AGENCY, TENSION, RESISTANCE: CO-CONSTRUCTING CONSERVATION IN THE FARO STATE FOREST

Hannah Reardon

Department of Anthropology, McGill University, Montreal, Quebec

2020

A thesis submitted to McGill University in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts in Anthropology

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

English:

This thesis is an ethnographic investigation of political tensions in the environmental governance of the Faro State Forest, a sustainable use conservation area located in the northern Amazon region of Brazil. Using examples from five months of fieldwork, conducted between August and December of 2019, I describe everyday situations of conflict and resistance which demonstrate how local communities and environmentalists assert themselves as agentive "subjects" in systems of environmental governmentality (Agrawal 2005). Drawing on the work of Arun Agrawal (2005) and James Scott (2008), I argue that the local residents of the Faro State Forest are actively resisting and reshaping the structures of institutional power that dictate how environmental conservation should manifest itself *in practice.* In shifting and dynamic relationships with the administrators of the conservation area, residents are becoming agentive subjects of environmental governance, but not through a simple internalization of power. Rather, actors within the institutions of governance, and in the local communities are engaged in a complex negotiation of power relations, which sometimes surface in observable moments of tension. Advocating for an ethnographic, theoretical and practical awareness of these moments of tension, I suggest that administrators and community members can harness these moments to advance more collaborative partnerships for socially-just and environmentally-effective conservation practices.

Français :

Ce mémoire propose une recherche ethnographique des tensions politiques présente dans les systèmes de gouvernance d'une zone protégée dans la région nord de l'Amazonie brésilienne : la Forêt de Faro. En me basant sur des exemples tirés de cinq mois de recherche sur le terrain, entre août et décembre 2019, je décris des situations quotidiennes de conflit et de résistance qui démontrent comment des communautés locales et des environnementalistes s'affirment comme des « sujets » actifs dans la (re)production des systèmes de gouvernance environnementale (Agrawal 2005). En m'appuyant sur le travail d'Arun Agrawal (2005) et James Scott (2008), je décris comment les résidents de la Forêt de Faro développent leur agentivité en résistant et en repensant les structures de pouvoir qui régissent la mise en place de cette zone protégée *en pratique*. Dans leurs rencontres avec les représentants des institutions gouvernantes, les résidents de cette zone protégée se constituent en tant que « sujets » d'une gouvernance environnementale étatique. Malgré ceci, ce ne sont pas des sujets qui absorbent le pouvoir passivement, au contraire, la complexité des relations de pouvoirs entre gouvernant et gouvernés démontre l'importance d'une attention méthodologique aux moments de tensions politiques et sociales mettant en lumière ce pouvoir qui circule entre acteurs. Je défends donc, une prise de conscience ethnographique, théorique et pragmatique des sources de tensions dans la gouvernance des zones protégées dans l'intérêt d'avancer des partenariats plus collaboratifs entre administrateurs et communautés locales.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

None of this would have been possible without the confidence and trust vested in me by the people of Português and Monte Sião. For your friendship, your openness, your wisdom, and your stories, I will be eternally grateful. I hope one day I will be able to repay the generosity shown to me during my time in your communities. Special thanks to Dona Janice and to her family for allowing me into their home and for making me feel like it was my own.

To my colleagues, interlocutors and friends at Imazon: Jake, Renan, Eli, you have taught me so much about Brazil, the Amazon, and about what it means to be dedicated to a cause. Without your guidance, this research would still be but a distant dream. You will never cease to amaze me with the work that you do. Thank you for making everything possible.

To the hard-working civil servants of Ideflor-bio, Magnum, Socorro, Evandra, my most heartfelt thanks for facilitating transportation, access and accommodation in the *Flota de Faro*. Your openness to my work and my presence made it a pleasure to travel and to work with you. Thank you, from the bottom of my heart.

A special thanks is reserved to my dear friend, Joanisio Mesquita who has supported this work since the very beginning, vetting my proposals and facilitating contacts. It is truly magical to find a kindred spirit in you. Deepest thanks to Tatiane, as well, for keeping our silliness in check.

Endless gratitude is due also to Prof. Luciana Gonçalves de Carvalho at the Federal University of Western Pará. You kept me on track, and gave this research shape and dimension when I threatened to dissolve it into nothing but tangents.

To my committee members at McGill, Prof. Vaccaro and Prof. Scott, thank you for your constructive criticism on early drafts, ideas and my research proposal. Your guidance in all matters theoretical, practical and scholarly has been of great value.

I am extremely grateful for the support of Olga Harmazy, Connie Di Giuseppe, and the administrative staff at the Department of Anthropology, who put out many fires and helped me stay sane during my navigation of bureaucratic demands at McGill.

Special thanks to my external reviewer, Prof. Arun Agrawal, for his valuable insights and feedback.

This research was funded by very generous Masters fellowships from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC), and the Fonds de Recherche du Quebec en Sciences et Culture (FRQSC). Thank you, merci pour votre support.

Perhaps the greatest debt of all goes to my supervisor, Prof. Kristin Norget, who has put up with all my folly and has shown nothing but a limitless generosity of time and spirit. No words could ever be sufficient to capture the gratitude I feel to have been your student for the past two years. You have helped me grow as an academic and as a person in ways I never imagined possible.

Finally, to my family, Sarah, Dan and Daniel, and to my partner, Charline. You know better than anyone the weight of this accomplishment. I owe all that I am to your unwavering love and support.

Figure 1. The Faro State Forest (*Floresta Estadual de Faro*), in space. Note: Google Earth shapefile is not perfectly representative of true size.

INTRODUCTION

The clocks had only just struck 3pm on August 19, 2019, when darkness fell over the Brazilian metropolis of São Paulo. Astonished gazes turned to an apocalyptic sky, and the outpourings on social media and in the news became frenetic. Despite all appearances, it was not the end of the world; rolling clouds of smoke had travelled thousands of kilometers southeast from the Amazon forest, blanketing the sky and transforming day into night (Cordeiro and Girardi 2019). In 2019, the Amazonian summer ushered in a dramatic increase in the number and expanse of seasonal fires. During the Amazonian dry season (from June to December), forest fires are common and play an important role in clearing underbrush, fertilizing soil and opening space for the growth of new vegetation (Hecht and Cockburn 2010). However, the scale of the fires seen in 2019 was far beyond the natural and expected rates. For example, in the state of Pará alone, Brazil's National Institute for Space Research (INPE) detected over 10,000 active fires burning throughout the month of August 2019 (INPE 2020). This figure corresponds to a three-fold increase in the number of fires detected in Pará just a year earlier, in August 2018 (INPE 2020). The ferocity of the forest fires and their widespread impacts captured the world's attention. Scientists and celebrities alike decried the actions of the federal government, led by newly-elected far-right president Jair Bolsonaro, whom many have blamed for the disastrous peak in seasonal blazes.

In January 2019, Jair Bolsonaro was sworn into office after a divisive election period. In line with many of his campaign trail promises, on his first day in office, Bolsonaro declared that during his presidency all demarcation processes for indigenous territories and protected areas would be stopped in their tracks (Putti 2019). He also accused the federal environmental protection agency (IBAMA) of operating an "industry of fines", and made numerous budget cuts and political appointments which have since weakened the organization's environmental monitoring capacities (Betim 2019). Bolsonaro's many verbal and political attacks against environmentalists, activists, scientists, artists, indigenous peoples, opposition leaders, and the LGBTQ+ community, have created a climate of tension and fear which has fueled hate speech, violence, and human rights violations throughout the country.

In the Amazon specifically, Bolsonaro's open support for land grabbing[1] (*grilagem*), exploitative industries, and agribusiness, has contributed to a significant increase in the number of violent attacks against indigenous leaders, land defenders, environmentalists and journalists (Human Rights Watch 2019). The climate of impunity for illegal mining and the illegal appropriation of public land – activities which have been openly condoned by leading figures in the federal government – has contributed to a rise in rates of illegal deforestation in many parts of the Amazon (Brito, et al. 2019). Experts at the Institute for Amazonian Environmental Research (IPAM) demonstrated a clear correlation between municipalities with the highest rates of illegal deforestation in 2019 and those most affected by the fires. Using satellite data from the INPE and the Amazonian Institute for People and the Environment (Imazon) – an NGO that monitors deforestation and facilitates the implementation of protected areas throughout the Amazon region – IPAM also recorded a considerable increase in deforestation and in the number of fires registered in indigenous territories and protected areas throughout Brazil's Legal Amazon[2] (Alencar, et al. 2019). These findings suggest a growing irreverence, among a large segment of the population, towards legal measures created to conserve the environment and protect the land rights of vulnerable minority groups.

Bolsonaro's base of supporters – broadly known as the coalition of the Bible, the bullet, and the bulls (*bancada da Biblia, da bala e do boi*, in Portuguese)[3] – has encouraged hostility and

[1] Under a new "Land Law", passed in 2017 (n. 13,465), land grabbing in the Amazon has become easier and more profitable. Under this law, illegal occupants of parcels of land up to 2,500 hectares are granted amnesty for their crimes if they can demonstrate "productive use" of the land in question. In practice, this often means clear-cutting the area and planting grass in order to raise cattle. The occupant is then able to acquire the land at a rate below market price and resell it at an inflated value. Although this law was passed before current president, Jair Bolsonaro, came to power, his open support for the agribusiness sector, and his affiliations with the powerful "rural caucus" (*ruralistas*) in the Brazilian Congress, suggest that stimulus for land-grabbing and deforestation will likely continue under his government (Brito, et al. 2019).

[2] The Brazilian Legal Amazon (BLA) is Brazil's largest socio-geographic division, covering all nine states in the Amazon basin. Created in 1948 to facilitate the social and economic development of the region, the BLA includes seven northern states: Acre, Amapá, Amazonas, Pará, Roraima and Tocantins, as well as significant parts of Mato Grosso and Maranhão.

[3] The tri-partite coalition of the Bible, the bullet and the bulls (*bancada da biblia, da bala, e do boi*) refers to Brazil's growing evangelical community (the Bible), its military forces, including civil police and para-military (the bullet), and large-scale landowners, *latifundistas*, who often raise cattle for land-speculation purposes in the Amazon, or invest in large agribusiness developments (the bulls). These segments of the Brazilian population demonstrate high levels of support for Jair Bolsonaro. For much of Brazil's history, the political dominance of the *latifundistas*, backed by the military, has gone unquestioned, contributing to much of the social and economic inequality which characterizes Brazil today (de Souza 2018). However, since Brazil's period of re-democratization in the 1980s, much of this political control has taken place in the shadows. When President Dilma Rousseff was impeached in 2016, many feared that Brazil's fragile democracy was already teetering on the edge of an abyss. With Bolsonaro's rise from ignominy to power, much of the corruption that once went on in the shadows has now begun to operate in the full light of day. For example, on March 14, 2018, Marielle Franco, a black, queer, feminist

opposition to conservation areas and indigenous territories, leading environmentalists and land defenders to find their institutions and organizations increasingly weakened by public criticism and funding cuts (Human Rights Watch 2019). The verbal, political and physical attacks meted against environmentalists and land defenders are encouraged by official discourse from the federal government vilifying environmental movements, especially environmental conservationism. In the midst of the media war between competing discourses, universals, such as 'preservation', 'prosperity' or 'democracy', are tossed around to justify the truths of one side over another. It is the power of these universals to shape and transform different types of knowledge and action through competing discourses that interests me in this thesis.

Anna Tsing has written eloquently about "universals" as "knowledge that moves – mobile and mobilizing – across localities and cultures" (Tsing 2005, 7). The universals at play in conservation debates create bridges that allow similar concerns and arguments to be shared by different actors and at different scales. The "universals" that Tsing identifies as bridges are often articulated as tropes and truisms, simplified sound-bites easily understood and appropriated across difference. The conflict between these universalized ideas and their practical manifestations results in what Tsing refers to as "friction". Friction, for Tsing, refers to the "grip of encounter" in global connections, the moment of impact between ideals and the particular. Tsing uses the example of a road to illustrate the concept of friction: roads facilitate travel, making movement more efficient, however, they also limit where one can go (Tsing 2005, 6). In this sense, friction should be understood as a facilitator of new movements, encounters and arrangements of culture and power, even while it also maintains global structures of power in motion. As Tsing explains, "Attention to friction opens the possibility of an *ethnographic* account of global interconnection. Abstract claims about the globe can be studied as they operate in the world. We might thus ask about universals not as truths or lies but as sticky engagements" (Tsing 2005, 6).

Following Tsing's lead, this thesis is an ethnographic exploration of the "sticky engagements" that conservation and participative governance reflect in a particular corner of the

---

politician, who grew up in the *favelas* of Rio de Janeiro, was assassinated alongside her driver, Anderson Gomes. Her murder shook the entire nation. The crime has now clearly been linked to an order passed down through the paramilitary militias which control Rio de Janeiro, although *who* exactly passed down this order remains a mystery. Politically-motivated assassinations have been common-place throughout Brazilian history, however, the bureaucratic foot-dragging in the Marielle case, and the concerning links between Bolsonaro's family and one of the militia-men charged with Marielle's assassination point to worrying fissures in the façade of Brazilian democracy (Brum 2020).

Brazilian Amazon. As I will demonstrate, in community-based conservation, ideals of human prosperity, in the sense that Escobar describes as "living well", or "*buen vivir*" are closely intertwined with participative governance (Escobar 1995)**.** For local communities residing within the boundaries of conservation areas, collaborative participation in management decisions is fundamental to achieving a balance between the protection of local livelihoods, and the preservation of biodiversity. My focus in this thesis is a sustainable use protected area: the Faro State Forest (which I will also refer to, interchangeably, with its Portuguese name, the *Flota de Faro*). In its very essence, this area reflects the friction between two universals which threaten to split Brazil apart — preservation and prosperity. Created in 2006 by the governor of Pará, the Faro State Forest forms part of a wider mosaic of protected areas, called the Calha Norte mosaic. The Calha Norte mosaic is composed of a number of protected areas and indigenous territories with connected conservation goals. Some of these areas favour exclusionary approaches to conservation, while others have varying regulations for permitted human activities within a given area.

The *Flota de Faro* is the only state-governed forest reserve in the region that seeks to accommodate traditional peoples and/or communities[4] residing within its boundaries. Under Brazilian conservation legislation, forest reserves are typically created to foster sustainable forestry practices, and the regulated commercialization of other renewable forest products, such as Brazil nuts, copaiba oil, and rubber. The *Flota de Faro* was created with the objective of joining biodiversity protection with the preservation of rights to land and livelihood for traditional communities residing within its boundaries. Like some models of community-based conservation, such as extractive reserves[5], the Faro State Forest strives to materialize collective aspirations for a bridge between environmental preservation and sustainable development.

[4] According to Decree 6.040 of February 7, 2007, article 3, II defines "traditional peoples and communities" as "groups with distinct cultural characteristics, who self-identify as 'traditional', and utilize particular territories, forms of social organization, and natural resources in order to ensure the continuation of their cultural, social, religious, ancestral and economic characteristics, through knowledge, innovations and practices transmitted by tradition" (Presidência da República 2007). Under Brazilian legislation, "traditional" peoples and communities may include indigenous peoples, *quilombolas* (maroon communities), Afro-brazilian religious communities, small-scale extractivists (such as rubber tappers or artisanal fisherman), *ribeirinhos* (riverine peasant communities), and "*caboclos*" (an umbrella term for mixed-race inhabitants of the Amazon or Sertão regions of Brazil).

[5] Extractive reserves are a category of protected area under the Brazilian National System of Conservation Units (SNUC). In these conservation areas, traditional peoples that have a cultural and inter-generational connection to a particular territory are granted use rights for small-scale extractivism. Extractive reserves are often created with the aim of protecting the lifestyle and culture of vulnerable or marginalized groups, and to ensure their access to sustainably managed natural resources and land (Fernandes-Pinto 2008).

However, as a legal category, *Florestas Nacionais / Estaduais* (FLONA / FLOTA) have stricter conservation guidelines than more grassroots-based models. The *Flota de Faro*, as a conservation area created and managed by the environmental secretariat of the state of Pará, employs a top-down form of governance. Despite this, the administrative body charged with the management of the area, the Institute for the Development of Forestry and Biodiversity for the state of Pará (Ideflor-bio) emphasizes consultative management principles to ensure local residents have a say in decision-making processes. In this sense, the *Flota de Faro* incorporates elements of a community-based approach to conservation, into a state-centred model of environmental government. While administrators strive for a participative approach to decision-making, the unequal distribution of power in the conservation area's governance structures obstructs a true form of *collaborative* management. This is particularly apparent in the establishment of management priorities, a process which has created challenges for a reconciliation between conservation and livelihood development objectives in the *Flota de Faro*.

In Brazil, conservation areas are defined by rules, which are imposed through environmental legislation at the federal, regional and municipal levels. In a 'sustainable use'[6] protected area, like the Faro State Forest, the members of local communities who have a vested interest in which activities will be permitted in the area, will ideally be invited to participate in the creation of the rules. This type of decision-making is broadly referred to in the institutional literature as "participative governance", thereby appealing to the supposed universals of democracy and self-determination. In reality, of course, participative governance runs aground in tensions between differing sets of priorities. Mostly, theses priorities can be separated between livelihood concerns (the ability of people who depend upon the areas' natural resources to provide for their needs and the needs of their families), and conservation concerns (the effectiveness of the conservation area in protecting fragile ecosystems and endangered wildlife from predation or

[6] Brazil's National System of Conservation Units (SNUC), the federal legislation that regulates the creation of protected areas, divides conservation areas in Brazil into two broad categories, *integral protection* and *sustainable use*. "Integral protection" areas include categories of conservation units which exclude most forms of human activity. In some cases, approved research or ecotourism is allowed within integral protection conservation areas. However, any communities or households residing within the boundaries of these areas are subject to eviction, and are strictly prohibited from hunting, fishing, cutting timber or harvesting non-timber forest products within the boundaries of the integral protection conservation area. By contrast, "sustainable use" conservation areas allow different forms of human activity, depending on the legislative category of the area. Some grassroots models, such as extractive reserves, protect the land and livelihood rights of traditional populations. While other categories, such as State or National Forest reserves, emphasize a stricter, government-led management of the conservation area and stringent regulations to ensure the sustainability of approved extractive activities (Ministério do Meio Ambiente 2020; Burstzyn and Burstzyn 2013).

overuse). In the definition of governance priorities in the Faro State Forest, different understandings of "environment" and "preservation" clash and create conflict between administrators and local residents.

Based on my direct observations of such conflicts in the *Flota de Faro*, I want to show how institutional frameworks of power frustrate the emergence of an ideal form of collaborative governance (governance based on horizontal negotiation and engagement). As Arun Agrawal argues convincingly in his work on "environmentality", the term "negotiation" only partially describes the types of communication which take place between communities and institutions of environmental governance (Agrawal 2005, 12). Rather, technologies of government, such as monitoring and law enforcement, establish frameworks of power and knowledge that reshape the way people understand forests and interact with them. Understanding how these frameworks of environmental governmentality operate in practice is crucial for understanding how new kinds of "environmental subjects" are formed, and how these "subjects" interact with each other in complex networks of power relations (Agrawal 2005).

Undeniably, many of the residents of the Faro State Forest are reshaping their identity in conscious and unconscious ways, to conform with institutionalized understandings of a 'good' environmental subject (Agrawal 2005, 14). However, I wish to explore in this ethnographic account the ways in which this process reveals itself to be full of tensions, contradictions and frictions. I argue that political and social tensions in the governance of the Faro State Forest are produced by the contradictions between institutional ideals and the grittiness of real life for local actors. I see these tensions culminating in subtle forms of resistance, apparent in the practices and accounts of local community members.

Agrawal has argued that:

> [The] practices of specific subjects are the location where relationships between institutions and power/knowledge and imagination and subjectivity come together. They are a basic mechanism on which subject formation rests. The adoption of particular practices at any point in time is itself a prior result of variable combinations of politics, institutions, and existing subject locations, of technologies of government (2005, 221).

However, he is careful to qualify this argument by demonstrating that "the situatedness of practice and beliefs" in relations of power and technologies of government does not grant a "deterministic influence" to particular social contexts (Agrawal 2005, 172). Rather, in line with Foucault's theorization of resistance, he insists that particular subjects can react to situations of domination

in diverse ways, either by conforming to these situations or resisting them creatively. This line of argumentation has also been taken up by scholars who follow Agrawal in exploring agency in systems of environmental governance, and in nuancing parts of his analysis (Cortes-Vasquez and Ruiz-Ballesteros 2018; Cepek 2011; Singh 2013).

