

Conflict and Cooperation between Civil Society and State in Spaces of Interaction for Territorial Development in Brazilian Amazon

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Abstract:

This paper introduces experiences of social actors' interaction for building territorial development proposals in Brazilian Amazon. Specifically, the paper discusses three examples of interaction between social actors for mediation of emerging conflicts and construction of territorial pacts based on cooperation. Based on a qualitative analysis, the research shows: (a) conflict and cooperation are outcomes of individual territory socio-historical construction; (b) in the Brazilian Amazon, the regional development policies initiated in the 1950s promoted a series of territorial conflicts; (c) territories are, by nature, spaces of conflict and negotiation for their requalification; (d) with support from intermediary organizations, there are efforts for territorial re-qualification in the region; and, (e) cooperation is a way of boosting the assets of the territories.

Keywords: *Cooperation. Conflict. Territorial development.*

Conflicto y cooperación entre la sociedad civil y el Estado en espacios de interacción para el desarrollo territorial en la Amazonía brasileña.

Resumen:

En el artículo se presenta experiencias de interacción entre actores sociales para la construcción de propuestas de desarrollo territorial en la Amazonia brasileña. El trabajo analiza de manera especial tres ejemplos de interacción entre actores sociales para la mediación de conflictos emergentes y la construcción de pactos territoriales basados en la cooperación. A partir de un análisis cualitativo, la investigación mostró que: (a) el conflicto y la cooperación son resultado de la construcción socio-histórica de cada territorio; (b) en la Amazonia brasileña, las políticas de desarrollo regional iniciadas en los años 50 provocaron una serie de conflictos territoriales; (c) los territorios son, por naturaleza, espacios de conflicto y de negociación para su recalificación; (d) con apoyo de organizaciones que intermedien, hay posibilidades de recalificación territorial en la región; y, (e) la cooperación es una forma de potenciar los activos de los territorios.

Palabras clave: *Cooperación. Conflicto. Desarrollo territorial.*

1. Introduction

Since the late 80s of last century emerged many spaces of interaction between civil society and state in Brazil for the achievement of public policies and/or for the implementation of projects, programs and development policies. These spaces have been strongly marked as the loci of conflicts between agents who represent both the State as well as Civil Society. However, it is understood that conflicts are inherent in any interaction space and serve the purpose to boost the construction of minimum consensus, social dialogue and territorial pacts for the development of territories. It reflects what Habermas (1989) calls of communicative act that permeates the relationship between the subjects in their dialogues spaces for the construction of a fairer and less confrontational society.

This paper seeks to discuss and show learning experiences from interaction between social actors of civil society and the State, particularly when the aims of the interaction spaces are linked to territorial development. Specifically, we attempt to focus on examples of conflict acceptance as part of the territorial development process and also its mediation through intermediary organizations for cooperation among stakeholders involved. The paper comes from various authors' research experiences on conflicts and on spaces of interaction in the context of Pará state, Brazilian Amazon. The research is based on qualitative analysis and refers to three examples of conflicts and cooperation in projects, pro-

grams and public actions carried out in the region. The paper seeks to discuss and demonstrates that: (a) conflict and cooperation are outcomes of socio-historical construction of each territorial cut; (b) territories are by nature, areas of conflict; but, at the same time, they are spaces for negotiation for their requalification; (c) in Brazilian Amazon, the regional development policies started in the second half of the twentieth century brought a significant number of territorial disputes in the region; (d) however, there are some attempts to mediate conflicts and submission of territorial development proposals; and, (e) cooperation presents itself as a method to leverage the assets of territories. The examples used throughout the text show that conflict, contradiction, cooperation and concertation walk side by side in any space or public sphere established for the purpose of achieving development projects, programs and policies.

2. Territorial development, conflict and cooperation

In Brazil, since the late 90s of last century the concept of territory has taken shape for the discussions on development due to wear and tear, still evident in the notion of region and, more precisely, regional development or planning. Such wear has occurred by presenting inability to macroeconomic results and macro-social development that are convincing by regionalist logic. In this way, the understanding of region has acquired a new perspective, which has required the ability to reinterpret and recognize the space from its multiple perspectives. Therefore, the concept of region started to be understood as a social-historical construction in which intertwine politics, economy, culture and, above all the local environment as forming bodies of society and the guidelines of their spatial organization (Vasconcellos & Vasconcellos, 2009).

