takes place through clear conflicts in land-demarcation processes (territory in its material and economic sense). However, this perspective was not taken into account in the present study, but the symbolic perspective of territory applicable to this remaining community.

## **Ordinary management of/in daily life and the territorialization process**

How can one discuss the territory of traditional people and communities apart from daily life? Barros and Carrieri (2015) state that studies in this field open room for “the daily life potential of common people, participants, as the way to acquire knowledge that are not made real by people’s practices: several subjects who exert practices and who do not have their action acknowledged” (p.28). Therefore, the epistemological positions by Certeau (2012, 2014) and Certeau, Giard and Mayol (2012) were herein adopted because individuals’ micro-resistance possibilities are more often approached by these authors, since they focus on the art of doing ordinary things in their studies.

According to Certeau, the daily action is the reaction to the unique history, which represents the claim for space and value for actions taken by subjects in their daily lives by embodying survival practices, strategies and tactics (Vilas Boas and Ichikawa, 2020). Certeau (2014) aims at finding the common individual based on its acts, gestures and common talking when he stops to hear their daily routines. He defines these individuals as ordinary, as a power type built by accident, randomly, by different situations at an accidental time, a power that has not an organized core, and that lacks a project and enforced “plotters”. According to Certeau (2014, p. 57), this individual is an “ordinary, anonymous hero, an outspread character and uncountable walker”.

Thus, Carrieri, Perdigão and Aguiar (2014, p.176) state that the “subjective heuristic knowledge is hard to be articulated based on experience into an art of doing” when he regards the “art of doing” in daily life. This individual opens room for “ways of practicing”, for a “mocking freedom of practices”. These ways of practicing regard social situations (Certeau, 2014).

It is essential mentioning that the studies by Certeau (2012) about daily life practices are not new in the Organizational Studies field. There are several studies addressing these strategic and tactical concepts, such as the ones conducted by Saraiva and Carrieri (2014), Honorato and Saraiva (2016), Cabaña and Ichikawa (2017), Ribeiro *et al.* (2019), Correia, Costanzi and Carrieri (2020), Saraiva and Ipiranga (2020), Magalhães and Saraiva (2021), Caleffi and Ichikawa (2021), Costa Júnior, Chagas and Oliveira (2022), among others.

According to these studies, Certeau (2014) states that this strategy is set when one observes the other from a place where one sees something visible and set, and has power over. Strategy, within this association, refers to calculations, and it occupies a space of its own. Accordingly, strategy regards a practice that counts on a place typical of imposition (Cabana & Ichikawa, 2017; Correia; Costanzi & Carrieri, 2020).

Tactics, in their turn, are introduced by the aforementioned author as diverting actions that have unpredictable outcomes. “It is the absence of ownership, since ones’ place is the place of the other” (Certeau, 2014, p. 26). Thus, different from strategy – which aims at producing, mapping and imposing -, tactics give birth to different ways of doing. They are the very result of ordinary men’s wisdom and of their inventive skills, since they allow these individuals to lose free from control companies and to become players in the herein referred game. Tactics are practices aimed at subverting the dominant order. They depend on vigil to capture their likely gains during the flight. Yet, whatever is gained, is not kept (Cabana & Ichikawa, 2017; Magalhães & Saraiva, 2021).

However, there is a way to detach place from space in the relationship strategy, and tactics take place. Thus, the concept of place advocated by Certeau (2014) assumes and draws well delimited and set fixed spots where elements are placed one by the other. This place is ruled by the law of “ownership”, according to which strategies are set and consolidated. Therefore, one can understand the place as established position, indication, a crystal clear profile that produces the effects of the stopped time, of a given past. This space holds “direction vectors, speed and time variables” (p.202), i.e., there is no ‘ownership’ stability in the space, and tactics are set by the lack of it. Thus, space is understood as a practiced place, as the action by subjects.

Accordingly, the definition of space proposed by Certeau (2014) was herein adopted. It establishes that space is the place practiced by historical subjects, since these subjects can make supporting or disrupting interventions for power technologies in their daily lives. It would create other places that are not typical of a given space. In other words, the aforementioned author makes it possible understanding the space set by actions, which is timely drawn. There might be the transgression of borders, and such a fact can turn places into spaces.

Thus, differentiating space from place, based on Certeau (2014), is not in compliance with the definition of territory as a mere geographic space. It is necessary understanding territory as something created from space production based on interference of human actions deriving from symbolic expressions, rather than from defined and geographically articulated places. Therefore, there is the possibility of articulating different spaces within the limits of a controlled place in space.

The controlled place, in its turn, is organized by a series of strategies that control and ensure stability within a dynamic body. Thus, daily practices allow re-signifying and taking possession of a given space (Vilas Boas & Ichikawa, 2020). This is the reason for working with the daily routines of ordinary folk, based on social relationships these individuals set with their own routines, on how they organize their survival practices and how they set the use and sense of space in them, as well as the network of relationships set within this territory.

So, by understanding that daily practices are reinvented in the most different socio-spatial contexts, one can ask: how does this management process of/in/with daily life take place? Research based on ordinary management assumptions suggest working with a reality focused on daily expressions. According to Mattos (2010, p.36), “daily manifestations can be understood as those according to which civil society creates and recreates itself based on producing and enjoying common assets”. Therefore, daily management takes into consideration interactive, representative and symbolic processes related to lived experiences. According to Mattos (2010) and Carrieri (2012), such aspects are built with daily actions (organizing, managing), and this factor makes them different and takes them into a relevant social category for Business.

From this perspective, the way *Quilombola* Community Paiol de Telha - Fundação “heirs” organize their daily lives would not be taken as management if the study had adopted the traditional concept of management (functionalism). Nevertheless, by adopting an ordinary management position (daily life), which is experienced by residents in the herein assessed community in their daily context, it is possible seeing the act of “conjugating verb ‘to organize’ in the sense of existing” (Holanda, 2011, p. 26).

Thus, assuming ordinary management and taking it as relational, intersubjective and built process set over daily life is challenging. It means considering the inter-subjectivity involved in management processes and how this reality is socially built. It regards subjects’ social, historical and daily interactions. According to Carrieri (2014), ordinary management is a social and cultural practice supported by daily routines based on the plurality of codes, references, personal and relational interests.

In addition, studies on ordinary management of/in daily life – of/in *Quilombola* Community Paiol de Telha – Fundação – is reinforced by the perspective from which this community is a socially built “territory” whose subject and group of subjects are related to identity construction aimed at turning the “space” into a “symbolic place”, as stated by Certeau (2014). Thus, territory, as experienced space, is simultaneously built as system and symbol. It is a system because it gets organized and hierarchized to respond to needs and functions held by the group that has built it. It is symbolic because it forms itself around geographic poles that represent political and religious values that express its worldview.