Following these nuancing responses to Agrawal's arguments, I would like to suggest that careful attention to contradictory discourse and political tensions can reveal how both local communities and specific administrators within the institutions of environmental governance are agentive subjects shaped by particular "environmentalities" (Agrawal 2005, 226). The relationships between these different stakeholders are influenced by unequal power relations, and both sets of actors deploy particular discourses in order to justify their practices. Deconstructing these relationships of power might be possible in particular moments when individuals in a position of authority consciously engage in empathetic listening and choose compromise in order to favour more collaborative forms of environmental governance. Of course, it is idealistic to assume that actors in a position of power will willingly give up their authority in order to favour non-hierarchical, or consensus-based forms of government. Indeed, in a protected area such as the *Flota de Faro*, where the institutions of governance maintain a strong presence and tight control over the area, it is unlikely that a form of horizontal governance could emerge organically in the short term. Nevertheless, relationships between administrators and community members could become more collaborative, if administrators were more attuned to the sources of tension that provoke dissatisfactions and frustrations among their local community partners.

Improving practices of environmental governance, to favour more collaborative relationships between administrators and community members is an important step towards transforming 'sustainable use' conservation areas into instruments of environmental protection and social justice in Brazil. In a political context where discourses of environmentalism and social justice are increasingly silenced, adapting local conservation practices to withstand political attacks will be crucial to the survival of many traditional communities vulnerable to the onslaught of anti-environmental policies promoted by Bolsonaro and his government. I believe that cultivating new forms of collaboration across differences will be central in developing institutional and individual adaptability in an era of increasing uncertainty, catastrophic environmental change, and deepening political crises (Danowski and Viveiros de Castro 2017).

METHODOLOGY

My research seeks to answer three central questions through a discussion of political and social tension in the governance of the Faro State Forest: 1) how do particular ideals drive institutional discourse surrounding "participative" approaches to environmental conservation?; 2) what tensions can be observed in the contradictions between these ideals and the real-life application of strategies for "participative" governance?; finally, 3) what do these tensions reveal about the nature of power and agency in the political relationships which bind together stakeholders in the *Flota de Faro*?

In two main chapters, I approach these questions through a theoretical and ethnographic analysis. In Chapter One, I discuss the ideological emergence of "environmental conservation" throughout Brazilian history, with particular emphasis on the influence of international scholarship and particular ideals which facilitate how conservation discourse travels between contexts. I also review some of the pertinent political ecology literature in order to demonstrate how "participative" conservation takes on particular meaning in the Brazilian context. Concluding that the institutional ideals which drive "participative" conservation frameworks produce internal contradictions in practice, I draw on an "environmentality" perspective to explain how these contradictions emerge (Agrawal 2005). In Chapter Two, I present some sources of tension in the governance of the *Flota de Faro*. I describe these tensions as they were narrated to me in interviews with residents of the Faro State Forest, civil servants from Ideflor-bio (the department of the Environmental Secretariat for the State of Pará that is responsible for the management of state-governed protected areas) and representatives from Imazon, an environmental NGO that assists in the management of the Faro State Forest.

Through my discussion of tension in the *Flota de Faro*, I suggest that, among the stakeholders in this particular conservation area, agency manifests itself in subtle forms of resistance, such as those described by Scott in his ground-breaking work, *Weapons of the Weak* (2008). Community members in the Faro State Forest, therefore, demonstrate that the process of becoming "environmental subjects" is complex and multi-layered (Agrawal 2005). Emphasizing the situatedness of resistance and its connections to different understandings of the environment and the temporality of preservation, I argue that both administrators and community members in the *Flota de Faro* resist overarching frameworks of power in subtle and creative ways. These

combined resistances may have the potential to create bridges of empathetic understanding and compromise, for more collaborative systems of governance in this particular conservation area.

This thesis is based on ethnographic research conducted between August and December of 2019. During this five-month period of fieldwork, I divided my time between the *Flota de Faro* and the city of Santarém, my living base in Brazil, where I was affiliated with the Federal University of Western Pará (Universidade Federal do Oeste do Pará – UFOPA). At the Federal University in Santarém I worked under the guidance of Prof. Luciana Gonçalves de Carvalho, collecting textual material in support of my research. During the periods between fieldwork, I deepened my understanding of the legal foundations of Brazilian conservation frameworks by reading legislative texts and institutional reports from environmental ministries at the federal and regional level. I also broadened my knowledge of Brazilian scholarship on conservation in the Amazon, by conducting a literature review of the anthropological theory on this topic in Portuguese. On three separate occasions I travelled to the Faro State Forest to conduct interviews, and sit in on meetings between administrators and residents of Português and Monte Sião (the two communities located within the boundaries of the conservation area). The first bout of fieldwork took place from September 4 to 16, 2019, the second from September 23 to October 10, 2019, and the third from November 6 to November 12, 2019.

As my interlocutors in the Calha Norte related to me, the communities of Português and Monte Sião have a closely connected history. In the 1970s, the town of Português was settled by Seu[7] Luis Moura, an adventurous cattle-raiser who decided to carve out a piece of land for himself on the banks of the Nhamundá river – the waterway that divides the states of Pará and Amazonas – and start a community there. He built by hand a Catholic church and school, and over time the small town grew. Before the Faro State Forest was created, there were a number of cattle-raising operations in close proximity to the community of Português, and most of the men in the village worked as seasonal farm hands for local landowners. The salaries they received for this work were supplemented by income from the sale of manioc flour, bananas, watermelon, and other crops, which they grew on small parcels of land around Português (Interview with Jakeline Pereira, Calha Norte team lead, Imazon, Belém, December 19, 2020). Some years after Português had been

[7] Throughout this thesis, I use the titles "Seu", for men, and "Dona", for women, as they are used locally: to denote respect and formality between interlocutors.

founded, a number of Seu Luis Moura's in-laws broke away from the village, and decided to create their own settlement further up-river. They named the new settlement Monte Sião, in reference to the promised biblical city of Mount Zion. The reasons for this split were explained to me as "religious" divisions. As Português was a primarily Catholic community, the evangelical Christian residents of Monte Sião reported feeling ostracized for their beliefs[8]. Although both communities are closely connected by kinship ties, and share basic services – including the health post, primary school, and community-center, which are located in Português – some residual rivalries remain between them. Family dramas and tales of hardship shaped the stories that many families in Português and Monte Sião shared with me. These stories demonstrated that many community members imagine different priorities and practices of conservation, which sometimes clash with those reflected in the scientific and naturalistic view of Ideflor-bio.

During my first fieldwork visit to the *Flota de Faro* (Sept. 4-16, 2019), I assisted civil servants from Ideflor-bio in collecting survey data to update the *Flota de Faro*'s management plan. These surveys were conducted in all the households within the protected area in order to gather data on income, education levels, recent illnesses, occupations, and basic demographic characteristics for both communities in the *Flota de Faro*. The same survey had been applied eight years earlier, in 2011, when Ideflor-bio and Imazon were creating the area's official management plan. Since the official management plan for the *Flota de Faro* was scheduled to be updated in 2020, the household surveys we collected aimed to provide a cross-section of data for a comparative analysis of how life had changed in the *Flota de Faro* over an eight-year period. I use some elements from this cross-sectional data, supplemented with one-on-one semi-structured interviews and participant observation, to inform my analysis of the tensions which emerge from the negotiation of management priorities, in Chapter Two.

---

[8] Evangelical Christianity is growing exponentially in Brazil. Researchers in Brazil have been predicting a religious shift in the country for several years (Alves, Cavenaghi and Barros 2014). Alves, Cavenaghi and Barros anticipate that within a few decades Brazil will no longer be a majority Catholic country. This is significant for a nation that was colonized by Catholic missionaries, and until recently was the largest Catholic country in the world (Alves, Cavenaghi and Barros 2014). Bolsonaro's candid language and his defense of "traditional family values" appeals to Christian evangelical voters, and this demographic remains one of his most steadfast group of supporters.
In Monte Sião, most households are devoted members of the evangelical church, led by Seu D., the leader and patriarch of the community. Evangelicalism is an important part of the community's collective identity, and was a guiding theme throughout many of the conversations I shared with members of this community. While a thorough analysis of religious dynamics in the region is beyond the scope of this thesis, further research would help to reveal the complex and important ways evangelical Christianity inflects understandings of environmental stewardship in rural regions of the Brazilian Amazon.

In particular, I use elements of the cross-sectional data set which refer to improvements in the areas of education, health, income and infrastructure. Based on Imazon's preliminary cross-sectional analysis of the data from the Ideflor-bio surveys conducted in 2011 and 2019, I discuss results which suggest that literacy rates are on the rise in the Flota de Faro, rates of infectious diseases are falling, and household incomes have increased considerably between 2011 and 2019. Despite these positive indications, the data obscures the complexities of everyday life for many residents of Português and Monte São. While, statistically, there have been some improvements in these areas, health, education and income opportunities remain three of the most significant continuing issues that respondents identified in the qualitative interviews I conducted in a subsequent fieldwork visit.

One possible reason for the discrepancy between the positive indications in Imazon's statistical analysis of the Ideflor-bio data, and the lukewarm responses to my qualitative interview questions is that the quantitative findings in the cross-sectional data set may not be perfectly representative of community member's main concerns. For example, while the survey results indicated that literacy rates had improved, in qualitative interviews, respondents complained that there were major shortcomings with the infrastructure of local schools which hindered the quality of education that students received. Similarly, in qualitative interviews with me, residents of Português and Monte São identified significant failings in the local health infrastructure, including the lack of medical supplies and access to medical professionals. While, overall, the presence of diseases such as malaria, leishmaniasis, hookworm and chronic diarrhea seemed to be decreasing, issues related to access to quality healthcare remained. Finally, with regards to measures of income, the surveys from 2011 and 2019 measure only gross household income. The 2019 results demonstrated that 83% of families benefitting from government programs received aid from the *Bolsa Família* (a welfare program which provides financial support to low-income families with children in public school). While in 2011, only 60% of families benefitting from government programs were beneficiaries of the *Bolsa Família*. Researchers at Imazon suggested to me that this increase in the proportion of beneficiaries of *Bolsa Família*, could have partially distorted the findings on rising incomes in the communities, even though the overall number of welfare recipients had decreased significantly. While new income opportunities are being created through a number of joint initiatives spearheaded by Imazon and Ideflor-bio, some respondents suggested in qualitative interviews with me that they hope to see certain improvements in the regularity of

income received through these initiatives. Seeing that in all of these areas of interest, the quantitative results of the Ideflor-bio surveys were enriched and complexified by the material gathered in qualitative interviews, the arguments I advance in this thesis place particular analytical emphasis on the qualitative material that I gathered during my fieldwork.

It is also worth noting that, in the Ideflor-bio socioeconomic survey, only nine of the thirty survey respondents from 2011 were among the twenty-six respondents of the 2019 survey. This feeble overlap in participants may be due to the changing demographics of the communities (many new young families had come of age in the eight years that had elapsed between surveys and some older residents had moved away to urban areas). Having not participated, myself, in the collection of the 2011 survey data, I based my qualitative interview questions on general trends identified in the data. Specifically, I focused on shortcomings in socioeconomic indicators, health, and education. I also developed my own questions pertaining to the interviewee's perceptions of democratic process in the governance of the Faro State Forest, improvements in the quality of the environment and in matters of public safety. Asking respondents to base themselves on their own perceptions of changes over the past five to eight years, I was able to explore how particular individuals formed subjective understandings of improvement or deterioration in their overall quality of life. I observed that these subjective understandings differed greatly from the official position of agents at Ideflor-bio, who insisted that there were undeniably positive developments in the socioeconomic characteristics of the communities. I unpack the reasons for these differing visions of improvement in Chapter Two, and in the conclusion of this thesis.

The qualitative interviews that inform my analysis were conducted during my second visit to the Faro State Forest (Sept. 23-Oct. 5, 2019). During this period, I collected fifteen semi-structured interviews with key members of the communities. Some residents of Português and Monte São also have houses in the municipal capital of Faro, and so the number of families residing within the *Flota de Faro* can vary depending on the season and the year. During my visit at the end of September, there were eighteen active households in Português, and eight in Monte São. Therefore, my semi-structured interviews with community members represent a sample of approximately one half of all active households at the time. Participants were selected through an opt-in format – I would go door-to-door and request an interview with one or more members of the household. In some cases these interviews were conducted solely with the male or female head

of the household, in other cases several members of the household (including the male and female heads of the family, and adult relatives) would respond to the interview questions together.

The individuals who responded to my interview questions varied in age and background. Some were new arrivals to the community, and therefore were reluctant to respond to questions pertaining to changes in services and opportunities in the Faro State Forest. Others were life-long residents who were eager to discuss their perceptions of how life in their community had evolved over time. Respondents also varied in age (from 18 to 70). Younger respondents tended to be more enthusiastic than elderly respondents about the work opportunities that Ideflor-bio's income-generating programs provided. However, elderly respondents tended to have more positive perceptions about improvements in the areas of healthcare and education. There is one significant sampling bias in my interview data that I cannot go without mentioning: ten out of the fifteen qualitative interviews were conducted with female respondents. This bias is the result of two main factors. The first is that male respondents tended to be less available to respond to my questions. During the day they were often out working in the field or fishing, and when I called door to door, female heads of the household were far more likely to answer and agree to participate in the study. Second, as a female researcher, I found it easier to establish trust and intimacy with female respondents. On more than one occasion, male heads of households were dismissive of my study, and insisted that I speak with their wives. Despite this sampling bias, the qualitative data I gathered largely matches the concerns expressed by male and female community members in the Ideflor-bio cross-sectional surveys and in consultative meetings that I sat in on.

During my fieldwork, I was also able to conduct semi-structured interviews with key members of the municipal government in the city of Faro and with institutional representatives from Ideflor-bio and Imazon. All of the individuals interviewed were closely involved in the management of the *Flota de Faro* in some capacity. These semi-structured interviews were particularly useful for understanding the institutional structures which support the management and implementation of the Faro State Forest. Juxtaposed with the accounts provided by community members, the perspectives of this varied group of administrators revealed a process of complex negotiation between individual understandings of particular management goals, and overarching institutional ideals. As a result, I came to understand that particular administrators and institutional representatives are also subjects of environmental governance, albeit occupying a certain position of relative privilege over local community members in the *Flota de Faro*. Squeezed between

institutional objectives, and personal beliefs and connections with their local partners, the individuals at Ideflor-bio and Imazon occupy a delicate position. Navigating the gaps between project ideas and practical results, institutional stakeholders in the Faro State Forest work tirelessly to materialize an imagined future, one closely resembling the ideals of community-based conservation. I have a profound respect and admiration for the work that these remarkable individuals do. Even though their perspectives and plans can sometimes clash with those of their local partners, these institutional actors remain committed to improving relationships with local communities and protecting the environment against the powerful forces in Brazil that seek to destroy it.

In the Faro State Forest, I often stayed on the top floor of the two-storey community-center in Português, sharing a communal space with the seven military police officers from the environmental task force in Santarém. During the dry season, between July and November, the task force maintains a constant presence in the *Flota de Faro* in order to monitor traffic ascending and descending the Nhamundá river. They keep a close watch on any unauthorized vessels that may be transporting illegally harvested timber, fish, or game. The dynamics of this surveillance also produced some uneasiness among members of the community, I discuss these tensions in more detail in Chapter Two, based on accounts given in the personal interviews I conducted with various stakeholders. My close proximity to these police officers and my personal connections with members of Ideflor-bio and Imazon shaped my views of the institutional practices of environmental governance in the Faro State Forest.

In the summer of 2016, while still an undergraduate student, I completed a summer research internship with Imazon. At their NGO headquarters in the city of Belem, I worked to compile a database of the socioeconomic characteristics of populations living in close proximity to the protected areas that make up the Calha Norte mosaic. Towards the end of my internship, Imazon allowed me to accompany their team on a trip to the Faro State Forest, where they were in the preliminary stages of planning the construction of the community centre. Thanks to the connections made during my internship with Imazon in 2016, I was able to plan and execute the research program for my Master of Arts in Anthropology.

During my first, brief visit to the *Flota de Faro* in 2016, I also got to know some residents of Português and Monte Sião. However, my meetings with them were fleeting, and over the three

years that separated that early internship and my M.A. research, I was unable to maintain contact with the people I had met. Much to my surprise, when I reconnected with some of these individuals in 2019, many of them remembered me from my first visit with Imazon, and were kind and forthcoming in our conversations about changes in the area over the past three years. These initial connections were fundamental in allowing me to establish sufficient trust with the community members who agreed to participate in my study. My personal connections with members of Imazon and Ideflor-bio also allowed me to converse openly with many different institutional stakeholders about the tensions they experienced in the professional and personal relationships that shape the management of the *Flota de Faro*.

Brazilian anthropologist Kátia Helena Schweickhardt has described ethnography as a process of cobbling together different experiences, a process driven by a kind of surrealism which seeks to "reinvent and recombine realities" (Schweickhardt 2012, 27). In many ways, my ethnographic research similarly felt like such a cobbling together of different stories and experiences. Some were shared over a cup of sweet black coffee, in moments of sincerity and heartfelt connection. Other conversations felt more forced, held up by tropes, truisms, and an awkward imagining of what the other wants to hear.

Agrawal argues that various types of environmental subjects may be differentiated through a methodological focus on practice as "the crucial link between power and imagination" (2005, 199). Conservation discourse, shaped by researchers, politicians, activists, traditional peoples, and countless other actors, informs the way particular subjects imagine conservation practice. In this sense discourse (a joining of power and knowledge for a particular tactical function) both shapes and is shaped by subjectivity (Foucault 1990, 100). Discourse can serve both the dominant and the dominated, and facilitate either subjugation or resistance in particular contexts (Foucault 1990, 95). As an "institutional actor", myself, – a representative of a foreign university whose presence in the Faro State Forest was facilitated by professional relationships with Imazon and Ideflor-bio – my subjectivity was also shaped by particular discourses rooted in liberal Western scholarship, and scientific understandings of the environment. As a result, I recognize that the way I imagine an ideal form of conservation practice is also reflective of my own position as a particular kind of "environmental subject" (Agrawal 2005, 199). This positionality inevitably dictates the focus of this research, and the perspectives it contains.

In this thesis, I attempt to recreate a patchwork of my ethnographic experiences, recombining lessons learned and information gathered through interviews, surveys, participant observation, textual research, and the experiences of everyday life. In a beautiful essay, Paulo Freire once reflected on the importance of the act of reading. He wrote: "Reading the world precedes reading the word, and the subsequent reading of the word cannot dispense with continually reading the world. Language and reality are dynamically intertwined" (Freire and Slover 1983). In many ways, writing intensifies this dynamic inter-relationship between language and reality. Formulating my experiences and my observations in writing has required a process of rearranging and reinterpreting, which at times does indeed feel very surreal. However, this is the task of the ethnographer, to make sense of the complexity and messiness of real-life, and to attempt to draw some lessons from the disordered remaking of a frame.

After all, ethnographic research is most valuable when it permits a careful analysis of particular dynamics in particular contexts. With rich descriptions, attentiveness to individual actors, and an engagement with the delicate process of inferring inner motivations, ethnography allows for a special frame of analysis that searches for manifestations of macro phenomena in the *minutiae* of everyday life. Having employed this anthropological technique in my research, I complement the richness of ethnographic description with the macro perspective that social theory provides. In what follows, I provide an account of power relations in the governance of the Faro State Forest, based on my own academic frames of reference in political ecology and anthropological theory.

Understanding environmental conservation to be the outcome of multiple practices (practices of governance, monitoring, developing sustainable livelihoods for local communities and caring for forests and biodiversity in diverse ways) I argue, alongside Agrawal, that these practices are reflections of how one imagines oneself as an environmental subject (2005, 199). I am also convinced that a theoretical awareness of diverse "environmentalities" must pay careful attention to relationships that bind institutional actors and local communities together. Deconstructing the barriers that separate dominant and dominated, and observing the way power shifts between different actors in the tension of political interactions, facilitates a more flexible understanding of power relations in the multiple *practices* of conservation in the *Flota de Faro*.

