

# Jeitinho Brasileiro:

# Climate Mitigation Tactics among Local Institutions in the Amazonas State of Brazil

Authors: Dominique Ender (20220664) Magnus Høgenni (20220668)

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Supervisor: Troels Fage Hedegaard

Second Examiner: Martin Osvald Markussen

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#### **Abstract**

With the vast deforestation of the Amazon caused by Bolsonaro's suspension of the PPCDAm, its reimplementation by his successor Lula da Silva has returned efforts against the consequences of climate change in the Amazonas state to political prominence. Over the decades, previous phases of the PPCDAm have been highly effective at curbing deforestation, with the success of related initiatives to enforce environmental governance and promote conservation being highly contingent on taking local institutional arrangements and informal power relations into account. Using the identification of key words and the Critical Institutional framework, we sought to identify and categorise the strategies that government bodies and NGOs use to mitigate and adapt to the consequences of climate change in the present day. We identified seven broad strategy categories used by the initiatives we analysed, with their approaches defined by a high degree of engagement with multiple stakeholders, adaptation to local conditions and a large focus on mitigation as opposed to adaptation. These approaches are often novel and highly varied, but were limited (with few exceptions) by local institutional arrangements and the attitudes of stakeholders, with the prevalence of mitigation precluding a focus on more fundamental changes.

**Key words:** Brazil, PPCDAm, deforestation, climate change, critical institutionalism, Amazonas, Amazon rainforest, institutional bricolage, NGOs, local institutions, indigenous rights, socio-environmental

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#### List of Abbreviations:

- ABC: Agência Brasileira de Cooperação; Brazilian Cooperation Agency
- APIB: Articulação dos Povos Indígenas do Brasil; Articulation of Indigenous People of Brazil
- ACTO: Amazon Cooperation Treaty Organisation
- **ADPF:** 'Action Against the Violation of a Fundamental Constitutional Right': Type of case filing
- APPs: Areas of Permanent Protection
- CAR: Cadastro Ambiental Rural; Rural Environmental Cadastre
- CCPI: Centro de Cooperação Policial Internacional; Centre for International Police Cooperation
- CNPI: Conselho Nacional de Política Indigenista; National Indigenous Policy Council
- **CI:** Critical Institutionalism
- CNS: Conselho Nacional das Populações Extrativistas; National Council of Extractivist Populations
- CO2: Carbon Dioxide
- **EU:** European Union
- FAS: Fundação Amazônia Sustentável; Sustainable Amazonia Foundation
- **GPTI:** Permanent Interministerial Working Group.
- FUNAI: Fundação Nacional dos Povos Indígenas; National Indigenous Peoples Foundation
- **GHGs:** Greenhouse Gases
- **IBAMA:** Instituto Brasileiro do Meio Ambiente e dos Recursos Naturais Renováveis; Brazilian Institute of the Environment and Renewable Natural Resources
- ICMBio: Instituto Chico Mendes de Conservação da Biodiversidade; Instituto Chico Mendes of Cnnservation and Biodiversity
- **IDESAM:** Instituto de Conservação e Desenvolvimento Sustentável da Amazônia; Institute for Conservation and Sustainable Development of the Amazon
- INCRA: Instituto Nacional de Colonização e Reforma Agrária; National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform
- INPE: Instituto Nacional de Pesquisas Espaciais; National Institute for Space Research
- IPAAM: Instituto de Proteção Ambiental do Amazonas; Amazonas State Environmental Protection Institute
- **IPAM:** Instituto de Pesquisa Ambiental da Amazônia; Amazon Environmental Research Institute.
- ISA: Instituto Socioambiental; Socio-environmental Institute
- MAPA: Ministério da Agricultura e Pecuária; Ministry of Agriculture