The creation of new public spaces for formulation and management became one of the structuring elements of development, which began to assume a territorial position. In considerable part, these new spaces relate to institutional innovation and the creation of environments where intrastate, state-society and state-society-market involvement are combined. The arrangements and formats built in this direction (forums, councils, chambers, consortiums) are underpinned by the integration idea and social participation of the various local actors, who (re) build the development of the territories with their daily actions and practices.

In practical terms, in Brazil the territory becomes a reference unit for State action and regulation of public policies from the 2000s, more precisely with the Lula da Silva government (2003 – 2010) which assumed a political and ideological stance closer to the social reformism, giving a little more voice to civil society for dialogue with the State and with the market agents themselves. The territory

as an unity of analysis started to be used as a response of the national State to the intense criticisms regarding ineffectiveness and inefficiency of its actions, its high cost to society and the permanence of the most serious social problems such as poverty, unemployment and violence, among others. The decentralization initiatives of public policies, the valorisation of the participation of civil society actors, especially the beneficiaries of government programs, and the redefinition of the role of institutions, increased the importance of local government spheres, in particularly the municipalities, and of the collective and individual actors of civil society. Consequently, the particularities of collective, individual and institutional actors at stake necessarily arise. An important factor is the recognition of the link between planning spaces and implementation of policies and the associative bases effectively anchored in the territories. This type of connection appears as a differential able to confer legitimacy, and the density on spatial development processes for being distinguished from dynamics focused on the classical forms of 'local power' which is presented as synonymous with power 'on the spot'.

According to Abramovay (2000), the social capital of a territory will be stronger, insofar as it allows the expansion of the circle of social relations, in which those who participate in its socio-historical development live. The territorial approach to development, in this perspective, supposes the expansion of opportunities for choice by the actors of the territory. In fact, it deals with a strategic issue which involves a political territory project.

Sen (1999) emphasizes two opposite analytical perspectives on development. The first sustains that development is a violent, suffered, inevitably process involved in "blood, sweat and tears" (Sen, 1999:35). From that point of view, according to the author, the challenge of accumulating wealth in a fast manner may lead to the immediate sacrifice of social and collective well-being, which would only later be built on more solid bases. From an opposite view, Sen (1999:32) states that development may also be an "essentially friendly" process, and that "it may be exemplified by such things as beneficial exchanges, or the work of social safety nets, or for political freedoms or by social development – or any combination of these support activities" (Sen, 1999: 32). Therefore, development means to increase the ability of actors to make choices. A freedom and, therefore, development cannot be thought outside the concrete conditions of its exercise. It is not enough that the law guarantees certain rights, fundamental is that local actors have the skills, the qualifications, prerogatives to move, to participate in markets and to establish human relationships that enrich their lives.

The term "conflict" should not be treated in a unique way, since it occurs in many different forms. It occurs territorially and is the result of interactions between people, social groups, organizations, communities and territories in different spaces and historical times (Almeida, 2009: 44). The conflict, or to describe it better, "the conflicts" come in various forms and are inherent parts of the

territories, which by nature are made up of human relationships and social structures. However, “the conflicts” have natures, spaces and own times. Conflicts for power, appropriation of natural resources, ideological domain of the territory project and the institutional apparatus are merely a few examples of conflicts, which are linked to the discussion on territorial development.

On the one hand, a conflict may be interpreted as a disturbance to the “normal functioning” of society (Durkheim apud Canto, 2016) and a barrier to the development of the territories; in contrast, the conflicts may also be understood as driver mechanisms of change and improvement of societies in the search for new development projects. In the latter case, the search for contingent and temporary consensuses and the construction of social agreements (Tapia, 2005) and territorial pacts (Dallabrida & Ferrão, 2016) may be alternatives for the development of the territories. Part of the understanding is that conflicts are inherent in the territories and that cooperation among social actors, not to eliminate the conflicts, but rather to minimize and/or moderate them, is a possible way for territorial development. The attempt to cooperate does not consist in ending conflicts, but to regulate their forms in the manner that its manifestations are less destructible and more edifying for all social actors and for the actual territories.

In order to help understand cooperation between social actors from the perspective of territorial development, it is necessary to analyze the various points, acting interactively in the construction of the territory. Among these points are political competition, the norms and rules laid down in the territory by the different government levels, the ability of local organizations management and institutional relations networks and social actors. This means to understand cooperation in the territory, it is necessary to understand the socio-political and socio-economic contexts where it establishes itself.

