

Associativism as strategy of reaching territorial rights, programs, projects and public policies of rural development: The case of the São Francisco do Mainã community, Manaus, AM

Lindomar de Jesus de Sousa Silva¹, Gilmar Antonio Meneghetti², José Olenilson Costa Pinheiro³, Alessandro Carvalho⁴, Marcos Roberto Brito de Carvalho⁵, Rafael de Lima Erazo⁶, Francisco Mateus da Silva⁷

¹Sociólogo, Embrapa Amazônia Ocidental, Manaus, AM. <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4816-486X>

²Agrônomo, Embrapa Amazônia Ocidental, Manaus, AM. <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5645-8916>

³Economista, Embrapa Amazônia Ocidental, Manaus (AM). <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0036-6646>

⁴Economista, Embrapa Amazônia Ocidental, Manaus, AM. <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0116-7155>

⁵Economista, Embrapa Amazônia Ocidental, socramrb@bol.com.br

⁶Geógrafo, Secretaria de Estado de Educação do Amazonas (SEDUC), <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6841-1717>

⁷Agricultor Familiar, pescador artesanal e presidente da Associação Comunitária do Mainã

Received: 10 Mar 2023,

Receive in revised form: 15 Apr 2023,

Accepted: 22 Apr 2023,

Available online: 28 Apr 2023

©2023 The Author(s). Published by AI
Publication. This is an open access article
under the CC BY license

(<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>).

Keywords— *associativism, territorial rights, traditional Amazonian community.*

Abstract— *Associativism has been an important tool for Amazonian communities to guarantee territorial rights, to recognize traditionality and to access public policies. This article is the result of a case study, with qualitative bias, with interview techniques and dialogues with leaders. It shows how the transition from a socio-cultural association to a socio-economic and political one added to the São Francisco do Mainã community to retake their territorial rights usurped by the Brazilian State in the 1970s, for the installation of the Center of Instruction of War in the Forest (CIGS), administered by the Brazilian Army. The association, with socio-economic and political purposes, influenced public and private institutions in order to access programs, projects and public policies of rural development. The results of this process are the recognition of the traditionality of the community, which has lived in the area for over 100 years with the possibility of managing production actions and living with the Army in their areas, and having access to governmental programs such as Luz para Todos and agricultural production incentive ones, in addition to reinforcement of community spirit and mutual commitment between farmers.*

I. INTRODUCTORY ASPECTS

Associativism is an old strategy of humanity destined to overcome surviving limitations in searching for and producing food, defense and in meeting socio-economic and political concerns. To Canterle (2004, p.1), “associativism forms a historic and deep demand of improving the quality

of human existence” through “exchanging of experiences”, living and interaction between people, giving opportunity to collective growth and development.

Sebrae (2009, p.8) understands association is, in a broad meaning, any “formal or informal initiative that brings private people or other legal societies with common goals

together, pursuing to overcome difficulties and to create benefits for their associates". Its law form consists in the legalization of a "people bonding around their interests", which will enable the "construction of better conditions than the ones the individuals would have individually for the accomplishment of their goals".

Muenchen (1996) states that, to small farmers, associativism occurs when the interests converge to the solution of common problems. In the same line of thought, Lazzarotto (2000, p.2) affirms that the "small farmers organization in associations, whether as for production, or otherwise as for production, trading, service, constitutes one of the most viable forms of support to small production units" to overcome obstacles.

Sabourin (2009, p.89), analyzing forms of farming association, establishes three classical models: the union, the cooperative and the producers association. The author affirms that the association has a more local character and the possibility of evolution because it is in the "formal organizations of Associative Law" group, which base themselves in voluntary adhesion and are conceived for the "defense of interests and the management of common assets". Berthome and Mercoiret (1999, p.12) argue the associations "become tools to be used by the local society to act on its external environment and to increase its capacity of negotiation with the external actors (individuals and groups with which the local society needs to maintain a relationship)". Fagotti (2017, p. 34) corroborates the idea that in the rural environment "the associations emerge as an easier way to obtain agricultural credits, trading and demands organization channels before governmental instances".

To Almeida (1994), Amazon has a great diversity of groups, peoples and communities, what reflects itself on the forms and purposes of associations. Maneschky *et al.* (2008, p.86) catalog among these groups, "artisanal fishermen, farmers, riverside population, quilombolas, residents in units of conservation, extractive communities, not to mention the indigenous ones, which exhibit various forms of cooperation, traditional or new ones" and recently switched to "a specific manner, officially privileged, of cooperation: the legal form of 'association'".

Fernandes (2004, p.70) understands associations have shown the "arrival of new patterns of political relations in the country and in the city", which since 1998 is "consolidating itself beyond the traditional milestones of patronage control", and embodies "ethnic and ecological, genre and collective self-definition criteria, which ones join themselves to relativize the political-administrative divisions and the conventional manner of forwarding demands to public authorities".

Maneschky *et al.*'s studies (2008) point to different motives for the creation of associations in Amazon communities. Among them is the need to search for bank credit access by finance institutions, by North Constitutional Fund (FNO) and by the National Program for Strengthening of Family Farming (Pronaf). FNO, for concession of credit, demands the farmer to be affiliated to an associative entity.