CHAPTER ONE

The Construction of 'Conservation' in Brazil

In this chapter, I will situate and clarify the use of certain key terms and concepts employed in this thesis. First, I review the political ecology literature that has shaped my understanding of "environmental conservation". In order to do so, I trace a brief, illustrative chronology of "phases of conservation" to describe how the term is presented in the literature, demonstrating common lines of critique, and how they may be applied to the evolution of conservation policy in Brazil (Vaccaro, Beltran and Paquet 2013). Next, I engage with some of the Brazilian anthropological literature which analyzes the notion of "participative conservation" in order to explore how this notion can be applied to the context of the *Flota de Faro*. Finally, I connect these two different bodies of literature through a discussion of agency within frameworks of power for environmental governance, rooting my analysis in the context of my ethnographic fieldwork.

A Chronology of Conservation

Vaccaro, Beltran and Paquet identify a useful chronology of "phases" of conservation, which can help illustrate the frameworks for conservation which have emerged over time, and the corresponding critiques in the political ecology literature (2013). The authors divide the chronology into three main phases: the Fortress conservation phase, the Participative conservation phase, and the Neoliberal conservation phase (Vaccaro, Beltran and Paquet 2013). I will use these phases to illustrate different lines of critique which could be levelled at the political frameworks of Brazilian conservation policy. This chronology employs a political ecology approach to the analysis and critique of environmental conservation.

The field of political ecology encompasses a number of disciplines and theoretical approaches to the study of human-environment relationships. However, most studies in this field emphasize analysis of the particular historical, social and economic circumstances which have produced seemingly "natural" phenomena (Robbins 2004). In this sense, research in the field of political ecology often seeks to unsettle the supposed universality of certain environmental problems, and the proposed solutions which accompany them. Political ecologists also tend to

include some level of materialist analysis in their accounts, thereby considering the effects of history and discourse for control over natural resources, land, institutions and their relationships to dominant socio-political systems (Neumann 2005). Therefore, understanding political ecology to be the study of the historical, political, and cultural dynamics which shape how humans interact with the environment and perceive these interactions in different ways across time and space, I would locate my research squarely within the scope of this field of analysis. I also stand by the methodological approach in political ecology that emphasizes complexity in socioenvironmental conflicts, by favouring multi-actor ethnography and multiple spatial and temporal levels of analysis (Little 2006).

Vaccaro, Beltran and Paquet's chronology of fortress, participative and neoliberal conservation provides a frame through which changing political approaches to environmental conservation can be analyzed (Vaccaro, Beltran and Paquet 2013). In approximate terms, the ideas which underpin the fortress conservation model gained political currency towards the end of the 19th century, when the modern conception of 'protected areas' emerged after the establishment of the emblematic Yellowstone National Park, in 1872 (Spence 2000). Under the fortress model of conservation, protected areas emphasize strict management policies which seek to exclude local groups and vest territorial control in the hands of administrative bodies. Use of these areas, beyond recreational enjoyment, is limited so that biodiversity protection can be maximized.

Under the Participative conservation phase, processes of political liberalization and global attention to several key social movements, beginning in the 1960s, have led to the adoption of integrated conservation and development frameworks, or community-based natural resource management programs. These initiatives seek to advance conservation through a decentralization of authority, emphasizing collaborative approaches so that institutional actors and local agents can act in tandem for collective benefit (Vaccaro, Beltran and Paquet 2013; Brosius, Tsing and Zerner 2005).

Seen by some as a backlash to the Participative phase, Neoliberal conservation emerged in the 1980s, alongside the increasing neoliberalization of global politics. Critics of this model of conservation emphasize its problematic blind faith in market dynamics for the advancement of environmental objectives. Political ecologists who analyze neoliberal approaches to conservation, for example, tend to highlight the paradoxical fact that capitalist forms of exploitation are at the root of environmental degradation. Therefore, several authors argue that conservation policy

supported by liberal economic business models can only offer illusory solutions to the underlying problems of overexploitation that protected areas seek to address (Vaccaro, Beltran and Paquet 2013; Igoe and Brockington 2007).

Applying this methodological chronology to the evolution of conservation policy in Brazil reveals a historical trajectory which is not as linear or clearly defined as Vaccaro, Beltran and Paquet's phases would suggest (2013). Rather, in the Brazilian context, overlapping characteristics from each phase may be observed in the political decisions that shape the implementation and management of a particular conservation area. Nevertheless, the lines of critique which draw attention to these overlapping, 'transitional' characteristics are useful for throwing into relief the particularities of conservation policy in Brazil. Through my analysis of some of the Brazilian literature on conservation, I came to see clearly that that the Brazilian context offers fertile terrain for understanding how fortress, participative and neoliberal conservation logics can clash and interact in specific contexts. Using these three categories as a theoretical basis for my understanding of the multi-faceted nature of conservation policy and its implementation, I explore how the creation and management of protected areas varies across time and place in the Brazilian Amazon.

Co-existing Phases of Conservation Policy in Brazil

As we have seen, fortress conservation refers to an early phase of conservation policy, in which emphasis is placed on the exclusion of local populations, who are understood to threaten the integrity of conservation projects. A strong line of critique argues that the highly coercive nature of fortress-style conservation policies is closely related to State-driven attempts to legitimize control over territory and natural resources (Peluso 1993; Brockington 2002; Gregory and Vaccaro 2015). In Brazil, these criticisms strike a resounding chord. Wanderley, a researcher in the field of human geography, demonstrates how corporations and governments have used protected area designations to exert control over frontier regions of the Brazilian Amazon, and evict traditional groups from their inter-generational homelands (Wanderley 2009). The Saracá-Taquera National Forest and the Trombetas Biodiversity Reserve, for example, are two protected areas located in close proximity to the Faro State Forest. Wanderley's research shows that the federal government created both of these protected areas between 1979 and 1989 in order to legitimize and reinforce

territorial control over the sandy, bauxite-rich plateaus contained within the Saracá-Taquera National Forest. The establishment of these protected areas also allowed the State to "legally" prevent local *quilombola*[9] communities from asserting their territorial rights over traditionally-held lands. In 1989, when the Saracá-Taquera National Forest was created, the government then ceded these bauxite-rich plateaus to the Mineração Rio Norte mining corporation. Mineração Rio Norte currently maintains tight control over the area with the help of the coercive arm of the federal ministry for the environment, the Brazilian Institute of Environment and Renewable Natural Resources (IBAMA) (Wanderley 2009).

There is a tense relationship between the Brazilian State's ambitions for territorial control over the Amazon, and the evolution of the region's conservation policies. Historian Henyo Barreto Filho describes how the legal category of 'integral protection' conservation areas – areas which, with the exception of carefully regulated research or eco-tourism, prohibit all forms of human occupation and commercial use – emerged out of colonial scientific institutions such as botanical gardens and game reserves (Filho 2004). For Filho, the colonial rationalization of these institutions as spaces of environmental preservation contributed to a post-colonial logic which supports fortress conservation as a counter-weight to large-scale development (Filho 2004). Evidence of this is the paradoxical fact that the period which saw the most significant boom in the creation of integral protection conservation areas (1970s-1980s) is also the period when Brazil's military dictatorship promoted the region's largest and most destructive development initiatives (Filho 2004; Loureiro 2004). The military government's development plan for the Legal Amazon included subsidies for major mining projects, plantation agriculture, hydroelectric infrastructure and pulp mills (Loureiro 2004). Since these large-scale development projects required significant

[9] The term "quilombola" refers to "remnant quilombo communities", communities descended from the Afro-Brazilian settlements of escaped slaves and freemen who sought refuge from a repressive colonial regime in the upper reaches of the Amazon forest. One of the nation's most well-known quilombos, the Quilombo Maravilha, or the Marvellous Quilombo, was located in the upper reaches of the Trombetas river near the border with Guyana. The Trombetas river was feared for its rapids, and so Maravilha was strategically located far beyond the Devil's Falls, a waterfall known for its height and power. Hidden beyond this mighty gateway, the residents of Maravilha could spot intruders from miles away and effectively guard their community. After the abolition of slavery in Brazil, the residents of Maravilha migrated down-river to facilitate trade and communication with established Amazonian cities, such as Oriximiná. Some communities settled along the banks of the Trombetas river in the area now covered by the Trombetas biodiversity reserve and the Saracá-Taquera National Forest. Despite a long history of inter-generational settlements throughout the region, quilombola ownership over these territories remains contested to this day. Many of the modern-day residents of quilombola communities in proximity to the Trombetas biodiversity reserve and the Saracá-Taquera National Forest remain locked in a bitter dispute with the federal government over the contested boundaries of these long-standing conservation areas (Interview with A. and M., November 11, 2019).

expanses of land, exclusionary conservation policies became a justification for the displacement of local communities from areas of economic interest (Wanderley 2009; Filho 2004).

Studies of population displacement resulting from exclusionary conservation policies suggest that while it is difficult to quantify the degree to which conservation areas have affected people through displacement, these consequences are largely comparable to those of large-scale development projects. Although more comprehensive research is required to understand their long-term effects, displacements resulting from protected area creation can contribute to long-term impoverishment through landlessness, joblessness, marginalization, food insecurity, and social disarticulation (Agrawal and Redford 2006; Agrawal and Redford 2009; Brockington, Igoe and Schmidt-Soltau 2006). Numerous case studies from the Brazilian Amazon demonstrate that the eviction of local populations from integral protection conservation areas can exacerbate both poverty and the loss of cultural heritage for traditional peoples and communities (Carvalho and Beser 2018; Alexiades 2009; Roe and Elliott 2010; Athayde and Silva-Lugo 2018).

In many protected areas, the Brazilian state exhibits a Hobbesian attitude towards the involvement of traditional communities in environmental conservation (Benatti, Unidades de Conservação e as Populações Tradicionais: Uma Análise Jurídica da Realidade Brasileira 1999). Following the premise that social order can only be maintained through the presence of a despotic state, Benatti argues that the Brazilian government often adopts this stance in environmental law. The assumption that all humans are profoundly individualistic, deceptive, and opportunistic leads to the view that people cannot live in harmony with their environments, since they will always seek to extract excessive individual benefit from the natural resources available to them. Along these lines, the guarantee of an ecological equilibrium and the preservation of ecosystems is only possible if the State creates protected areas and governs them authoritatively. In other words, the State must become an "ecological Leviathan" (Benatti 1999). This logic is also extended in the famous "Tragedy of the Commons" argument, which states that communal resources will inevitably be exploited due to natural human tendencies towards greed and individualistic impulse (Hardin 1968). Excellent work on this subject has disproven these arguments by demonstrating the benefits of communal property regimes for sustainable natural resource management (Ostrom 1990). Nevertheless, as Benatti shows in his work on communal property rights in Amazônia, policy action often lags behind theoretical evolution (Benatti 2011). Thus, even if scholars emphasize the importance of integrating land tenure security for local communities into

conservation policy, the practical application of this knowledge varies between different types of protected areas in Brazil (Robinson, et al. 2017).

Despite continuing problems with population displacement and insecure land tenure in integral protection conservation zones in Brazil, the Amazon has also been the site of considerable innovation in participative and community-based conservation frameworks. Due in large part to the advances of indigenous rights movements over the past 40 years, there have been substantial changes in the Brazilian government's approach to conservation in "sustainable use" protected areas. Beginning with the recognition that traditional populations are key partners in the effective preservation of natural resources and the protection of ecosystems, attitudes both within Brazil and internationally have shifted in favour of "participative" approaches to protected area management (Carneiro da Cunha & Almeida 2000; Leff 2010; Escobar 1998; Escobar and Alvarez 1992).

Participative approaches to conservation can vary widely in Brazil, however, ranging from grassroots, community-led conservation initiatives, such as the Chico Mendes extractive reserve[10], to hybrid governance structures which emphasize consultative procedures but maintain hierarchical, government-led management. The Faro State Forest aligns more closely with this hybrid governance structure, since its management team aspires to a participative and community-based model for conservation, but maintains hierarchical processes of decision-making. In the case of "participative" conservation, the distinction between participation based on *consultation* and participation based on *collaboration* is significant (Gerhardt 2007). I will unpack this distinction in more detail in the following section.

In the rush to implement more "participative" approaches to conservation area management, many organizations have eschewed a clear definition of what constitutes a truly "participative" approach. Gerhardt warns against a performative engagement with local groups in conservation management (Gerhardt 2007, 270). He argues that the dominance of scientific discourse in conservation circles leads to an invisibilization of the "other"– most often the poor and disenfranchised communities who are most impacted by the implementation of protected areas. He cautions readers that "environmental education" does not constitute participation. Rather, environmental education programs often seek to reinforce a particular vision of conservation

[10] The Chico Mendes extractive reserve was the very first conservation area of this category. Created in March of 1990, the area is named after the well-known activist and land defender, Chico Mendes, who was assassinated in December of 1988 for his political campaigning in defense of traditional rubber tapping communities in the Amazonian state of Acre (Hecht and Cockburn 2010).

rooted in scientific understandings of biodiversity preservation. These scientific understandings of biodiversity conservation can sometimes contribute to an erasure of local practices of preservation and sustainability in particular contexts (Gerhardt 2007, 271).

Gerhardt's central argument revolves around an opposition to the erasure of "the particular" in conservation discourse. He is especially adamant that the standardization of participative management procedures is counterproductive to the realization of grassroots community-based conservation ideals (Gerhardt 2007, 285). In some cases, participative conservation can blend or overlap with neoliberal agendas for environmental conservation. One example of this, from my own fieldwork, is the establishment of a business partnership between Ideflor-bio and a tour-guide operator in Nhamundá, a city relatively close to the Faro State Forest. Advertising sport fishing expeditions to wealthy urbanites from Manaus, Belem and other major Brazilian cities, the tourism company brings these fishermen to the Flota de Faro, and employs local community members as boat pilots and guides. This eco-tourism initiative has been a welcome source of employment for young men in Português and Monte Sião, although it represents a form of neoliberal conservation in that it monetizes a particular experience of "nature", designed to please outsiders. The experience of a vast and uniform "nature", separate for the urban environment of many tourists, erases the particular understandings that local community members have of the landscapes that they cultivate, protect and occupy.

In his study of the "environmentalization" of social conflict, Brazilian anthropologist, Jose Sergio Lopes suggests that there is a paradoxical symmetry that needs to be unpacked in the use of "environmental stewardship" discourse by both private companies and disenfranchised social groups (Lopes 2006). Using a number of case studies, and a detailed historical analysis, Lopes identifies what he sees as a gap between the "brown" side of environmentalism – concerned with urban-industrial pollution and the social groups in urban regions affected by these changes – and the "green" side – groups associated with rural areas, such as tropical forests and small-scale peasant agriculture. He argues that the association with the "brown" side of environmentalism, which departs from a notion of devastation or degradation, reinforces a particular corporate agenda known as "greenwashing" – the practice of legitimizing capitalist expansion through a shallow engagement with environmentalism (Lopes 2006, 50). For Lopes, the disconnect between the "green" and "brown" sides of environmentalism can potentially obscure the important social justice component in "green" efforts to implement land reform and offer alternative livelihood

solutions for marginalized groups (Lopes 2006, 52). The distinction that Lopes offers also points to the ways in which buzzwords, such as "stewardship", "participation", and "sustainability" can mask vastly different understandings of environmental responsibility in different circles of power.

Lopes' distinction is a useful one for theorizing the different focal points of environmentalist agendas. His work offers a framework for understanding the increasing instrumentalization of social justice movements to legitimize corporate agendas. In Lopes' analysis, corporate entities, including mining companies and international organizations in the agribusiness sector, are favouring an "environmentalization" of social conflict. In so doing, they transform social justice issues related to land reform into issues related to pollution and environmental degradation. Through this shift in perspective, Lopes argues, they are able to doctor their corporate image by sponsoring sustainable development initiatives in conservation areas, supporting environmental education programs, or publicizing reforestation campaigns (Lopes 2006, 45).

As Lopes correctly identifies, corporate entities are increasingly offering financial support to environmental NGOs in an effort to "environmentalize" their public image (Lopes 2006). In financing these initiatives, however, they are also coopting attempts to democratize environmental governance in conservation areas, thereby blurring the distinction between the "brown" and "green" sides of environmentalism (Lopes 2006). In the Faro State Forest, for instance, the Mineração Rio Norte (MRN) corporation is a major financial donor to environmental programs offered by Imazon, a local NGO closely involved in the management of the Flota de Faro. The MRN is an internationally-owned bauxite mining corporation that operates within the boundaries of the neighbouring Saracá-Taquera National Forest, a protected area in the same management category as the Faro State Forest. The MRN bauxite mine is the largest in Brazil, and has been in operation since the late 1960s. In its support for local conservation initiatives, and its financing of cultural programs in quilombola communities in the region, the MRN has attempted to remodel itself as an environmentally and socially responsible organization. These efforts represent a significant turn away from its long history of pollution (dumping mining refuse directly into open water sources), and territorial alienation (evicting local quilombola communities from their traditional territories through the instrumentalization of conservation policy) (Andrade 2018).

For the organizations that operate in the Faro State Forest, the financial support that the MRN offers is crucial to their ability to provide innovative programs that improve living conditions

and economic opportunities for the residents in the region. Therefore, organizations such as Imazon tread a delicate line between the pragmatics of project financing and the ideals of social justice movements that reject the involvement of corporate actors with diverse motivations. This delicate balancing act is at the heart of the complications that neoliberalism creates in conservation movements. As with the case of the eco-tourism initiative, the financial support of outsiders greatly facilitates environmental conservation in practice. Despite the complicated power relations that this financial support often entails, it is a necessary vehicle for the realization of certain ideals in participative conservation practices.

Still, those opposed to the motivations behind corporate efforts to "clean up" the environmental consequences of large-scale production, or buy carbon credits to offset pollution – as in the UN's REDD+ program[11] – argue that these actions overshadow social justice efforts to emphasize land reform, and desensitize consumers to past missteps of major corporations (Lopes 2006; Corson 2010). Some scholars have argued that the "commodification of environmental legitimacy" is fuelling an industry of NGOs and environmental organizations reliant on corporate sponsorships, and increasingly distanced from the social justice movements that they claim to serve (Igoe and Brockington 2007).

Buscher and Dressler pursue this argument further by suggesting that the exponential growth of stakeholders in the field of environmental politics has created a field of action rendered ever more complex by the proliferation of actors with diverse motivations (Buscher and Dressler 2007). They argue that this proliferation of actors has contributed to a "mosaic of spheres of authority", wherein actor alliances and networks are by nature fragmentary and unstable (Buscher and Dressler 2007, 588). For the authors, the fragmentary nature of these alliances and networks is contributing to a "layer of discursive blur", through which institutional actors compete with each other for resources and status, all while drifting further and further from reality "on the ground" (Buscher and Dressler 2007, 588).

These critiques of the neoliberalization of environmentalism are certainly helpful in identifying issues pertaining to the concentration of power and influence in the hands of major organizations, and the problems that can arise from the instrumentalization of environmentalism

[11] Reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation (REDD+) is a program developed by parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). The program offers financial incentives to developing countries to engage in conservation initiatives by commercializing the carbon offsetting provided in forest carbon sinks.

to legitimize corporate agendas in Brazil and in other parts of the world. However, I would argue that some theorists in this line of critique are overly pessimistic about the motivations of organizations that capture corporate financing for particular environmental programs. Especially in the case of local NGOs, such as Imazon, financial support from major banks and resource extraction companies is a lifeline necessary for the creation and continuation of programs which could not be sustained by government funding alone. In the Brazilian context, varying political support for environmental conservation programs creates a situation of instability for NGOs, local communities, and environmental activist networks. In order to continue the important work of environmental protection, and improve partnerships between institutional actors and their local partners, the private sector (that is, banks, major corporations, and local businesses) must play a role in supporting environmentalism in the Amazon region of Brazil.

Analyzing Brazilian conservation policy through the lens of the fortress, participative and neoliberal phases reveals that particular areas can simultaneously exhibit characteristics from all three of these phases (Vaccaro, Beltran and Paquet 2013). Understanding the way characteristics from all three phases interact and overlap in particular settings is of theoretical significance to political ecology studies of conservation in Brazil. Deconstructing the rigid separation between different "types" of conservation can allow researchers to pay closer attention to the particular dynamics between individual actors in specific contexts. Especially with regard to "sustainable use" conservation areas, which aspire to a form of "participative governance", understanding the mechanisms for decision-making in specific contexts is crucial in determining the extent to which these areas live up to the promises of institutional discourse.

