


"WHAT ABOUT THE HUMAN SPECIES?" TRAJECTORIES OF RESISTANCE IN THE MÃE GRANDE DE CURUÇÁ EXTRACTIVE RESERVE IN PARÁ

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ABSTRACT

The trajectories of resistance in the Mãe Grande Extractive Reserve in the municipality of Curuçá are centered on conflicting discourses of 3 different interlocutors. This article is the result of a set of ethnographic researches carried out in the second half of last year, and had as its main objective to investigate the project "mothers of the mangrove", two women shellfish gatherers and a fisherman were interviewed in the municipality of Curuçá. Part of the title of this work explains a concern of the users of the Resexs "and the human species?", this statement was made by one of the interviewees of the research who reported that the entry and exit of development agencies and universities are directed to biological research and with a focus on the marine biodiversity of the mangroves. However, no attention is paid to the residents and extractivists who survive on the natural resources of these territories. As a theoretical lens, the concept of (re)patriarchalization of the territory developed by Ecuadorian authors was used. The definition translates the intertwined modalities of violence that are related to the expansion of capital in socio-environmental areas protected by the State.

Keywords: Extractivism, Gender, Resistance, Development.

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INTRODUCTION

The work is the result of a series of research carried out in the Mãe Grande extractive reserve, which is located in the municipality of Curuçá in the State of Pará in 2023. The investigation focused on the "Mothers of the Mangrove" project led by women shellfish gatherers, fishermen and extractivists from the region. The gender perspective in the reproduction and development of the community were the mottos of the investigation. According to Simonian (2018), field research in the Resex reveals a reality not always evidenced by environmental legislation.

Conflicts were identified in the exploitation of natural resources by the users of the Extractive Reserves, whether in relation to the public sector that lacks structure and specialized agents, or in the predatory culture of subsistence extraction. The participation of associations and cooperatives has strengthened the socio-environmental demand for the space. Income transfer policies focused on the family and gender perspective are concealed, as in the case of the "green grant" and "school grant" reported by the resident of Arapari in Curuperé, a community close to the mangrove dedicated to fishing.

According to Maria de Fátima Vieira de Souza, 40 years old – one of the interviewees in the survey – the non-possibility of accumulating the green bag with the closed season insurance increases the family's financial vulnerability, impacting food sovereignty and survival. With the scarcity of fish in the region, fishing has become more difficult, forcing fishermen to travel costly to more distant areas. The impasses in territorial management by public control institutions clash with the interests of the municipalities and the users of the Extractive Reserve. In the Mãe Grande de Curuçá reserve, truculent actions by ICMBIO agents were reported to Curuçá fishermen.

The impacts reported by the interlocutors did not only affect the extractive activity itself, but also the mental health of fishermen who fell ill because they did not handle the cast net or other fishing instruments. A path found in the mediation of this conflict was instituted in August 2023. The Curuçá Integrated Coastal Management Plan (Gerco), sanctioned by the municipal government of Curuçá, provides for a set of participatory activities with a focus on the sustainable use and quality of life of the extractive populations of the Resex.

Among the main objectives is territorial management by the municipality, since it is a territory of federal administration and implies the way in which the management of resources and socio-environmental public policies will be managed and implemented.

(State of Pará, 2023). Conflicts and territorial tensions have substantially affected the creation of new leaderships in the Resexs. In search of quality of life and a better educational perspective, there is a flight of young users of conservation units to nearby cities that are more structured in terms of access to goods, services and rights. This scenario disfavors the continuity of extractive life, which not only guarantees a sustainable use of natural resources, but also fulfills the role of resistance to the advance of capital in the Amazon region with the economic and socio-environmental valorization of the standing forest.

The extractive communities of the Legal Amazon resist the predatory advance of capital in the region. Associations of fishermen, shellfish gatherers, nut collectors, among others, have continuously organized themselves to ensure the regularization of their territories. This is based on the economic, cultural, social and environmental appreciation of the standing forest. The Extractive Reserves (RESEX) are the result of a legacy of mobilization led by rubber tappers such as Chico Mendes in the decade beginning in 1980, as highlighted by Alegretti (2002) and Simonian (2008).