Associations are essential to the participation of communities in the management of extractive reserves (ESTERCI; LIMA; LÉNA, 2002). The organizations of representation of the users receive many necessary obligations to the conservation of natural resources, according to Santos (2016). The existence of an associative organization expands the vision, the systemic view and sets relationships with various local and institutional actors, securing work done in a collective way and a systemic view on Amazonas rural reality (BRITO *et al.*, 2018).

Peres (2003, p. 23) expresses that, among indigenous peoples, associativism emerges as fight strategy and resistance before big projects, for instance *Calha Norte*¹, implemented in the region of Rio Negro, Amazonas, and as "a new manner of connecting local demands to transnational circuits of human rights and local environment defense". This "post Federal Constitution of 1988 associativism, rooted in respect to the "diversity and the universal responsibility to social justice and environment conservation, substituted Christian communitarianism, based on the conjunction between the tools of soul salvation and of social, political and cultural emancipation of oppressed peoples".

Associativism has an important role in the socio-economic improvement of Amazonian communities. An example of the relevance of associativism is from Carauari town, situated on the left bank of Juruá River, in Amazonas, with

¹ According to Diniz (1994, p.10), the "*Calha Norte* Project, also called Northern Solimões and Amazonas Rivers Beds Development and Security", was "originally a confidential project, created by a group coordinated by the General Secretariat of the National Security Council and concluded in 1985". This project only came to public knowledge "during the works of a Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry that aimed towards investigating accusations stated in a series of media

reports in *O Estado de São Paulo* journal, in 1986". The author shows us that "indigenous areas and rich mineral deposits overlapped and it created suspicions everywhere, some more explicit cases, other less explicit ones", what constituted "a typical situation of the so-called 'deaf dialogue', in which each one of the opposite sides got, in some moments, to express suspicions about the other one's reputation".

the Caruari Rural Producers Association (Asproc), created in 1992. This association created Citizenship and Solidarity Riverside Commerce (CRCS), an ingenious initiative that evolved to a model of trading. To Mazer (2013, p.14), Citizenship and Solidarity Riverside Commerce (CRCS) is a trading system which “has trading warehouses in communities along Juruá River. Such warehouses make basic consumable items available for sale to the communitarians, and take their production on the ASPROC boat”. To the author, the association breaks with *regatão* trading model, which imposed “high prices to the products bought by the riverside population and, on the other side, very low prices paid for the products”. In this experience, the communities could overcome distances and find an alternative to the high prices of the products practiced by the *regatões*. The associative experience benefits 53 communities and approximately 450 families from the Federal Conservation Unit for Sustainable Use - *Resex Médio Juruá*, and contributes to the production of 900 tons of communities farming products.

The text approaches the associativism dynamic in the São Francisco do Mainã community, in the rural zone of the municipality of Manaus, to guarantee the usufruct of the territory before government interest of maintaining its owning, with no restriction, for activities of the Center of Instruction of War in the Forest (CIGS), managed by the Brazilian Army². It also approaches the community articulations with partnerships aimed at the community farming development, at the valorization of the endogenous potentiality, the environment, conciliating community interests to Manauara society demands.

II. METHODOLOGY

The research is a case study, with qualitative bias, whose purpose is understanding the relevance of associativism to the São Francisco do Mainã community as means of territorial rights guarantee and strengthening of the action with public and private institutions for the access to public policies, programs and projects which favor community development and the welfare of farmer families and extractives from the community (DANTAS; FRANCO, 2017). The research is a case study because of the following aspects: a) it explores real life situations, whose limits aren't clearly defined; b) it preserves the unitary character of the

studied object; c) it depicts the situation from the context in which such investigation is being done; d) it formulates hypotheses or theories; e) it explains the causal variables of determined phenomenon in complex situations that do not allow the use of surveys and experiments (GIL, 2002, p.54).

The study used data collections techniques which considered selection and systemization of bibliographical material, as articles, reports and other information; interviews with the residents and local leaders, aiming to fill lacuna out and identify the importance of the associativism to reach community goals. The information and interviews were obtained and conducted during collective activities in the community, on the occasion of the implementation of a technology transfer project, developed by West Amazon Embrapa, with 60 associates.

The São Francisco do Mainã community is situated in “the intersection of Mainã Lake with one of the arms of Puraquequara Lake. There are 44 families, totalling 145 residents”, the houses reunited on an edge of dryland, from where it is seen the intersection between the lakes Mainã Grande and Mainãzinho, and the cemetery situated in the lands of the opposite bank, in the area of direct influence of Instruction Base nº 4”. This community, according to technical visit reports from the National Institute for Colonization and Agrarian Reform (Incra), in 2009, mentioned by MPF (2012, p. 19), “is very old, being probably more than 120 years-old, situated on the left bank of Amazonas River” and was composed since the decline of rubber activity and the extractive population search for “areas with proximity to Amazonas capital city and, then possessing access to services and public policies” (ROCHA, 2014, p. 21).

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Puraquequara region, where the São Francisco do Mainã community is, exists in the rural area of Manaus municipality. This region, over time, has not accessed public policies aimed to rural development and for a long time it was under threats of territory usurpation, occupied by riverside population, extractive communities and farmers. Such threats are from the Brazilian State, that meant the community area for CIGS in the 1960s and, more recently, for the construction of Manaus city Naval Pole³.