Beyond the gloss of institutional discourse and the rigid legal categories of conservation areas, the day-to-day frictions of managing a protected area provide insight into the dynamics of individual agency within hierarchical governance structures. In the Faro Forest I saw individuals creatively circumvent bureaucratic restrictions, or reinvent the nature of relationships between stakeholders, with a remarkable adaptability I see as vital if conservationism is to be a preventative solution to impending environmental crises. Indeed, cultivating a theoretical attunement to creative agency in conservation management could help to imagine new pathways for improving a truly participative and socially-just approach to conservation in all contexts.

Unpacking "Participative conservation"

Since my aim in this thesis is to investigate the tensions that emerge between idealism and the pragmatics of everyday management decisions in the Faro State Forest, a further unpacking of the notion of participative management is important. In this section I will outline a more precise definition of what "participative" approaches to conservation should entail. By exploring the theoretical distinction between *consultative* and *collaborative* approaches to participative management, I intend to make clear the importance of cultivating collaborative relationships between stakeholders, for more effective and socially-just conservation management.

The conceptualization and language of "participative conservation" emerged out of a trend among international organizations in the 1980s to incorporate traditional and indigenous knowledge into conservation and sustainable development initiatives. In large part these ideas gained widespread currency thanks to the growing strength of many indigenous movements, which coalesced at this time through an internationalization of their claims framed in the language of human rights (Niezen 2003; Dove 2006; Noor and Rojas 2017). In the Amazon, the success of the international indigenous rights movement empowered other marginalized groups to claim their rights for recognition, based on particular cultural characteristics (e.g. inter-generational connections to a particular territory), and shared traditional knowledge (Lima and Pozzobon 2005).

One particularly successful instance of grassroots campaigning for the recognition of traditional land rights in environmental conservation policy was the implementation of extractive reserves. These conservation areas serve to defend the use and occupation rights of Amazonian rubber tappers over their traditional territories. In the case of rubber tapping communities, this territory encompasses the forests, rivers, and rubber trails which have supported their families for generations (Schweickhardt 2012). Under the leadership of the renowned activist, Chico Mendes, the rubber tapper's movement succeeded in pressuring the Brazilian government to establish the nation's first extractive reserve in March of 1990 (Hecht and Cockburn 2010). Extractive reserves exemplify the kind of community-based conservation frameworks that advocates of "participative conservation" argue for. Emerging from grassroots organization, and based on the demands of particular communities, extractive reserves protect the collective rights of disenfranchised groups who would otherwise be susceptible to exploitation or eviction by large landowners (Loureiro 2012). Rejecting the principles of fortress conservation, participative conservation based on the

extractive reserve model seeks to develop a pact between local communities, government and NGOs in order to protect biodiversity, and facilitate the development of sustainable livelihoods for residents of the area (Brosius, Tsing and Zerner 2005; Wilshusen, et al. 2002).

Enthusiasm for the potential of community-based conservation projects quickly produced other types of "sustainable use" conservation areas throughout Brazil. It is worth noting that the proliferation of legal sustainable use conservation categories in Brazilian environmental policy has stimulated the rapid establishment of protected areas in the Amazon. The flexibility of these categories made protected areas a useful instrument in the mitigation of rising deforestation rates and land speculation in the early 2000s. This process has been referred to by some scholars and policymakers as "filling the gaps", since it seeks to establish clear ownership over contested expanses of public land through the creation of protected areas (Filho 2004). As protected area legislation in Brazil has become more varied and flexible, NGOs and environmentally-conscious civil servants have advocated for the streamlined establishment of conservation areas to preserve biodiversity, and simultaneously protect local communities from forced eviction through land speculation. This was a significant motivation behind the creation of the Faro State Forest[12].

However, as with any project based on ideals, there are gaps between plans and reality. As frameworks for community-based conservation have gained prominence in international conservation policy, many researchers and activists have cautioned against excessive enthusiasm for "participative" conservation. In Brazil, excellent ethnographic research has demonstrated the important variations between different extractive reserves in different regions (see Schweickhardt 2012; Almeida 2004; Cardoso 2002; Silva and Simonian 2015; Vadjunec and Rocheleau 2009).

Each of these studies reveals important insights, drawn from detailed studies of the dynamics in particular conservation areas. Vadjunec and Rocheleau, for instance, offer a comparative analysis of ecological degradation in two extractive reserve communities, one which

[12] The Faro State Forest was created in 2006, alongside a number of other state-governed conservation areas, by the then Governor of Pará, Simão Jatene. In the early 2000s the Legal Amazon was experiencing a remarkable rise in deforestation and seasonal fires, surpassing even the rates seen in 2019. In order to regulate the occupation of territory in the northern half of the state of Pará, activists, researchers and civil society organizations recommended the creation of a mosaic of conservation areas that could mitigate the spread of land grabbing and illegal deforestation. Towards the end of 2005, the region was mapped and zoned by Imazon and the Environmental Secretariat for the State of Pará, with financing from the Moore Foundation, a large US-American philanthropic organization. Thanks to this funding and the swift action of numerous government representatives, researchers and NGO-workers who set out to create technical studies of the region, conduct public consultations, and gather the necessary support for the creation of new conservation areas, a mosaic of protected areas was created to "fill in the gaps" and regulate land tenure in the remote parts of northern Pará (Interview with Jakeline Pereira, Imazon, Belém December 19, 2020).

favours cattle-raising, and the other which favours the extraction of non-timber forest products (NTFPs). Contrary to the researchers' expectations, the community which favoured cattle-raising demonstrated lower rates of ecological degradation. Since the members of this community relied less on hunting, species biodiversity in the surrounding forest areas was *higher* than in the community which emphasized traditional methods of NTFP extraction (Vadjunec and Rocheleau 2009). This fascinating study suggests that contrary to the arguments of many activists, cattle-raising in the Amazon is not destructive, per se; rather, it is the scale of the activity that can produce destructive consequences in particular contexts. Situating certain practices that are perceived as environmentally destructive in the dynamic contexts from which they emerge could provide a more nuanced understanding of local understandings of *temporality* in the management of natural resources. This is an important insight that I will return to in my discussion of management tensions in the Faro State Forest, in Chapter Two.

Given the variation between individual communities within a single extractive reserve, advocates of "participative conservation" should be attentive to the ways in which livelihoods and forms of social organization can vary between different kinds of protected areas which claim to be "participative". What does "participation" mean in a particular context? How do communities negotiate their authority over the sources of their livelihoods, and the systems of natural resource management with representatives of the State?

As these questions suggest, community-based conservation initiatives in the Amazon tread a fine line between grassroots organization and government-imposed regulation. In work that illustrates this quandary, Schweickhardt (2012), Almeida (2004), and Silva and Simonian (2015), all emphasize the challenges that rubber tapping communities face in navigating the bureaucratic logic of the State institutions which legally govern these areas. Almeida, for instance, looks at how individual agents act out history as they create it (Almeida 2004). He presents three different narratives from stakeholders at the municipal/local level, the national/international level, and from the state institutions which mediate between the two former levels. His goal is to demonstrate, through these narratives, how acts and ideas from the periphery engage with global policies and international agendas, thereby generating a "combined and unequal development" (Almeida 2004, 35). In this sense, community-level organizations in extractive reserves can assert their agency through negotiated arrangements with the State. Although the balance of power largely rests with the State, community-members within extractive reserves are able to use the legislative

instruments at their disposal to assert their rights to consultation in governance decisions. As Schweickhardt discusses, the multi-faceted and complex relationships between individuals in local communities, and government representatives reveals the "many faces of the State in Amazônia" (Schweickhardt 2012).

These studies demonstrate that processes of protected area governance are extremely complex. They involve a shifting negotiation of power within families, between communities, at different levels of government, and between national and international organizations. Institutions wield terms such as "participation", "sustainability", "stewardship", "development", and "conservation" with the aim of facilitating communication between vastly different sets of actors, operating at different scales of influence. The issue is that, as these words travel between different scales, their conceptual significance can vary for actors. Therefore, the term "participation" can come to signify any kind of democratic or consultative process in international conservation literature, and simultaneously imply a very specific kind of decision-making power for a representative of a community organization in a particular protected area. The danger of employing the term "participation" in institutional discourse is that it can smooth over the often wide diversity of desires and perspectives dictating people's behaviour in political decision-making (Gerhardt 2007). This heterogeneity among stakeholders is inevitably present in all organizations, both within local communities affected by conservation policies, and within institutions of governance.

In Brazilian conservation policy, practicing "participative management" typically means implementing consultative processes with local stakeholder populations. These consultative processes are based on the notion of "free, prior and informed consent" as articulated in Convention 169, adopted in Geneva in 1989 at the International Labour Organisation's General Conference (ILO 1989). Sworn into Brazilian law in 2004, through Decree n. 5.051, C169 has become the standard legal mechanism for protecting the rights of indigenous groups and traditional communities against unilateral legislative or administrative decisions (Garzon, Yamada and Oliveira 2016).

While C169 offers sweeping rights to indigenous and traditional peoples, the application in practice of the Convention's guidelines is often open to more uneven interpretation. In Brazil, some communities have developed consultation protocols that clearly outline the steps to be taken by corporations, government, NGOs or universities that wish to approach these communities with

a project proposal (Beser, Ribeiro and Carvalho 2018). The advantage of these protocols is that they vest power in the hands of community leadership to accept projects that will be developed in close collaboration with the individuals who choose to participate. Unfortunately, this situation remains the exception rather than the norm (Beser, Ribeiro and Carvalho 2018; Carvalho and Beser 2018). In most cases, consultation procedures are outlined by the interested party – a corporation, a government body, an NGO, a research team, etc. – in an attempt to meet the bureaucratic requirements enjoined by Brazil's ratification of C169. In the case of conservation areas, efforts to respect the ideals behind requirements of "free, prior and informed consent", can vary widely depending on the scale of the project proposed, the actors involved, and the logistical hurdles which may impede effective consultation, including the lack of resources and the difficulties of communicating with key stakeholders in isolated geographic areas.

Consultation is a crucial pre-condition for truly collaborative project-management. Based on the notion of "free, prior and informed consent", as outlined in C169, consultation gives traditional communities the right to refuse projects – in part, or in their entirety – that do not serve their interests. Given this power, communities can redesign initiatives proposed by outsiders, so that their implementation becomes a fully *collaborative* process, based on input from different stakeholders on a relatively level playing field. This type of fully-realized collaborative project management cannot be standardized but rather must be tailored to the particular social and political dynamics in the context at hand. Collaborative project management must emerge from processes of community empowerment and grassroots political organization. The imposition of project ideas by powerful institutions, even when they are prefaced by consultative meetings and discussions misses the point of the collaborative processes which are at the heart of the democratic ideals behind participative management discourse.

Therefore, the standardization of "participative" governance practices in conservation can sometimes be detrimental to a truly *collaborative* form of decision-making. As Agrawal has argued, decentralized environmental governance in community-based conservation creates new administrative spaces in which power can circulate (2005, 14). Thus, achieving an ideal form of horizontal or consensus-based collaboration must involve dynamic and ongoing resistance to existing structures of institutional power.

In the case of the Faro State Forest, approximating a fully collaborative framework for community-based conservation will require moving beyond the "layer of discursive blur", which

separates administrators and local residents (Buscher and Dressler 2007, 588). I understand this "discursive blur" to be the result of a trafficking of the universalized ideals (i.e., prosperity through sustainable development, democracy through consultative decision-making, and preservation through biodiversity conservation) which inform institutional understandings of environmental conservation. If administrators and community members in the Faro State Forest are to achieve a fully collaborative form of partnership in the management of this "participative" conservation area, both parties must become more aware of the tensions that emerge from communication based on differing ideals.

Frameworks of Agency in Systems of Environmental Governance

Agrawal's work on environmental "subjectivity" has been particularly useful to me in formulating a theoretical understanding of the tensions that separate administrators and local residents in the governance practices that shape the Faro State Forest as a territorial space and a field of action (2005, 167). The central question that Agrawal explores seems relatively simple on the surface, but its implications for identity politics reveal a deep complexity: "when, why, and how [do] some subjects rather than others come to have an environmental consciousness" (168)? Using Foucault's insights on the formation of the "subject", as a body controlled by certain "technologies of government" (the institutions and practices that transform particular bodies into governable entities), Agrawal explores how particular "subjects" in Kumaon come to internalize the practices and beliefs of a particular kind of environmental governance (Agrawal 2005, 173; Foucault 2009).

However, if the same question that Agrawal poses – "when, why, and how [do] some subjects rather than others come to have an environmental consciousness" (167) – is asked of actors in the Faro State Forest, a space is revealed in which to investigate particular dynamics of *agentive* subjectivity, a topic that some scholars have suggested may be under-developed in Agrawal's "environmentality" analysis (Cortes-Vazquez & Ruiz-Ballasteros 2018; Cepek 2011; Rutherford 2007).

During my fieldwork in the *Flota de Faro*, I was struck by the way institutional actors and local residents expressed sharply diverging views about what they envisioned the management priorities of the conservation area should be. Institutional actors from Ideflor-bio and Imazon were adamant that, as a protected area, legally established according to particular administrative

guidelines, the priorities of the Faro State Forest were outlined in black and white in the management plans: to protect biodiversity first and foremost, and to engage local traditional communities in the work of environmental preservation. This second, connected goal, involved providing training programs and income opportunities for residents, however, institutional understandings of how "traditional" people should behave dictated a particular vision of an environmental subject which did not exactly conform to the complex reality I encountered during my fieldwork. Rather, in my conversations with local community members, individual understandings of what "conservation" entails *in practice* varied widely. Furthermore, many community members seemed to have an understanding of the "environment" that aligned more closely with spiritual and/or pragmatic beliefs about stewardship, rather than scientific discourse about the urgent need for strict forms of preservation. In the disconnect between how local people viewed the landscape and their relationships to it, and the way Ideflor-bio *wanted* them to view the environment and their responsibilities towards its protection, tensions emerged.

In this sense, an "environmentality" analysis of the practices of environmental governance in the Faro State Forest is entirely appropriate, and sheds light on how Ideflor-bio and Imazon are shaping a particular kind of environmental consciousness that they expect local residents to assume (Agrawal 2005). However, the reality of the matter is that individuals rarely assume a particular consciousness, imposed from above, without resisting in particular ways. Among community members in Português and Monte Sião, subtle acts of resistance, like the kinds of foot-dragging, gossip and boycott that James Scott describes in *Weapons of the Weak*, are signs of an agentive subjectivity, one which resists the direct imposition of institutional power (2008). Thus, the ethnographic anecdotes that I present in the next chapter, are meant to illustrate the ways in which community members resist authority in creative ways, redefining their understandings of self and of the environment in the dynamics of shifting political contexts.

Understanding politics to be any arena in which the entanglements of power relations can unfold, I align with Foucault's argument that subjectivity is always formed in relation to power, either in subjugation or resistance (Foucault 1990). Therefore, I also agree with Agrawal that *environmental* subjectivity is formed through situated practices; practices which link together the way people imagine themselves and the outcomes of their actions, and the way they internalize power (2005, 199). Still, as Foucault explores in his later work on ethics, individual actors have the ability to transform power, by turning it inwards in a form of "care" for the self that cultivates

a knowledge of one's moral obligations (Foucault 1984). In this philosophical turn in Foucault's later work, he begins to explore "politics as an ethics" (Foucault 1984, 375). Unfortunately, delving into the complexity of this later work goes beyond the scope of this thesis, but I maintain an idealistic hope that critical understandings of politics as an ethics, may in fact offer a way to subvert domination in systems of governance. For this reason, I continue to advocate for practices of environmental governance that can advance more collaborative relationships between local communities and their institutional partners, particularly in the context of the *Flota de Faro*.

In the current political juncture in Brazil, the institutional actors at Ideflor-bio and Imazon also demonstrate a sustained resistance to the forces which seek to undermine environmentalism and social justice efforts for traditional peoples. In this context, recognising the work of these institutions, and the discourses that shape the practices of particular administrators is important. Complexifying the power relations that unite institutional actors and local residents around common goals reveals the ways in which different types of agentive environmental subjects, at multiple scales of influence, are shaped by discourse, practice and imagination in systems of environmental governance.

CHAPTER TWO

Contradictions in Conservation: Tensions in the Faro State Forest

Effective political organizing for collaborative relationships between administrators and local communities demands patience, trust, and persistence. The Faro State Forest, as a political entity and a legally defined space of environmental conservation, is governed by institutions that prioritize its function as a space of preservation. These institutions work within the boundaries of the law and procedure to make this reality amenable to the residents of Português and Monte Sião, who are effectively viewed by the State as subjects of environmental governance in this protected area (Agrawal 2005). However, the individuals who co-construct this space as a conservation area are not simply *passive* subjects of environmental governance; instead, they are agents who interact with the bureaucratic structures of control in creative ways (Cortes-Vazquez and Ruiz-Ballasteros 2018; Cepek 2011; Rutherford 2007; Silva 2015). Individual stakeholders in the *Flota de Faro*, as anywhere else, hold deeply personal inner motivations, beliefs and desires. From the civil servants of Ideflor-bio and the representatives from Imazon who hold meetings and plan projects, to the community members who attend these meetings – or who intentionally abstain – all of the individuals who are connected to the systems of governance in the *Flota de Faro* are driven by inner convictions, and have the potential to influence particular outcomes.

In this chapter, I discuss three sources of tension in the Faro State Forest. The first two pertain to the frustrations of community members, the third emphasizes the perspectives of institutional actors from Ideflor-bio and Imazon. The first major source of dissatisfaction among residents of Português and Monte Sião is the lack of basic public services in their communities (specifically in the areas of health, education, and infrastructure). Based on the stories of hardship that community members shared with me, I discuss how these socioeconomic shortcomings produce tensions between administrators at Ideflor-bio, members of the local municipal government, and the residents of Português and Monte Sião. I argue that addressing these fundamental issues will be crucial if Ideflor-bio wishes to foster more collaborative partnerships with their local community partners in the *Flota de Faro*.

The second issue I discuss relates to forms and practices of environmental law enforcement. Many community members indicated, in private interviews with me and in public meetings, that

they felt increasingly persecuted by police officers from the environmental task force that monitors the area. Specifically with regards to the protection of a threatened species of river turtles (*tracajás* in Portuguese), and the strict enforcement of hunting bans, some community members felt that the police force had begun to view them as destroyers of the environment, which ran against their own understandings of themselves as stewards and guardians of the landscape. I argue that this particular set of tensions is the result of two distinct understandings of "the environment" as a sphere of action. On the one hand, administrators from Ideflor-bio, and representatives from the NGO, Imazon, have a deeply scientific understanding of the environment as a natural space which must be preserved. In their view, human beings are separate from nature and have an ethical responsibility to counter-act their own destructive tendencies, and care for and protect the environment. On the other hand, some community members have a more spiritual and affective relationship to the Faro State Forest (Singh 2013). In conversations with me, many older residents described the space from a different temporal perspective, understanding the richness of the river, the forest and the land to be "gifts from God", which must be used in moderation, and conserved and cultivated by the residents of the area, who know the landscape best. Some of the younger residents had a more pragmatic perspective, linked to the availability of opportunities for social and economic advancement.

This classic entanglement of power and knowledge sometimes results in clashes between the scientific discourse of institutional actors, and what I consider to be more "spiritual" and pragmatic discourses from different segments of the communities. Given the unequal nature of power in the governance structures of the Faro State Forest, Ideflor-bio's scientific-conservationist discourse tended to eclipse the alternative understandings of conservation practice that community members shared with me. Instead of passively accepting the "command and control" conservation practices of Ideflor-bio and the police force, community members demonstrated their agency by resisting the structures of power and authority in subtle ways (Assunção and Gandour 2019). Drawing from Scott's work on subtle forms of resistance, I argue that the residents of the *Flota de Faro* are acutely aware of the power imbalances in the conservation area's systems of governance (Scott 2008). This awareness grants them the ability to reimagine conservation practices that differ from those imposed from above, thus complexifying their position as "subjects" of environmental governance (Agrawal 2005; Cortes-Vazquez and Ruiz-Ballasteros 2018).

