

Extractive Reserves and Public Policies Intended to The Traditional Peoples and Communities of Brazilian Amazon

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Abstract

This study aims to analyze, by means of a bibliographic and documentary research, the public policies developed in the Extractive Reserves (RESEX¹) of Brazilian Amazon, with a primary focus on Educational and Health Policies and Agrarian Reform. The main theoretical and methodological framework was based

¹ For the purpose of greater clarity, fluid reading and facilitated search, acronyms have been kept in their original language, while proper names, Plans and Organs have been translated by the authors of this paper.

on literature exploration, and followed by data collection, on books, official documents, articles, theses and dissertations dealing with the proposed theme. Subsequently, data analysis and textual production were performed. Results reveal that, despite recent improvements, Brazil still presents unbalanced distribution of its wealth when considering the rural and forest populations, especially in terms of constitutional rights such as territoriality, health and education, which stem from bureaucratic decisions disregarding the knowledge of traditional peoples and communities.

Keywords: RESEX; Public policy; Traditional Communities.

1. Introduction

This paper aims to analyze the public policies that are developed in the Extractive Reserves (RESEX) for the traditional peoples and communities of Brazilian Amazon by means of a bibliographic and documentary review.

Economic inequalities are one of the major issues that impact the most diverse sectors of the Brazilian society, notably the social sector. This fact accounts for the importance of constant revisiting and resignifying such reality by means of the available literature and contributing with elements that may produce effective indicators and alternatives to minimize poverty and social exclusion, in particular, those arising from precarious income distribution, concentration of land in the hands of a few and absence of public policies that embrace communities and municipalities in less favored regions, as in the case of Brazilian Amazon.

We chose to start by carrying out a brief historical contextualization in order to apprehend how the first public policies emerged – the public policies presented in this work involve the Agrarian Reform, Educational and Health Policies –, and their connection to the creation of Extractive Reserves (RESEX) in Brazil. It is worthwhile emphasizing that the purpose of this study is not to focus on one specific extractive reserve, but on Extractive Reserves as a set of public policies. Sequentially, some analytical reasoning evolves as theorists bring the discussion closer to social issues and affirmative actions with regard to socio-environmental issues related to public policies.

Since the beginning of the colonization process by the Portuguese in Brazil, there was an evident denial of any knowledge held by the colonized indigenous people. This unfriendly and disproportionate interaction took place in a harsh environment permeated by violence, domination, conflicts and many territorial disputes besides the appropriation of natural resources, especially within the Brazilian Amazon region. Additionally, the colonizers had slavery as their basic convenience, supported by the Eurocentrism that has oriented their exploitation mode (Castro, 2015).

Furthermore, “[...] the memory registered in the documents does not reach the warlike dimension of the Brazilian territorial occupation” (Castro, 2015, p. 19). An example of such assertion may be found during the rubber cycle, a conspicuously violent process – a rather common practice at that time, adopted as a way to coerce and guarantee high productivity in the extractive the work in order to meet the demands of the market at the time.

Amidst this conjuncture characterized by violence, provoked by the belief in a predatory development,

based on the unbridled expansion of livestock, Extractive Reserves emerge, due to resistance actions taken from traditional populations, who defended the sustainable use of natural resources. Castro (2015, p. 18) states that "[...] history reveals essential dimensions for understanding how the processes of domination and resistance took place – movements which have always been present in the history of Brazil".

The importance of Extractive Reserves is not only justified by its productive and conservationist nature, but also by the socioenvironmental issues it involves in the most diverse Brazilian territories, therefore it also permeates the context of the struggles and resistance of the people living in and from the forest resources. This aspect is very clear in Art. 18 of Law 9,985 / 2000, where it defines an Extractive Reserve as:

[...] an area used by traditional extractivist populations, whose subsistence is based on extraction and, on a complementary basis, on subsistence agriculture and small animal breeding, and aims to protect these populations' livelihoods and culture, and to ensure the sustainable use of the unit's natural resources (Brasil, 2008).