² The Center of Instruction of War in the Forest (CIGS) was created by Presidential Decree nº 53.649, March 2nd 1964. Amazonas state government cedes to Brazilian Army an area of dryland primary forest between Puraquequara River and Preta da Eva River, by km 65 of Rodovia AM-010, to train soldiers to war. The intended area to CIGS “is bigger than Manaus city” (ARAÚJO, [c.a 2012], p.4).

³ According to information released by G1-AM (2013), the Amazonas Naval Pole Project, in Puraquequara Lake, under data collected by Amazonas Economic Planning and Development (Seplan-AM) secretary of State Airtton Claudino, the port could handle R\$ 1 billion per year. The project foresees “the naval district might occupy an area of 38,8 kilometers situated in Puraquequara region, in Manaus East Zone”.The “installation of

The most recent incentive to any development project remembered by the farmers was an action aimed towards boosting production, in 1964, by state governor Plinio Ramos Coelho⁴, who created the work camp in Puraquequara, with the opening of the road and the setting of a subprefecture (ALMEIDA, 2011). According to earlier residents, the idea of a work camp was to promote agriculture, especially food cultures (manioc, beans and rice, among others), as well as industrial ones, like jute and mallow, with the purpose of supplying markets and Manaus industry (CASTRO *et al.*, 2018).

This initiative finished in the same year with the “deflagration of the civil-military coup which discharged President João Melchior Goulart” and “started the period of 21 long years of authoritarianism, repression and restriction of individual and democratic freedoms” (QUEIRÓS, 2019, p. 544). The effect of the “civil-military” coup on the community was the cession, in the 1960s, of the mentioned area to the CIGS for military training, not taking in consideration the presence of communities that lived in the region for decades.

The President of the Association, Mr. Francisco da Silva, affirms “the Government made this donation without the minimum responsibility to the residents who live in this region”, what became “a very disappointing thing for us, who live in this situation, it’s really disappointing because we’ve had a whole life, we have a story and we see ourselves, from an hour to the next, losing everything, it’s very hard” (ALMEIDA, 2011, p. 3). The occupation of the territory led the Army to forbid hunting, fishing and planting, as the communitarian Nilson Pereira told us:

Today we continue in this back and forth, nothing is decided, hunting and fishing are damaged, fishing is forbidden like it was soldiers’ vivarium, and it isn’t! It’s nature’s! If people begin to forbid it, how can we look for what to eat? It’s wrong! All hunger! Then, today the right thing is to place a hectare of plantation field [*roça*], it’s forbidden! We are prohibited from producing two bags of charcoal and taking it to sell there, on the stairway, to make

money for the *rancho* because Ibama takes them away! He must not hunt, he must not fish! He must not extract wood, he must not do anything! How are we going to live? (ALMEIDA, 2011, p.7).

The presence of the Army precluded the “sociocultural model of space occupation and the use of the natural resources target, especially, the survival of the family with weak articulation with the market, based on the use of family labor and low impact technologies derived from traditional knowledge, generally, of sustainable foundations” (SANTOS *et al.*, 2018, p. 44). That situation reduced the number of families in the community and increased the migration to the city, lowering the “community population from 100 to 20 families” (SILVA *et al.*, 2017, p. 1896). The families that stayed began to organize their economic life around vegetal extractivism, especially with harvesting and trading of products as *tucumã*, *açaí* and *bacaba*, animal extractivism, focusing on fishing, as also executing non-agricultural activities, whereas the Army restricted the cultivation practice in the community.

In the period related to the military regime, the community focused on resisting and protecting itself from training using firearms and bombs, since explosions of bombs were common, and the localization of explosives. In one of the reports, the resident affirms he found a projectile “five hundred meters away from the São Francisco community”; there are also various reports of a stray bullet during training, which even hit “one of the community’s member house” (ARAÚJO, [c.a 2012], p. 5).

The community organization in the more associative mold resumes since the action of the Catholic Church in the 1980s, through the pastoral work of the Belgian nun Gabrielle Cogels, from Franciscan Congregation Missionaries of Mary. Coelho (2006, p. 46) affirms the nun acted “not only as a missionary, but overall as an articulator and an organizer of the residents to improve their life conditions”. After the formation of the religious community, it organized its association. The São Francisco

two big shipyards, six medium size shipyards and other 60 small size ones” could make “Amazonas naval industry, which employs 12 thousand people nowadays and today is the third biggest generator of jobs in this segment”, one of the biggest of the country. Public Federal Ministry (2017), that accompanies the project, following the “Inter-American Court of Human Rights understanding, according to which, when a venture tend to generate significative impacts on the way of life of indigenous and traditional communities, these ones must be heard” and also have “the right of final decision about the viability of the venture”. The action of Public Federal Ministry (MPF) suspended the installation of the venture “through Amazonas Federal Justice sentence, while there isn’t the occurrence of previous, formal, free and informed

consultation to the traditional peoples from the region”, as also the “suspension had been determined on preliminary basis, in may/2014, after the request of Public Federal Ministry in Amazonas (MPF/AM) in Public Civil Action and confirmed by the judicial sentence”. The MPF note still reminds us “Justice also annulled the decree that declared public utility to areas to implantation of the pole. The state of Amazonas didn’t appeal, which engendered the recognition of the obligation of carrying the consultations out in the molds of Convention 169/ILO”.