Therefore, territory was herein conceived as a set of representations, behaviors, investments, time and social spaces. It is territory of use, because it is formed from the socioeconomic practices and conditions of its residents. This is the environment where a community’s collective identity is produced. The sense of territory approached in the current study is close to the understanding adopted by Correia de Andrade (2002) and Soares (2007), according to whom, it is conceived from the appropriation of a given space by a social group – it changes the use a place was destined for, as well as imprints the identities of this same community.



Why was the explanation for territorialization herein used as process rather than just as concept? Because, based on traditional peoples and communities, the concept of territorialization can trigger conflicts. According to Oliveira (1998), the concept of territorialization understood by indigenous groups is bond to the colonialist presence that has imposed a new relationship with the territory. This process has led to changes at several levels of socio-cultural spheres.

Based on Oliveira's approach, territorialization is not a movement used by a human group to take property of a given space in order to turn it into a territory, but "the imposition of a fixed territorial base often set by the State to incorporate ethnically different populations" (Oliveira, 1998, p. 55-56). The territorialization process, in its turn, can be associated with the ethnic movement in Latin America. According to him:

What I am herein calling territorialization process is, actually, the movement through which a political-managerial object – in the French colonies it would be "ethnicity", in the Spanish America "*reducciones*" and "*resguardos*", in Brazil "indigenous communities" - turns into an organized collectivity to formulate their own identify by creating decision-making and representation mechanisms, and by restructuring their cultural ways. (Oliveira, 1998, p. 56)

Therefore, Oliveira's main concern was to highlight that both territorialization and territorialization processes, which have core implications in the phenomena forming ethnic identities, besides deriving from a historical fact, namely: colonialist presence. From the perspective of the so-called historical anthropology, he adopted the sense of territorialization process as the way to get away from the idea of inherent quality observed in the sense of territorialization (Oliveira, 1998).

Carrieri (2012) points out that the territory embodies symbolic projections and humans fulfill it with their experiences, affection, and organize it based on their own cultural features. Therefore, one can understand the simultaneous territorialization process applied to the place to be turned into territory space where life memories, experiences and projections end up turning it into a practiced place.

It is worth highlighting that violence against *Quilombola* communities in Brazil has racist foundations. In other words, racism is a structuring element of both power relationships and the country's history (Moura, 1987). These communities emerge as black resistance and insurgence symbols within the very origin of this process, which is applied as strategy to cope with the slavery system, whose essence remains alive to present times (Buti, 2009). Thus, the slavery society has never accepted the "*quilombo* phenomenon".

Accordingly, one can easily agree that violence against *Quilombola* peoples is not only supported by institutional racism, but also by the epistemic and economic racism that sees black lives as disposable and, therefore, unhuman. This statement can be justified by the fact that, so far, Brazil, from the political and individual-rights' viewpoint, was not able to pay its historical debit with *Quilombola* peoples and slavered people. Almost all *Quilombola* communities settled from the slavery abolition process after 1888 lived and still live based on actions aimed at taking them from their land. The process to expel them from their land is related to economic pressure

linked to the expansion of what was conventionally called agribusiness, as well as to full racism (Hartung, 2004).

## Pathways taken throughout the research

The herein carried out investigation is essentially qualitative because it was mainly based on hearing the narratives of community leaders through an approach that has created bonds between researchers and participants. This approach “suggests proximity so that the research can understand context’s subjectivities and, from this point on, set a mutual reciprocity relationship with participants” (Academy of Management Journal, 2011, p. 235).

Accordingly, bibliographic, documental and field sources were used to achieve the aforementioned goal, and they were simultaneously applied. This choice made it possible taking peculiarities of the herein assessed community’s constitution, development and historical/social/cultural trajectory closer to its reality. Thus, the historical approach was not used as synonym of past, but as process based on the assumption that past and present mean the same and give meaning to each other. These aspects allowed learning about management of/in daily life in this community. The adopted perspective was the one from which present and past are entangled and give meaning to each other.

Based on the aim of the present study and on the consent of community residents, choice was made to work with oral and written sources. Therefore, the Oral History was chosen as research guide, for it takes back the “perception of the past, because it remains today (...) and this is what gives social sense to the lives of deponents and keeps the commitment to the social context” (Ichikawa and Santos, 2010, p. 182).

Because the herein approached leaders are older adults (elderly) and illiterate, and because daily practices in remaining *Quilombola* communities are taught through generations by storytelling, the oral history method was used for data collection based on memory reconstruction. Memories were the main data source. Not memories understood as individuals’ memorabilia in a trunk from which one can take out a past event any time and context, but as memories that lead to the possibility of setting associations between the one who speaks and the conditions in which it is said, and it includes to whom and why it is said.

From this perspective, field visits were the elements allowing leaders’ oral memories and narratives to join the construction set to help better understanding the lived, narrated, memorized and recalled experiences. After all, as stated by Thompson (1998, p. 44), oral history “takes history inside the community and pull out history from inside it”, and it gives its members the sense of belonging.

Documental sources were also used during the research for information and data collection, besides interviews, chats, observations, pictures and narratives about this topic that were not just built from leaders’ memories, but from the community’s history, which was chosen to be added to the results. It is important pinpointing that interviews took into account the aspects to be approached and that researchers’ attitude was based on that advocated by Certeau (2012). Although researchers in the current study were open to “meet the other”, they were not limited to provide participants with a list of previously defined questions.

Interviewees were selected by prioritizing leaders who had lived in the community before they were expelled from its territory in 1974, since they witnessed the entire land-expelling process. Field visits allowed observing that “current residents” are dying, as well as their experiences with “Fundão’s non-registered history and it will only live in the memories told” (Field note, 2019). This “memory told” will get lost after these individuals die.

Thus, the following inclusion criteria were taken into account: a) leaders who lived in the community before the expelling process and who have return to it, nowadays; b) concern with ‘keeping alive’ the practices of their ancestors. It allowed screening the interviewees available during field visits. This screening process led to 10 leaders who witnessed the whole violence process suffered by this community. Only one of them did not agree on participating in the research and 1 leader could not participate because of health issues. Data were then collected from eight participants up to March 2020 (before the COVID-19 pandemic) based on previously appointed interviews and on interviewees’ availability.