The episodes of the second half of the eighties were decisive and important role should be given to the increased popularity and political projection of Chico Mendes and the environmental movement, his assassination, the new Federal Constitution of Brazil (1988), and the creation of the Brazilian Institute of the Environment (IBAMA). These facts undeniably contributed to the development of public policies, although it is widely accepted that it was the political situation resulting from the succession of José Sarney's government that was crucial for the creation of the first four Reserves in the early 1990s (CUNHA & ALMEIDA, 1999; 2000), *Alto Juruá* I the state of Acre, created by Decree No. 98,863, of January 23, 1990, with 506,186 hectares; *Chico Mendes* also in Acre, created in March 1990, with 970,570 hectares; *Rio Cajari* in Amapá, created by Decree No. 99,145, of March 12, 1990, with 481,650 hectares, and; *Rio Ouro Preto* in Rondônia, created by Decree No. 99.166, of March 13, 1990, with 204,583 hectares.

Federal Law No. 9985 of 2000, which created the National System of Nature Conservation Units (SNUC), has classified the RESEX under the category of 'sustainable use'. In 2004, the National Commission for the Sustainable Development of Traditional Peoples and Communities was created with the purpose of triggering public policies, aiming at combating the history of denial and invisibility of these traditional peoples, who organized themselves in social movements - as unions, associations and cooperatives – in search of their social and environmental rights.

The concept of "traditional peoples and communities" was incorporated into the legal system through Decree no. 6,040, of February 7th, 2007. This, in turn, foments discussions in the sense that 'traditional populations' and 'indigenous peoples' do not share the same meaning. Both the legislation that addresses these groups and the various scientific researches on the issue make it clear that these two groups effectively differ in several aspects. In the Brazilian case, Almeida & Cunha (1999) raise 'territorial issues' as one of the main differences between these groups. Whereas indigenous peoples have ownership of the lands they inhabit, recognized through the historical context of their occupation; traditional populations – except quilombola communities – are still in the slow, embryonic and rigorously bureaucratic process of seeking this recognition as the State proposes.

Importantly, of course, is to stress that the concept that characterizes traditional peoples and

communities emerges from their territory and culture, according to Decree No. 6.040 / 2007, which states:

Culturally differentiated groups who recognize themselves as such, possess their own peculiar forms of social organization, occupy and use territories and natural resources as a condition for their cultural, social, religious, ancestral and economic reproduction, by using knowledge, innovations and practices generated and transmitted by tradition (CNPCT / Brasil, 2007. Our translation²).

It is also important to emphasize that indigenous peoples have their specific languages, that differ from the official Brazilian language, in contrast, some groups regarded as ‘traditional’ disseminate dialects that are their own, although not adopted as official by the community.

The public policy debate has been at the heart of several researches and studies in the scope of governmental and non-governmental institutions, more precisely, those conducted by universities and social movements. Accordingly, the relevance of researches on this issues, within the academic scope and by means of the main existing literature is being able to contribute to the scientific community as it fosters possibilities of future studies that might bring potential improvements to these policies – mainly in respect to the creation of RESEX – and, later, to other policies directed to the subjects that belong this space.

Another relevant point of this study is the fact that it approaches an issue, which might be interpreted through distinct perspectives, as the scenarios in which public policies are applied are also different. According to data from the last demographic census conducted by IBGE in 2018, 15.6% of the population dwells in rural areas. Therefore, it proves necessary that a scientific production explaining to society as a whole, and more specifically, to those who have the right to enjoy public policies (and for various reasons, are unaware of them) be made available.

On account of the above facts and contextualization, our main objective is to analyze public policies related to the creation of RESEX through a bibliographic and documentary survey and to provoke a theoretical understanding about the implementation processes of such public policies regarding their contexts. It is also our purpose to encourage the discussion and production of scientific works on the proposed theme, bearing in mind that in Brazil, the socio-cultural reality is marked by a distinct trend in the modes of life produced by the belief in the management of territory and natural resources.

2. Methodology

Our first theoretical reference to address this topic was Arroyo (2006, p. 104). The author alleges that “researching on the historical inequalities suffered by the people of the countryside is something that needs urgency”, consequently, forwarding this issue to traditional peoples and communities is something that requires care and prudence in order not to harm the contextual and political principles of these peoples. Accordingly, as knowledge represents the paramount element for the construction of the object, the research activity becomes a fundamental and indispensable factor (Severino, 2007). On this point, the study sought to analyze public policies presented in the context of traditional peoples and communities in what concerns

² All quotations originally published in portuguese language from authors and documents have been translated by the authors of this paper.

the creation of Extractive Reserves and, reflected upon which policies are directed to, effective and promptly reach the populations, in an effort to break with any positivist research traces. Positivism – in its “ideal-typical” configuration – is based on a number of premises that structure a coherent and operational “system”: society is governed by natural laws, that is, invariable laws, independent of human will and action in social life (Lowy, 1998, p. 17). In this sense, this study is based on a qualitative approach, because “[...] it deals with interpretations of social realities” (Bauer, 2014, p. 23).