⁴ Amazonas state governor in the period of 31 of January 1963 to 27 June 1964.

do Mainã community's residents association was created on 19 February 1997, with the purpose of developing social actions among their associates.

That period is marked by a process of tenuous associativism, characterized by family ties, directed to organize social, religious and sportive activities, such as masses, celebrations, community and commemorative parties, as also sportive tournaments. During this period, it predominates the product exchanges and common help of emergency to relatives and neighbors. The military regime period, with a little overture for participation, didn't allow the development of actions of questioning and confronting of the military presence in the community area. It's relevant highlighting the Army didn't allow the community to develop a political action aimed to question the domination of its territory.

The conjecture starts to change with the Constitution of 1988, when the "collective identities became a notable legal precept to the legitimation of specific and ethnically built territorialities" (ALMEIDA, 2004, p. 13). The meaning of "land traditionally occupied" is expanded, phrase that was ratified through the Legislative Decree n° 143, signed by the Federal Senate president and the Convention 169 of ILO, June/1989. The convention recognizes "self identification, reinforcing, to a certain extent, the logic of social movements" (ALMEIDA, 2004, p. 14). Article 2nd/Convention 169 says that the "consciousness of your indigenous or tribal identity must be had as fundamental criteria to determine the groups to which the dispositions of this Convention are applied". In Article 14/Convention 169, there are the terms of dominance, in which "The rights of ownership and possession of the peoples concerned over the lands which they traditionally occupy shall be recognised". Article 16/Convention 169 affirms that "Whatever possible, these peoples shall have the right to return to their traditional lands, as soon as the grounds for relocation cease to exist". As well as the Constitution and the International Labor Organization (ILO)'s Convention 169, the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) emphasizes the way of life of traditional communities, recognizing what Diegues (1999, p. 8) comments: "landscape is the result of a common and intertwined history: a human and natural history in such a way that the biodiversity is a cultural and social construct". Such an aspect propels the communities, expropriated for years by agropastoralism projects, mining, hydroelectrics and military structure (SILVA, 2014). The reconnaissance by the Constitution, by ILO and by CBD open to a new moment, a new conjecture that allows the emergence of traditional communities as political actors equipped with acknowledgement and with legal basis to take back their territories.

The changes came to the community after 2009. Even with all the openness, the community still went through censorship. Mr. Francisco, leader of the community, since an interview in 2009, when he denounced the silence imposed by the Army, has suffered harassment, and was called to testify in court. Besides Francisco, leaders, teachers and researchers who supported the cause of the community were called in court, which, for leaders, constituted a clear "attempt of intimidation and censorship to the community" by the Army.

Prompted and supported by a network of social actors and considering the environment, São Francisco do Mainã and Jatuarana communitarians restarted the process of meetings, articulation with institutions, as *Cáritas Arquidiocesana*, Public Ministry and other organizations, as strategies to take back control of their territory under the dominion of the Army since the 1960.

The front of struggle opened by the community marks the change of the organizing profile of the community, that transitions from a sociocultural associativism to a social-economic and political associativism. The first prioritizes the relation of internal cooperation of the community to meet demands for cultural, sportive and esthetic interaction. It cares about the emotional and social being of the individuals and it is founded on a moral commitment and on hope of reciprocity, with little concern with economic and political demands of the affiliates. Most times, sociocultural associativism has not much of an operational, collective and democratic structure, with little participation, superficial and it creates overcoming strategies of common problems.

The socio-economic and political associativism has actions with cultural and social approach as part of the necessary dimensions to a social cohesion, but looks for increasing the incidence of the community beside public and private institutions for economic, social and political gain. As a counterpoint to sociocultural associativism, the structure is more complex, with permanent meetings, adoption of control techniques, management and livingness of democratic practices. Its actions aim towards individual and community resilience, social transformation and the construction of collective solutions dedicated to empower and increase the capacity of incidence of the community. We may say that socio-economic and political associativism is a "participation and social organization condensed project", in which people directly involved "put themselves as subject of their doing, thinking and transforming the world they live in, in face of other people and civil society organizations as well as in face of people and governmental organisms, wider meaning" (CARVALHO, 1998, p. 5).

Carvalho's exposition (1998) shows the change in the form of the associativism that was present until the years 2004

and 2005 (sociocultural associativism), moving to the socioeconomic and political associativism, that promotes internal and external organization of the community, expanding the articulation with social and state actors to take back the territory, occupied by CIGS. As the milestone of the passage from sociocultural associativism to socio-economic and political we have the implementation of public civil investigation conducted by MPF/AM in 2014 and the “attempt to remove the communitarians of the area”, in 2009.

Socio-economic and political associativism was very important to guarantee territorial rights, as well as to expand the range of partnerships of support and magnification of demands. The partnerships gave visibility to the community because they were missing for a long time and in a passive position during the act of subtraction of its way of life.