Interviewees were in the age group 65-104 years, six of them belonged to the female sex and 2, to the male sex. Of this total, 4 (Lúcia, Joana, Izabel and Maria) had lived in Fundão before the expelling process and 4 (Carlos, Francisca, Maria and José) were living in neighbor cities and farms to work. Names labeling the participants are fictional in order to keep their identities secret. Each adopted name was chosen by the interviewee itself. Before starting the interview, participants were enlightened about the Free Consent Form and about research secrecy. Collected data transcription, mainly interview data, followed the methods by Bom Meihy (2006), Whitaker (2000), Barros and Lopes (2014). Whitaker (2000) advocates that the moment for both interview transcription and reference-choosing for material analysis purposes are the main elements for oral history analysis.

It was possible configuring the provided scripts after the transcription process was over and after systematizing narratives about the oral history of the management process applied to/in daily routines. Based on Boje (2000), it represents at least one fraction of the mosaic of this community’s daily routine and territorialization process. All the adjustment process applied to the collected narratives followed recommendations by Barros and Lopes (2014), who argue that the process to tell stories and narratives must encompass the dynamics of getting adjusted to the needs and specificities of each research.

Thus, categories were set based on interviews’ axis-words to reorganize information according to the research’s theoretical references, mainly by means of “axial coding”. This stage allowed identifying situations, actions and interactions, and to set an analysis’ logics based on narrative fragments. This procedure aimed at reconstructing the symbolic history of the assessed community to gather all elements identified in time and space. They spoke about the different spaces, strategies, contexts, values and meanings by ordering all the collected material not just in each trail, but also in its association with other materials.

Therefore, data dialogic and negotiated collection sources were used together to build a narrative fragment. The idea was to introduce a linear and chronological history, as already mentioned. However, it must regard a fragmented analysis of reality, because the territorialization process is complex and interconnected to daily reality.

## Invernada Paiol de Telha – Fundão: the first remaining *Quilombola* Community in Paraná State

According to Hartung, Santos and Butti (2008), the Fundão area claimed by this community (nowadays recovered by it) is located in Reserva do Iguaçu municipality, Central-Southern Paraná State. It is part of Guarapuava Microregion, which comprises Pinhão, Candói, Foz do Jordão, Mangueirinha, Coronel Domingos Soares and Bituruna municipalities. These municipalities were old spots where cowboys from Rio Grande do Sul State, going to São Paulo, used to stop at in order to rest.

Data from 2017 collected from the website of *Fundação Cultural dos Palmares*, Paraná State, point out that approximately 38 *Quilombola* communities live in the state, and 36 of them are already certified as such. Only *Quilombola* Community Paiol de Telha – Fundão is certified in the state's Central-Southern region. However, although it is acknowledged as traditional community, be it by other remaining *Quilombola* communities or by its significant mobilizations, its representativeness did not stop the expropriation process from taking place and from dividing its members into geographically separated groups.

According to Berg (2014), the history of these *Quilombola* communities was not drawn from the “image of runaway blacks” (p. 42), but from that of lands legally donated by landlord Miss Balbina Francisca de Siqueira to her thirteen “freed slaves”, back in 1860, “the so-called Invernada Paiol de Telha – Fundão” (p.28). Land sharing - although it happened after Miss Balbina's inventory was disclosed, in 1866 – was an action described in her will, which was written by her husband, Manoel Ferreira dos Santos, who died in 1852.

However, the legal heirs never took effective possession of the 3,000 hectares of land donated to them by Miss Balbina. It is possible saying that Invernada heirs have “never” suffered from a spoliation process, if one takes the early years after land sharing as milestone. The lack and inaccuracy of documents to testify the limits of the inherited land were linked to narratives that report stories according to which Pedro Lustosa de Siqueira, Miss Balbina's nephew, would have manipulated the land borders to be given out, in 1866 (Hartung, 2004). It means than from Miss Balbina's death until the legal possession of the donated land, legal land heirs waited 6 years until they could live in it - but, still, even after that, they remained without total access to it.

From this point on, Paiol de Telha – Fundão lands were the target of several claims and illegal appropriations by Miss Balbina's family, by land grabbers and of land expropriation by the State government of Paraná back in the 1950s, at the beginning of the German immigration to Guarapuava region. Since then, and over the 20<sup>th</sup> century, mainly between 1970 and 1974, this land was under intense legal dispute. Legal heirs claimed for land ownership in Court. In 1974, the land was sold and registered in public certificate, in the name of *Cooperativa Agrária Agroindustrial*, during Paraná State's colonization process. This is the time when legal heirs of “Invernada Paiol de Telhado – Fundão” were forced to leave the land, and it was the factor forcing residents to split into smaller groups.

After being expelled from their land, residents in the *Quilombola* area were forced to move to neighbor municipalities (Guarapuava, Pinhão and Reserva do Iguaçu) and to spread into urban areas in these three municipalities. Accordingly, for forty years, this community was split into four different groups: a group of families camped on the slopes of a road linking Reserva do Iguaçu to Pinhão (Slope Group), close to the claimed land; another group was located in Guarapuava

municipality (Guarapuava Group), group 3 was in Pinhão municipality (Pinhão Group) and the last group was settled in Paiol de Terra, at Socorro Colony, Entre Rios District, Guarapuava municipality (Settlement group). This fact allows inferring that what gives this population the sense of black belonging is not its territorial unit, but its memory and the acknowledgement of its common ancestry (Butti 2009; Felipe 2015).

As observed so far, the social-territorial destruction process was remarkable. In geographic terms, the groups of *Quilombola* community “Invernada Paiol de Telha – Fundão” were split into three municipalities, but they were culturally and symbolic linked by struggles (re-territorialization) to get their land back. Once gathered based on its sense of belonging, from the 1990s onwards, and with full support from the Land Religious Ministry and from Legal and Anthropological Research Department of the Center for Studies on Identity and Inter-Ethnic Relations (NUER) at Federal University of Santa Catarina (UFSC), the group started its organization process by creating Heleodoro Association for the Reintegration of Paiol de Telha – Fundão, which coordinated legal actions in legal spheres and processes to adjust the group to Article 68 of the Transitional Constitutional Provisions Act (ADCT). According to Buti (2009), the group gathered members who were living outside Guarapuava and Pinhão cities after the aforementioned Association was created. These groups held the largest number of Invernada families and the association encouraged them to get together as group to get the land they had inherited from Miss Balbina back.

Invernada Paiol de Telha Settlement was launched in late 1998 by the National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform (INCRA), as well as those of other Settlements (Guarapuava, Pinhão and Barranco) and their respective associations. Fundão Settlement allowed establishing a managerial structure from 2004 onwards as only resource used to seek the territory inherited by their ancestors, and their acknowledgement as Remaining *Quilombola* Community, as provided on Article 68 of the ADTC and on Regulating Decree n. 4.887/2003.