The emergence of the RESEX from the community-based socio-environmental perspective was strongly influenced by union participation in the deepest areas of the Brazilian Amazon. Initially, this process took place in the South-Western Amazon, but then it spread throughout the Brazilian Amazon. Even currently, proposals for the creation of new RESEX are being articulated.

This research was built from the discipline "social anthropology" of the Graduate Program in Sustainable Development of the Humid Tropics (PPGDSTU/NAEA/UFGA). The anthropology of development cannot be separated from anthropological development, both with regard to fieldwork and the theorizing capacity of ethnographic studies. As Gardner and Lewis (1996) point out, rather than being stuck in the dominant discourses of development, the anthropology of development has to be used to challenge its main assumptions and representations.

Also according to Gardner and Lewis (1996) the dichotomy between "knowledge for understanding" and "knowledge for action" is mistaken. In fact, these possibilities in dealing with development are always interrelated. But what is essential in Simonian's (2007) terms is to include the perspective of extractivists and agro-extractivists – in this case, the Brazilian Amazon – in the discussions, analyses and forwarding of policies and actions related to development.

The intent of the work focuses on local resistance to development activities, which contradicts static and dualistic notions of traditional and modern. The theoretical-conceptual contribution is developed from a field research in the municipality of Curuçá, in the Mãe Grande Extractive Reserve. It is a federally administered Conservation Unit in the Amazon Coastal Marine biome. The reserve has an area of 37,062.00ha, established by decree No. 4340 on August 22, 2002 (Curuçá, 2023). The managing body is the Chico Mendes Institute for Biodiversity Conservation (ICMBIO).

In addition to the decree, the management of the unit has five ordinances instituted between 2005 and 2020. As well as two concessions of use, one between government agencies and the other of concession for the community that lives from extractivism. The grantor is ICMBIO and the concessionaire is the Association of Users of the Mãe Grande de Curuçá Extractive Reserve (AUREMAG). One of the interviewees in this study is Mrs. Sandra Regina Gonçalves, leader of the National Commission for the Strengthening of Coastal and Marine Extractive Reserves (CONFREM) and representative of AUREMAG.

The focus of the investigation arose from the wide dissemination of the "Mothers of the Mangrove" project sponsored by the international agency Purpose. The social impact agency mediates responsibility and sustainability actions between private companies and communities in at least seven countries around the world. "Mães do Mangue" arises from the financing and partnership between Purpose and Rare Brasil. The latter calls itself a global leadership group in changing the relationship between human beings and nature, with a focus on aquaculture projects.

According to the institutional website, Rare directs its efforts to the state of Pará, as it concentrates the largest estimated number of artisanal fishermen in Brazil, with about 224 thousand fishermen or 25% of the fishermen in the country. The field research has two interviews conducted in the municipality of Curuçá, in the mesoregion of Marajó and headquarters of the microregion of Salgado, between August 25 and 27 of this year. The actions of empowerment of women shellfish gatherers, discourses and conflicts were the motto of the work.

The theoretical perspective of the chapter walks through the modes of resistance of the women of the forest and the waters. Therefore, the conceptual view of Garcia-Torres et al (2023) was used, which construct five dimensions of the (re)patriarchalization of the territory: a) political; b) economic; c) ecological; d) cultural; e) corporal. The first concerns the political subjects who have the power to implement extractive development projects in

the territory, this dimension exposes the predominant gender hierarchy in political instances, in which women have an insufficient presence or inaudible voice.

The non-possibility of accumulating the green bag with the closed season insurance increases the family's financial vulnerability, impacting food sovereignty and survival. With the scarcity of fish in the region, the practice became more difficult, forcing fishermen to move to more distant areas, which made travel costs more expensive. According to the Amazon Social Progress Index (IPS) (2023), Curuçá appears in the 252nd position among the municipalities of the legal Amazon. According to the report, "violence against women" and "family vulnerability" have high percentages that correspond to violations of the rights of users of the RESEX Mãe Grande de Curuçá.