The understanding of cooperation as a form of collective action for the territorial development will be better performed if analysis and empirical evidence cover the hypothesis of perfect synergy between state and civil society (Evans, 1997) and relationships without conflict between social actors. With this in mind, the important issues that emerge are which factors influence the rapprochement between the actors for cooperation and what factors contribute to and/or inhibit cooperation between them. As Gaventa (2004) proposes, in order to examine intra-state interaction spaces, state-society and state-society-market, it is necessary to question how these spaces were created, with what kind of interests and what are the terms of engagement of social actors.

Even though the territory assumes the principle of participation in planning and established a new institutional arrangement to support the cooperation of local stakeholders in the process, it is not yet entirely clear how cooperation between social actors has promoted the balance of interests and priorities of all those who make up the interaction spaces. There exist still gaps in knowledge to

understand how participation reflects cooperation and the empowerment of social groups, who are historically excluded from the process of development of the territories. This paper seeks to contribute to the debate on participation, cooperation and empowerment in an appropriate manner, for territorial development and to cover part of the existing gap.

In the light of this, two issues emerge as a central point to understanding the effectiveness of new institutional arrangements, which promote participation and cooperation among social actors for territorial development: to what extent does the representatives' participation of local organizations in the planning and/or implementation of territorial development policies, programs and projects represent cooperation? As Cornwall (2004) suggests, new public spaces can be occupied by new ideas and social actors, but may also be spaces for strengthening old structures of power. Is cooperation an effective strategy in order to include the interests of different collectivities in territorial development strategies? As Sen (1999) indicates, a major challenge is the development of cooperation where the interests of different social actors are so diverse.

3. Regional development in the Brazilian Amazon and emergence of conflicts

A range of literature discusses the history of insertion of the Brazilian Amazon in the context of the Brazilian national development in the second half of the twentieth century. As it concerns a long history, and which involves approximately 50% of the Brazilian territory, it is highlighted herein an incisive history to make notes of some of the many conflicts and contradictions that regional development policy has brought to specific geographical areas of the region.

In the 1950s, the Brazilian federal government initiated physical infrastructure projects for greater integration of the northern region of the country with the rest of Brazil by means of the (a) construction of a federal highway that began to connect Belém (capital of Pará state) to Brasília, capital of Brazil; and (b) institutional infrastructure in order to support the economic development with the creation of the *Superintendência de Valorização Econômica da Amazônia* (SPEVEA) which later became the *Superintendência de Desenvolvimento da Amazônia* (SUDAM). In that time, the logic for Amazon development was to supply the south and southeast of Brazil market with wood and crops.

In the 1960s, now with the autocratic and military government, Brazil had to rely on new national development plans. The aim was to achieve international market. For that, the role given to Amazon was to intensively explore natural resources, particularly mineral resources, and to develop large cattle-ranching and agriculture. Thus, it was implemented in Amazon the National Integration

Plan (NIP) with opening of new roads, among which the most important was the Trans-Amazonian Highway; and the Amazon Development Plans (PDAs) whose emphasis was to create regional poles of development based on large cattle-ranching and agriculture and also on big exploitation mining.

In 1970, the so-called POLAMAZONIA Program was established with aim of using natural resources and utilization of the potential of agriculture and livestock, agro-industrial and forestry in areas defined as priority in the region following the idea that the results would be irradiated for the entire regional territory. It was the second phase of dictatorship regional planning to achieve the international market.

In the 1980s, emphasis was placed on the greater use of mineral resources, and the energy infrastructure for the extractive industry in implantation in the region. In this sense, the Tucuruí Hydroelectric Power Plant was built, the largest hydroelectric genuinely Brazilian. There were also the construction of other hydroelectric plants in the region, as well as support for the implantation of mineral extractive industries for alumina production, bauxite, iron and manganese in the Pará and Amapá States. In the 1980s planning, the idea was generate hydroelectric power to regional industries and also to provide energy to the rest of the country.

What we want to highlight in this brief historical description is that all these plans, programs, projects and initiatives together caused significant restructuring of the regional environment that leveraged conflicts between the State, civil society the market and that macroeconomic growth was not converted into social development in the various territories of the region. For instance, there were land concentration processes, devastation of the forest, swelling of urban centers in the region, emergence of new human settlements in nearby regions, where the big ventures settled, pollution of rivers and increased poverty and violence. These examples only corroborate the understanding of the limitation of the regional development approach, and its insufficiency to transfer macroeconomic outcomes to the local level. In other terms, the results of the poles economic growth were not transferred to meet people needs at municipal level.