Finally, the third source of tension that I discuss is presented from the perspective of institutional actors from Ideflor-bio and Imazon. Through a description of four central projects implemented by Ideflor-bio in partnership with Imazon, over the past three years, I demonstrate how institutional actors from these organizations demonstrate a "will to improve" the lives of local residents (Li 2007). As with any project, each initiative has some shortcomings. Nevertheless, the efforts of Ideflor-bio and Imazon to bring sustainable income opportunities to residents in the area have created significant economic benefit for many residents of Português and Monte Sião. I highlight these efforts because they are testament to the dedication of individuals from Imazon and Ideflor-bio who have worked tirelessly over the years to bring these projects to fruition, and have made notable advancements in promoting their visions of environmental conservation.

Despite the commendable efforts of these institutional actors to improve the living conditions of community members in the Faro State Forest, I still analyse these efforts as sources of tension, since their implementation has not always been seamless. Vis-à-vis their local community partners, both representatives of Imazon and Ideflor-bio described long and arduous processes of trust-building. Some even expressed frustration that community members did not seem to appreciate the results of their endeavours. Furthermore, both organizations, Imazon and Ideflor-bio, were undergoing major restructuring at the time of my fieldwork, due to the political climate under President Jair Bolsonaro. Imazon saw its operational budget slashed when Germany and Norway withdrew their support for the Fundo Amazônia in August of 2019, as a result of political disagreements over the federal government's management of the fund (Negrão 2019). Because of the loss of funding, Imazon was required to lay off several longstanding employees who worked in the Calha Norte region (Interview with E.V., November 29, 2019). Meanwhile, Ideflor-bio underwent a major reshuffling of civil servants. In the four months I spent in Brazil, the manager of the Faro State Forest changed four times. Conflicts within the organization, and accusations of political appointments created a climate of considerable instability for many career civil servants.

By analyzing the institutional dynamics at play in the governance of the Faro State Forest, I will demonstrate that administrators, NGO-workers, and members of local government are also subjects of environmental governance, shaped by discourse, power, and practice. Especially in Brazil, these individuals work against all odds to protect the environment. Squeezed between legislators and/or donors at one scale, and their responsibilities to their local partners at another

scale, the institutional stakeholders in the Faro State Forest juggle expectations and obligations in order to bring to materialize the ideal outcomes they envision for their conservation practices. Understanding the institutional aspects of environmental governance is crucial to the multi-layered analysis of political tensions in the Flota de Faro that I advance in this chapter.

"If something bad happens, all you can do is pray to God, and head down-river to the city": Beginning with the Basics

"Just look at the state of that schoolhouse", Dona K. said to me. It was another blistering hot summer's day – thirty-five degrees Celsius with eighty percent humidity – and heat mirages were forming over the sandy paths which cut between the houses in the community of Monte Sião. The "schoolhouse" that Dona K. was pointing to was nothing more than a detached veranda, with a cement floor and a corrugated tin roof. In the measly shade it provided, a group of fifteen young children, aged seven to ten, were studying mathematics. "My daughter comes home every day with a splitting headache, you can't imagine the heat in there", Dona K. said, shaking her head. "You should see what it's like when it rains, they have to stop all the classes, the kids come home with their notebooks completely soaked". The small wooden building beside it, the classroom for four to six-year-olds, was not much better. With two small wooden-shuttered windows and a startlingly low ceiling, I could hardly imagine the stifling heat inside. "You see that pile of dried cement there? And the bricks?", Dona K. asked. I nodded. "The last mayor paid for that, they brought it all the way here, seven hours up-river from the city, to build a new schoolhouse, but they wouldn't dish out any money to pay the builders. So it just dried up and stayed there, it's unusable now" (Interview with Dona K. September 29, 2019).

In Português, the state of the school is much the same. Although the teachers there offer classes up to the seventh year of elementary education, students must go to the city to complete their eighth and ninth years, and continue into "middle education", the equivalent of North American "high school". In Português too, long-promised repairs to the school remain incomplete, and building materials are strewn around the schoolhouse, which still has neither doors nor windows. None of the schoolhouses have bathrooms, nor a kitchen in which to prepare the *merenda*, the state-subsidized meals offered to all students in the Brazilian elementary education system.

Figure 2: The two school-houses in Monte Sião. Above, the school for four to six-year-olds. Below, the schoolhouse for seven to ten-year-old's.

Figure 3: The school in Português. Windowless and doorless, and with no electricity to run a fan, the classrooms become saunas in the mid-day sun, and are water-logged during seasonal downpours.

Furthermore, there are major issues with the lack of adequate healthcare in both communities. Português has a public health post which is occasionally restocked with basic products such as ibuprofen, bandages, gauze, disinfectant, and condoms, all available free of charge to residents. However, the quantities provided are rarely sufficient to meet the needs of the communities. There is one public health attendant in Monte Sião, a resident of the community who is employed by the municipality of Faro. Seu D. is trained in First Aid and offers health information or guidance to his neighbours on particular issues (e.g., on matters pertaining to sexual health, or the prevention of mosquito-borne illnesses such as dengue and malaria). In addition to Seu D.'s advisory services, there is a nurse, also employed by the municipality, who lives down-river from the *Flota de Faro*, and makes regular visits to the communities.

Unfortunately, as one middle-aged woman – Dona F. – explained to me, the nurse is often without supplies, and even when the municipality agrees to pay for the fuel she uses to travel up-river, there is little she can do to help the ill or injured, despite her good intentions. The common refrain among my interlocutors in Português and Monte Sião was this: "If something bad happens, all you can do is pray to God, and head down-river to the city" (Interview with Dona K., September

29, 2019). For most area residents, this means a six- to eight-hour trip. The only speedboat in the vicinity is owned by Ideflor-bio, and community-members are dependent on the agency's goodwill if a serious accident or illness befalls them or a family-member. Ideflor-bio has stated that the speedboat is available for emergency transport to the city, which is a source of relief among some community members. But I sensed a certain level of frustration among others that there was no designated community-owned vehicle for health emergencies.

Yet another source of frustration for the residents of the *Flota de Faro* is the lack of access to potable water. Each community has its own central well which has the capacity to provide clean drinking water to all households. However, the electric pumps for both wells are powered by a diesel-fuelled generator. This is the same generator which powers the street lamps and which provides a few hours of electric light after dark. Under previous administrations, the municipality has subsidized the purchase of diesel so that the communities have clean drinking water and electric light in the evenings. Unfortunately, under the current prefect of Faro, Sra. Jardiane Viana Pinto, these subsidies have been cut. In an interview with the vice prefect, Sr. Jose Gonçalves, I was told that the decision to cut subsidies was an effort to "balance" the municipal budget (Interview with Sr. Gonçalves, Vice-Prefect, Municipality of Faro, October 7, 2019). This claim however seemed to clash with Ms. Pinto's rumoured plans to create a huge horse racing-track on the outskirts of the town, complete with pedigree race-horses imported from Europe, and stabled at her personal ranch (Interview with Seu J.M., September 4, 2019). Regardless of the rumours circulating about Ms. Pinto's use of public funds, residents of the *Flota de Faro* were quite categoric: "We didn't vote for her, we won't get a penny. That's how it works here, what can you do?" (Interview with Dona M., September 27, 2019).

Tragically, these petty political games resulted in a terribly difficult period for the residents of Português in 2017. When the community's generator broke, the municipality refused to supply a new one. For more than six months, community members were forced to drink water directly from the river, which led to a spike in diarrhoea among young children in the community (Imazon and Ideflor-bio 2019). Eventually, the community received a used generator, donated by a generous tourist who had visited the community on a sport-fishing expedition in early 2018. When money is tight and community members are unable to chip in the 50 Brazilian *reais* (approximately $16 CAD) per household for diesel, they revert to transporting water from the riverbank in large five-gallon buckets.

Figure 4: A young man carries water from the river.

In the surveys collected by Ideflor-bio and Imazon in 2019, twenty-one out of twenty-nine respondents (i.e., 72%) declared that they would like to see significant improvements in the areas of education, healthcare, sanitation and income opportunities. In the fifteen qualitative interviews that I conducted separately, all respondents discussed the same four central issues. While by some measures, life in these communities is improving[13], many people felt that until these central issues were resolved, they could not feel satisfied with the overall state of affairs in the region. Furthermore, there was significant resentment towards the municipal government, which many accused of corruption and politically-motivated neglect. While most people I spoke to said that they understood that it was not the responsibility of Imazon or Ideflor-bio to invest in education, healthcare or sanitation, they felt that a major reason behind the municipality's failure to pay for improvements in these areas was the shunting of responsibilities between different jurisdictions.

[13] In the cross-sectional data gathered by Imazon and Ideflor-bio in 2019, findings showed that household income in the *Flota de Faro* had increased by 98% between 2011 and 2019. The results also revealed a drastic improvement in educational levels, including a drop in illiteracy from 13.6% of the population in 2011 to 0.7% in 2019 (Imazon and Ideflor-bio 2019).

Since the communities of Português and Monte Sião are located within the boundaries of the Faro State Forest, some municipal officials seem to shirk their obligation to invest in local infrastructure, arguing that the regional environmental authorities should take responsibility for the residents' well-being. The conflict between Ideflor-bio civil servants and the mayor of Faro, Jardiane Viana Pinto, over her refusal to invest in the schools and health posts in Faro State Forest was an ongoing source of tension during my fieldwork.

Throughout the Amazon region in Brazil, access to healthcare and education is sparse. The individuals who work for Ideflor-bio and for Imazon are keenly aware of the disparities between urban and rural areas across the region. In 2014, Imazon began working with a number of researchers from the Social Progress Imperative to create Social Progress Index scores for all the municipalities across the Amazon region of Brazil (Santos, Celentano, et al. 2014). The Social Progress Index (SPI) measures social well-being across a number of factors, including access to basic services, the presence of opportunities for personal advancement, and freedom in the areas of politics, religion and gender equality. When these scores are cross-referenced with the GDP of each municipality, there is a clear correlation between a municipality's wealth and the availability and quality of basic services, opportunities for individual growth, and personal, political and religious freedoms.

A major shortcoming in the municipal SPI data is that it provides a score based on municipal averages, and therefore does not take into account disparities between rural regions and municipal capitals. In the case of Faro, the most recent SPI scores suggest that the municipality is ranked 326th out of the 772 municipalities which make up the Legal Amazon. Its SPI score of 57.26 is above the average regional score of 56.52, however, it is well below the Brazilian national average of 67.18 (Santos, Mosaner, et al. 2018). The municipality of Faro scored below regional averages in the areas of access to clean water and sanitation, access to electricity, access to information technologies, and access to advanced education. It scored above regional averages in the areas of personal safety, environmental quality, personal rights, personal freedom and choice, and inclusiveness (Santos, Mosaner, et al. 2018).

The ethnographic evidence from my research in the Faro State Forest largely substantiates these trends in the municipal data. However, based on my observations and personal interviews with local residents, the access to clean water and sanitation, electricity, access to information technologies, quality of education and quality of healthcare in Português and Monte Sião are all

areas where these communities would likely score lower than the municipal SPI averages for Faro[14]. Residents also reported shortcomings in indicators of opportunity, especially in the areas of personal freedom and choice, and personal rights. These shortcomings were largely related to corruption within the local government, and a lack of stable employment opportunities in the region.

The disparities in social progress outcomes between the rural communities in the Faro State Forest and the municipal average is likely due to the geographic isolation of the communities of Português and Monte Sião. Nevertheless, some residents suggested to me that it might also be attributable to the overlapping spheres of authority in the Faro State Forest. While the municipality of Faro remains responsible for sanitation, healthcare and education, the Environmental Secretariat for the State of Pará holds authority over the types of economic activities permitted in the *Flota de Faro*, thus limiting the number of economic opportunities available to residents. Caught between these different spheres of governmental authority, residents of Português and Monte Sião are relatively powerless in the decision-making processes at the municipal and regional levels, which affect their lives in meaningful ways.

Residents articulated the tensions that they felt with public authorities through stories of races down-river to receive urgent healthcare, failures of public authorities to finalize construction projects on local schools, and some of the daily struggles of life in a geographically isolated community: catching enough fish to feed the family, and working to scrape together enough money to buy diesel for clean water and a few hours of electric light in the evenings. Their accounts of life's hardships expressed common desires to see an engagement from local government to provide basic public services, and opportunities to offer a more comfortable life to future generations. In the tensions between a desire to prosper, and an imperative to preserve a particular way of life based on a close relationship to the natural environment, a kind of friction seemed to occur. This friction gave a real-life "grip" to particular ideals, such as preservation and prosperity, but it also produced frustrations (Tsing 2005). Mostly, these frustrations seemed to be rooted in the gaps between ideals and the difficulties of a lived reality. Faced with the hardships that the residents of

[14] In my semi-structured interviews with residents of Português and Monte Sião, many of my questions pertaining to the quality of life in the area were loosely modeled on SPI indicators, including access to shelter, clean water, adequate nutrition, healthcare, education, quality of the environment, opportunities, access to information technologies and personal safety. I asked these questions in order to get a sense of how residents perceived the quality of life in their communities. Therefore, the responses were purely qualitative, and the data was insufficient to generate quantitative results comparable to municipal SPI ratings.

these isolated communities must endure, the individuals who work for Ideflor-bio and Imazon expressed regret and discomfort at a perceived powerlessness to step outside of the boundaries of their administrative roles. I observed a clear desire among administrators to do more, even while they felt constrained by the limits of a system based on hierarchical authority and a bureaucratic approach to environmental conservation.

Part of the issue is that many of the current administrators from Ideflor-bio understand that their professional commitments are first-and-foremost to environmental conservation. Projects which support the socioeconomic development of Português and Monte Sião are important in that they engage community members as environmental "subjects", involving them in the work of protecting the forest through institutional paradigms for conservation (Agrawal 2005). This prioritization of environmental preservation creates a disconnect between Ideflor-bio's vision of the *Flota de Faro* as a natural space to be reserved for the protection of biodiversity, and local residents perceptions of the area as a *home*; in other words, a space to be cultivated, cared for and used with moderation.

Under the pressure of the current political situation in Brazil, Imazon often plays a mediating role between Ideflor-bio's bureaucratic focus on environmental protection, and the communities' demands for social programs and investments in alternative sources of income. Working together, these two organizations are pursuing a reconciliation of environmental preservation and human prosperity, through diverse initiatives. Unfortunately, due to the nature of funding applications, in Imazon's case, and the restricted administrative responsibilities of Ideflor-bio as an institution of *environmental* governance, the types of projects that these institutions can offer do not always respond to the urgent socioeconomic needs of residents. The gap between the priorities of institutional structures for environmental governance and the communities' priorities for collective well-being is source of tension that has slowed the process of trust-building. If Ideflor-bio truly wishes to institute more collaborative relationships with local residents for effective community-based governance, the administrators for the Faro State Forest must find ways to address the fundamental issues with infrastructure, healthcare, and education that decrease the quality of life for community members in Português and Monte Sião.

Tracajá Tensions

In interviews I conducted with civil servants from Ideflor-bio, and representatives of Imazon, everyone expressed a strong commitment to cultivate trusting and collaborative relationships with the residents of Português and Monte Sião. They spoke candidly about the difficulties they had faced over the years in gaining people's trust. They also spoke of the long and arduous nature of protected area implementation. Sometimes this implementation process required some heavy-handed insistence to ensure that community-members conformed to new rules and regulations. As one high-ranking civil servant at Ideflor-bio expressed:

> The goal has always been, from the very outset, to have the communities stand on their own two feet and take ownership of this area, to take it upon themselves to conserve the Flota de Faro. […] Our work has been one of bringing awareness, re-educating, and cultivating an environmental conscientiousness. Making sure that people understand that the forest doesn't need to be cut down to generate wealth, the river can stay clean. Sometimes this has led to very unpleasant and difficult confrontations, but this is the work we do. We had to convince them that they needed to make significant changes. Unfortunately, you have to bring their attention to this fact over and over again. As I like to say, we have our ways of working, sometimes with love and sometimes with pain (*pelo amor e pela dor)* (Interview with Dona Socorro Almeida, Ideflor-bio, Belém December 20, 2019).

Dona Socorro, a long-time civil servant with Ideflor-bio, had been working in the *Flota de Faro* since 2010, and had experienced the trials and tribulations of implementing a conservation program not wholly accepted by people in the region. When we spoke, she explained that the *Flota de Faro* had become the "golden child" of Ideflor-bio and their partners in the Calha Norte region. She explained that her team had invested sweat and tears into their work there, and that in recent years, they felt that they were finally turning a page with residents in the *Flota de Faro*, who were starting to participate more actively in the programs offered by Ideflor-bio and Imazon, and express their enthusiasm more openly.

Despite the overall optimism of her account, the passage above highlights some of the contradictions in Dona Socorro's narrative. On the one hand, she insisted that the ultimate management goal for the *Flota de Faro* was to see community leaders be empowered through environmental monitoring programs, and thus, obtain more influence in decision-making processes. Eventually, she envisionsed the Faro State Forest as a self-sustaining community-based conservation area, albeit one conforming to the strict legislative principles of environmental

protection set out in Brazil's National System for Environmental Conservation Units (SNUC). On the other hand, however, during our interview she was adamant that this imagined ideal for the *Flota de Faro* would require significant environmental re-education for community members. Her account suggested that, at first, community members had been largely critical of the changes that the conservation area had imposed on their way of life. This negativity, she believed, had been slowly worn down over time, with administrators playing an active role in convincing, incentivizing and sometimes even coercing residents to accept and obey the legislative restrictions of the conservation area they now inhabited.

Dona Socorro's approach to environmental governance demonstrated a clear link to Agrawal's theorization of environmentality (Agrawal 2005). From Dona Socorro's perspective, administrators must transform local residents into good environmental subjects. This process of transformation seemed to rely on strategies of "environmental education" to integrate local actors into structures of conservation by reshaping the way they imagine practices of conservation (Gerhardt 2007). Of course, in reality, the shaping of subjectivity is extraordinarily complex, and as I will describe, community members demonstrate their agency through creative forms of resistance.

One important reason for analyzing these tensions in governance, is that Dona Socorro's top-down approach may actually be counter-productive to her goal of creating a self-sustaining conservation area led by the community-members themselves. Of course, Dona Socorro's management strategies are rooted in over a decade of experience in the area of environmental conservation, and they correspond to a particular philosophy of "command and control" for effective environmental protection (Assunção and Gandour 2019).

The "command and control" philosophy for fighting deforestation and other environmental crimes advocates for careful monitoring, and strict law enforcement to punish infractions. Reports show that this strategy has been successful in combatting illegal deforestation in some parts of the Brazilian Amazon. Especially in areas where impunity and corruption fuel an industry of illegal logging, this approach may be justified and necessary in order to control increasing rates of deforestation in the Amazon region (Assunção and Gandour 2019; Brancalion, et al. 2018). In the case of protected area enforcement, however, a command and control approach can be detrimental to the solidification of trusting relationships between local communities and institutional representatives.

In my conversations with residents of Português and Monte Sião, many people indicated that they felt frustrated by the list of rules and regulations preventing them from hunting, consuming particular species of fish, harvesting wood and vines from the forest for commercial purposes, raising cattle, and other activities that had once provided r sources of income. Many community members explained that, on the one hand, they felt grateful that the government was working to protect the forest, thus preventing outsiders from over-harvesting the region's resources. On the other hand, they felt increasingly stifled by the presence of an over-bearing State and a sense that they too were seen as potential perpetrators of environmental crimes. This idea clashed with their own understandings of themselves as environmental stewards. These tensions were particularly intensified by the presence of an environmental police force, stationed at the local community center in Português.

The police force maintains a constant monitoring presence in the Faro State Forest during the dry season – between July and December – when poaching and illegal logging are more likely to occur. The officers, who are dispatched from urban centres such as Santarém or Belém, are given instructions to treat local residents with respect (Interview with Dona Socorro Almeida, Ideflor-bio, Belém, December 20, 2019). However, some of these officers demonstrated a particular callousness to the hardships that life in the rural interior of the Amazon entails. This led to a number of tense episodes between local community-members and certain officers from the environmental task force. For example, Dona E., a young woman from Monte Sião, told me a rather alarming story:

> I'm not sure that it's been such a good thing this forest reserve, as they call it. It's true that before lots of people would come here, outsiders. They invaded our rivers, they would take all the fish and sell them in the city. In those days, people would come and go from here all the time. It was tough because there came a time when it was difficult for us to even fish enough to feed our families. […] But now, there's another issue. It's that we can't fish for other reasons. We have the police breathing down our necks, accusing us of collecting turtle eggs [from the threatened *"tracaja"* species, *Podocnemis unifilis*]. The other day they threatened my husband with their guns, while my eight-year-old son was in the canoe with him! Now, these days, my husband is too scared to go out fishing. We haven't eaten anything in the past 24 hours, I don't know what we'll do (Interview with Dona E., September 30, 2019).