Methodologically, it is based on a bibliographic and documentary study, which requires analytical and interpretive rigor from the point of view of content analysis, especially considering it involves complex conceptual categories, an embryonic ideological struggle and resistance to advances in developmentalist discourses. According to Gil (2002, p. 44), “[...] a bibliographic research is based on literature review already available, consisting mainly of books and scientific articles”, as it allows the researcher to enjoy thoughts realized through research, ideologies and discourses already produced, allowing for further developments and new guidances for future research, debates and prospection in the field of sciences and traditional knowledge.

In addition, regarding documentary research, “[...] it is a rich and stable source of data” (Gil, 2002, p. 29), requiring obvious respect to the space-time dimension of the scientific production, and the political context in which the documents were produced. This research also “[...] makes use of all sorts of documents, prepared for different purposes, such as settlements, authorization, communication, etc.” (Gil, 2002, p. 30). Therefore, it is valid to consider the importance of these research tools as methodological paths to be followed, making it possible to understand a given context.

Research procedures started with the collection of secondary data – official website searches, Federal University of Pará (UFPA) data platform, Sucupira digital environment and Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (CAPES) platforms. In addition, documents captured via the World Wide Web, which “(...) have become relevant instruments in conducting research” (Flick, 2013, p. 164) were used. Data were collected from February to May, 2019.

Collected data underwent conscientious appreciation and interpretation and thorough understanding of content analysis, which “(...) corresponds to a classical procedure for analyzing text material from any source, from media products to interview data” (Flick, 2013, p. 134). Content analysis also allows inferences to be made in light of discursive purposes to gauge a particular debate or set of elements, essential to the matter under focus – public policies designed for Extractive Reserves.

Minayo (2000, p. 27) affirms that “[...] qualitative analysis is not a mere classification of the informants' opinions, it goes far beyond that. It is the discovery of their social codes based on speeches, symbols and observations”. Therefore, the data were treated qualitatively, seeking a better analysis with a view to promoting the accomplishment of a dissertative text supported by argumentative refinement in the light of what has already been theoretically produced in this regard.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1 Agrarian Reform

It is important to highlight that promoting a dialogue between the bibliographic data and the other

documents presented in this work means to establish a link with the policies directed to Extractive Reserves through Agrarian Reform, Educational Policies and Health Policies. This is the research cutting for the moment.

By historically studying the territorial configuration in Brazil, it is easy to perceive that since the process of colonization by the Portuguese in 1530, social inequality and land concentration has characterized the Brazilian society. Three strands constitute the colonial model that has been established in Brazil, namely: the expressive land ownership; monoculture or extraction of a single product for the purpose of exportation and slave work (Diegues, 1999). This inequality, with regard to land tenure is historical and dates back to the colonial period.

The 1960s is characterized by the emergence of militancy actions in the sectors of rural workers and the social movements themselves. These demands started to trigger the problematization of social inequalities in Brazil, which reflected – among other factors – the concentration of lands in the hands of a few. The Agrarian Reform movement gains strength when João Goulart assumes the presidency of the country, however; the reform does not happen, due to a pact entered into by the elites who defended the modernization of large properties (Palmeira, 1989).

With the end of the military dictatorship, the first democratic government took place led by José Sarney and the First National Plan for Agrarian Reform (PNRA) was proposed. However; the plan remained ineffective in the government drawers and this stagnation certainly made it difficult to carry out any type of reform, because the “(...) land ownership issue is of interest to all powerful sectors of the economy” (Martins, 1997, p. 35), furthermore, it has always been clear how the dominant class interests were favored at the time, reflecting landowning hegemony over the “minorities” up to the present days.