METHODOLOGY

Field research with an ethnographic approach supposes that writing is as fundamental as looking and listening (OLIVEIRA, 1996). The constructed interpretations were guided by the reality of the mangroves and their spatial conjuncture of sociability. As Simonian (2018) emphasizes, field research in the RESEX presents a reality not always evidenced by environmental legislation. Conflicts in the exploitation of natural resources by the users of these Sustainable Use Conservation Units are constant.

Considered as a new modality of occupation in the terms of Batista and Siomian (2013), in the RESEX Mãe Grande de Curuçá, new inputs aimed at productive activities and the dignity of families in the region were glimpsed, based on credit programs, which demarcates a territory in dispute. Female leaders attract the attention of NGOs and environmental development agencies, and the following interviews are excerpts from two women living in this RESEX. One, Sandra Regina Gonçalves (Image 1) is the leader of CONFREM and AUREMAG and one of the creators of the "Mothers of the Mangrove" Project. The second interlocutor is Maria de Fátima Vieira de Souza (Image 2), a shellfish gatherer and fisherwoman from the community of Arapuri in Curuperé/Curuçá.

Image 1- Researchers Karen Santos and Ligia Simonian and with the interviewee Sandra Gonçalves (image with nominal reference from right to left)



Source: Personal archive, Santos and Simonian, 2023.

It should be noted that the use of historical and/or current photography has been considered and used in scientific production since the second half of the nineteenth century. (Simonian, 2007). In fact, about the RESEX Mãe Grande and the municipality of Curuçá, there is a whole artistic and photographic production, with emphasis on Dr. Alexandre Sequeira, Dr. Ligia Simonian and the Virtual Museum of Curuçá, this one organized by historian Paulo Henrique.

Recognition of the historical insertion of ethnography has been growing in recent decades. This is associated with anthropology's recent surge in self-criticism and reflexivity, and broader critiques of the way Western scholarship has presented timeless and ahistorical "others." It is widely recognized that culture does not exist in a vacuum, but is determined by, and in turn determines, historically specific political and economic contexts.

Other voices were brought up in the contextualization of the research, two of them lived in the Curuperé community in Arapuri, which is far from the center of Curuçá. One of them is Maria Souza, a shellfish gatherer since she was 16 years old, mother of 7 children. The shellfish gatherer told us about the difficulties of living only from fishing and shellfish harvesting in the region, and the difficult access to social programs aimed at field workers. Maria also told us about the extraction of the mangrove root by a cosmetics company, which has co-opted fishermen from the community.

Fisherman Nilson Monteiro, husband of Maria Souza, also participated in the interview and reported a conflicting scenario of exploitation of fishermen's labor by a national cosmetics company. The company's entry into the Extractive Reserve would be reforestation and so far no action in this direction has been carried out, only the extraction of the Mangrove Root.

Image 2 - Researchers Karen Santos and Ligia Simonian and interviewee Maria Souza in the Curupeté community in Arapuri



Source: Personal archive, Santos and Simonian, 2023.

THEORETICAL ARTICULATION

The concept of "repatriarchalization of the territory" mobilized in this work dialogues with the return of the developmentalist discourse of neo-extractivism to the Amazon under the context of the reprimarization of Latin American economies. The projects of economic valorization of this disputed territory hit feminized bodies with greater brutality that see their territories expropriated from themselves and their subjectivities. (Garcia-Torres et al, 2023).

Repatriarchalizing the territory goes hand in hand with the reprimarization of the productive forces through neo-extractivist megaprojects. This means that, with each new crisis of capitalism that converges in a new capacity for adaptation, the crystallization of gender inequality is exacerbated in the reification of patriarchal family models. In progressive governments, no matter how broad and inclusive certain social policies may be, they have not been able to eliminate the oppressive conglomerate of class, gender, race, sexual orientation, etc. (Garcia-Torres et al, 2023)

In the neo-extractivist model that advances on federal reserves in Brazil, the spoils of affections are divided between bodies that take care of other bodies that are exploited. As discussed by the authors, the concept of repatriarchalization of the territory is the way of naming the intertwining of violence in the territories traditionally occupied by a community that manages extractivism as "good living" (Gudynas and Acosta, 2011).