- MDGs: Millennium Development Goals
- MMA: Ministério do Meio Ambiente e Mudança do Clima; Brazilian Environmental Ministry
- MPI: Ministério dos Povos Indígenas; Ministry for Indigenous Peoples.
- MRE: Ministério das Relações Exteriores; Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- NGOs: Non-Governmental Organisations
- **OC:** Observatório do Clima; Climate Observatory.
- OCB: Organização das Cooperativas Brasileiras; Organisation of Brazilian Cooperatives
- PCC: Primeiro Comanda da Capital Criminal Organization
- PGTA: Plano de Gestão Territorial e Ambiental; Territorial and Environmental Management Plan.
- PNGATI: Política Nacional de Gestão Territorial e Ambiental de Terras Indígenas; National Policy of Territorial and Environmental Management of Indigenous Lands.
- PNMC: Política Nacional sobre Mudança do Clima; Brazilian National Policy on Climate Change.
- PNPSA: Política Nacional de Pagamento por Serviços Ambientais; National Policy for the Payment of Environmental Services
- PPCDAm: Plano de Ação para Prevenção e Controle do Desmatamento na Amazônia Legal;
   Action Plan for Prevention and Control of Deforestation in the Legal Amazon
- **PRF:** Polícia Rodoviária Federal; Federal Highway Police
- PSA: Pagamentos por Serviços Ambientais; English: PES (Payment for Environmental Services)
- RDS: Reservas de Desenvolvimento Sustentável; Sustainable Development Reserves
- **REDD+:** Reducing Emissions from Deforestation in Developing Countries
- SAF: Sistemas Agroflorestais; Agroforestry Systems
- SDS: Secretaria de Meio Ambiente e Desenvolvimento Sustentável da Amazônia; Secretary for the Environment and Sustainable Development of Amazônia
- Sindisul: Sindicato Rural do Sul do Amazonas; Rural Syndicate of Southern Amazonas
- UCs: Unidades de Conservação; Conservation Units
- UNDP: United Nations Development Programme
- UNFCCC: United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
- WASH: Water, Sanitation and Hygiene

#### **Introduction:**

Being the largest rainforest in the world, the Amazon is of great importance; not just to the South American environment, but also to the global climate. This ecological powerhouse, which spans across several South American countries, including the majority of Northern Brazil, acts as a 'carbon sink' which absorbs large amounts of the world's greenhouse gas emissions (GHGs), being a massive climate regulator. With climate change occurring, it has put the rainforest and the people living within it, under an evermore increasing threat. A majority of this climate change within Brazil, was induced by human-made climate change instigators, such as deforestation. Deforesting the Amazon, has led to an increase in droughts, floods, a vast increase in carbon emissions, local population vulnerability, and so on, throughout the region. Due to its international importance, the Brazilian government was put under pressure by the global community to tackle the saving of this rainforest. In order to do so, the Brazilian government established several climate change focused plans and policies, such as the National Policy on Climate Change, subnational policies for each state, and a plan specifically focusing purely on the Legal Amazon region and its main threats. Due to deforestation being such a large instigator, the Plan for Preventing and Controlling Deforestation (PPCDAm) was created. This plan has a multi-focused approach, aimed at curbing deforestation rates, protecting specific areas, regulating legal enforcement, and assisting in the facilitation of sustainable development. While this plan has achieved some success over the years, its proper implementation has been hampered by differing and inconsistent governmental administration approaches and focuses. This varying interest and lack of constant focus by the federal government has left space for local institutions, such as local populations, NGOs, research organisations, and various non-federal governmental bodies to implement approaches related to the PPCDAm and other initiatives on the ground by themselves. This led us to pose our research question: What strategies are local groups and institutions in the Amazonas state of Brazil employing to mitigate and adapt to consequences of climate change in the area?