Araújo ([c.a 2012],p.10) remembers the Army, at first, “tried removing the community to another area, ignoring every material and symbolic relationship with the territory by the farmers, built overtime”, and at the beginning of the negotiations “[the Army] didn’t want that the meetings with MPF had the participation of community representatives”; [the Army] wanted “to impede the participation of the social movements that supported the communities, as Pastoral Commission of Land (CPT) and *Cáritas Arquidiocesana*”. The existence and the strengthening of the community organization allowed to transform what previously was impossible, as subverting an Army willingness into possible and transforming “the absences in presences” (SANTOS, 2008, p.102). Araújo ([c.a 2012],p.11) thus narrates this new moment:

The communities reinforced themselves in a way that surprised the Army and provoked a retreat at the moment, being suspended any attempts of removal. It was a great victory, since it indicated the defense of public property tied to national security, as the Army intended, it couldn’t ignore the traditional communities right.

The new posture of the community modified the Army’s strategy that changed its form of acting, proposing the regularization of the areas, however with a set of rules, as Araújo appreciated ([c.a 2012], p.11), a model with “a few rights and many duties”. The Army’s model of regulation pursued reinforcing the individualism and breaking with associativism, and for that to happen, military force resumed to dialogue directly to farmers, singly, trying to convincing one by one to accept the “proposal and the use of local rules, notably the authorization to free entrance of

soldiers, training practices and the impossibility of the descendants to remain in the land”.

In the same perspective of weakening associativism and the community struggle, the Army tried to use the main demand to justify the denial of rights.

As if these direct negotiations weren’t enough, which weakened the communities, the Army resumed to impede the realization of *Luz para Todos* Program in the communities that didn’t accept the proposed land regularization. The letter n° 005-SCOMSOC/12RM, subscribed by the then commander of the 12nd Military Region, indicated to Amazonas Energia company that São Francisco do Mainã, Jatuarana and Santa Luzia do Tiririca communities were not authorized to welcome the program. The reason? The process of land regularization had not been realized. Ironically, the main communities demands, and that were constantly denied, were used to the disadvantage, as well as to deny access to the electrical power program.

Electrical power⁵ issue was a way found by the Army to coerce the farmers to accept its proposition, without any constraints. Such aspect constituted a Catch-22 situation, whereas power was an essential condition to the school and the health post functioning, and for familiar comfort, in other words, historical yearnings of the community. The resistance to the Army proposition meant the São Francisco do Mainã community would live together with no electrical power, while the other communities of the same region would start to have electrical power, and that is a factor of weakening, demotivating for the associative strategy and for the maintenance of the community stake, which consisted of obtaining greater collective gains. The community had already struggled for energy since 2009; it had the process approved and ready to be installed in 2012, when the Army “was opposed to the advent of the *Luz para Todos* Program” (MPF, 2013).

Unlike what was expected by the Army, the community remained united, firm in its beliefs and aware of its rights. Such aspects didn’t allow the farms to accept norm to utilize their own territory, the removal of their descendants’ right of living in the territory, what meant a “clear violation of their fundamental rights, with the emptying of the constitutional and infra constitutional juridical regime that protects them”(ARAÚJO, ([c.a 2012],p.19).

The solution found by the community along with MPF was judicialization, even if that option was more complex and had little perspective of obtaining a rapid response. Judicialization had as consequence land titles amplification,

⁵ Before electrical power, the community was supplied by a diesel generator provided by the Army.

presence and interest of the Union and community conditions. In this scenario, the community was defeated, since it didn't guarantee access to *Luz Para Todos* Program immediately, however it remained in the area. It wouldn't give in and, with the judicialized question, the Army's posture became evident on the part of many actors as Public Ministry, and it showed that there wasn't a friendly relationship between Army and community.

The process promoted some gains for the community, as greater approximation to Public Ministry, greater comprehension of legislation favorable to the rights invoked for territory and traditionality defense, as well as the maintenance of Public Ministry as main mediator between the community and the Army, and the inclusion of new actors, as the Federal Properties Management Office (SPU), that made available its expertise on the regularization of traditional communities areas.

The issue involving the community and the Army was received by the Senate Commission on Human Rights Legislation, where special session was performed on 28 May 282013, when the community could expose its vision about curtailment of their own territory and rights, as access to public policies, as an example *Luz Para Todos* Program.

The change of the associative profile allowed the community to resist the attempt of fragmentation of the unity, even with procrastination and time expansion to reach the objectives. On June 28/2013, new conditions were established to the concession of in rem right to use, with the strengthening of the collective use of land and respect to the ways of life in the community, setting conditions for military training and suppressing any attempt of restrictions for the descendants or time utilization. The concessions between parts were put this way: a) elaboration of a document of concession of in rem right to use as a collective; b) non imposition of use restrictions of *igarapé* Mainãzinho and *igarapé* Mainã Grande, excepting when there's training in this last case, which must be duly communicated; c) communication formalization by the Army about training execution, with identification of those ones who will execute it; d) greater rigor in the use of the flag that warns the existence of training, so the flag isn't hoisted when there isn't training; e) new area for *roçado*; f) absence of restrictions to cemetery visitation, which is on the other side of the river (ARAÚJO, ([c.a 2012])).