The authors highlight five dimensions imbricated in the repatriarchalization of the territory: a) political; b) economic; c) ecological; d) cultural; e) corporal. Together they form an intersectional mechanism for perceiving violence in territories exploited by neo-extractivism. The political dimension emphasizes the privileges of certain subjects in the construction of decision-making power, the State, national and transnational companies dictate the political control of projects for the exploitation of natural resources. The way these institutions are persuaded promotes the collective disarticulation of these communities.

The economic dimension reorders local economies, replaces subsistence gathering with a logic of male salaried labor. According to Campanario Baqué and García Hierro (2013), men in this community begin to work in temporary, unqualified positions and often in conditions of exploitation. Women, in turn, are excluded from the collection process, since the model of exploitation is centered on the male productive force.

Excluded from jobs and subsistence from natural resources, women are separated from their autonomy and are held hostage to their husbands' wages. As Federice (2019) points out, "the family is essentially the institutionalization of our non-salaried work, of our non-salaried dependence on men and, consequently, the institutionalization of the unequal division of labor..." (Federice, p.73, 2019). Neo-extractivism contributes to sharpening the structural differences in survival between women and men in the space of communities, such as in the Mãe Grande Extractive Reserve, in Curuçá, Pará.

In the context of the ecological dimension, one of the impacts highlighted by the theory is the rupture with the cycles of reproduction of life, polluted rivers, contaminated soils, deforestation. Subsistence within the RESEX is threatened. At this point, it is crucial to distinguish extractivism as subsistence and commodity extraction carried out by transnational corporations. The first is related to the decree by the Union to guarantee the protection of mangroves and the territories (political-administrative, physical-environmental, socioeconomic and cultural) of traditional communities. (Association of Users of Marine Extractive Reserves of the State of Pará – AUREMS, 2023).

The second fits into the conception of indiscriminate exploitation of natural resources, prioritizes the reprimarization of the territory and empties the conception of subsistence of the community. It is this commodity extractivism that is responsible for capturing the free and undervalued work performed by women. In the cultural dimension, the discourse of the abundance of labor attracts a mass of people who start to occupy and reconfigure the territory. Relationship dynamics transform leisure and living spaces into masculinized places conducive to the consumption of alcoholic beverages and the consumption of prostitution of female bodies.

The bodily dimension brings together the extension of the territory through the subjectivities that inhabit it. The violence of external institutions in the capture of natural resources disciplines and imposes sanctions that reverberate in traditional communities. The aggravation of sexist, racist, ableist, and classist stereotypes denotes the harmful control over bodies from neo-extractivism. The conglomerate dimensions of repatriarchalization point to a dangerous movement in Latin America, that of reconfiguring power relations as a function of extractive megaprojects.

As highlighted by García-Torres, Vázquez, Hernández, and Jiménez (2023): "the concept of repatriarchalization of territory seeks to develop the idea that: capitalism, colonialism, and patriarchy are intrinsically related". The Mãe Grande RESEX in Curuçá in the state of Pará is a portrait of a territory in the process of "repatriarchalization", in this way intersecting oppression and violence is a strategy to think about the transition to a post-extractivist society and/or in the strengthening of community-based extractivism.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Gender equality is one of the goals of the fifth SDG, and therefore, it is interesting to pay attention to the context of inclusion of previously marginalized social actors. The "affirmative actions for women of traditional peoples and communities" are part of the activities of the project "Human rights of indigenous and quilombola women: a matter of governance!", which is currently funded by the Norwegian International Climate and Forest Initiative, of the Government of Norway.

In this way, gender is a relevant factor when it is related to the development of a country, either because it connects with the reach of civil and political rights or because it emphasizes the rates of social and economic rights. It is indisputable in the human development literature that investing in women and gender sensitivity offers a long-term

path. And according to Alaei, Akgüngör, Chao W-F et al. (2017) and Rankin (2001), this occurs mainly in relation to health, education and local development.