Paiva (2010) and Canto (2016) make an effort to draw up a typology of conflicts, by calling them socio-environmental conflicts that emerged from the interactions among multiple social actors and their activities that aim at the use and appropriation of the region's natural resources and its consequences. Among old and new social actors are small-scale agriculturists and extractivists, large farmers and mineral industries. The conflicts are related to (1) water resources, in particular the restrictions on access to water for many local communities; (2) territorial planning, with invasions, expropriations and land disputes; (3) housing, with unplanned urban occupation and lack of water infrastructure, energy, sewage systems, among others; (4) livestock, represented by extensive cattle breeding

which is associated with deforestation; (5) monoculture, mainly with grain production and the use of agrochemicals; and, (6) predatory extraction of natural resources, represented by the low availability of management plans, extinction of native species and use of subsoil resources.

It is in this socio-historical framework predominantly of conflicts and contradictions of the regional development model, being deployed in the territories of the Brazilian Amazon that have emerged, through the territorial development perspective, the new institutional public spaces of interaction between social actors to somehow respond to emerging/existing conflicts.

4. Conflicts related to cooperation: achievement of territorial development proposals

Given the diversity of territories and the multiplicity of existing conflicts, the construction and implementation of institutional public spaces of interaction among social actors, vary according to the specific socio-historical framework of each territory. In other words, the predominance of a certain type of conflict exists in each territory that influences the behavior of social actors in the interaction spaces. The following examples demonstrate three types of dialogue and cooperation building among social actors' conflicts in Brazilian Amazon. The socio-environmental conflicts emerged as outcomes of regional development plans implemented between 1950s and 2000s that largely exploited natural resources and changed the social and environmental structure in the region.

4.1. Land regularization and productive financing to overcome poverty

Between 2009 and 2014 was implemented in the municipality of Igarapé-Açú, in the state of Pará, a territorial development program called Pará-Rural; program created by State law in 2005. The purpose of Pará-Rural was to combat rural poverty as a result of land regularization, increase job generation and income by supporting the local development processes, finance of productive projects and promote institutional strengthening of territorial management of the state. The program was funded between 2008 and 2014 by the World Bank and its design defined the participation and cooperation of local stakeholders in territory planning as an important factor to better efficiency and effectiveness of the investments made. In practice, Pará-Rural stands out for bringing different rural actors in the public sphere, civil society and market to elaborate, implement and evaluate a plan of common interest and promote greater efficiency and effectiveness in

the use of the public resource under the governance approach and collaborative actions (Vasconcellos Sobrinho, Teixeira & Vasconcellos, 2016).

The Pará-Rural Program was implemented at the local level based on a strategy of mobilization of civil society organizations, business and government institutions, in order to support the elaboration and execution of a territorial development project. The methodology provided for the implementation of a participatory diagnosis and in consequence, the establishment of a Municipal Development Forum (FDM) for the elaboration of a Municipal Development Plan (PDM). It was sought to stimulate the protagonism of local social actors in defining the municipal development directions for the short, medium and long term.

The assumption followed by the program was anchored in local development definition suggested by Buarque (2008, p. 25) “as an endogenous changing process, which leads to economic dynamism and improving the quality of life of the population in small territorial units and human groups”.

At meetings of the FDM the realities of local communities and the municipality were discussed as a whole from the economic, social, cultural and environmental perspectives. The FDM promoted a large seminar involving small-scale agriculturists and extractivists, family agriculturists, large farmers, public servants, politicians and local businessman. The aim of the meeting was the construction of local problem arrays and diagnoses to planning the territory development. The plan involved all dimensions, which anchor the debate on the sustainable development of the territory. These matrices served as the basis for the next stage of elaboration of the PDM.

While participation in the meetings of FDM and in the construction of the PDM led to the confrontation between differentiated worldviews and projects of society, this confrontation has provided innovation, the maturity and commitment of the participants with the consensual strategies and agreed upon in the development plan. The confrontation between ideas for local development gave to the social actors of the territory changes in the form of articulation between the government institutions, civil society and productive agents with a view to a more multidimensional development perspective. This confrontation may be characterized as one of the most important moments of collective learning.