On 4 August 2013, the São Francisco do Mainã community celebrated the receiving of the concession of in rem right of resolvable use (CDRUR)⁶ as a collective, a document that awards all the association and resistance processes established by the farmers over the years and the conquest of territory and ancestry rights. At the ceremony, Mr. Francisco said that "it took many years of struggle to arrive at this moment and have our rights recognized. This document (CDRUR) represents, for us, the possibility of having access to public policies that will bring many benefits for the community" (MPF, 2017, p.2).

Luz Para Todos Program arrived between the final of 2013 and the beginning of 2014, almost two years after being prohibited by the Army. The program is the reward for the community due to the struggle and the perception that the overcoming of invisibility doesn't allow concession or retreat before economic, military or government agents.

The conquest of territorial rights was the first step to farmers living and welfare (PEREIRA et al., 2017). After CDRUR, the community started to search for projects and alternatives to fortify agricultural economy and thereby develop systems capable of contributing for the production of food, increasing of income and human and environmental sustainability. In view of this, in 2016, from the partnership with Manaus' *Cáritas Arquidiocesana*, a Brazilian Corporation of Agricultural Research (Embrapa) technology transfer project of expansion of guarana culture - creation of the Metropolitan Circuit of Guarana Culture -, that had the purpose of "provision of primary material to the Concentrates Pole of the Industrial Pole of Manaus (PIM), in addition it will help in the stimulation of the creation of stable jobs in municipalities and income alternatives offer to farmers, besides facilitating the chain of production dynamics, bringing farmers and industry together" (ROSA, 2016).

The project was based on the associative and organizing system of the community and installed in a collective area. The project implantation and maintenance happened by means of collective effort and combined actions. Guarana is a perennial crop, of annual production, with financial feedback after the third year of cultivation. The association, in meeting with Embrapa researchers and *Cáritas* agents, decided to make an adjustment in the project, with the introduction of cultures as manioc and banana, varying, this

⁶ According to Araújo ([c.a 2012], p. 25), the concession of in rem right of resolvable use (CDRUR) "is a tool through which the Public Power, instead of transferring an immovable away from its property, grants in rem right - and not obligational, so erga omnes - to the private individual's right, who might live in it, draw his/her sustenance and transfer it only to heirs. The receipt of that document assures the occupants of public land not only legal

security, but recognition of the specific utilization of the land. Applicable in various situations, that institute has a true value to traditional peoples, above all riverside peoples, that generally occupy securitised lands by Union by river banks and live an unstable situation on account of eventual private individuals' and even Public Power pressure".

way, annual cultures. Thus, the production system would allow finance feedback in short, medium, long terms, reinforcing income and food security. Afterwards, *açaí* culture was introduced to diversify the production. Such adjustment was only possible due to the organizing condition of the community, that was able to establish an evaluation and negotiation process aiming the construction of a capable model of benefiting the development project, that is appropriate to its conditions and necessities. Nowadays, the community has *guaraná*, *açaí*, banana, manioc cultures and has been forming partnerships to guarantee the production processing, together with Amazonas Federal University (UFAM), which may mean a better product price on hitting the market and, consequently, greater income to the producers.

Thus, the associative dynamic of the community allowed not only condition to guarantee its rights. It allowed conditions to the community to develop a reflexive process through which the associates construct scenarios, project gains and losses and, this way, maintain the focus on their objectives, resisting co-optation strategies and community fragmentation.

Closing comments

The case study of the São Francisco do Mainã community, that strengthened the socio-economic and political associativism, shows that the condition for Amazon rural communities to reach their territorial rights, programs access, projects and public policies is in the organizing associativism and cooperative empowerment. The associativism was the tool that allowed the invisibility overcome of the community, the traditionality recognizing, the right over the territory, as the public policies access. In the case of the São Francisco do Mainã community, the CDRUR acquisition, the *Luz Para Todos* Program and its insertion in technology transfer programs aimed to the strengthening of farmers families and rural development show the importance of associativism to Amazon communities.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

To the National Council for Scientific and Technological Development – CNPq – Research Productivity Scholarships – PQ -2 (process nº 313782/2021-0) and Community Association of São Francisco do Mainã.

REFERENCES

[1] ALENCAR, E. **Associativismo rural e participação**. Lavras: UFLA/FAEPE, 1997.
 [2] ALMEIDA, A. W. B. **Universalização e localismo: movimentos sociais e crise dos padrões tradicionais de**

relação política na Amazônia. In: D'INCAO, M. A.; SILVEIRA, I. M. (orgs.). **A Amazônia e a crise da modernização**. Belém: Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi, 1994.