The "mothers of the mangrove" project arises from a proposal intermediated by Rare Brasil between the Purpose agency and Sandra Gonçalves from AUREMAG in Curuçá. Since 2017, Rare has been developing research on fish and shrimp in the Mãe Grande RESEX. From 2019, the group began to instrumentalize the Association by encouraging a "savings club" in the community. About the "Mothers of the Mangrove" Project, Sandra Gonçalves pointed out that: "And then Monique called me, she said "Sandra" there is an NGO, they are only for women, there are no men within the NGO, the name is Purpose, they want to be your godmothers". (Gonçalves, 2023)

Sandra Regina (2023) pointed out that any and all actions developed in the RESEX by groups or institutions from outside must give back to the community:

What is it that we are discussing the most, right, that really those who are doing the studies should give feedback within the process to the community where you are doing the work, to the Association is giving space and in the council that is the biggest place. What matters is the base, the base that is there, they who are the guardians, they who protect, on a daily basis.

The guardians referred to by Sandra are the shellfish gatherers, fishermen and other traditional communities that live and survive in the RESEX. The leadership highlighted the way in which ties have been strengthened with RARE. (Gonçalves, 2023)

[...] we met Rare in 2012, we met Rare there in Rio de Janeiro and Rare went and asked for a meeting with ICMBio and made a technical cooperation agreement with ICMBio and with the national CONFREM to go down to the institution. Then this whole process was done and we were waiting, then they opted for the six states. Two were from the legal Amazon and the three were no longer from the Legal Amazon. That it already caught Santa Catarina, but the beginning of "Rare" here they started like this with the research. Doing a job here in Curuçá with shrimp, with a species. And then we start to question like, no, you started wrong, right, for you to have started with this species. They were supposed to have started, yes, but with the human species, to start a whole process with humans, in this case the one who degrades is not the crab, it is not the shrimp, it is us humans. We are the ones who do the totally wrong fishing, we are the ones who often do the predatory fishing because this was the culture that came from father to son and today this culture still exists, so it was not the way to have started, it was a clash.

The leadership highlighted the entry of the agency in a lateral way, with regard to the development of the community's residents. This perception reveals that the entry into the RESEX is due to the nature and biodiversity that inhabit the mangroves. Research, study and development institutions focus on the animal species and the potential resources

residing in the maretory³, which hides the community and the learning needs. As highlighted by Sandra, there is a deep-rooted culture in the management of animals, and that hurts the ideal of sustainability reaffirmed in the world. Environmental education aimed at the community would be one of the forms of local and community development in her words.

Sandra (2023) shared the instrumentalization of fish carried out by the agency from a family economy monitoring application. It was not questioned who the developer of the app was and whether Rare would have access to each fisherman's private data. Identifying this in the survey becomes relevant because individual monitoring somehow arrives as information to the agency. According to Sandra, the State has never presented this technological alternative to control the flow of fishing in the municipality, and that for them it was an important gain. Apart from the application, the savings club is also a coordinated action developed by Rare in the municipality.

The project, according to the interviewee, is configured in a network of people – mainly women – who come together to jointly store money in a kind of "box". When asked who came up with the idea of the savings club, Sandra (2023) was adamant: "It was this rare group, it came from there with an idea, there goes up to 50 reais the individual value. There is individual money saving and collective savings, which is the meeting snack, if I save 10 reais for the individual, then I save five for the collective" (Gonçalves, 2023).

From there, the question arises as to why fisheries management has technological resources in monitoring and draining production, but the savings club is managed exclusively by female leaders and organized manually? The word empowerment, for example, comes up all the time during the interview. Based on this logic, researcher Katharine Rankin (2001) asks the following question when analyzing microcredit aimed at women farmers in Nepal: "how can microcredit then operate as a governmental strategy through which this particular political rationality is exercised on the social body?" (Rankin, p.352, 2023).

How to think about the rupture of the gender hierarchy from a policy that delegates economic and consequently social empowerment to the market? In the light of the use of microcredit, subjectivity, particularly female, would be responsible for the collective development of a civil society. Also according to Sandra (2023):

³ Name given by the community to the movements of the "tides". The territory is classified as a tidal force because it is hit by the tides.