The history of Igarapé-açu demonstrated that between the 50's and 70's the municipality was heavily hit with the construction of the Belém – Brasília Highway a goal of the national-regional integration project. In sum, the highway extinguished a railroad until then existing in the State which easily connected Igarapé-Açu to other municipalities and the state capital. This railroad facilitated the flow of people and goods and its extinction caused a socio-economic breakdown of the municipality. It happened because the new highway was built in a different route from the existing railroad and left Igarapé-Açu out of the circuit of production.

From the 70's, there was a trend to the implementation of permanent crops (black pepper and later palm) and semi-permanent (maracujá) exclusively for the external market (Silva, 2010). The black pepper culture gained strength encouraged by government initiatives, and by the good prices practiced on the international market, thus remaining until the second half of the 1980s, when it practically disappeared due to phytosanitary problems (Sousa Filho, 2001). However, this crop re-emerged in the late 90s after overcoming phytosanitary problems and remains to this day as an important crop in the municipal context.

The 90s were marked by the introduction of palm oil and the growth of livestock farming on large estates. The expansion of oil palm cultivation was leveraged by favorable bioclimatic conditions and the implementation of an agro-industrial company with tax incentives from the Federal Government (Silva, 2010). Livestock was implemented in areas previously dedicated to food crops plantation of old settlers property, which were acquired by local urban merchants. Livestock production has led to a reconfiguration of rural production and production units, with land concentration to form pastures and structuring of farms with areas exceeding 500 hectares (Sousa Filho, 2001) thus provoking, a conflict between small family producers and large producers. With a growing herd expansion, livestock caused serious environmental problems to the municipality.

During the PDM workshops were found in the speeches of local producers the direct consequences of the technological options adopted, especially since the 90s of the twentieth century. The specialization of crops, such as passion fruit and black pepper, for example, weakened small producers in their relations with the market, provoking, in moments of crises of these crops, the indebtedness and in many cases the sale of their land and the increase of rural poverty. The strong dependence of the agricultural input industry caused a significant increase in its production costs, and the lack of technical assistance structure led to inappropriate and indiscriminate use of pesticides, causing serious risks to the health of producers and their families and to local ecosystems.

The debate among local social actors allowed for a self-assessment of the territorial structure and was able to identify that, except in some particular cases, the producers work in isolation, with little coordination between them. They have identified that each producer has its own practices and their marketing channels directly to consumers, which undermines the collective vision for the development of the territory. In fact, even the political associationism and an individual structure of production predominated in the municipality. When this scenario was discussed in meetings of the FDM, the local actors realized how much they weakened having their collective bases fragile and with low cooperation. On the other hand, they realized too, how much knowledge they had and learning about the lived territory and did not share this with each other.

The collective learning generated by the economic experiences lived by the social actors of Igarapé-Açu after the discussion of their experience allowed small-scale agriculturists and extractivists, family agriculturists, large farmers, public servants, politicians and local businessman to develop a territorial development plan (called the Municipal Development Plan) which outlined a vision of the future resulting from the consensus negotiated in the development process thereof. The plan highlights the search for regeneration of bases that conform the municipal development process, since it defines a development based on sustainability and participatory management. The same signals to the centrality of the rural economy, with environmentally friendly production systems and the promotion of equality, solidarity and social justice (Igarapé-Açu: Municipal Development Plan, 2009, p 07).

The vision of the future established by the social actors in the PDM expresses an intention to break with the principles of a productivist and individualist model which they have identified as exhausted. A clear option was to initiate a transition process in the municipality for agro-ecology taking into account all the activities currently structured in the territory. A choice was made for an economic model capable of internalizing the investments made and to irradiate them for the whole local economy. Nevertheless, this consensus demands institutional changes increase, which the participation of society in the management of the territory and promotion for solidarity processes, equality and social justice. The learning undertaken here goes beyond the economic perspective, but may be characterized as economic learning and productive, linked to environmental issues.

4.2. Unplanned urban occupation and lack of infrastructure

Between 2010 and 2014, the University of the Amazon (Unama), with the aim to contribute to the sustainable development of society in which it is inserted, created a support program for the development of the municipality of Benevides, part of the metropolitan area of Belém (RMB), the largest metropolitan region of the Amazon. The program was called Sustainable Integrated Program for Municipalities (PIMS). The PIMS was anchored in an endogenous development strategy and had a strategy of mobilizing civil society organizations, business and government institutions and non-governmental, for the development and implementation of a regional development plan for the municipality of Benevides. In terms of theoretical assumptions, the PIMS had the conception that from the partnership between the government, civil society and private initiative, a municipal development project could be developed, in order to prioritize all the existing communities in the municipality (Vasconcellos Sobrinho, Vasconcellos, Heidtmann Neto & Sousa, 2015).