Then, in 2005, Paiol de Telha - Fundão was acknowledged as *Quilombola* community and certified as such by *Fundação Cultural Palmares*, and it allowed the community to issue a managerial process at National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform (INCRA) to claim for the ownership title of Invernada old territory as *Quilombola* territory – the claim is still under analysis. Furthermore, the construction of a new *Quilombola* identity enabled emphasizing the groups’ collective peasant condition in the region, as well as the ancestry of its occupation in their territory and their typical ways of life, which is defined not just by territory sharing, but also by a built and reinterpreted identity (Carraro, 2016).

Finally, in 2015, Decree n. 15 from July 22, 2015, about Fundão land expropriation (1.460,4374 hectares) was signed. This territory is as big as the territory Paiol Community had occupied before it left its land in 1974, and that was in the hands of the Agrarian Cooperate.

After this decree was signed, 40 families that were living in a settlement at Road PR 469, the so-called “Slope”, could occupy an area of almost 90 bushels named *Quilombola* Territory Invernada Paiol de Telha – Fundão. However, it was not yet properly registered. Part of this ownership title was granted in April, 2019. The National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform (INCRA) issued the title for part of *Quilombola* Territory Invernada Paiol de Telha – Fundão. Therefore, it was the first *Quilombola* community to be certified in Paraná State, and still

there is the 5-year deadline for 300 families that still live in Guarapuava and Pinhão, and at Socorro Colony, to return to their rightful land.

### ***Rightful lands: daily life ordinary management and territorialization at Fundão***

According to Bonnemaïson and Cambrèzy (1996), the territory is embodied by culture in order to reinforce and express the symbolic relationship set between culture and space. Thus, the aforementioned authors develop this view to think about territory as spaces full of material values, as well as of symbolic, emotional, ethnic, spiritual, behavioral and body values.

Based on Certeau (2014), although social sciences are capable of assessing traditions, languages, symbols, the arts of exchanging that form a culture, they still miss formalisms to assess how people re-appropriate these practices in their daily lives. On the other hand, he sees that every human activity can be taken as culture, but it is not necessarily so, or it is not truly acknowledged as such, because “in order to have culture, it is not enough to be the actor of social practices; these social practices must have a meaning for the one who performs them” (p.142).

Fundão is a common-meaning territory shared by the group and it becomes locus in the daily space where knowledge is developed. This knowledge ethnically features this differentiated community. Knowledge refers to the “experiences of life” (Escobar, 2005, p.15), it is formed by moments of practices, signification and understanding of the world. These moments are found in the space and in the emotional and symbolic space of the daily temporality. Accordingly, the present article approaches the act of “living in Fundão before the de-territorialization”.

#### *Living in Fundão: daily labor and eating practices*

Living in a giving place is much more than just inhabiting a house at a certain geographic coordinate. It means, most of all, feeling like belonging to a physical environment where one builds a universe of meanings to belonging, to skills or territories (Fischer, n/d). These meanings regard a process whose people turn places into something personal, where they have physical and social domain of, due to activities that point out their personal and collective repertoires. This way of acting over a place happens based on life experience and cultural acquisitions whose repertoire defines a sense of both belonging to a place and social commitment (Calegare and Higuchi, 2013). Thus, leaders’ narratives about how to live in Fundão shine light over the following territoriality:

001: Our house was always crowded. **There was lots of good food.** Each person would bring some and it would become a party. **Water was clean. Food was not poisoned. There were the bushes, we planted, but we did not pollute like today. My father taught me and my siblings to respect nature, without nature everything dies, we die, the animals die, the crop dies. ‘Lets’ plant according to the moon and with what earth gives us, he would say’.** (Lúcia, interviewee 1, 2020, our highlights)

002: Life was good, even if sometimes were did not have **much food.** I never starved at Fundão, because **we had a crop, sweet potatoes, maize, sometimes we did not have meat, but we cooked corn soup and we did not starve.** (Francisca, interviewee 6, 2020, our highlights)

At first, the testimonies showed life at Fundão, which, according to Lúcia (001) and Francisca (002), was full of feelings and sociability. They clearly highlight that space appropriation through community life used to give purpose and meaning to daily conviviality activities that were part of their daily routines. Accordingly, “food” was an aggregating factor in their lives because it made people closer to each other in Fundão community. Therefore, these narratives make it possible understanding that the act of ‘eating’ was a practice encompassing the community’s eating habits at the time. It is possible assuming and agreeing that:

Food is a historical category, because permanence patterns and changes in food habits and practices are substantiated by social dynamics itself. Food is not any food. Getting fed is a nutritional act, eating is a social act, because it is linked to attitudes, uses, mores, protocols, conducts and situations. No food that gets into our mouth is neutral. Thus, a community can express permanence systems, meanings, social relationships and their collective identity in food. (Santos, 2011, p. 108)

With respect to the food culture, Lúcia (001) highlights water without pollution, the forest, respect for nature, integrated planting systems. These narratives show that Fundão, at that time, focused on the daily production of their material, emotional and symbolic existence, based on an intrinsic relationship with nature. That daily ‘doing’ at Fundão fed “knowledge” within the dialogue with nature. It regarded the very cosmology adopted to guide the best moment for planting and for harvesting, by seeking to optimize what could be offered. This knowledge would be considered “built knowledge” produced within the specific territorialization process. It was done to ensure the group’s reproduction, and knowledge was passed from generation to generation, a fact that brings a specific territoriality in its core.

When questions regarded the main means of survival used in Fundão, the narratives showed subsistence agriculture (polyculture) and ‘free-breeding’ livestock as core perspective.

003: We were committed to plant, harvest and live. There were animals, such as pigs, besides cattle on **lands where they were bred free** at Fundão. This **land was free**, good soil, you could plant whatever you wanted to plant. Everything would flourish, if you planted a crop, beans, potatoes, everything, it would all grow. (Carlos, interviewee 2, 2020, highlighted by the authors)

004: Our warehouses were full of cheese, **and we planted everything in forest crops**, we have jobs, but we also struggled a lot. Potatoes were so good, cassava, milk, pork meat in the pan. (Maria, interviewee 4, 2020, highlighted by authors)

Based on excerpts from Carlos (003) and Maria’s (004) narratives, Fundão residents were settled in this territory as farmers whose production was mostly focused on their families’ survival. “Crop” was pointed out as remarkable element of stories told and it reflects the community’s way of life, at the time. Labor practices, mainly those linked to agriculture, which involves the group’s material survival, are indicative of a “farmish” tradition, which has crossed the very existence of a *quilombo*.