Dona E.'s account betrayed the conflicting emotions that many community members seemed to have about the presence of police. Her experience demonstrated a certain appreciation of the protection that the police force offered against outsiders who used to over-fish in the region.

However, she was wary of the heavy-handedness of police monitoring in her own community. When asked about this particular incident, Dona Socorro denied any wrong-doing by the police. She insisted that the community members had a tendency to exaggerate these encounters, and assured me that all police officers were instructed to act prudently in their monitoring of residents' activities. In her words, "The presence of police is always uncomfortable, but when they're gone they're sorely missed (*longe, a policia faz falta e de perto incomoda*)" (Interview with Dona Socorro Almeida, Ideflor-bio, Belém, December 20, 2019). In practice, however, the heavy-handedness of the law seemed to be one of several recurring sources of unease for many of the people that I spoke with. The way different individuals formulated their conflicting emotions about the presence of the police in the area seemed to echo other tensions related to management decisions regarding the use of natural resources.

"This place is a paradise for us", Dona R. said as she stretched her long legs out under the table. She clasped her hands and looked at me pensively. "Thank the lord that we don't see as many invasions here as we used to. I think, overall, it's a good thing to have the police here, but what happened yesterday, that wasn't okay" (Interview with Dona R., September 30, 2019). She was referring to the incident with Dona E.'s husband.

> The police need to respect the fact that this is an evangelical community, if they have an issue that needs to be dealt with, they need to learn to deal with it some other way. I don't know who put the idea in their heads that we're the bad guys over here, but it's not true. Here you'll only find good, god-fearing people. [The police], they come up in their speedboat, they pull up next to our canoes and accuse us of hiding *tracajá* eggs. You tell me, where do you think we could hide eggs in our canoe? We're honest people, we fish to put food on our tables, we're just trying to survive. I think that they, [the police and the people from Ideflor-bio], need to have an honest conversation with us, to really listen to us, to understand our needs. If they close one door, they need to open a new one for us, you understand? With a good conversation, a good sit-down talk, I think that they could really understand us (Interview with Dona R., September 30, 2019).

In my conversations with people in Português and Monte Sião, this was a common refrain. Many expressed gratitude at the protection the police offered, mixed with discomfort at finding themselves policed as well, especially in activities that were mostly harmless attempts to put food on the table for their families. Like Dona R., many people seemed to feel that these tensions could be diffused through an honest, empathetic discussion between community members, the Ideflor-bio team and the environmental police force. As Dona R. suggested, if the authorities listened

openly to the community members' points of view, perhaps they would behave differently and seek compromise on certain issues.

Of course, as individuals, Dona Socorro and her team at Ideflor-bio were empathetic to the needs of residents. Nevertheless, Dona Socorro explained to me, as professionals, they were beholden to the law and to their duty to protect the natural environment (Interview with Dona Socorro Almeida, Ideflor-bio, Belém, December 20, 2019). Thus constrained by their professional responsibilities and to the legally-defined objectives of the conservation area itself, the management team from Ideflor-bio could only respond to the communities' demands within particular legal and administrative limits.

As a result of these legal and administrative constraints, two contentious issues in particular fomented animosity between community-members and the environmental police force stationed in the *Flota de Faro*. The first pertained to the gathering of *tracajá* eggs, the second to the communities' hunting rights.

Tracajá is the popular Portuguese term for the fresh-water turtle species, *Podocnemis unifilis*. This threatened species was once endemic to the Northerwestern Amazon and Guyana Plateau region of Brazil. The turtles are considered a regional delicacy, and both their eggs and the meat of adult turtles are highly-sought after. Rampant over-consumption has led to a severe depletion of natural stocks of *Podocnemis unifilis* in the past thirty to forty years (Gomez-Conway 2007; Norris and Michalski 2013). For this reason, Ideflor-bio is especially concerned with the illegal consumption of turtle eggs in the *Flota de Faro*. Towards the end of September and throughout the month of October, the turtles lay their eggs on the sandy beaches along the Nhamundá river, near Português and Monte Sião. While I was there in 2019, the police had been given special instructions to monitor residents carefully, and punish any infractions severely. The fines established by Ideflor-bio were 500 Brazilian *reais* (roughly $130 CAD) per egg, for anyone caught gathering eggs for consumption or commercialization. Many community-members felt that the harshness of these fines was excessive, especially given that the average family in the Faro State Forest makes no more than 900 Brazilian *reais* (roughly $300 CAD) per month.

In order to further reinforce efforts to conserve the threatened *tracajás*, Ideflor-bio encouraged some community-members, who had previously received training as Environmental Agents, to build brooders to protect the eggs. For most of October, the police and some

community-members would get up at the crack of dawn to scour the beaches and sandy riverbanks for signs of *tracajá* nests. They would gather the eggs wherever they could find them and bury them in their temporary incubators. When the eggs hatched in late November, and throughout December, the turtles were returned to the water.

In private conversations with me, some community-members expressed their frustrations at the fact that they were doing this work "for free". They explained that they had hoped they might be compensated monetarily for their efforts, or obtain the right to consume a small quantity of the eggs. Some of my interlocutors even told me in confidence that they continued to consume eggs despite the restrictions. During a private conversation I had on the topic with one elderly woman, she exclaimed rather angrily, "I tell you what, if I find an egg, fines be damned, I'll eat it! God created the forest, the river and all the creatures in them to provide for us. I'm not talking about taking hundreds of them to sell in town. I just want [Ideflor-bio] to respect our customs, our traditions, and our tradition is to eat *tracajá*!". Her outburst reflected a particular understanding of the environment, and her place within it, that seemed to be widespread among community members. Specifically, I understood this perspective to emphasize conservation practices imagined over the long-term, rooted in the principles of tradition, sustainability and moderation.

Of course, not all community members imagine conservation practices in the same way. There are many residents who accept the prohibition on consuming *tracajá*. A majority of these individuals participated actively in the efforts to collect eggs and protect them in brooders. Differing views on the subject caused some conflicts among community members. Perhaps as a result of the residual rivalries between Português and Monte Sião, a considerable amount of gossip circulated among the residents of Monte Sião that Dona F. (a middle-aged woman from Português who was employed by the environmental task force to prepare their meals in the community centre's kitchen) had told the police officers that Dona E.'s husband, Seu M., was searching for *tracajá* eggs to sell in the city. As a result, many of the residents of Monte Sião were convinced that Dona F. was responsible for the unfortunate incident between Seu M., his young son, and the armed and aggressive police officers. In an attempt to quell disagreements, and reiterate the severity of restrictions, Ideflor-bio made it abundantly clear in public meetings that consumption of the eggs was strictly prohibited under all circumstances, ramping up their command and control approach to silence the protests of certain vocal opponents.

Following my observations of these tense dynamics in the *Flota de Faro*, I decided to investigate the issue further. I learned that despite threats to *Podocnemis unifilis* numbers in the wild, raising *tracajás* in captivity is a community-based conservation strategy that has been tested elsewhere. A study conducted in the Ecuadorian Amazon, for example, where *Podocnemis unifilis* is also found, suggested that strategies for community-based sustainable harvests of turtle eggs can be highly effective for the conservation of the species (Caputo, Canestrelli and Boitani 2005). The authors of the study demonstrated that 30% of the nests was sufficient to provide for the consumption needs of the community featured in their research, and that the implementation of the sustainable harvest project greatly decreased the presence of poachers in the region (Caputo, Canestrelli and Boitani 2005). The success of this model suggests that it may be worth exploring strategies to implement a similar system in the *Flota de Faro*. Engaging community members in the sustainable harvest of a restricted number of turtle eggs for consumption would demonstrate a willingness to adapt conservation policy, so that regional culinary customs can be pursued sustainably, rather than vilified through prohibitions. This could de-escalate tensions between community members and administrators, and help win over some residents who still resent the authority of Ideflor-bio on particular issues.

Figure 5: Captive tracajás pose for the anthropologist's camera in the community-center in Português.

It was early on September 25, 2019 when residents from Português, Monte Sião and the surrounding areas, began to file into the community centre for a public meeting. Locals living in close proximity to the *Flota de Faro* were invited to participate in this consultative meeting to update the conservation area's "Use Rules" (the rules outlined in the area's management plan, which dictate how residents can use natural resources, including fishing and hunting restrictions, guidelines for small-scale agriculture, and the development of new income-generation programs). I had awoken at the crack of dawn to help the Imazon and Ideflor-bio teams set up chairs, prepare coffee, and hang a large white sheet for projected PowerPoint presentations. By 8:30am the first floor of the community centre was packed with at least three dozen attendees, chatting timidly and waving fans to chase away the mugginess of the heavy morning air. As the sun rose higher in the sky and the stuffiness of the space intensified, heated words were exchanged, especially on the topics of *tracajá* prohibitions, and hunting restrictions.

Some of the community members present at the meeting expressed outrage at the way they had been treated by police. Seu S., for instance, a middle-aged man who is a respected leader in the communities, became remarkably emotional as he recounted the story of his arrest. He had been apprehended and publicly humiliated by the police the previous year during the rainy season, for hunting a wild fowl. Fishing during the rainy season is difficult since high water levels and flooded banks create new hiding places for fish to elude even the most skilled fisherman. Seu S. had set out to fish early in the morning on a rainy day, but by lunchtime he had returned home unsuccessful. Left without much choice, he decided to take his grandfather's hunting rifle into the forest to find dinner for his family. On his way back home, the police accosted him, confiscated his family's heirloom rifle, and forced him to hold a burial ceremony for the dead fowl in front of the entire community of Português. Later, he was pressed with criminal charges that are still outstanding. As he recounted this story, angry murmurs rippled through the crowd of attendees. Faced with this emotional confrontation, from a community leader that Ideflor-bio considers a close partner, the manager of the Faro State Forest averted her gaze from Seu S., apologized, and insisted that she would try to help him ensure the charges are dropped. After an awkward pause, she regained her composure and insisted that "no one is above the law", continuing her PowerPoint presentation outlining the federal laws which dictate that hunting is prohibited everywhere in Brazil, except under very special circumstances.

Indeed, the complex issue of hunting rights goes beyond the *Flota de Faro*. Article 37 of the 1998 federal Environmental Crimes Law states that hunting is prohibited throughout Brazil, with the exception of three cases: 1) the hunter finds him or herself in a state of extreme necessity; 2) the animal in question is causing damage to the hunter's property, including crops and livestock; or, 3) the animal is a danger to the hunter's family or him/herself. In the second or third case, ideally, the hunter must still obtain prior authorization from local authorities. In the first case, the state of necessity is to be determined by the apprehending officer. If the officer happens to interpret the law especially strictly, anyone hunting in close proximity to a river (where they could fish instead), or having any food or livestock at home would be in violation of Article 37 of the Environmental Crimes Law (Presidência da Republica 1998).

A study published in 2019 demonstrated that the highly deregulated and inconsistent application of Article 37 in practice has contributed to the erosion of traditional hunting rights throughout the Brazilian Amazon (Antunes, et al. 2019). As the authors of the study discuss, the arbitrary interpretation and enforcement of contradictory laws, "jeopardizes the establishment of consistent sustainable hunting management practices across Brazilian indigenous lands, sustainable use reserves and agrarian reform settlement areas" (Antunes, et al. 2019, 1). It also undermines the food sovereignty and organizational autonomy of traditional peoples in Brazil (Antunes, et al. 2019).

Dona N., a well-respected elderly woman who has worked closely with Imazon and Ideflor-bio on numerous projects, approached me after the "Use Rules" meeting on September 25. In hushed tones she expressed her anxieties: "What do they expect us to do? There's no grocery store here, the river and the forest are our grocery store and our pharmacy. If we can't even hunt anymore, what are we supposed to do?" (Interview with Dona N., September 25, 2019).

Ironically, these laws are nothing new. Legal prohibitions on hunting in Brazil date back to the Wildlife Protection Act of 1967. So, why do residents of the *Flota de Faro* suddenly feel betrayed by the sources of authority that Ideflor-bio and the environmental police force embody? The residents understand very well that there is little Ideflor-bio can do to modify national legislation that has existed for several decades, and that they are constrained by their professional responsibility to uphold these laws. Nevertheless, in the vocalization of common frustrations, residents of the area express their discontent at the laws and procedures which they understand to be unjust, and which have important impacts for their everyday lives. In doing so, they assert

themselves as agents who are opposed to the legislative decisions of governmental authorities, and demonstrate that they are not simply passive subjects of environmental governance. The accounts of tension and conflicting perspectives that residents shared with me also revealed a hope that the structures of governance that shape their daily lives could be better adapted to their own needs. They expressed a desire for closer collaboration with their partners at Ideflor-bio, a collaboration rooted in principles of trust, respect, empathetic listening and compromise.

I understand the stories that community members shared with me to be subtle forms of resistance, in the sense that James Scott has theorized (2008). Although the residents of the *Flota de Faro* do not stage protests or boycotts, they express their discontents openly, and are critical of management decisions that they do not agree with. They do so through vocal protests in public meetings, storytelling, gossip, and demonstrations of apathy or abstention in the social programs that Ideflor-bio and Imazon organize.

For example, during the construction of the community centre, many residents refused at first to participate in building the centre. After weeks of cajoling and negotiating, some key leaders in the community finally accepted. When I asked Seu J.-A. (a carpenter who was closely involved in the construction of the community centre) why this was, he explained that he, and many of his neighbours, felt that they were being employed to build a base for visitors, and not a structure to support his community's interests. As a demonstration of their initial resistance to the project, he and his neighbours avoided members of Ideflor-bio during their periodic visits to the community, and found excuses to not show up to project-planning meetings. Eventually, Seu J.-A. was won over by the enthusiasm of the former manager of the *Flota de Faro*, Joanisio Mesquita. Joanisio's charismatic insistence that the community centre would facilitate the extension of eco-tourism initiatives, and thus create employment opportunities for residents, convinced Seu J.-A. that the project would be worthwhile.

In another conversation with Seu J.-A., a week after the September 25 "Use Rules" meeting, some of the latent frustration from the event was still palpable. "They, [Ideflor-bio], just don't understand us, don't understand our needs", he said, wiping the sweat from his brow. We were sitting in the kitchen of his house; he had just come home, having spent the morning tilling his manioc plantation, and he was waiting for his wife to serve him lunch.

> You heard all that stuff about the hunting rules the other day. We know it's not new, we know that they, [Ideflor-bio and Imazon], can't do much about the laws that come from Brasilia, but still, it feels like a betrayal. These days with the police breathing down our

> necks, it feels like we can't do anything anymore. Can't hunt, can't fish this type of fish anymore because it's for the tourists and their fishing sport, can't plant an area bigger than 4 hectares, have to raise our chickens in coops. Soon we won't even be able to breathe the air! You know, they're trying to do stuff for us, they have their programs, but they never take the time to ask us what *we* want. That Environmental Agents program, for example. Okay that's great, they trained some young people in first aid, and in survival skills, they want them to learn about the environment and how to protect it. But they spent all that money, and what real job prospects do the young people get from that program? Nothing. You know, I asked them, [Ideflor-bio and Imazon], whether they could look into mechanics training courses for speedboats and small engines, like motorcycles, tractors and things like that. There's plenty of work for things like that in the city. They did bring the pilot training program, but the mechanics course, you know what they brought? A mechanic to teach us how to fix *rabetas*[15]. Most of us were practically born in a *rabeta.* We knew much more about those engines than that guy! (Interview with Seu J.-A., October 1, 2019)

Seu J.-A. shook his head. "I just feel like there's no communication between us and them. They don't listen to our needs. They just care about the trees and the animals. I get that it's important, but I have a family to feed. I want my kids to have opportunities that I never had. Every day I think more and more about leaving this place and starting a new life in the city" (Interview with Seu J.-A., October 1, 2019).

Seu J.-A.'s account illustrates the disconnect between Ideflor-bio's desire to govern the Flota de Faro participatively, and a common frustration among residents who feel that they, and their way of life, are not understood by outsiders. Most importantly, it demonstrates that a "command and control" approach to governance is actually alienating many key members of the community. While monitoring and enforcement are important aspects of preserving the integrity of protected areas, these activities can be counter-productive to the development of trusting and collaborative relationships between governing authorities and local residents of these areas. In the case of the Faro State Forest, diffusing the tensions surrounding law enforcement and environmental restrictions will be fundamental if Ideflor-bio is to move towards its goal of implementing a self-sustaining, community-led form of conservation.

[15] *Rabeta* is the popular term used to refer to the small engines placed on canoes throughout the Amazon region. These motors feature a long stick with a propeller on the end, allowing the pilot to navigate in especially shallow waters. The term, *rabeta* can also be used to refer to the ensemble of a canoe equipped with this type of engine.

Ideflor-bio and Imazon and the Institutional "Birds-eye-view"

In my interviews with civil servants from Ideflor-bio, and researchers from Imazon, my interlocutors were justifiably proud of the programs they had implemented in the *Flota de Faro*. As I described at the outset of this chapter, administrators indicated to me that the Faro State Forest was the "golden child" of the state-governed protected areas in the northern region of Pará. Many years of negotiation, dedication and resilience had gone into the implementation of four central initiatives, which are at the heart of Ideflor-bio and Imazon's work in the Faro State Forest: 1) the Community Centre, built between 2016 and 2017; 2) the Sport-fishing program, which brings jobs, training, and income to community-members in Português and Monte Sião; 3) the commercialization of a species of ornamental fish endemic to the region, *acará-disco*, which is highly coveted for aquariums; and 4) the Environmental Agents educational program. Of course, there are many more projects that have been implemented in the *Flota de Faro* over the years, and many more planned for the future. I will limit my discussion to these four, however, since they represent the most significant and popular initiatives implemented to date, in the eyes of both administrators and community-members.

In highlighting these four programs, my aim is to demonstrate that there is important work being done by Ideflor-bio and Imazon in an effort to improve the lives of community members in Português and Monte Sião. These projects all share a common goal: implementing the structures and practices conducive to community-based conservation. In this sense, these efforts demonstrate a "will to improve", to borrow a notion from Tania Li (Li 2007) . However, as Li describes, sometimes this "will to improve" emerges from misguided notions about what constitutes "improvement". The vague nature of international standards for "participative conservation" creates a tension between what civil servants and administrators wish to materialize through their work, and what they are able to achieve given the context and constraints they work within.

I have chosen to call Imazon and Ideflor-bio's perspective a "birds-eye-view", because members of these institutions occupy a delicate position between striving to achieve the lofty ideals touted in the international conservation discourse that shapes and informs the work they do, and accounting for the realities of their "partners" on the ground. My sense is that many of the individuals at Ideflor-bio and Imazon see how the *Flota de Faro* could fit into the model of community-based conservation, and, are cognizant of power of this kind of collaborative initiative

for advancing conservation goals alongside social justice for traditional peoples. In this sense, they have a "birds-eye-view" of how the realities on the ground can be reshaped through certain practices, so that the *Flota de Faro* can fit into regional, national and international conservation movements. The issue with this multi-level gaze, rooted in and shaped by scientific discourse around the way conservation should be carried out, is that its idealism sometimes obscures the rough edges of real-life hardships in Português and Monte Sião.

The gap between how institutional actors imagine conservation practices, and how community members envision their own role as environmental subjects can produce tensions, as I have described previously. In this section, I will highlight the important work that institutional actors at Ideflor-bio and Imazon are doing, and discuss the delicate positions they occupy as different kinds of "environmental subjects" (Agrawal 2005). In so doing, I hope to couch my critiques from the previous sections in a recognition of the contextual situatedness of the modes of environmentality that operate in the Faro State Forest.