Under the program, Unama made available to Benevides its installed capacity for research and extension, in order to develop and monitor its territorial development plan, as well as perform outreach activities that were within the scope of its actions. For the activities that were outside their lines of action, the university presented itself as an articulator of other partners. Its goal was to be a constructive actor and mediator of conflict relations, and competition in the municipality's development process, from building trust to foment social capital among the actors. If the ideal partnership is one based on trust (Harris, 2000), then this has become a principle pursued by the university. In the case of Benevides, the actors are small-scale agriculturists, family agriculturists, public servants, local politicians, teachers and small business owners.

The PIMS adopted as basic assumptions that sustainable municipal development is: (a) an endogenous process of change which leads to economic dynamism and the improvement of the quality of life of local communities; and (b) a product of the dynamic relationship of all its social actors, who involve local and government organizations, communities and business. Thus, the central objective of the program was to contribute to the implementation of a sustainable municipal development model, through the generation of technical and scientific knowledge, support to municipal planning and the provision of technical, legal, social and cultural services in the scope of university extension.

The program had among its specific objectives elaborate, in collaboration with local social actors, of a sustainable Municipal Development Plan (PMDS) and articulate, together with governmental organizations, non-governmental, financing, research and universities, partnerships for the implementation of the sustainable Municipal Development Plan which joins efforts and resources (McQuaid, 2000).

The PIMS methodology was anchored in a new interdisciplinary proposal of municipal diagnosis called Integrated Territorial Analysis (ITA). From this analysis, the Municipal Sustainable Development Plan (PMDS) is developed and for the definition of development actions projects to be prioritized in the municipality (PROAÇÕES).

The objective of the diagnoses and maps elaborated by the ITA supported the development of the PMDS, which also involved the discussions of the results with the various local municipality communities. The ITA used participatory rapid diagnosis techniques in which the various local communities presented their needs and demands to be included in planning for the short, medium and long term horizons. In operational terms, the starting point was the Municipal Master Plan, established by Municipal Law n°. 1.031/06, of October 11, 2006, and other plans already prepared for the municipality.

From all the municipalities of the RMB, Benevides is the one which has presented in the last 25 years the greatest change in its socioeconomic and territo-

rial structure. In 1991, Benevides presented an urbanization rate of 12,21% only and in 2010, according to data from IBGE (2000, 2010), this rate reached 55,98%. The municipal population grew from 35,546 inhabitants in 2000 to 51.651 in 2010 (IBGE, 2000, 2010), which corresponded to an average rate of over 4% per annum – the second largest of the six metropolitan municipalities. The estimated population for 2014 was 57,393 inhabitants (IBGE, 2014).

The population movement of Benevide is linked to the growth and spreading of the population coming from Belém, Ananindeua and Marituba towards the municipality within an expansion process and urban peripherization, as well as the increase in immigrants coming from other states of northeastern Brazil, in particular Maranhão State (IBGE, 2000, 2010). These phenomena have provoked a population density in the municipality of Benevides. By referencing the proportion of inhabitants by the total area of the municipality, what is observed is a significant change for greater population density between the years 2000 and 2010, which ranged from 187.87 to 275.00 per Km². Consequently, urban occupations within and/or around Benevides increased and multiply the economic and social demands turning Benevides into a poor periphery of the Metropolitan Region of Belém. The PIMS formally began with the signing of a cooperation protocol between Unama and Benevides Prefecture, in June 2010. In this protocol, characterized as the first formal partnership for the achievement of the program, Unama was prepared to make available its research competence and installed extension and the local government to provide logistical support for the actions of the same. The signing of this protocol was preceded by a series of internal discussions at the university and with the first actors invited to the discussion – the municipal secretaries of Benevides. The initial basis for integrated territorial analysis were built with the approach of several social actors and the initial establishment of basic elements in the light of trust what Harris (2000) and Fowler (1997) called as ideal partnership. One of the great challenges, which the program faced was to put all the social actors in the same environment for the realization of ATI and for municipal planning (PMDS).

As in any society, in Benevides there is a diversification of actors, who consequently, exert different types of power (economic power, political power and others). The cooperation and partnership in the context of municipal planning imply power sharing between the actors involved (Vasconcellos, Vasconcellos & Souza, 2009). However, this kind of sharing is linked to the interests and objectives of each social actor. This meant that the partnership should clearly define the objectives, which the University wanted to achieve by using the ATI and participatory planning.