Thus, it was possible observing that subsistence agriculture, which is an ancestral inheritance, is an economic mark of this community. There is also livestock and farms focused on breeding other domestic animals, and this practice was combined to inheritances based on using

the collective territory. In other words, cattle were bred free, just as other domestic animals; they fed on native grass from Fundão fields (Field notes, 2020). According to Berno, this organization form emerged from agriculture as “search for alternatives to different peasant segments in order to ensure the material conditions for their existence, mainly after the disintegration of the colonial system” (Berno, 1989, p. 38).

This way of managing animals in ‘free fields’, at that time, was a tactic that, later on, became a strategy (Certeau, 2014) of this community, since some other peasant communities used it to fight “border invasions” by local farmers in order to “get more land”. This strategy meets what Berno also observed in his research with indigenous individuals, peasants and *Quilombolas*.

Such ways imposed themselves not just as production need, since it was supposed to open crop areas and to dominate forest areas and old woods, only one family unit was not enough, but, mainly because of political self-preservation reasons. Common-use systems become essential for free access to land in comparison to the most powerful ones. (Berno, 1989, p.172-73)

Maria (004), in her turn, mentions ‘forest crops’. She reported that ‘forest crops’ were good to plant beans, maize, pumpkin, peanuts and cassava. They were managed by families based on a rotation system to ensure native-forest regeneration in small areas opened in the vegetation. “Backyard crops” were the ones placed near the house or on the shadow of big trees on the backyard. These crops would benefit from organic waste and manure that fertilized the land (Field notes, 2020). According to Carlos, ‘backyard crops’

005: were a job for women, it means, they planted, harvested, fertilized, everything that was supposed to be consumed at home, like spices, medicinal plants, small green leafs, a little bit of cassava, a little bit of potatoes. (Carlos, interviewee 2, 2020)

According to these excerpts, livestock activities in the territory were diversified and developed along with agriculture. Economic management in Fundão was based on transforming nature to survive, and it was the very origin of multiple knowledge types and of creating a way of life based on common practices. It is clear that there was a link to nature and to what is provided by it. This is the way of affording oneself and its family. In order to do so, it is important arguing about how and which artifacts residents organized their daily work with.

They have reported:

006: We planted beautiful things, the family all together, there was respect, **one helped the other, if had a crop to plant and to harvest, we would get our scythe, machete, hoe and bell. Women did not stay home, even when children were young, everybody went farming, cleaning the bushes**, women did not stay home. (Izabel, interviewee 5, 2020, highlights by authors)

007: **There was a calendar for planting the crop.** Moon phases, for example, food grown under the ground, such as roots and tubercles, must be planted when it is bright, from new moon to full moon; food grown on soil surface must be planted when it is dark, from waning moon to new moon. **We used the pestle, stick and the hoe on a daily basis. Wood burning stove in the kitchen.** (Joana, interviewee 3, 2020, highlights by authors)



Narratives by Izabel (006) and Joana (007) showed the division of labor at crop plantation, which took place in a collective way, based on everybody's help – men and women. Carlos adds by explaining how this division of labor happened between men and women:

008: Tasks regarding food were distributed. Men often removed animals' guts when they were slaughtered for consumption, women cleaned the house and cooked. **Women worked backing bread in clay ovens along her neighbors and punching the pestle.** Everybody worked in the crop, work was common at the crop, cleaning the soil, preparing the earth, sowing, cleaning the crop, taking off the grass. (Carlos, interviewee 2, 2020, highlights by authors)

Accordingly, narratives 006, 007 and 008 highlight that residents used sickle, axe, hoe, machete, stick (wooden instrument used to beat beans), ratchet (instrument used to sow seeds), pestle (to pound coffee), wood stove, among other fundamental tools to work and plant.

In addition, the older adults told that wood, clay tiles and straw were the main raw materials to build houses. Native forest wood was the source to manufacture household utensils, such as press, screw, trough and pestle, and it shows that people in Fundão were familiar with the local ways of 'doing' with wood (Field note, 2020). The next excerpt exemplifies how houses were built at that time:



**Figure 1:** Fundão house in 1970

Source: Nova Cartografia Social dos Povos e Comunidades Tradicionais (Fascículo11) – 2008

Carlos also reported that, at first, crop lands were chosen in the forest and they were taken as common asset of all residents who treated and fertilized it as common asset that should be managed for the reproduction of generations. This expectation was not fulfilled after they were expelled from their land in 1974 (Field notes, (2020).

Carlos explained the difference between ‘cooked land’ and ‘raw land’, and rescued the traditional ‘coivara’ practice. Several residents in Fundão “spread fire” on earth to burn organic matter and turn it into ashes. It was done to make it easier and faster for the soil to absorb mineral-origin nutrients – it, initially, favors agricultural production. Whenever there was land available, this practice was performed between rest or performance intervals. This procedure would ensure mineral and biological life accumulation in the soil (Field notes, 2020).

According to Américo and França Dias (2019), fire management, planting and later site abandonment after the harvest season was the procedure ensuring forest regeneration. Based on this system, ashes and the organic waste left on the soil, such as thicker branches, on the site help correcting the soil because they decompose and contribute to seeds’ fertilization.

Accordingly, the territorialization process can be understood based on older adults’ memories, which assumed a collective organization that entangled labor relationships and eating habits shared because of the land, due to polycultures (subsistence agriculture), and of small scale livestock, besides extraction activities. Thus, the land would embody a symbolic and economic collective-use pattern, and field areas used for natural grassing were in compliance with the wood extraction for planting “crops” aimed at subsistence. However, these practices were not the only ones rescued through elderlies’ memoirs. The next section introduces the cooperation and religious practices that were also part of this territorialization process.

### *Solidarity, faith and leisure at Fundão: cooperation, religiosity and celebrations*

According to Pidner (2011), solidarity as organization principle is among the main features typical of traditional communities. In this case, joint efforts are often adopted in a region located at Fundão, and they are popularly called “puxirão” by its residents. *Puxirão* is an example of cooperation practices that can be claimed for those who are in need, or it can be also offered by neighbors. Thus, whenever a *puxirão* is scheduled to accomplish a given task, there is not payment for it. In any case, the solidarity relationship is sealed by the beneficiary’s moral commitment to answer to the call for help by those who have helped the requester before.

009: **We used to make lots of *puxirão*.** We (the women) would cook for the people going to the crop, **they [the men] worked during sunlight and at night, the day after, there was a party to the people, it was very nice, everybody would dance, eat, but nobody demanded from others, people always helped one another. We were all a group.** (Maria, interviewee 4, 2020, highlights by the author)

010: **People would get together to work, what we used to call *puxirão* before is no longer called like this nowadays, now it is called joint effort, but they were already used to *puxirão*.** (Joana, interviewee 3, 2020, highlights by authors)

011: **We would get organized like: men would go to the crop and women stayed at home: lunch and preparations for the party at night. At lunch, women would take all the pans to the crop.** (José, interviewee 8, 2020, highlights by authors)

According to Maria (009), Joana (010) and José (011), community cooperation structure was observed among residents. These narratives disclose that *puxirão*, besides being a cooperation tactic (because it went against the individual planting movement common at that

time) in labor activities. It is important highlighting its emotional profile, which is essential to form a broad network of relationships capable of connecting residents to the neighborhood through group support.