Then when it was in 2021 a coordinator of one, also of an association, which she calls herself a company, they are only for women and then they met the president, Monique Galvão, and they asked Monique if she didn't know women's groups that they wanted to help in some way. They were not going to give the money for the sake of giving the money, they wanted that money to be invested in something, and then she said that she had 12 daughters, because she said she was the mother of the Resexs.

The idea of "giving money for the sake of giving" as a highlight highlights the investment that the "Purpose agency" made in the RESEX based on the leadership and life history of the women shellfish gatherers. By financing the project, the agency would have – as it did – access to the results of the investment and would use – as it actually used – the execution images. As well as the construction of social responsibility reports shared with the companies that buy the agency's service.

During the interview, the president of AUREMAG highlights that she led 700 women from the 12 Extractive Reserves in the region during the execution of the project. The "Mothers of the Mangrove" campaign was defined by the female leaders of the Reserve and expressed the role of women in the protection of the marshstory. The definition of the name and the project demarcated the performance and investment of the international agency. In this way, a cookbook developed in the 12 units was produced, the production brings photography and culinary text about the food culture in the units from the extraction of shellfish, shrimp, crab, sarnambi, turu and other species that demarcate survival in the mangroves of the Amazon.

The production was conducted by interviews, filming and assembling the menus in each unit, and the investment was made linked to a mutual dissemination according to Sandra, that is, the agency publicized the books and the production of mini-documentaries on its institutional website and the women of the 12 RESEX would establish a lasting partnership with the agency, linking the image of the project to the social responsibility and sustainability of the companies managed by "Purpose".

The project resulted in the launch of a cookbook, the creation of a logo and the recording of a mini-documentary about "women in the mangrove". The project's images and evidence are used as advertising by Purpose and Rare's partner companies. It is necessary to consider how the gender perspective is transversalized in social responsibility actions by the private sector from the agreements, pacts and conventions in favor of women's rights.

The concept of "empowerment" and the emptying given to it with the motto of operationalizing it is an example of this instrumental transversalization. According to Berth

(2019), the term "empowerment" was created by the American sociologist Julian Rappaport in 1977 and, simply, it would mean "gaining freedom and being able to do what you want or control what happens to you". (Berth, p.184, 2019). It should be noted, however, that a term closer to what occurs in Amazonian society is strengthening.

The presence of the agency in the community led the authors to a new interlocutor, Mrs. Maria Souza,⁴ from a location far from the center of Curuçá. She shared through a recorded interview about a mangrove root extraction project led by a cosmetics company, and which has been co-opting fishermen in the region on a daily basis. The company's entry into the Extractive Reserve would be reforestation and so far no action in this direction has been carried out, only the extraction of the Mangrove Root.

According to Maria de Curuperé, the association is working together with the company in question. Maria's husband, Mr. Nilson Monteiro, has been working with the company and shares "this issue of extracting the mangrove root, they arrive in the morning, they don't pay any daily rates. The discourse of reforestation will be based on extraction."⁵ According to the fisherman, he is taking part because he is curious:

[...] When it comes to stopping it, he will be the first to be realistic and say that it won't work. Especially because we did an experiment with the "tip" and it does not regenerate. The Mango tree, the aerial root recomposes, but then we have to see how long this root will take to recompose. Then auremag closed a 3-year project with this company, then they looked for fishermen to work together, earning a daily rate of 90 reais working from 7 am to 5 pm to earn that? It is a sacrifice. It started with 5kg, 7kg, the last one was the extraction of 22kg. And they are already talking about extracting in one ton, and one and a half tons. The icmbio is in, Sandra is in. "So the powerful here are articulated and devastate the mangrove inside their properties, now a fisherman like me is going to grab 30 crabs in the period of to support my family, they come soon to arrest me or demoralize me before the community.