Possibly the most conspicuous project to date, the *Flota de Faro*'s Community Centre for Integrated Management (*Centro Comunitário de Gestão Integrada*), was a joint initiative, planned by Ideflor-bio and Imazon, with financial support from the U.S.-based Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, and the Brazilian Rio Norte Mining company (MRN). In 2016, Ideflor-bio and Imazon secured this funding through a series of successful grant applications, and set about recruiting community participation for the project. At that time, I was a summer research intern for Imazon, and had the opportunity to attend one of the consultative meetings with community members. As Seu J.-A. described during my interviews with him in 2019, during that particular meeting in 2016, there was some reticence about the project on the part of community-members. Ideflor-bio and Imazon wanted to employ people from the community to build the structure of the community-centre. They had hoped to use a combination of wood from fallen trees in the forest, and building supplies imported from nearby cities. As part of their plan to provide economic benefit to the residents of the area, they offered to pay builders from the community in wages above market standards. Despite this, at first, the community members hesitated, and avoided the proposition. This caused considerable frustration among administrators, who wondered why community members were not more enthusiastic about the opportunities being offered to them.

As Seu J.-A. explained to me later, this hesitation turned out to be a form of resistance to the perceived lack of consultation in the project-planning stages. Eventually, after some cajoling, and much back-and-forth, the team from Ideflor-bio and Imazon succeeded in bringing a number of key community members onboard. As one employee from Imazon described to me, in the final stages of building everyone pulled together and got their hands dirty. Men and women from the community and technicians from Imazon and Ideflor-bio worked side by side to build the centre from the ground-up (Interview with Renan Moura, Imazon, Belém December 19, 2019). Renan Moura, a young researcher at Imazon, described this final effort as a joyous occasion, a key moment in the appropriation of the community centre by the residents of the *Flota de Faro*.

Indeed, the community centre is a beautiful building. Built on two stories, out of Amazonian hardwood, it towers over the Nhamundá river like a majestic ferry-boat exploring the winding tributaries of the Amazon. On the ground floor of the centre, there is a large open space with chairs and tables for meetings, a small office and a fully equipped kitchen, complete with a refrigerator and a deep-freezer (the only ones in the Faro State Forest). Also on the ground floor, connected to the main building by a covered cement pathway, there are four bathrooms and a laundry basin. All the bathrooms are equipped with flush toilets (also the only ones in the Faro State Forest) and showers, supplied by the centre's own water tank and powered by its private generator. Towards the end of my fieldwork, in late November 2019, the community centre was also equipped with two large solar panels and a Wi-fi network. On the second floor of the building, there is an open space with a number of hooks, from which visitors can hang their hammocks. There are also two small rooms with beds, which serve as lodgings for the two elementary school teachers who come from out of town to work for a few months at a time, and then return home (both are originally from the communities, but have their main residences in urban areas).

Despite the constant insistence by team-members from Ideflor-bio and Imazon that this centre belongs to the community, most people in Português and Monte Sião referred to the building as "the base". I felt that this was a clear allusion to their feelings that the building was more of a basecamp for visitors than a space that truly belonged to them. After all, the accommodations provided by the community centre are remarkably luxurious when compared to the difficulties faced by local residents of the area in accessing basic services such as clean drinking water and electric light. One night, as I was returning from the usual evening soccer game in Português, it struck me that the only light in the area was radiating from the community centre. The residents

of Português had run out of diesel for their own generator, and had been plunged into darkness, save the occasional flickering of a cooking fire. The community centre, however, shone bright over the bushes which separated it from the rest of the village. As I approached I could hear the sounds of *Mission Impossible* fighter planes battling each other on the grainy flat screen television on the ground floor. Four police officers were spread out on the chairs, while a handful of young schoolchildren stared wide-eyed at the screen. The four men were eating large bowls of popcorn and laughing loudly. I looked back over my shoulder at the silhouettes of the small houses in Português, barely distinguishable in the darkness. Swallowing the icky feeling in my stomach, I drank a glass of cold water from the electric water cooler, took a shower, and slumped into my hammock for the night, keenly aware of the luxuries that separated me from my interlocutors over hedges.

Without a doubt, the community centre is a valuable addition to the infrastructure of Português. The availability of Wi-fi has improved access to information and communication for residents. It also provides a place for women from the communities to prepare the state-subsidized *merenda* for schoolchildren. Finally, and perhaps most significantly from the perspective of institutional actors, it provides a comfortable location in which to hold project-planning meetings, and organize new initiatives to advance conservation in the Flota de Faro. At the same time, investing in such a structure while most residents barely have access to clean drinking water emphasizes the fact that the governing authorities are constrained by their institutional commitment to advancing environmental conservation first and foremost. Of course, the existence of the community centre facilitates the ability of administrators to work towards income-generating initiatives which can help residents become self-sufficient, such as the sport-fishing tourism project. Nevertheless, for some residents, the shining lights of the community centre in the darkness of night over Português may be a reminder of glaring inequalities in the power relations of decision-making, rather than a beacon of partnership.

Figure 6: The Faro State Forest's Community Centre for Integrated Management (*Centro Comunitário de Gestão Integrada*) at nightfall. Photo by: Joanisio Mesquita.

"The completion of the Community Centre was a real turning point for us", Dona Socorro said to me when we met in her office at the headquarters of Ideflor-bio in Belem, in December 2019. "It marked a change in our working conditions, and it provided a physical space from which we could continue building trust with the communities. From that point forward, we were really able to accelerate the realization of some projects that had been in the works for a while. In particular, the sport-fishing initiative" (Interview with Socorro Almeida, Ideflor-bio, Belém, December 20, 2019). The sport-fishing tourism project has indeed been a remarkable initiative. Organized in partnership with a tourism company based in the nearby city of Nhamundá, the business venture proposes an organized tour for sport-fisherman from larger urban areas, who wish to tackle the coveted *tucunaré,* a feisty fresh-water fish weighing up to 30lbs. The tourists pay a package deal for transportation to the Flota de Faro, meals, and accommodations on a large house boat. Upon arrival in the Flota de Faro, each tourist must pay an additional 50 Brazilian *reais*, a "community tax", which is then deposited into the bank account of the Flota de Faro Resident's Association (AMOFLOTA). In addition to this tax, each tourist pays his guide a daily wage of 100 Brazilian

reais (the equivalent of $30 CAD). The guides must be drawn from the list of community-members from Português and Monte Sião who have successfully completed the Environmental Agents training program and the "boat pilot" program. These programs included courses in First Aid and CPR, wilderness survival, and a streamlined process for obtaining a legal boating license. Both the Environmental Agents program and the Marine vessel pilot training program were offered to community members, free of charge, by Ideflor-bio and Imazon.

The sport-fishing partnership was first launched in 2016. That year the *Flota de Faro* saw only twenty visitors. The following year, however, in 2017, the number of visitors jumped to seventy, and grew steadily throughout 2018 and 2019. This initiative has provided a significant economic boon to young men in the community. Some women have also benefitted by offering their services as cooks on the houseboats. However, the economic benefits from this program have largely gone to male heads of households.

Another initiative which has provided economic benefit to male heads of households is the commercialization of *acará-disco* ornamental fish. This aesthetically pleasing disc-shaped fish is endemic to the region, and is highly coveted for large aquariums. Community-members used to sell the coveted fish to urban middle-men for as little as 1 Brazilian *real* per fish. With the help of Ideflor-bio, they now sell all the fish they capture to a single, trusted middle-man who buys the fish for 25 Brazilian *reais* per head, and provides all the supplies for capturing, stocking and transporting them. Online, and in stores in larger cities, a single *acará-disco* often sells for 200 to 400 Brazilian *reais*.

Although this work is financially rewarding for community-members, it can be extremely risky. One *acará-disco* fisherman, Seu S., explained to me that the best time to collect the fish was at night. He, his son, and his nephew would set out at dusk in a canoe with two masks and two snorkels. Paddling out away from the communities, they would slip quietly into the river, and dive under the tangled tree roots and low-hanging branches to net the little fish in the muddy waters along the riverbanks. More than once they had caught sight of massive Amazonian black caimans floating lazily beneath the surface. When I asked whether it was worth the risk, Seu S. just laughed. "When you're out on your own, I'll admit it can be a little nerve-wracking, but when the boys are with me, I know they keep watch. When you figure we can net 150 fish each in a month, that's over 3000 *reais* each, [more than three times the minimum wage]! So yeah, it's definitely worth

it. Of course, we never actually manage to fill the quota of 150 in a month, but even if we get relatively close, it's very good money" (Interview with Seu S., November 6, 2019). According to Ideflor-bio's records, between 2018 and 2019 the *acará-disco* trade had generated a total of 79,000 Brazilian *reais* in revenue for families in the surrounding regions of the Faro State Forest (Interview with Dona Socorro Almeida, Ideflor-bio, Belém, December 20, 2019).

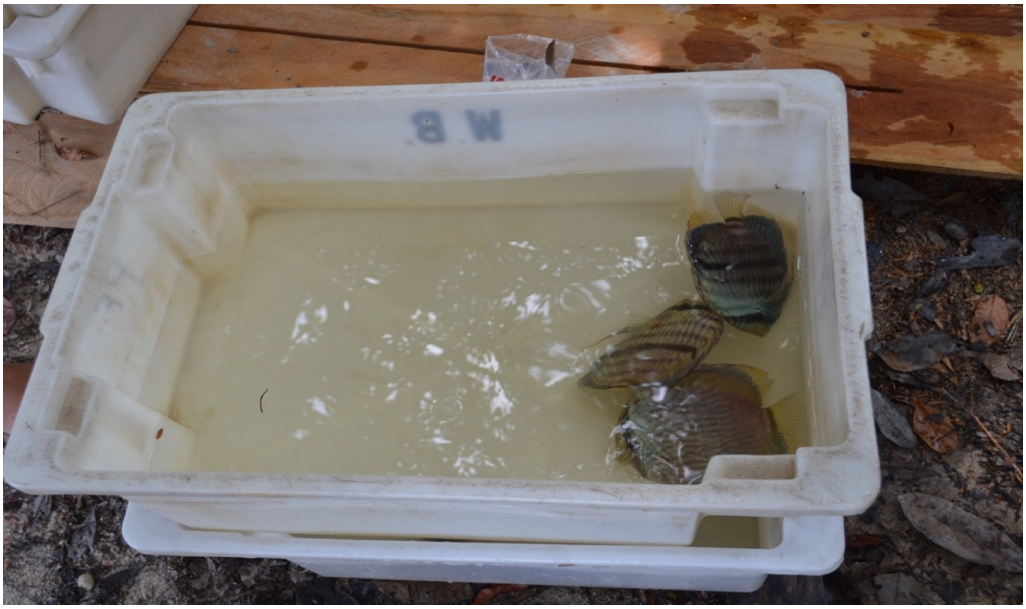

Figure 7: A few *acará-disco* fish float listlessly in plastic bins.

Figure 8: One of the courageous young *acará-disco* fishermen, and a massive black caiman skull that he dredged from the bottom of the Nhamundá river during a particular exciting outing.

In many ways, the sport-fishing initiative and the efforts to sustainably and fairly commercialize *acará-disco* have been successful due to Ideflor-bio and Imazon's flagship program: the Environmental Agents project. Although the program remains controversial in some senses, most people in Português and Monte Sião, and within the Ideflor-bio and Imazon team, agree that it was fundamental for trust-building between administrators and residents of the *Flota de Faro*. Between weekend wilderness survival camps, life-guard training, and long hikes through the forest, bonds were forged among the program's participants, who were both administrators and community members. These skills proved valuable for men who were later able to enrol as guides for sport-fishing tourists. For female participants, however, and those who were unable to complete the additional boating course, there has been negligible financial benefit from this program.

One of the original motivating factors behind the program was to "re-educate" residents of Português and Monte Sião so that they would act as volunteer park rangers, guarding the Faro State Forest from intruders. Unfortunately, in the lawless and isolated regions of the Brazilian Amazon, unarmed volunteer park rangers are hardly a match for poachers, loggers or other invaders. As Seu S. explained, he had been threatened on several occasions by people he had approached and reprimanded for entering the Faro State Forest without authorization. Once, he had an unfortunate run-in with one of these individuals in the nearby city of Nhamundá; the man threatened to kill him if he ever saw his face again. After this frightening incident, Ideflor-bio got more serious about employing an environmental police force to monitor the area. When the police brigades first arrived in 2018, community members were excited about the protection they could offer. As time went on, however, tensions grew. Seu S. explained to me that he felt that the police were a necessary presence in the region, but that current tensions between community members and the police had to be diffused through the establishment of common goals and boundaries, and trust-building between residents and officers.

Through the programs I have described in this section, and many more, Ideflor-bio and their partners at Imazon have succeeded in creating new employment opportunities for local residents, and have improved community infrastructure. Their work has allowed them to develop close relationships with many residents of the area, building trust and encouraging a deeper engagement in future projects. In the eyes of many community members that I spoke to, this work was meaningful and important, but my interlocutors also indicated that there were still a number of

issues which need to be addressed in order to solidify partnerships further. For example, Seu J.A.'s frustration at the ill-adapted *rabeta* mechanics course demonstrates that some community members still feel that their needs are not entirely understood by Ideflor-bio and Imazon, and that some investments in training programs might be more productively invested elsewhere. Furthermore, while the communities' schools and health post remain derelict, many residents feel that the benefits of government programs are not serving the collective well-being of the community, as much as they could be.

At the same time, the advances in income opportunities, infrastructure, overall health, and education levels that recent socioeconomic surveys in the *Flota de Faro* reflect, are largely attributable to the grit and determination of dedicated civil servants and NGO-workers who go to incredible lengths to make development programs and conservation policies a reality (Imazon and Ideflor-bio 2019). The problem is that, most of the time, these ideas are dreamt up by the civil servants and NGO-workers themselves, who have a birds-eye-view of the potential of the Faro State Forest as a participative conservation area with a sustainable development focus. This birds-eye-view, derived from a position of relative power and privilege, gives them access to sources of funding and other resources which help them realize their project ideas.

For community members, the daily realities of life create other priorities: putting food on the table, providing for their children's education, staying healthy, and offering a better future for their families. How the *Flota de Faro* might fit into international conservation ideals is a distant reality for them, intangible and irrelevant to their own daily struggles. In this disconnect between the priorities of community members and the goals of administrators, tensions can impede collaboration and compromise.

These tensions reflect the dynamic power relations which shape the practices of "environmentality" that operate in the *Flota de Faro* (Agrawal 2005). Unlike the "regulatory communities" that Agrawal describes in the context of Kumaon, India, (where the subjectivities of villagers were shaped in important ways by the internalization of regulations for forest use) the subjects of environmental governance in the Faro State Forest have not yet shifted towards a self-regulatory form of conservation. Rather, institutional actors and local agents navigate shifting relationships of resistance and dominance in different contexts. Furthermore, the institutional actors from Imazon and Ideflor-bio must themselves resist particular structures of subjugation, in a national political context in Brazil that is increasingly hostile to the work that they do. In this

sense, the authoritative figures of environmental governance in the *Flota de Faro*, Dona Socorro, Joanisio, and their colleagues at Ideflor-bio and Imazon, deploy discourse attuned to international ideals for "participative conservation", in order to resist the conservative political forces that oppose environmentalism, and the rights of traditional peoples in Brazil.

In multi-scale analysis of power, it is important demonstrate an awareness of the ways in which the dominant are also dominated by other forces and obligations beyond their control. While it is true that Ideflor-bio's institutional perspective of conservation can sometimes eclipse local understandings of environmentalist practice, the nature of these power relations is not deterministic. On the contrary, the subjects of diverse enviromentalities at different scales are constantly find new ways to resist power, and assert their agency in defence of particular ideals. Navigating these shifting power relations, and finding subtle and creative ways to resist institutional power through compromise and engaged empathy could offer a promising way forward for improving collaborative partnerships between community members and administrators in the Faro State Forest.

CONCLUSION

This thesis offers an analysis of political tensions in the governance of the Faro State Forest, through the lens of Agrawal's theories of *environmentality* (2005). I have argued that both local community members and institutional actors in the *Flota de Faro* demonstrate an agentive subjectivity which is informed by discourses, personal experiences, power and imagination (Agrawal 2005, 172). As active stakeholders in the conservation and development outcomes of the space of action that Faro State Forest constitutes, both local residents and administrators work to materialize particular ideals through situated conservation practices.

Through the ethnographic evidence presented in Chapter Two I argued that community members envision priorities and outcomes for the conservation area that sometimes clash with the institutional objectives that members of Ideflor-bio and Imazon have a professional obligation to prioritize. Residents of Português and Monte Sião, rooted as they are in a physical context which lacks basic public services and opportunities for long-term economic advancement, would like to see a greater engagement from their institutional partners in addressing the issues they face with healthcare, infrastructure and education. I suggested that institutional action to address these urgent livelihood issues would solidify trusting partnerships between Ideflor-bio, Imazon and local residents, thereby facilitating future conservation efforts. I also argued that Ideflor-bio's "command and control" approach to monitoring and environmental law enforcement was creating avoidable conflict with local community members, and that softening this approach could also facilitate more collaborative partnerships in environmental governance. Finally, in the final section of Chapter Two I presented some of the initiatives that Imazon and Ideflor-bio have successfully implemented in the *Flota de Faro*, weighing some of the costs and benefits of these programs from the perspective of administrators, and local residents. In so doing, I have attempted to root my critiques of Ideflor-bio and Imazon in a recognition of the importance of their work, and their admirable determination to advance the substantive goals of environmental conservation and social justice for traditional communities in the Brazilian Amazon.

Based on this evidence, I forward a few humble theoretical contributions relevant to the fields of environmental anthropology, political ecology and studies of *environmentality*. The first pertains to the role of ethnography for advancing understandings of the particular manifestations of power in the everyday scenarios of environmental governance, and deconstructing the

conceptual boundaries between "phases" of conservation (Vaccaro, Beltran and Paquet 2013). My research demonstrates that attention to the *minutiae* of everyday life within a protected area is a methodological approach that facilitates an attunement to the actions that produce conservation in practice, including technologies of government, ideals and subtle forms of resistance (Foucault 2009; Tsing 2005; Scott 2008).

The second contribution pertains to theories of resistance and agency within structures of environmental governance. As I have described, resistance to institutional power in the *Flota de Faro* manifests itself in various ways, including gossip, abstentions from project-planning meetings, vocal complaints and storytelling. These varied forms of subtle resistance demonstrate that community members in the Faro State Forest have not entirely internalized the conservation discourse advanced by institutional structures of power. Rather, they reshape their subjectivity as traditional peoples and environmental guardians in creative and dynamic ways, through religious discourse, imagination and diverse understandings of environmental stewardship within their lived realities (Agrawal 2005; Cortes-Vazquez and Ruiz-Ballesteros 2018; Scott 2008). Although the theoretical conclusions that I advance are not revolutionary, I hope that the evidence I have presented will serve to bear out elements from the work of the accomplished scholars whose ideas I draw on in order to formulate my analysis (Agrawal 2005; Cortes-Vazquez and Ruiz-Ballesteros 2018; Scott 2008).

The central argument of this thesis pertains to *how* differing visions of management priorities among stakeholders in the Faro State Forest relate to the environmental actions taken by particular actors. At the outset of this thesis, I discussed Tsing's theorization of "universals" as "knowledge that moves – mobile and mobilizing – across localities and cultures" (Tsing 2005, 7). I employed Tsing's theories of "friction" to situate my research in the context of global conservation debates, arguing that the ethnographic account I have presented can give practical "grip" to theoretical arguments rooted in notions of "prosperity" and "preservation". As Tsing's theory of friction illustrates, the connection between ideals and practice can be turbulent. I have argued that the ideals which underpin management priorities in the Faro State Forest sometimes run aground in the environmental actions which bring "conservation" into being.

How particular agents come to favour certain management priorities over others can be the result of countless factors. Political convictions, personal experiences, religious beliefs, educational background and socioeconomic standing are all variables which might influence an

agent to push for a particular outcome in processes of governance. In my fieldwork, I observed that institutional actors within Ideflor-bio tended to favour the preservation of biodiversity as the central priority in management decisions for the *Flota de Faro.* Their rationale for the prioritization of *environmental* preservation was rooted in a deep respect for the legal and administrative status of the Faro State Forest as a sustainable use forest reserve, and a state-governed protected area. This rigid legal-bureaucratic understanding sometimes precluded the possibility of integrating local traditional understandings of what conservation practices might entail, as I illustrated in my discussion of restrictions surrounding the consumption of *tracajá* eggs.