In order to answer this broad question, we narrowed our geographical scope to the Amazonas state, an area completely enveloped by the rainforest. In order to understand the complex interplay between all actors and institutions involved in the fight against climate change, within the Amazonas state context, we adopted Critical Institutionalism as our theoretical framework. This framework recognizes that these smaller local institutions are not just passive agents to government policy, rather they wield agency to implement aspects of

governmental policy that they deem necessary for the survival of their homes. Even unbeknownst to these actors, a majority of their initiatives and activities tend to be encapsulated by the main Critical Institutionalist concept, institutional bricolage. This concept explains how through aggregating existing resources, aspects of policies, and various actors' knowledge, creatively altering them, and strategically combining them for local contexts, they could more easily achieve their goals. Here, these institutions can innovate communities by employing various approaches to combat climate change and its instigators, working alongside or against government efforts. This research aims to explore how these local institutions decided to tackle the consequences of this climate change instigator, deforestation, whether there was commonality amongst the strategies they employed to mitigate and adapt to the consequences of deforestation, and ultimately, which of these strategies were successful. Thus creating an academic basis for NGOs throughout the country, or even the world, to develop an understanding of the most successful strategies, and potentially adopt them for their own local contexts in the future.

#### **Problem Field:**

Climate change, often described as a "climate crisis" by politicians, journalists, and scientists in various fields, is constantly and near-unanimously described as a global, severe, and deeply existential threat to humanity and the global ecosystem as a whole (Rigby, 2020). This thesis is not overly concerned with proving the existence of the phenomenon of climate change as a whole; given the broad consensus among scientists, politicians, and the public, we will be taking its existence and implications as a given. Developing countries in the Global South are responsible for far fewer emissions than wealthier countries in the Global North, but are much more vulnerable to its consequences and have the fewest tools at their disposal to adapt (Tietjen, 2022).

In addition to threatening ecosystems, animal species, and oceans across the world, climate change is posing a threat to the lives of certain human populations as well. The geographies of several countries around the world are considered existentially threatened by pollution as well as rising temperatures and sea levels, and the migration caused by phenomena like droughts, floods, and other natural disasters. Although migration is most immediately caused by floods, droughts, and other natural disasters, gradual shifts in the environment have a broader impact than these sudden phenomena (Laczko and Aghazarm, 2009). As a result of this, the number of people displaced by climate change have been estimated to be as high as

1 billion (Institute for Economics & Peace, 2020). We can argue that most of the drivers of climate change are economic: resource extraction, emissions, and demand for valuable resources whose inherent production either harms the climate through generated emissions or directly destroys ecosystems. As such, it can be argued that the response to it may require a confrontation, adaptation, or transformation of the economic forces that benefit from it, thus putting the institutions benefiting from climate-intensive economic extraction, and those institutions that have the most to lose from the resulting damage to the climate, in conflict. Which is more important, which is more disposable?

Given the global and multi-faceted nature of climate change, illustrating the drivers and conflicts of it in one case is challenging. We would argue that the Amazon rainforest, being the largest rainforest in the world, is a prescient example of all of these issues on a smaller scale. It acts as a vital "carbon sink", absorbing vast quantities of atmospheric carbon dioxide and sequestering a further 76 billion tons of carbon, and also harbours 10% of the world's biodiversity and produces as much as 9% of the world's oxygen, giving it the nickname "the lungs of the world" (Tandon, 2023; Zimmer, 2019). Its ecological health directly impacts global weather patterns, and it plays a vital part in the cycles of evapotranspiration (the various ways water transfers from the earth to the atmosphere) and precipitation throughout South America.

At the same time, these factors have also made it economically valuable: it is rich in resources that are in great demand, such as minerals, soy, palm oil, timber and many others, and its nutrition-rich soil has also made it valuable for agriculture. These economic activities, which necessitate chopping down vast amounts of trees, not only release massive amounts of carbon into the atmosphere but also threaten biodiversity, the livelihoods of the local communities, including indigenous communities, and evapotranspiration cycles: Welch (2021) reported that deforestation may lead to the Amazon releasing more carbon than it stores, with "drying wetlands and soil compaction from logging (...) [increasing] emissions of the greenhouse gas nitrous oxide. Land-clearing fires release black carbon, small particles of soot that absorb sunlight and increase warmth. Deforestation can alter rainfall patterns, further drying and heating the forest. Regular flooding and dam-building releases the potent gas methane, as does cattle ranching, one chief reason forests are destroyed. And roughly 3.5 percent of all methane released globally comes naturally from the Amazon's trees" (Welch, 2021). On a global scale, Viana et al. (2009) point out that "tropical deforestation accounts