Francisca (interviewee 6, 2020) reported that celebrations at the end of *puxirão* were based on an agreement among families that exchanged experiences regarding knowhow and several tasks, such as *crivo*, medicinal formulations, culinary recipes (for women) and sowing (for men). All this learning process would also happen along with celebrations (Field notes, 2020).

Based on Calegare and Higuchi (2013), *crivo* is a tool formed by a ring covered with a mesh used to sieve and clean grains or seeds. *Crivo* allows removing undesired solid substances mixed to the grains. When grains pass through *crivo*, it is possible separating the smallest and biggest element from them due to the thin mesh. Thus, it is possible ruling out useless impurities. If one passes wheat through the *crivo*, the straw goes off. Holes in *crivo*'s mesh have different sizes depending on its use, i.e., it is a special sieve used with different changeable mesh types. Such a feature is achieved depending on what one wants to remove.

Therefore, *crivo* was often used as kitchen utensil for flour sieving. However, besides sieving flour, women also adjusted its use to other activities – to embroider, for example. Francisca describes this adjustment, which was herein understood as DIY by Fundão's women, in the words by Certeau (2014). Celebrations at the end of *puxirão* efforts were not the only ones rescued by leaders' collective memories. There were other festivities linked to religious practices.

Religion issues were also approached during the research. However, before *puxirão* (deterritorialization), religious practices were linked to the Catholic Church. Fundão was bond to the Catholic Church, because legal heirs were baptized and followed all Catholic rituals. Nevertheless, the priest would only go to the community once a year, given the distance they had to cover on horseback. Carlos reports,

012: The priest would come on horseback; there were some very far regions, so he would leave Fundão to Pinhão. He would visit a region by making the '*desobriga*' by working in the "Faxinal" and would go to "Faxinal dos Coutos". (Carlos, interviewee 2, 2020)

**Researchers: What is *desobriga*?**

013: My dead father used to say that priests would make visits in communities to set good relationships. That was the reason why they worked for the church. Yet, religion is important. (Carlos, interviewee 2, 2020)

According to Montenegro,

The so-called '*desobrigas*' in Brazilian hinterlands were real Crusades and they played a civilizing role. Priests created spiritual bonds to the populations and set commitment relationships between the church and communities, which oftentimes did not have any relation to the State. (Montenegro, 2001, p. 66)

Thus, Carlos, by saying that they "were visits priest made in communities to keep good relationships" shows some sort of "democratically correct" procedure.

014: (...) **during the priest's visit to the location, he would conduct ritual and sacraments, such as baptism and marriage. It is a time for celebration when neighbors would gather to attend services. When the priest was in town for the celebrations, we would dress up.** (Carlos, interviewee 2, 2020, highlights by authors)

Thus, the narratives helped understanding that religious traditions had a meaning at Fundão, and it encompassed salvation and respect to God. It is so, because they "could not go to hell, and children could never live without baptism, and residents wanted to get married under God's blessing" (Field notes, 2020). The times the "priest was in the community" allowed residents to get the "sacraments" and to, simultaneously, set tight socialization bonds through "celebrations". Joana reports:

015: There were times when the priest would come once every two years. But, you know, even coming only every once in a while, **Fundão elderlies (my parents and grandparents) always looked forward to keep religious teaching and traditions by respecting holy days and participating in public ceremonies and devotions**, such as processions and Holy Week rituals, Week of Sorrows, among others. **They taught us how to pray, mainly before going to bed, and to ask God and the Saints for protection.** (Joana, interviewee 3, 2020, highlights by authors)

Thus, Joana (015) makes it clear that the role of teaching children and youngsters was often played by old leaders. These people would teach the younger ones, the kids, the neighbors, and this religious tradition they got from their ancestors would cross generations (Field note, 2020).

016: **We had saints on the walls in Fundão houses. Some saints were made by wood, by the older residents. Others were made out of crivo.** The rosary was often made of grass seeds. All houses in the neighborhood had pictures of saints. (Joana, interviewee 3, 2020, highlights by authors)

According to Joana (016), residents would try to keep the images of their saints in private spaces, be them in the form of clay sculptures or of pictures on the wall. Thus, a religious symbol was only in the house, and images would often be placed on altars or on some small tables. His speech discloses the catholic prayers said during the services (when the priest was in town) and '*novenas*' taking place in people's houses.

In any case, residents would subvert the logics of the dominant church. In other words, despite the "small church that no longer existed", residents only attended service in it when the priest was in town. Most of the time, although residents could use the church building they would rather "make the rituals and payers at people's houses". At this point, one finds the tactic (Certeau, 2014) used by "Fundão's people": "we would go to church just for the priest to see that we were there, but when he was not seeing, we would pray at home" (Field notes, 2020).

Joana's (016) narrative proves the devotion and rituals to saints in residents' houses and it is an expressive element of popular Catholicism, i.e., the one deriving from the people and from their traditions, without systematic and dogmatic control by the official ecclesiastic institution (not using the church building when the priest was not in town). Yet, faith was limited to prayer and

promises to saints and to trust in their intersections. This ritual was organized by the community itself, which recycled its religiosity based on its “use” in daily routines.

Assumingly, “devotion to saints” emerges as element best featuring popular religiosity in the community. In other words, far from the interference of church representatives (services and prayers at home), the faithful created and recreated a “given mocking freedom away from the eyes of the dominator” (Certeau, 2014, p. 23) in order to find their own ways of communicating to their protectors.

Accordingly, the religious dimension at Fundão has straight link to popular Catholic elements that were expressed by devotion to saints and to their festivities. Based on the reports below, the community did not worship a specific saint, but celebrated “The Day of All Saints”.

017: **I don’t remember to have a common saint to the community. Each one had its own devotion saint.** But everybody respects the Day of All Saints with lots of praying. (Carlos, interviewee 2, 2020, highlights by authors)

018: Praying and celebrating at Day of All Saints was good. It was good to us. **We organized the praying day.** Everybody would come, **all together, to meet relatives and friends.** (Izabel, interviewee 5, 2020, highlights by authors).