Chambers (2005) argues that in a participatory process of diagnosis and planning development, one of the fundamental points is the definition of a minimum consensus or social pact among the actors involved. In the face of poverty,

accelerated urban growth and a rapid socio-territorial transformation of Benevides, urged the need to establish a minimum consensus, with focus on the poorest population as an objective of sustainable development. At the time, the data of the Caixa Econômica Federal pointed out 7,176 poor families with profiles that allowed them to be supported by the Bolsa Família program. However, only 4,233 were enrolled in the program. Early 2010, 3,079 families received the benefit, which represented a total of 9,804 people directly benefited, i.e., 21% of the total population estimated for the same year. It showed the need to focus on combating and eradicating poverty in the municipality and to build partnerships to tackle these social problems.

Therefore, in order to organize information on poverty in the municipality, the ITA collected data on demographics, health, education, labor and social welfare. The diagnosis had two phases. The first one was characterized by the collection of data by a group of teachers and students of the institution. The second phase consisted in the validation of the data in meetings ITA's team with local actors from government, associations and schools (teachers), who pointed out at some elements and areas to prioritize in the meetings. The meetings were mediated by a university professor. The purpose of mediation was to build the minimum consensus among social actors, in order to implement a social development strategy for the municipality.

The recognition of the existence of several collectivities in the municipality is an important factor for the implementation of a sustainable model (Vasconcellos; Rocha; Ladislau, 2009). The ITA required a methodological outline wherein social actors would be primarily responsible for the diagnosis and planning. The role of Unama was one of facilitating the process and organizing the ideas in the form of documents. Unama did not do the planning by itself, although it has organized secondary data on the municipality as a way to subsidize the development of ITA. Unama sought to present itself as just another actor in the development process of the municipality.

An integrated territorial analysis requires, on the one hand, the transparency of data and information so that all social actors know the present reality. Nevertheless, it cannot be disregarded that, on the other hand, the sharing of data and information may represent the weakening of power that exercises based on this information.

Unama's team took special care in making available the data and information collected on the municipality. Although most of the data is public, the general population has not had access to them. This is because the population engagement framework in planning processes and decision-making in the municipality is still quite small. The program team recognizes that in the implementation of a territorial development model, cooperation and conflict are part of the same scenario (Vasconcellos, 2009). For this reason it is that cooperation initia-

tives are enhanced and possibilities of conflict are minimized. This, the data and information should be used only within the context of diagnosis and planning, therefore avoiding, political usage thereof. The studies acknowledge the need for fast-paced municipalities to prepare themselves, in terms of planning (Master plan and Sustainable Development Plan) for territorial modifications and social changes resulting from the population growth. And in this sense, cooperation and agreement are fundamental for the construction of the territory that one wants to reach.

4.3. Predatory extraction and burning of natural resources

Between 2000 and 2011 a federal program of technical assistance and credit was implemented, which sought to ensure the development of family farming, integrated to environmental conservation in the Brazilian Amazon. The program was called Proambiente (Socio-environmental Development Programme for Rural Family-based Production) and was linked to the Ministry of Environment as from 2003 upon effective implementation. The objective of the program was to implement a new production logic in the Brazilian Amazon, defined as 'productive conservation' (Hall, 2004). It dealt with a logic that established a link between complementarity between production and conservation of the environment.

The conception of Proambiente was elaborated by several institutions of social movements and contributions from non-governmental organizations (ONGs), being the latter assumed the role of intermediary organizations (Vasconcellos e Vasconcellos Sobrinho, 2014) to implement the program at the local level. In fact, it can be stated that the Proambiente was the first program experience conceived at the civil society level that ascended to the sphere of the federal government (scaling up) and turned into public policy to specifically rural communities in the Brazilian Amazon (scaling down) (Vasconcellos & Vasconcellos Sobrinho, 2012).

Under the concept of territorial development, Proambiente defined 12 poles of actions in the nine states of the Legal Amazon (Acre, Rondônia, Mato Grosso, Tocantins, Pará, Roraima, Amapá, Amazonas and Maranhão). Each pole was designed to work with 250 to 500 families. The denomination of polo has been defined from a new concept of territoriality, which differs from the current municipality configuration. In the Proambiente model, each pole covers areas belonging to three or four municipalities that have historical-social, economic and cultural interlacings.