The II National Plan for Agrarian Reform (PNRA) launched in 2003 during the government of President Luís Inácio Lula da Silva targeted, among other segments, the landless rural workers, the current settlers, family agriculture sectors, riverside populations, squatters, extractivist people and quilombola communities (Brasil, 2005). The Plan identifies the various social segments under its focus and also “differentiated instruments appropriate to their specificities and to the characteristics of each region” (Brasil, 2005). As a consequence, the Plan made the issue of traditional peoples and communities visible and expanded the need for recognition of their ethnic, cultural and territorial characteristics.

The Plan also presents a broad vision with regard to the Agrarian Reform, understanding that, in order to make the settlements viable and, mainly, to achieve a change in the Brazilian agrarian structure, it is necessary to:

[...] democratize access to land, deconcentrating the structure of land ownership, and intervene on the productive structure by guaranteeing Credit, Agricultural Insurance, Technical Assistance and Rural Extension, marketing policies and agroindustrialization (Brasil / MDA, 2003, p. 4).

The instruments that constitute the PNRA arise amidst different historical contexts, characterized by different reasons, namely: “to organize the process of territorial occupation of the country, encourage the settlement of regions regarded as remote” (Lima, 2005, p. 77), “appease conflicts over land” (Bergamasco & Norder, 1996, p. 9), as well as “[...] create spaces for environmental protection simultaneously preserving

the territorial rights of traditional peoples” (Menezes, 2011, p. 345), in order to “[...] respond to the strong demands of social movements that fight for the right of access to land” (Sauer, 2005, p. 59). Such reasons were probably the main motivation for social struggles throughout the national territory and certainly represent embryonic issues in the struggles processes and initial claims.

The Agrarian Reform projects were created by means of land acquisition by the National Institute for Colonization and Agrarian Reform (INCRA), known as the Settlement Project (PA); Project for Agroextractive Settlement (PAE); Sustainable Development Project (PDS); Forest Settlement Project (PAF); and the Quilombolas Special Settlement Projects (Special PA).

The creation of Extractive Reserves (RESEX), Sustainable Development Reserves (RDS), National Forests (FLONA) and Quilombola Territories is part of the second group of projects - Agroextractive Settlement – which are recognized by INCRA. As pointed out by Sauer (2005, p. 59) “[...] settlement projects are geographic spaces that bring together families who benefit from agrarian reform actions”, making explicit the issues of territoriality and natural resources. Carvalho (1999) supports the above argument advocating that these projects are consolidated when a process of expropriation of a private rural property takes place as the result of struggles promoted by social movements in defending better redistribution of land. This process was not carried out peacefully, it certainly cost the lives of many who sought for opportunities and the maintenance of their cultural, social and productive experiences.

An alternative configuration stemming from the Plan, requires that traditional peoples and communities have their memories alive so that the struggles and resistance actions undertaken are not forgotten, but remain continuously at hand instead, as “there are few cases in which the memory of facts and achievements, stories of place foundations are not associated to struggles for rights, conflicts and land expropriation” (Diegues, 1999, p. 359).

The literature on Agrarian Reform holds special emphasis on the transformation of the latifundio – a large unproductive area – which, by means of the Reform, becomes fruitful, workable and supportive for dozens of families (Sauer, 2005). As a consequence, a “new economic, political, social and environmental organization arises, envisaging the possession of land by a social heterogeneity of families of landless workers” (Carvalho, 1999, p. 5).

It is noticeable that, despite all the barriers imposed, going through several historical moments, there has always been resistance movements. Brazil is the fifth largest country in territorial dimension in the world, however; there are still thousands of families with little or literally no land to live, plant, harvest, etc. There have been some undeniable advances, nonetheless, Brazil's agrarian problems are still far from being solved. There is a social debt to these “minorities”, who have suffered from enslavement, exploitation and denial of their rights. This accounts for the need for projects that correct, or gradually mitigate, social inequalities in the country.

3.2 Educational Policies

Education is a right of all and a duty of the State, as the Federal Constitution of 1988 emphasizes in its article 205, therefore; it is expected that it will be offered with quality for all those who need it, covering diversity and plurality, which are evident trademarks in the Brazilian society, especially for traditional peoples and communities. Diversity and plurality are directly linked to their cultures, ethnicity, political

stands and religions. Furthermore, it is emphasized that the educational process for these peoples has disregarded their ethnic, cultural and environmental basis, that is, the knowledge acquired during their life trajectories, following an evident urbancentric perspective.