Nilson reaffirms that the people of the center are "colonized" and that the residents of the most distant communities such as Curuperé live at the mercy of the decisions of the association that manages the RESEX. Also according to Maria de Fátima Vieira de Souza – shellfish gatherer and fisherwoman interviewed in the community of Arapuri in Curuperé – the scarcity of fish is a frequent reality in the region. The family economy is supported by government aid, whether it is the school grant or defense insurance. Mother of seven children, this interlocutor portrays the difficulty of shrimp extraction and fishing lately.

⁴ SOUZA, M. de F. V. de. Interview with Ligia Terezinha Lopes Simonian and Karen Santos, about fishing and shellfish gathering in Curuperé. Curuçá, August 26. 2023. Not paginated. (Authors' notes, personal archive).

⁵ MONTEIRO, Nilson. Interview with Ligia Terezinha Lopes Simonian and Karen Santos, about fishing and shellfish gathering in Curuperé. Curuçá, August 26. 2023. Not paginated. (Authors' notes, personal archive).

When asked about the variability of fish in the RESEX, Maria replied that "[...] It has everything, but now it's a 'vasqueira' era⁶. Now we take more to eat and sell two, three kilos and look there" (Souza, 2023). Regarding government aid, Souza (2023) exposed difficulties in accessing income redistribution policies; and when asked if she received any aid from the State, she replied: "[...] I receive it and I don't receive it, like this, we receive six months of closed insurance, I mean, it was the first year that we received the closed insurance. Then he receives a closed season and cuts the scholarship" (Souza, 2023).

The shellfish gatherer's speech portrays the difficulty of several families who depend on extractivism in the mangroves. During the interview, she said that she has been working in fishing and shellfish harvesting since she was 16 years old. At the age of 40, for the first time she and her family had access to closed season insurance, an essential policy in the survival of communities that live from artisanal fishing during the spawning season. Maria also reported that a good part of the family allowance is invested in the formal education of her children so that they do not live from fishing like their parents.

CONCLUSIONS

In the RESEX Mãe Grande de Curuçá, with regard to the political dimension of "repatriarchalization" territory, the political confrontation between traditional male leaders was perceived, and which allow the entry of large enterprises in the municipality. In some ethnographic surveys carried out in the territory, the following phrase was heard: "she is empowered" – this phrase was most often intended to refer to Sandra Gonçalves, leader of AUREMAG. This perspective presents a clash of typically patriarchal interests within the RESEX.

In the economic dimension, the process of economic restructuring was the one that stood out from the five dimensions, the exploitation of the labor of fishermen in the extraction of the mangrove root as reported by Nilson Monteiro exemplifies the precariousness of salaried work with the focus on the reprimarization of natural resources in the area. From this, the role of "Rare" in the territory arises as a question: if fishermen and shellfish gatherers were in conditions of economic security, would the agency be so present? The institution's presence converges with the context of vulnerability of the community.

⁶ It means scarcity

In the same proportion that the economic element emerges, the ecological dimension is based on the speech of Nilson and Maria from the community of Curuperé; In these terms, the extraction of the mangrove root by a cosmetics company reveals the expansion of commodity neo-extractivism. The company's reforestation discourse covers up the degradation of space. As for the cultural and bodily aspect, one of the main impacts captured is the bodily and cultural emptiness, the educational investment in the young people of the RESEX would be the escape from the territory in search of quality of life and dignity. Valuing reproductive work with the education of children is the way that women find to make their own voices echo.

The participation of Amazonian women – indigenous or non-indigenous – is scarce in the construction of development programs and projects in the region. And when they are included in the construction of public policies, it is noted that a perspective of essentialities and idealizations of being a woman prevails. For example, the "Mothers of the Mangrove Network" translates a reified participation based on gender, of motherhood as the characteristic of care.

However, the choice of the name by the women of the "maretório" stands out, who have built the notion of local development from the collective perspective that represents their desires and choices. As D'Incao (1997) points out, Amazonian society went through the reverse process of modernization. This means that the effect of the development projects implemented by the State incurs in the expropriation of spaces and social, cultural and environmental networks, without the counterpart of the concomitant reinsertion into new spaces.

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