- [3] ALMEIDA, Alfredo Wagner Berno de. **Terras tradicionalmente ocupadas: processos de territorialização e movimentos sociais**. REVISTA BRASILEIRA DE ESTUDOS URBANOS E REGIONAIS, v. 6, ed. 1, maio, 2004. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22296/2317-1529.2004v6n1p9>. Disponível em: <https://rbeur.anpur.org.br/rbeur/article/view/102>. Acesso em: 26 jul. 2020.
- [4] ALMEIDA, Alfredo Wagner Berno de; NAKAZONO, E. M. ; MENEZES, Elieyd S. ; CUNHA, M. V. ; MARQUES, A. ; BRITO, M. ; LIMA, L.A.P. ; RUBIM, A. C. ; RODRIGUES, C.S. . **Nova Cartografia Social da Amazônia: pescadores e pescadoras, agricultores e agricultoras do Lago do Puraquequara e Jatuarana: luta e garra contra a opressão do exército. A vitória das comunidades ribeirinhas, área rural de Manaus**. Manaus: UEA Edições, 2011
- [5] BERTHOME, J.; MERCOIRET, M.R. **Organização dos pequenos agricultores**. In: SPERRY, S. (org.). **Organização de pequenos produtores**. Brasília: Embrapa. 1999.
- [6] BRITO, A. C. ; CASTRO, A. P. ; FRAXE, T. J. P. ; RAMOS, A.S. . **Um Olhar Sistêmico sobre a Sustentabilidade da Produção de Malva em Comunidade de Várzea no Amazonas**. **Revista Terceira Margem Amazônia**, 10, v. 3, p. 197-213, 2018.
- [7] CANTERLE, N.M.G.A **prática associativa e seus atores no processo de desenvolvimento**. GestioPolis, 2004. Disponível em: <https://www.gestiopolis.com/a-pratica-associativa-e-seus-atores-no-processo-de-desenvolvimento/>. Acesso em 19 de jul 2020.
- [8] CARVALHO, H. M. de. **Formas de associativismo vivenciadas pelos trabalhadores rurais nas áreas oficiais de reforma agrária no Brasil**. Brasília: IICA/MEPF/NEAD, agosto, 1998.
- [9] CASTRO, A. P. ; GOMES, L. M. ; LOBATO, A. C. N. ; BRITO, A. C. . **Estratégia para dinamização da Cadeia produtiva de juta e malva no Estado do Amazonas**. **Revista Terceira Margem Amazônia**, v. 3, p. 84-99, 2018.
- [10] CASTRO, A. P.; Castro, A. P. ; Fraxe, T, J. P. . **UM OLHAR SISTÊMICO SOBRE A SUSTENTABILIDADE DA PRODUÇÃO DE MALVA EM COMUNIDADE DE VÁRZEA NO AMAZONAS**. **REVISTA TERCEIRA MARGEM AMAZÔNIA**, v. 3, p. 197-213, 2018
- [11] CONCEIÇÃO, M. F. C.; MANESCHY, M. C. **Pescadores, agricultores e ribeirinhos na Amazônia Oriental: associativismo e sustentabilidade**. **Boletim Rede Amazônia**, Rio de Janeiro, v. 1, n.1, p. 61-69, 2003.
- [12] COSTA, F. S.; Nogueira, A.C.F.; Bordinhom, A. M.; BIASE, A.M. ; VIDAL, V. ; SANTOS, J. C. N. . **Nupeas: um espaço de formação profissional interdisciplinar frente à complexidade da questão rural amazônica**. **Terceira Margem: Amazônia**, v. 1, p. 1-25, 2015
- [13] DANTAS, O. M. A. N. A. ; FRANCO, Maira Vieira A. . **Pesquisa exploratória: aplicando instrumentos de geração**