Excerpts from Carlos (017) and Izabel (018) show elements that pointed out “The Day of All Saints”, which is a faith ritual followed by prayers the community would pray in each house. This ritual would end up with a religious celebration. It is clear that this celebration type mixed faith to party, it regarded a space for reinforcing social bonds, a space for generations to meet and for tradition rescuing, as well as a moment for community leisure. Therefore, it was essential to celebrate life. However, *Saint Gonçalo* had its own celebration day. Beatriz reports,

019: At midnight, they would serve coffee and cake, and would dance for Saint Gonçalo. A line of men to one side and a line of women on the other side. Two boys holding the flags, one red (for men) and one green (for women). And we would dance crossing the flags. Crossing. When we got to the altar, we would take three steps forward and three backwards, and we would kiss the altar. And we would say, at loud voice: Long live, Saint Gonçalo of Amarante. (Beatriz, interviewee 7, 2020)

This dance has a gathering and socialization profile. In other words, it is a way to thank the miracles made to all, and the one paying the promise would afford the dance in its house and would invite all relatives and friends from neighbor communities. The faithful would dance and sing to the saint during the celebration. Simultaneously to “Saint Gonçalo’s Fest”, according to Lúcia, there was also the “Holy Spirit Fest”.

020: The Holy Spirit Fest had the Emperor character, who would conduct the ritual. The Emperor was the highest authority. We would choose the emperor among the oldest ones, every year, as an award. This flag is held by guitar players and women. We all could join the fest. We were quite close to each other. On the day before Pentecost, we all together went to a procession and to raise the Divine flag on the mast. It was like that. (Lúcia, interviewee 1, 2020, highlights by authors)

According to Lúcia (020), the “Holy Spirit Fest” was pleasant, because people would link it to joy and union. There was a horizontal relationship during this celebration (everybody could join it) in the community, at its preparation and conduction. In other words, the group would subvert the order during the fest because it would salute and celebrate the Divine flag; there was no intervention by priests, or by Catholic Church’s authorities.

Thus, Lúcia highlights that the “emperor was the highest authority” during the whole process to organize and manage the event’s activities. Therefore, the emperor represented the royalty, and it was in charge of promoting the party along with assistants who would lead to singing, dancing and praying, as well as the activities to call for and celebrate the Holy Spirit.

Along with the aforementioned celebrations, old leaders also mentioned the Recommendation of Souls ceremony, which was also a common religious practice.

021: There was “Quaresma”. We would go recommending in the house at dawn, there was the group recommending the suits [suit here means the procession]. There were several suits and if a suit was already in a house, the other could not go in. The ones inside would leave the house in silence so the other could come in. we would sing at the door and playing the ‘matraca’. We would go singing like:

*Open the door household  
Because this suit wants to go in  
Has other suit taken off?  
We want to praise.*

Then, the household would open the door, and we would go in singing and praying Our Father. If the suit met face-to-face, everybody had to kneel and say: God save this meeting that we want to praise in the other. (Beatriz, interviewee 5, 2020)

Based on Beatriz’s (021) description, this tactic would gather a group of faithful who would leave the house late at night and go to the streets during ‘Quaresma’, singing songs and praying to praise the souls. Children did not use to participate (Field notes, 2020). The group would walk on the streets (which were and still are trails) and would only go in the houses if the household would allow it to.

Residents explained that their grandparents used to say that the “Recommendation of the Souls” was celebrated to the saints who were holy mediators of the beloved one who had died. They would be like a dancer or procession follower, the faithful could get “graces” due to souls’ mediation. The mediation would be expressed as “recommendations of the souls” (Filed notes, 2020).

*Quaresma* is a 40-day Easter-preparation period that starts on Ash Wednesday. Based on the oldest leaders, this time was always busy. The “Recommendation of Souls” would go to the streets at this reflection time. Thus, memories bring along the symbols at “Recommendation of Souls” that disclose social concepts about death and the relationships between the dead and living ones. It appeases tensions and evangelizes by teaching verses, and the straight way towards salvation.

Briefly, the celebration of the Holy is rooted in Fundão's culture; and these roots come from the slavery process in Paraná State, which bought along the territorialization process observed at colonial and imperial Brazil, when "large processions to celebrate the saints and the dead" were common (Mesquita, 2015, p. 25). Religious celebrations would bring along popular expressions of several regions in the country that have counted on slavered labor.

However, because they were territorialized in this space, they emerged as daily practices that added aspects of daily lives of faithful who would make adjustments to reality by setting their own territoriality. This territoriality was supported by relationship networks, socialization, emotions and territory familiarity. All these elements were substantiated by habits and mores that cannot be only approached from the economic perspective.

## Conclusions

Based on Sodré (1999), the current research is a "present utterance", although data collection was carried out between 2018 and 2020. A present utterance aimed at learning about daily practices' ordinary management based on memories told and experienced by leaders of *Quilombola* Community "Invernada Paiol de Telha – Fundão", and, consequently, to understand the territorialization process of its residents before they were expelled from their territory, back in 1974.

The study allowed stating that the ordinary management of practices and symbols in this community worked simultaneously between barriers and re-elaborations, as identity appropriation in this territory. It was converted into a territoriality nurtured by an ancestral experience that is also a political statement trace – in the past and nowadays. This gesture finds in "heirs" a space of solidarity, despite all suffered violence types.

Therefore, the daily life and socially built territory perspective was adopted and, according to it, "Fundão People" set conviviality bonds by producing memories to change the space into "symbolic place" (Certeau, 2014). It was possible learning that their daily routine was a space for possibilities that adopt the verb "to manage" bond to "knowhow".

Knowhow, in its turn, meets the concept of ordinary management proposed by Carrieri (2012), according to whom, this "management" type is a non-embodied process by the instrumental rationality financing *management* itself. With respect to Fundão, ordinary management is expressed by its oldest leaders by individuals' daily choices, which are shown by empirical knowledge and by the way they organize things. However, these ways of doing things are not just the techniques conventionally taught by the capitalist mainstream.

These leaderships are often considered "old" by the youngsters, but they were valued during the research because they could tell about management at Fundão based on survival tactics to the detriment of prejudice for being "heirs of slaved people". The research allowed learning from some fragments of reality, according to which, experiences (before the expelling process) were full of activities that point out residents' personal and collective repertoire in their daily lives and in the very core of their management. It means practices of housing, eating and subsistence, at first, and those of solidarity, faith and leisure, in a second moment.

It was possible observing and getting emotional with the memories of past experiences, because older leaders "spread their voices" to their ancestral territoriality, which, in its turn,

stressed the territory perspective as a space of lived experiences where relationships among Fundão residents are full of feelings and symbols attributed to the places. These places were spaces appropriated through practices that guaranteed the permanence of their social and cultural identity.