For many of the residents of Português and Monte Sião, however, their desire to preserve the forest and the river seemed to be closely related to their understandings of personal and collective prosperity. Many of the people I spoke with referred to their home as a "paradise" where food was abundant, and families could live peacefully and happily, far from the crime and corruption of urban areas. In this sense, local discourse ran counter to mainstream 'development' perspectives which take livelihoods and prosperity to be in a 'trade-off' conflict with biodiversity preservation. Therefore, residents felt frustrated and misunderstood when certain events revealed that they were sometimes viewed as environmental antagonists by police and government representatives. This institutional vision ran counter to personal understandings of themselves as environmental subjects, and produced governance conflicts rooted in a mismatch between how different agents interpreted shared ideals.

Throughout this thesis, I have attempted to nuance my discussion of tensions in the management of the Faro State by suggesting that dialogue can facilitate a bridging of different governance priorities. Universals, as essentially contested concepts, have the capacity to unite precisely because they mean different things to different people. They can also become a source of division when their interpretations produce a particular set of outcomes that run counter to contested understandings. For example, suggesting that prosperity is necessarily economic, and crystalizing this understanding in top-down 'policy action', can run counter to traditional and/or indigenous understandings of a holistic prosperity based on a nurturing of ecosystems, livelihoods and cultural practices as relational wholes. Cultivating systems of dialogue which facilitate a bridging of differences for more collaborative systems of protected area governance will require paying particular attention to the ways in which different types of knowledge and action are informed by universals, and how these universals are deployed in defense of institutional power.

As the northern regions of Brazil enter a new dry season, record rates of forest fires once again lay waste to the Amazon. The Amazon Environmental Research Institute (IPAM) released a report warning policy makers and institutional watchdogs that a "perfect storm" may be brewing in the Brazilian Amazon (Moutinho, et al. 2020, 1). The authors of the study report that a combination of factors, including the COVID-19 pandemic, a continued increase in deforestation, and a number of fires superior to that seen in 2019, has the potential to cause numerous deaths and significant displacement throughout the region. The study also warns that, due to unprecedented burden that COVID-19 has placed on the "already fragile and deficient health system in the Amazon, especially in smaller cities", a new wave of fires could result in a complete collapse of regional health systems (Moutinho, et al. 2020, 1).

Meanwhile, President Jair Bolsonaro continues to downplay the severity of the pandemic, even though more than 80,000 Brazilians have died of coronavirus to date (Ministério da Saúde 2020). Furthermore, members of his government, including the Minister of the Environment, Ricardo Salles, have taken advantage of the chaos caused by COVID-19 to advance corporate interests and weaken environmental legislation in the Amazon. Salles was recorded on video stating, in a ministerial meeting on April 22, 2020, that ministers should take advantage of the mediatic distraction that the COVID-19 pandemic presented to simplify environmental norms, and change legislative restrictions in various areas of government (Estadão 2020).

Given the ongoing threats that this political situation presents to environmental protection throughout Brazil, any efforts to forward conservation aims should be commended and supported. The Faro State Forest is but one of thousands of protected areas in Brazil, each area demonstrating particular characteristics surely worth exploring to understand how situated practices of environmental governance advance the institutional goals of conservation areas. The central, practical contribution of this research is to suggest that institutional actors pay careful attention to the perspectives and priorities of their local partners. In so doing, conservation areas in Brazil could, in fact, become mechanisms for both social justice for traditional peoples, and the protection of the Amazon forest's stunning biodiversity. Attentiveness to the manifestations of power in the *minutiae* of environmental governance practices can facilitate important changes for better collaboration among the diverse set of actors that advance these important goals in different ways.

Bibliography

Agrawal, Arun. 2005. *Environmentality: Technologies of Government and the Making of Subjects.* Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Agrawal, Arun, and K. Redford. 2006. *Poverty, Development and Biodiversity Conservation: Shooting in the Dark?* Working Paper No. 26, Wildlife Conservation Society.

Agrawal, Arun, and Kent Redford. 2009. "Conservation and Displacement: An Overview." *Conservation and Society* 1-10.

Alencar, Ane, Paulo Moutinho, Vera Arruda, Camila Balzani, and João Ribeiro. 2019. *Amazônia em Chamas: Onde Está o Fogo.* Nota técnica, Institute de Pesquisa Ambiental da Amazônia (IPAM).

Alexiades, Miguel. 2009. *Mobility and migration in indigenous Amazonia: contemporary ethnoecological perspectives.* New York: Berghahn Books.

Almeida, Mauro W. Barbosa de. 2004. "Direitos à Floresta e Ambientalismo: Seringueiros e suas Lutas." *Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais* 19 (55): 33-53.

Alves, Jose Eustaquio Diniz, Suzana Marta Cavenaghi, and Luiz Felipe Walter Barros. 2014. "A transição religiosa brasileira e o processo de difusão das filiações evangélicas no Rio de Janeiro." *Horizonte* 1055-1085.

Andrade, Lucia M. M. de. 2018. *Antes a água era cristalina, pura e sadia: percepções quilombolas e ribeirinhas dos impactos e riscos da mineração em Oriximiná, Pará.* São Paulo: Comissão Pro-Índio de São Paulo.

Antunes, Andre Pinassi, George Henrique Rebelo, Juarez Carlos Brito Pezzuti, Marina Albuquerque Regina de Mattos Vieira, Pedro de Araujo Lima Constantino, Joao Vitor Campos-Silva, Rogerio Fonseca, Carlos Cesar Durigan, and Rossano Marchetti Ramos. 2019. "A conspiracy of silence: Subsistence hunting rights in the Brazilian Amazon." *Land Use Policy* 84: 1-11.

Assunção, Juliano, and Clarissa Gandour. 2019. *Combating Illegal Deforestation: Strengthening Command and Control is Fundamental.* White Paper, Climate Policy Initiative; Iniciativa para o Uso da Terra.

Athayde, Simone, and Jose Silva-Lugo. 2018. "Adaptive Strategies to Displacement and Environmental Change Among the Kaiabi Indigenous People of the Brazilian Amazon." *Society & Natural Resources* 666-682.

Benatti, Jose Heder. 2011. "Propriedade comum na Amazonia: Acesso e uso dos recursos naturais pelas populações tradicionais." In *Terras e Territórios na Amazônia: Demandas,*

Desafios e Perspectivas, by Sergio Sauer and Wellington Almeida, 93-114. Brasilia: Editora Universidade de Brasilia.

Benatti, Jose Heder. 1999. "Unidades de Conservação e as Populações Tradicionais: Uma Análise Jurídica da Realidade Brasileira." *Novos Cadernos NAEA* 2 (2): 107-126.

Beser, Erika Giuliane Andrade de Sousa, Julia Farias Ribeiro, and Luciana Gonçalves de Carvalho. 2018. "Um protocolo de consulta no Alto Trombetas: experiências e resultados." *Terceira Margem Amazônia: Dossiê Baixo Amazonas* 153-167.

Betim, F. 2019. "Bolsonaro neutraliza o papel do Ibama na aplicação de multas ambientais." *El Pais*, Maio 8.

Brancalion, Pedro, Danilo de Almeida, Edson Vidal, Paulo Molin, Vanessa Sontag, Saulo Souza, and Mark Schulze. 2018. "Fake legal logging in the Brazilian Amazon." *Sciences Advances* 1-7.

Brito, Brenda, Paulo Barreto, Amintas Brandão Jr., Sara Baima, and Pedro Henrique Gomes. 2019. "Stimulus for land grabbing and deforestation in the Brazilian Amazon." *Environmental Research Letters* 1-17.

Brockington, Dan. 2002. *Fortress Conservation: The Preservation of the Mkomazi Game Reserve, Tanzania.* Oxford: James Currey.

Brockington, Dan, Jim Igoe, and Kai Schmidt-Soltau. 2006. "Conservation, Human Rights, and Poverty Reduction." *Conservation Biology* 250-252.

Brosius, J. Peter, Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing, and Charles Zerner. 2005. *Communities and Conservation: Histories and Politics of Community-based Natural Resource Management.* New York: Altamira.

Brum, Eliane. 2020. "Precisamos saber quem está no poder." *El Pais*, February 12.

Bursztyn, M.A., and M. Bursztyn. 2013. *Fundamentos de Política e Gestão Ambiental: Caminhos para a sustentabilidade.* Rio de Janeiro: Garamon Universitaria.

Buscher, Bram, and Wolfram Dressler. 2007. "Linking Neoprotectionsim and Environmental Governance: On the Rapidly Increasing Tensions Between Actors in the Environment-Development Nexus." *Conservation and Society* 586-611.

Caputo, Francesco Paolo, Daniele Canestrelli, and Luigi Boitani. 2005. "Conserving the terecay (Podocnemis unifilis, Testudines: Pelomedusidae) through a community-based sustainable harvest of its eggs." *Biological Conservation* 84-92.

Cardoso, Catarina. 2002. *Extractive Reserves in Brazilian Amazonia: Local resource management and the global political economy.* Hamphsire: Ashgate.

Carneiro da Cunha, Manuela, and Mauro W.B. Almeida. 2000. "Indigenous People, Traditional People, and Conservation in the Amazon." *Daedalus* (MIT Press) 129 (2): 315-338.

Carson, Rachel. 1962. *Silent Spring.* Boston: Houghton Miffin.

Carvalho, Luciana Gonçalves, and Erika Beser. 2018. "Mineração em territórios quilombolas: notas sobre uma consulta prévia em Trombetas, Oriximiná-PA." *Novos Cadernos NAEA* 119-142.

Cepek, Michael L. 2011. "Foucault in the forest: Questioning environmentality in Amazonia." *American Ethnologist* 501-515.

Cordeiro, F., and G. Girardi. 2019. "Com escuridão atípica, o dia vira noite em São Paulo nesta segunda." *o Estadão*, Agosto 19.

Corson, Catherine. 2010. "Shifting Environmental Governance in a Neoliberal World: US AID for Conservation." *Antipode* 576-602.

Cortes-Vazquez, Jose A., and Esteban Ruiz-Ballesteros. 2018. "Practising Nature: A Phenomenological Rethinking of Environmentality in Natural Protected Areas in Ecuador and Spain." *Conservation and Society* 232-242.

Danowski, Deborah, and Eduardo Viveiros de Castro. 2017. *The Ends of the World.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

de Souza, Pedro H.G. Ferreira. 2018. *Uma História de Desigualdade: A concentração de renda entre os ricos no Brasil 1926-2013.* São Paulo: Hucitec Editora.

Dove, Michael. 2006. "Indigenous Knowledge and Environmental Politics." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 191-208.

Escobar, Arturo. 1995. *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World.* Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.

Escobar, Arturo. 1998. "Whose Knowledge, Whose Nature? Biodiversity, Conservation, and the Political Ecology of Social Movements." *Journal of Political Ecology* 53-82.

Escobar, Arturo, and Sonia Alvarez. 1992. *The Making of social movements in Latin America: identity, strategy, and democracy.* Boulder: Westview Press.

Estadão. 2020. "Salles diz que governo deve aproveitar pandemia e 'ir passando a boiada' em medidas regulatórias." *YouTube.* May 22. Accessed July 23, 2020. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HeQYIbMXbXQ.

Fernandes-Pinto, Érika. 2008. "As RESEX e RDS e a Política Nacional de Povos e Comunidades Tradicionais – Interfaces com a Etnobiologia e Etnoecologia." *VII Simpósio Nacional de Etnobiologia e Etnoecologia (VII SBEE).* Belem/Pará. 1-6.

Filho, Henyo Barretto. 2004. "Notas para uma história social das áreas de proteção integral no Brasil." In *Terras Indígenas & Unidades de Conservação da natureza: o desafio das sobreposições*, by Fany Ricardo, 53-63. São Paulo: Instituto Socioambiental.

Foucault, Michel. 1984. "On the Genealogy of Ethics: An Overview of Work in Progress." In *The Foucault Reader*, by Michel Foucault, edited by Paul Rabinow, 340-371. New York: Vintage Books.

Foucault, Michel. 1984. "Politics and Ethics: An Interview." In *The Foucault Reader*, by Michel Foucault, edited by Paul Rabinow, 373-380. New York: Vintage Books.

Foucault, Michel. 2009. *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France 1977-78.* Edited by Michel Senellart and Arnold Davidson. Translated by Graham Burchell. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Foucault, Michel. 1990. *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1: An Introduction.* New York: Vintage Books.

Freire, Paulo, and Loretta Slover. 1983. "The Importance of the Act of Reading." *The Journal of Education* 5-11.

Garzon, Biviany Rojas, Erika M. Yamada, and Rodrigo Oliveira. 2016. *Direito à consulta e consentimento de povos indígenas, quilombolas e comunidades tradicionais.* Washington and São Paulo: Due Process Law Foundation and Rede de Cooperação Amazônica.

Gerhardt, Cleyton. 2007. "A invisibilização do outro nos discursos científicos sobre áreas naturais protegidas." *Estudos Sociedade e Agricultura* 15 (2): 268-309.

Gomez-Conway, Kristen. 2007. "Effects of Human Settlements on Abundance of Podocnemis unifilis and P. expansa Turtles in Northeastern Bolivia." *Chelonian Conservation and Biology* 199-205.

Gregory, Gillian, and Ismael Vaccaro. 2015. "Islands of Governmentality: Rainforest Conservation, Indigenous Rights, and the Territorial Reconfiguration of Guyanese Sovereignty." *Territory, Politics, Governance* 344-363.

Hardin, Carrett. 1968. "The Tragedy of the Commons." *Science* 1243-1248.

Hecht, Susanna, and Alexander Cockburn. 2010. *The Fate of the Forest: Developers, Destroyers, and Defenders of the Amazon.* Updated Edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Human Rights Watch. 2019. *Rainforest Mafias: How Violence and Impunity Fuel Deforestation in Brazil's Amazon.* United States: Human Rights Watch.

Igoe, Jim, and Dan Brockington. 2007. "Neoliberal Conservation: A Brief Introduction." *Conservation and Society* 432-449.

ILO. 1989. "C169 – Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, 1989 (No. 169)." *Normlex: Information System on International Labour Standards.* Accessed April 28, 2020. https://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO::P12100_ILO_CODE:C169.

Imazon and Ideflor-bio. 2019. "Analises Flota de Faro 2011-2019." Belem: Imazon, December.

Instituto Nacional de Pesquisas Espaciais (INPE). 2020. *Programa Queimadas.* March 18. Accessed March 18, 2020. http://queimadas.dgi.inpe.br/queimadas/portal-static/estatisticas_estados/.

Johnson, Noor, and David Rojas. 2017. "Contrasting Values of Forest and Ice in the Making of a Global Climate Agreement." In *Palaces of Hope: The Anthropology of Global Organizations*, by Ronald Niezen and Maria Sapignoli, 219-244. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Leff, Enrique. 2010. "Latin American Environmental Thought: A Heritage of Knowledge for Sustainability." *ISEE Publicacion Ocasional* (9): 1-16.

Li, Tania Murray. 2007. *The Will to Improve: Governmentality, Development, and the Practice of Politics.* Durham: Duke University Press.

Lima, Deborah, and Jorge Pozzobon. 2005. "Amazônia socioambiental. Sustentabilidade ecológica e diversidade social." *Estudos Avançados* 19 (54): 45-76.

Little, Paul Elliot. 2006. "Ecologia Política como Etnografia: Um Guia Teórico e Metodológico." *Horizontes Antropológicos* 12 (25): 85-103.

Lopes, Jose Sergio Leite. 2006. "Sobre Processos de "Ambientalização" dos Conflitos e Sobre Dilemas da Participação." *Horizontes Antropológicos* 12 (25): 31-64.

Loureiro, Violeta Refkalefsky. 2004. *Amazônia: Estado, Homem, Natureza.* Belem: Editora Cejup.

Loureiro, Violeta Refkalefsky. 2012. "The Amazon in the 21st Century: New Forms of Development." *DIREITO GV Law Review* 8 (2): 527-554.

Ministério da Saúde. 2020. *COVID-19 no Brasil.* July 23. Accessed July 23, 2020. https://susanalitico.saude.gov.br/extensions/covid-19_html/covid-19_html.html.

Ministério do Meio Ambiente. 2020. *Categorias de Unidades de Conservação.* Accessed March 30, 2020. https://www.mma.gov.br/areas-protegidas/unidades-de-conservacao/categorias.html.

Moutinho, Paulo, Ane Alencar, Ludmila Rattis, Vera Arruda, Isabel Castro, and Paulo Artaxo. 2020. *The Amazon in Flames: Deforestation and Fire During the Covid-19 Pandemic.* Technical Note, Belem: IPAM Amazônia.

Negrão, Heloísa. 2019. "Após Alemanha, Noruega também bloqueia repasses para Amazônia." *El Pais*, August 16th.

Neumann, Roderick P. 2005. *Making Political Ecology.* New York: Hodder Arnold.

Niezen, Ronald. 2003. *The Origins of Indigenism: Human Rights and the Politics of Identity.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Norris, Darren, and Fernanda Michalski. 2013. "Socio-economic and spatial determinants of anthropogenic predation on Yellow-spotted River Turtle, Podocnemis unifilis." *Zoologia (Curitiba).*

Ostrom, Elinor. 1990. *Governing the Commons: The evolution of institutions for collective action.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Peluso, Nancy Lee. 1993. "Coercing Conservation: The Politics of State Resource Control." *Global Environmental Change* 199-218.

Presidência da República. 2007. *Decreto No. 6.040, de 7 de fevereiro de 2007.* Brasilia.

Presidência da Republica. 1998. *Lei de Crimes Ambientais – Lei 9605/98.* Brasilia, February 12.

Putti, A. 2019. "Bolsonaro: "Enquanto eu for presidente, não terá demarcação de terra indígena"." *Carta Capital*, Agosto 16.

Robbins, Paul. 2004. *Political Ecology: A Critical Introduction.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Robinson, Brian, Yuta Masuda, Allison Kelly, Margaret Holland, Charles Bedford, Malcolm Childress, Diana Fletschner, et al. 2017. "Incorporating Land Tenure Security into Conservation." *Conservation Letters* 1-12.

Roe, Dilys, and Joanna Elliott. 2010. *The Earthscan reader in poverty and biodiversity conservation.* London and Washington: Earthscan.

Rutherford, Stephanie. 2007. "Green governmentality: insights and opportunities in the study of nature's rule." *Progress in Human Geography* 291-307.

Santos, Daniel, Danielle Celentano, Jaime Garcia, Antonio Aranibar, and Adalberto Verissimo. 2014. *Social Progress Index for the Brazilian Amazon: IPS Amazônia 2014.* Belem, PA: Imazon; Social Progress Imperative.

Santos, Daniel, Marcelo Mosaner, Danielle Celentano, Renan Moura, and Adalberto Verissimo. 2018. *Social Progress Index in the Brazilian Amazon: IPS Amazônia 2018.* Executive Summary, Belem, PA: Imazon; Social Progress Imperative.

Schweickhardt, Katia Helena. 2012. *Faces do Estado na Amazônia: Entre as Curvas do Rio Juruá.* São Paulo: Annablume.

Scott, James. 2008. *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Silva, Jose Bittencourt da, and Ligia Terezinha Lopes Simonian. 2015. "Traditional Population, Extractive Reserves and State Rationality in the Brazilian Amazon." *Desenvolvimento e Meio Ambiente* 33: 163-175.

Silva, Luis. 2015. "Foucault in the Landscape: Questioning Governmentality in the Azores." *Landscape Research* 397-410.

Singh, Neera. 2013. "The affective labor of growing forests and the becoming of environmental subjects: Rethinking environmentality in Odisha, India." *Geoforum* 189-198.

Spence, Mark David. 2000. *Dispossessing the wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Tsing, Anna Lowenhaupt. 2005. *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection.* Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.

Vaccaro, Ismael, Oriol Beltran, and Pierre Alexandre Paquet. 2013. "Political Ecology and Conservation Policies: Some Theoretical Genealogies." *Journal of Political Ecology* 255-272.

Vadjunec, Jacqueline, and Dianne Rocheleau. 2009. "Beyond Forest Cover Land Use and Biodiversity in Rubber Trail Forests of the Chico Mendes Extractive Reserve." *Ecology and Society* Art. 29.

Wanderley, Luiz Jardim de Moraes. 2009. "Deslocamento compulsório e estratégias empresariais em áreas de mineração: um olhar sobre a exploração de bauxita na Amazônia." *Revista IDeAS* 475-509.

Wilshusen, Peter, Steven Brechin, Crystal Fortwrangler, and Patrick West. 2002. "Reinventing a Square Wheel: Critique of a Resurgent "Protection Paradigm" in International Biodiversity Conservation." *Society and Natural Resources* 17-40.