It is believed that these groups have built a model of culture “through the observation and experimentation of an extensive and detailed knowledge of the natural processes – the only management practices adapted to tropical forests until today” (Arruda, 1999, p. 83).

According to Teixeira (2002, p. 2) “[...] public policies are guidelines, leading principles for government action; rules and procedures to conduct relations between public power and society, mediations between society and State actors”. Educational policies must be thought of as means of combating social exclusion, so, it is necessary that choices and decisions are made – such as public policies – aiming to contemplate all groups through concrete actions.

For Shiroma (2002), in Brazilian education, the policies intended to these groups were summed up in assistance actions of negligible effect, producing very timid results in what concerns the advances and the quality of teaching. The need for an educational model that contemplates traditional peoples and communities is fundamental for the basic conditions underlying citizenship. Understanding the processes of inequalities is also decisive, thus “[...] it should be urgent to research on how these inequalities deeply mark the construction or non-construction of the educational system, educational policies, rights guarantees, specifically the right to education.” (Arroyo, 2006, p. 104).

For the above reasons, the debate on public policies proves highly relevant, considering the need and importance of building a critical debate around the RESEX, providing a greater understanding of factors that are part of the scenario experienced by traditional communities, that involves: environmental, socioeconomic, cultural and political scenes. “These peoples developed a deep and extensive knowledge of the environmental characteristics and the possibilities of handling the natural resources of the territories they occupy” (Diegues, 2000, p. 26). Understanding all this process imbricated in education is a step of paramount importance so that the subjects who live in the areas of RESEX have their educational demands met satisfactorily.

It is likewise important to highlight the cultural aspects, beliefs, values, which must be present in the educational process. The Brazilian Law of Directives and Bases for Education (LDB), No. 9.394 / 96, in its article 28, states that “[...] in the provision of basic education for the rural population, the education systems will provide the necessary adaptations to the suitability and peculiarities of rural life and of each region”. Therefore, education for rural populations should be directed towards the construction of new knowledge and the valuation of traditional knowledge that constitute these subjects' lives. Diegues (2000, p. 30) acquiesces that “[...] traditional knowledge is defined as the set of knowledge and know-how about the natural, supernatural world, transmitted orally from generation to generation”. These specificities need to be part of the educational context that is (or should be) developed in the areas of RESEX.

The act of democratizing education is far beyond allowing new students access to schools, instead, it should also provide opportunities for transformation. Education is one of the social factors that guide a country's social development, as Fernandes (1960, p. 48) points out:

Education is the element of social life, responsible for organizing the experiences of individuals in everyday life, for developing their personality and for ensuring the survival

and functioning of human collectivities themselves.

Providing these subjects with schooling – in addition to being a legal right – and professional qualification, will allow them to contribute to activities, such as forest management, so that it is performed in a sustainable way. The partnership established between traditional and scientific knowledge can be a great helping tool in combating the unrestrained use of natural resources. Demo (1990) assures that a continuous and good quality education serves as an indispensable lever of emancipatory political processes, therefore; the education defended in this work is a critical, emancipatory and liberating one.

Education is an important and fundamental practice for human beings. It is permanently under construction, and the risk of an ethnocentric education becomes real due to some factors, such as: some communities that belong to the RESEX are interpreted as “lagging” and / or “underdeveloped” and should, according to the ethnocentric vision, require only some welfare policies. The stagnation in the political scene, in that sense, makes the risk even more solid.

Strategies that favor and accelerate the educational process in the RESEX are necessary and valid to promote respect to the ethnicity, culture and knowledge of these Conservation Units users. They support the purpose of strengthening the educational process and intellectual, financial and social development of the residents of these protected areas. All this, however, will only be possible when public authorities and traditional communities get closer for shared management and planning, and public policies reflect the real needs of these peoples.

3.3 Health Policies

The Federal Constitution of 1988 guarantees the right to health in its Art. 196, when it states: “health is the right of all and the duty of the State, guaranteed through social and economic policies aimed at reducing the risk of disease and other illnesses and universal and equal access to actions and services for their promotion, protection and recovery”. However, for the people of traditional communities, the effective compliance with this right has always been far from happening, since access to health care has been neglected. One example of this absence is the lack of medicines and health professionals in Basic Health Unit (UBS), when they do exist, in a community.