However, the narratives by elderly leaders also brought along the “erasure” of several daily practices due to the expelling process witnessed at Fundão. Thus, production modes, cultural traditions, among other features, did not resist out of the space/territory they lived in as they were carried out “at old times”. These practices were made infeasible, just as its practitioners. This process was violent from different aspects (material, cultural and symbolic).

In other words, because they were expelled from their land and split into groups, they suffered from expropriation for more than 40 years. Fundão residents, and their families, were forced to learn how to seek their economic subsistence in urban areas. Consequently, it made their social and living practices prior to the expelling period, such as Puxirão, Sao Gonçalo Fest, Recommendation of Souls, among others, were made “infeasible”; they were stopped, forgotten and erased. Some of these practices, in their turn, were signified.

The intense and shameful expropriation, expelling and spoliation process of their ancestral territory made “Fundão heirs” change their lifestyle in order to survive. Everything was new, based on old leaders’ narratives: Taking the bus in cities, buying processed food, seeking for masonry houses close to work and lifestyles ended up inserting the “white culture” in these blacks’ lives. After all, adjusting to the “asphalt life” and (for some) to the “misery of living at the Slope”. Those were 40 years living under miserable conditions. Forty years of legal, social and symbolic humiliation, of prejudice, during the time they sought to return to their ancestor land.

Finally, they got back to their land. First, through the occupation by Slope residents with the aid of social movements and non-governmental organizations, such as MST (Landless Rural Workers Movement) and land Religious Ministry, based on Presidential Decree (2015). The return to their land showed that this space’s ordinary management was built over a new territoriality. The *Quilombola* territoriality mainly boosted after the 1988 Brazilian Federal Constitution. This is the time to set the *Quilombola* profile, according to which, the community sees itself, once more, when it reasons about historical prejudice and racism. These elements nowadays open room for the pride to be a *quilombo* remnant and to belong to Fundão, without living behind the narrative of “being a Fundão heir”.

In addition, Heleodoro Association, which was mentioned in the aforementioned excerpts, is the straight reflex of this process. The ethnic community identification was based on democratic participation in the Association. And there is more. It is possible to boldly say that Heleodoro Association is a milestone for Fundão’s resumption. Thus, assumingly, when a group, such as “Fundão heirs”, get organized to take back its territory, it denies the place given to it at a certain circumstance in space and time, i.e., it denies the marginal place given to it by society (agribusiness).

Thus, it is possible agreeing that *Quilombola* communities are not just fighting for land demarcation when they get organized for the right over their ancestral land they have total right for, but, most of all, they are struggling for their right to a specific lifestyle. Therefore, the thesis that, despite the several territorialization, deterritorialization and reterritorialization processes remaining *Quilombola* Community Invernada Paiol de Telha- Fundão has been through over its



history, their memories allow them to keep their daily practices, although changed and re-signified in order to translate the ordinary management of their ways of living.

Elderlies' memories are observed in the "orality of their collective memoirs", which are nowadays herein recorded as "written history". These memories will be the basis for Fundão residents to, at some point, rescue these same memories due to their relevance. It does not mean that "Fundão people" will use these records to go back to the lifestyle adopted in the past. It seems to be an impossible setback. Daily practices and current ordinary management are changed, and it includes the agribusiness logics.

It is herein essential stating the present researchers' resentment with the agribusiness. Not just because it is what it is, but because it does not respect the traditional knowledge closer to nature and to social justice. For the last few decades, the agribusiness has been suffocating traditional peoples and communities, family peasants and farmers, besides generalizing all sorts of 'doing' agriculture and killing biodiversity.

Nowadays, Fundão is the outcome of this whole process: without biodiversity, with contaminated water and soil due to excess of fertilizers. A good example of it is the denial of the *coivara* technique adopted at Fundão. Many agribusiness representatives state that this is a highly predatory management technique, and they forbid traditional communities to adopt it. This practice was quite used at Fundão by older leaders who joined the present research. The agribusiness sees the knowledge and doings of traditional land management as obsolete. It seeks to dominate everything and everybody based on its predatory techniques that destroy the environment and life.

According to the aforementioned arguments, Fundão residents were repressed and criminalized, besides being expelled from their ancestral land. Under the disguise of a "pacific land reform", they suffered with a violent expropriation process that is now quite clear after land recovery. The "politically correct discourse" about the Green Revolution forced this community out of its land; it suffered from the erase of their cultural and social patrimony.

In addition, it is essential pointing out that the present research addressed the "management" suggested by the mainstream, i.e., it brought along the possibility of discussing the status of the only valid and legitimate knowledge. It also allows drawing the agenda and academically contributing to the visibility of other way of "organizing" rather than that advocated by the capitalist model, including the business model so often adopted by the agribusiness. Even Fundão's management, nowadays, follows mechanized planting, has a differentiated management procedure. All decisions are made by the group, crops are collectively planted and resources coming from these crops are shared with all.

A research carried out inside a *Quilombola* community to assess its social organization has a lot to give to the Organizational Studies field. It broadens the likely discussions so researchers can find management ways other than those heading towards the "holy altar" of instrumental rationality, of "canned recipes" and of recipes provided to Latin American countries as ready "solution" for the reality. Assessing a *Quilombola* community's ordinary management based on its practices shows that it is possible broadening and reinforcing the organization field based on the daily routine topic. The agribusiness culture is nowadays found in the community's daily reality because its surrounding sites are formed by monoculture farmers; therefore, the research brings

along the traditional community context that after the resumption keeps the bonds with ancestors, memories and practices from the past.

The aim of the present research was to investigate the historical process that led to the ways of managing the present time. Several farmers in this region bring along the discourse that Fundão would not know how to get organized and to plan soybean planting, nowadays. These discourses are full of prejudice and racism about “being black” or “being late” in modern society. At this point, one finds the challenges imposed to Fundão about the principles of efficiency, or of being efficient. Therefore, researchers must keep on assessing the ordinary management of a daily life that disassembles these procedures.

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## Notes

1. Fundão is another name used by members of the Invernada Paiol de Telha Community to refer to the territory, as it was located at the back of Fazenda Capão Grande. In our field insertion, the residents emphasized that they like to be called Fundão so that there is no confusion with the Settlement nucleus located in Colônia Socorro (Field notes, 2019).

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## Conflict of interests

The authors have stated that there is no conflict of interest.

## Inclusive language

The authors use inclusive language that acknowledges diversity, conveys respect to all people, is sensitive to differences, and promotes equal opportunities.

## Authors' contributions

**First author:** conceptualization (equal), data curation (equal), formal analysis (equal), funding acquisition (equal), investigation (equal), methodology (equal), project administration (equal), resources (equal), supervision (equal), validation (equal), visualization (equal), writing-original draft (equal), writing-review & editing (equal).

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