Proambiente represented a new and significant political action because it proposed the creation of new spaces for dialogue and participation among local social actors with State organizations and ONGs. The idea was that the participation and cooperation would provide instruments to reverse top-down planned

actions and prioritize the people and communities destined for the actions, who Chambers (1983: 22) calls the beneficiaries.

The Program assumed the concept of participation as an important governance mechanism and enhancement of democracy (Tendler, 1997 p. 7). Participation was part of a notion of governance linked to the idea of territorial development management. The governance understood as a form of administration of the social system, in order to better meet the wishes of the majority of people in the communities, hitherto excluded from the hegemonic regional processes developed in the Amazon.

The ONGs as intermediary organizations for the implementation of Proambiente in the territories held several events in and with the communities involved in the program, in order to diagnose the economic, social and environmental situation of each territory.

These surveys, conducted under the principles of participatory diagnosis, were able to trace the profile of the problems and potentialities of the areas through dialogue between local social actors, ONGs and representative of the federal and municipal government.

It can be stated that participatory practices in building diagnostics were positive actions of Proambiente, which created overlaps between the program, the policies established by the federal government, local (municipal) governments and the demands of rural communities. The goal was to relate the demands of communities to the process of change in the productive system. At the time, in one of the communities in the state of Pará, more precisely in the Vila do Galho community in the municipality of Concórdia do Pará, was identified the demand for the elaboration of a policy that supported the community for conservation of natural resources through Payment for Environmental Services (PSA). The PSA would mean financial compensation to the community for conservation practices and environmental management characterized by the reduction of forest burns, introduction of logic grinding of forest waste for the formation of fertilizers, maintenance of rivers by reducing pollution and rational extraction of fishery resources and soil recovery. This demand was linked to the minimization of several environmental conflicts related to deforestation, burnings and river pollution caused by rural producers for productive purposes. Conservation practices are known to rural communities for many generations and began to be valued and improved by the academy. The issue is that the use of these practices demand costs and hamper the introduction of agricultural products in the market competition. These problems, added with low income generation that the family-based agricultural activity itself provides, have hampered poverty reduction and social integration of rural communities and their socio-economic development. Therefore, the diagnosis made jointly by the social actors involved in environmental provided a specific proposition for territorial development.

The case of Proambiente shows that the participation of NGOs as intermediary organizations between local stakeholders and governments was significant for the analysis and proposition of changes of the social and environmental behaviors.

The interaction environment among social actors promoted by Proambiente may be seen as a space produced by NGOs, social movements and research institutions for participation, cooperation and changes in governance structures in favor of democratization and territorial development (Vasconcellos & Vasconcellos Sobrinho, 2012). In this direction, the intermediary space represented a resource of social capital, in order to strengthen civil society sectors, which needed political forces to assert their rights and development policy proposals. In fact, the introduction of aspects such as participation creates opportunities for cooperation and redefining channels of interactions between civil society and government to increase rights, social inclusion and citizenship. Although many difficulties emerge for the effective engagement of NGOs as intermediary organizations; either by the role they represent in society; or by the lack of knowledge of innovative strategies that serve as effective instruments of the interaction scale (*scaling up*), in case of Proambiente these were important channels for creating spaces for interaction and cooperation between social actors in favor of the development of the territories.

5. Conclusion

In light of three cases of interaction between social actors of civil society, State and market in the elaboration of territorial development projects, this paper shows that (a) conflict and cooperation are outcomes of socio-historical construction of each territorial cut and at the same time, important elements for its (re) construction; (b) territories are by excellence natural spaces of conflict and contradictions, but at the same time, they are spaces of negotiation, conciliation and agreement; and, (c) cooperation is a way to leverage the assets of territories.

The examples shown of creating public spaces at various territorial scales and the consequent interrelationships among the social actors of the territories bring out a set of learnings that make clear the importance of conflict and cooperation for territorial development. In the Brazilian Amazon cases, for example, the existing socioeconomic dynamics boosted conflicts and contradictions and strengthen understanding of the limitation of the regional development which for a long time has dominated the logics of development in the region.

The paper shows the importance of participation and dialogue between social actors from communities, social movements, ONGs and universities for creation of new public spaces and to build up new projects for the territories;

and it stresses the importance of external agents to local territories (in the cases presented, a program funded by an external body, a university and intermediaries ONGs) in order to boost dialogue and cooperation between local social actors, without ignoring, however, the existence of conflicts and contradictions.

6. References

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