In 2011, the Ministry of Health presented the National Policy for Comprehensive Health for Populations in the Countryside and the Forest (PNSIPCF), established by Ordinance No. 2,866, of December 2, 2011, whose main objective was to contemplate the peculiarities and specificities of these populations (Brasil, 2011).

Brazil possesses the Unified Health System (SUS), which has been validated by the State, and the particularities of the Brazilian territories have been homogenized (Brazil, 1988). Nevertheless, when taking into account the specificities of the various Brazilian regions, it turns essential to create differentiated health policies for populations that live far and / or isolated from large urban centers. That said, we emphasize the need for policies that seek a fair and universal way of guaranteeing the solution of health problems with quality for the populations of the countryside and the forest.

[...] to overcome the differences, it is necessary to treat unequally those who are socioeconomically unequal (affirmative action or positive discrimination). A homogeneous

offer to meet heterogeneous situations can only result in maintaining the original differences. This offer will correspond to the needs of a certain subset of the population and will not be suitable for others, whether for cultural or socioeconomic reasons [...] (Cohen & Franco, 2007, p. 50-51).

Historically, in Brazil, public policies have been planned and executed based on a homogeneous and reductionist vision of the population and of the national reality as a whole, because these policies “mostly express a narrow perspective of the countryside, conceived in opposition to the urban” (Carneiro, 2014, p. 15). In pursuance of universal access to public health services be guaranteed, in accordance with Law 8,080 / 90, it is necessary that these services be adjusted to the reality of their users. In the case of RESEX spread throughout Brazil, the financing of public health actions and projects must be ready to meet the cultural and environmental specificities of these territories. The same can be said about the creation of mechanisms for the participation of the population, in order that health demands can be dictated by those who know their needs and, thus, diagnosed by organizations and public authorities, under the guidance of RESEX residents themselves.

Even considering the legal advances regarding the guarantee of rights to traditional peoples and communities – culture, the right to land and health – it is necessary to break with a reductionist vision of rural populations in what concerns the health / disease process. Health practices require essential redefinition in its organization, so that the Brazilian health system (re) considers the subjectivities of these subjects.

A distinguishing look and the expansion of investments, the improvement of policies for rural and forest populations are means of guaranteeing the right to health for all. In this sense, representatives of these communities should progressively apprehend the policies embodied in the PNSIPCF and foster their empowerment, strengthening the movement in search of the execution of real, effective policies, in addition to the need to create strategies among the sectors involved with coordinated actions for the consolidation and promotion of health quality for the population, always considering the knowledge that has been acquired and developed over time by traditional populations and communities through relationships with nature.

4. Final remarks

Based on the bibliographic and documentary review of policies developed for traditional peoples and communities in RESEX, one can observe that there are some inconsistencies in relation to cultural, environmental, territorial and social specificities. These inconsistencies, which reveal gaps, appear as challenges to be overcome, so that the subjectivities of these regions can be recognized. The findings, therefore, lead us to conclude the general objective proposed by the present study has been achieved.

Research results corroborates our vision that the appreciation and importance of social groups with specific cultural practices to their regions appear as a possibility to open the way for the recognition and valorization of traditional knowledge. Another way of seeking equity is to subsidize the promotion of future public policies and give visibility to the difficulties that make the effectiveness of these public policies

unfeasible, in order to break barriers that hinder concrete actions by the State.

The observation of or sensitivity for the creation of laws aimed at these populations is recent, unfortunately, even though the existence of these peoples dates back to the arrival of the so-called “colonizers”. The creation of legal policies resulted of several political struggles led by social movements in search of rights, reinforced by the pressure from international bodies that emphasized the importance of preserving biodiversity. We reaffirm the need to take into account historical, social, economic and cultural phenomena in the regions of the RESEX, in order to create possibilities of further creation of differentiated policies for traditional peoples and communities.

Despite recent achievements, Brazil still portrays injustices in the distribution of wealth, with many and significant sectors of its population living under poverty, which deprive them from enjoying the minimum essential conditions and dignity every human is entitled to. Inconsistently, this holds true despite the recognition that, in regard to environment, these populations are rich, privileged by the natural experience and by the expert management of the natural resources. We conclude it is necessary to understand that poverty does not refer only to the lack of access to material goods, but, additionally, it is represented by the vulnerability arising from the lack of opportunities and options between different possibilities.

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