- de dados? observação, questionário e entrevista.** In: EDUCERE - XIII CONGRESSO NACIONAL DE EDUCAÇÃO, Curitiba, 2017.
- [14] DIEGUES, Antônio Carlos Sant'Ana. **Biodiversidade e Comunidades Tradicionais no Brasil.** NUPAUB-USP/PROBIO-MMA/CNPq: São Paulo, 1999.
- [15] DINIZ, Eugenio. **O PROJETO CALHA NORTE: ANTECEDENTES POLÍTICOS.** Mestrado (Mestre em Ciência Política pela Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas) - Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, 1994.
- [16] ESTERCI, Neide; LIMA, Deborah e LÉNA, Philippe. **Diversidade sociocultural e políticas ambientais na Amazônia: o cenário contemporâneo. Rede Amazônia: diversidade sociocultural e políticas ambientais.** Ano 1, n.1. Rio de Janeiro. P.3-5. 2002
- [17] FAGOTTI, L. N. **O associativo: associativismo e agricultura familiar no interior paulista.** Repositório Institucional UNESP, 2017. Disponível em: <http://hdl.handle.net/11449/150693>. Acesso em: 02 jul. 2017.
- [18] G1-Am. **Polo Naval no AM quer movimentar negócios de R\$ 1 bilhão, diz Seplan - Assembleia Legislativa do AM realizou audiência para discutir projeto. Secretaria diz que moradores de área do Puraquequara não serão retirados.** 09 mar 2013. Disponível < <http://g1.globo.com/am/amazonas/noticia/2013/03/polo-naval-no-am-quer-movimentar-negocios-de-r-1-bilhao-diz-seplan.html> > Acesso em 02 agos 2020.
- [19] GIL, Antônio Carlos. **Como elaborar projetos de pesquisa.** 4. ed. São Paulo: Atlas, 2002
- [20] LAZZAROTTO, J. J.. **O associativismo como estratégia para melhorar os sistemas de produção: estudo de caso de uma associação de produtores rurais do município de Pato Branco (PR)..** In: Vº Seminário Estadual de Administração Rural e Iº Seminário Sulbrasileiro de Administração Rural, 2000, Itajaí. Anais do Vº Seminário Estadual de Administração Rural e Iº Seminário Sulbrasileiro de Administração Rural. Itajaí: Abar-Sul, 2000.
- [21] MANESCHY, M. C.; MAIA, M. L. S. ; CONCEIÇÃO, M. F. C.. **Associações rurais e associativismo no nordeste amazônico: uma relação nem sempre correspondida.** **Novos Cadernos NAEA**, v. 11, p. 65-90, 2008.
- [22] MAZER, Simone. **Comércio Ribeirinho Solidário: uma alternativa para geração de renda na Amazônia.** 1. ed. Brasília, DF: IPAM/ASPROC, 2013
- [23] MINISTERIO PÚBLICA FEDERAL DO AMAZONAS. **Esclarece informações sobre consultas a comunidades em projeto do Polo Naval.** MPF. 17 mar 2017. Disponível em: <http://www.mpf.mp.br/am/sala-de-imprensa/noticias-am/mpf-am-esclareceinformacoes-sobre-consultas-a-comunidades-em-projeto-do-polo-naval> > Acesso em: 02 ago 2020.
- [24] MINISTÉRIO PÚBLICO FEDERAL. **PARECER Nº 001/2012-CÍVEL5/PR/AM.** Manaus/ Amazonas, 13 jul. 2012
- [25] MUENCHEN, J. V. **O planejamento e o controle da produção em associações de pequenos agricultores.** (Dissertação de Mestrado), Piracicaba: ESALQ, 1996.
- [26] PEREIRA, C. F.; MENEZES, T. C. C.; FRAXE, T. J. P.. **Governança fundiária no Sudeste do Amazonas.** **REVISTA TERCEIRA MARGEM AMAZÔNIA**, v. 2, p. 84-105, 2018
- [27] PEREIRA, GEUSA DA **PURIFICAÇÃO. ORGANIZAÇÃO COMUNITÁRIA COMO FERRAMENTA DE LUTA PARA A CRIAÇÃO E CONSOLIDAÇÃO DA RESERVA EXTRATIVISTA MARINHA DE CANAVIEIRAS – BA.** Dissertação (Programa de Pós-Graduação em Extensão Rural) - Universidade Federal de Viçosa., Viçosa-MG., 2016.
- [28] PERES, Sidnei Clemente. **Cultura, política e identidade na Amazônia: o associativismo indígena no Baixo Rio Negro.** TESE (Universidade Estadual de Campinas, Instituto de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas.) - Universidade Estadual de Campinas, Campinas, 2003
- [29] ROCHA, Alzilene Teixeira da. **GESTÃO DA ÁGUA EM MANAUS: CRIAÇÃO DO COMITÊ DE BACIA HIDROGRÁFICA DO RIO DO PURAQUEQUARA.** Dissertação (Mestrado) - Curso de Dissertação de Mestrado do Programa de Pós Graduação em Geografia, Universidade Federal do Amazonas, Manaus, 2014.
- [30] ROSA, F. **Projeto vai criar corredor metropolitano da cultura do guaraná.** **Embrapa Notícias.** 23 set 2016. Disponível em: <https://www.embrapa.br/busca-de-noticias/-/noticia/16596088/projeto-vai-criar-corredor-metropolitano-da-cultura-do-guarana> > acesso em: 02 de ago. 2020.
- [31] SABOURIN, Eric. **Camponeses do Brasil, entre a troca mercantil e a reciprocidade.** Rio de Janeiro: Garamond Universitária, 2009.
- [32] SANTOS, Boaventura de Souza. **A gramática do tempo. Para uma nova cultura política.** Vol. 4. 2ª. Ed. São Paulo: Cortez, 2008.
- [33] SANTOS, LUIZ CARLOS BASTOS. **Cooperação e conflitos na gestão da Reserva Extrativista Marinha de Maracanã, Estado do Pará.** Dissertação (Programa de Pós-Graduação em Agricultras Amazônicas, Núcleo de Ciências Agrárias e Desenvolvimento Rural, Universidade Federal do Pará – UFPA e Empresa Brasileira de Pesquisa Agropecuária – Embrapa Amazônia Oriental.) - Universidade Federal do Pará, Belém, 2016
- [34] SEBRAE, Serviço Brasileiro de Apoio às Micro e Pequenas Empresas. **ASSOCIAÇÃO: série empreendimento coletivos.** Serviço Brasileiro de Apoio às Micro e Pequenas Empresas – SEBRAE, Brasília, DF, 2009
- [35] SILVA, LINDOMAR DE JESUS DE SOUSA. **NATUREZA CAPITALISTA VERSUS NATUREZA ORGÂNICA: o advento da ALCOA e a mobilização e organização das comunidades de Juruti no Baixo-Amazonas paraense.** TESE (Ciência do Desenvolvimento Socioambiental, Núcleo de Altos Estudos Amazônicos – NAEA,) - Universidade Federal do Pará – UFPA, Belém, 2014.