for over 17 percent of global greenhouse gas emissions", and more broadly Myers (2007) attributes "20 to 25 percent" of global emissions to land use change in its entirety (Viana *et al.*, 2009 p. 1; Myers, 2007: p. 4). The Amazon's deforestation has not only disrupted the local climate and endangered biodiversity, but carries potentially irreversible implications: Lovejoy and Nobre (2019) estimate that increasing deforestation might so alter the flow of that moisture that even lowest area estimates of 20-25% will permanently change the continent's ecosystem and shift large stretches of the Amazon to areas of "degraded savannas" (Lovejoy and Nobre, 2019).

Deforestation has been conducted in variably violent ways, and has often led to displacement and acts of violence against the indigenous peoples and 'quilombolas', and ribeirinhos², that call the rainforest their home. In Brazilian discourse, climate change is inherently a political subject and its intersections with other issues, such as business, social, and indigenous issues, are reflexively understood. In discourse and policy, the default descriptor in Portuguese for climate-related issues is socioambiental³, and the word is used in the names of major NGOs like the Instituto Socioambiental⁴ and the Rede Amazônica de Información Socioambiental Georreferenciada⁵ to signal their intersectional understanding of climate change.

Brazil's climate policymaking has been the source of global attention, and influence over legislation has been fiercely contested. Many policies have been ambitious and far-reaching throughout this century, such as the Action Plan for Preventing and Controlling Deforestation in The Legal Amazon (PPCDAm) massively strengthening the country's position in the global climate debate, additionally cementing their role as a climate 'protagonist', a sovereign actor that leads in the fight, rather than merely a junior partner accepting others' proposals. It has asserted its independent and leading position through its insistence on managing its REDD+ framework itself, rather than it being handled by an international agency (Horn, 2023, p. 1695).

This field has also been subject to a war of influence by opposing groups: between indigenous groups, climate justice groups and NGOs who seek to maximise protection, and the conservative presidential administrations, and influential agribusiness lobby, which seeks to preserve its business interests in the region. Fittingly, its economic profits from

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> English Definition: Residents of settlements founded by escaped slaves.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> English Translation: Riverside communities.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> English Translation: Socio-environmental.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> English Translation: Socio-environmental Institute.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> English Translation: Amazon Network of Georeferenced Socio-Environmental Information.

exploitation of the Amazon have also made it a global-level exporter of soy and cattle, with a large part of the world, especially the EU and China, reliant on importing their deforesting products (Kröger, 2017, p. 29).

Kröger (2017) argued that the passage of the 2012 New Forest Code, which gave sweeping amnesties to illegal land occupiers and 'deforesters', released them from obligations to replant trees and broadly reduced the sizes of protected areas, was a result of the far-reaching influence of the agribusiness lobby: "forest restoration conflicts with agricultural production", where their interests were secured through the appointment of Kátia Abreu, then-president of an agricultural lobby group, as Minister of Agriculture (Kröger, 2017, p. 25-27). This also highlighted the contradiction inherent in the debate: according to Horn (2023), this reversal in course accelerated deforestation precisely because it insisted on "including the agribusiness in the conception of 'environmental services'", and thus undermining the mechanism through abandoning the very mechanics and priorities that made it effective (Horn, 2023, p. 1699). Others, like Gandour et al. (2023) argue that "deforestation is not necessary for the region's development" and that it is possible to successfully decouple the economy from deforestation (Gandour et al., 2023, p. 5).

Its global significance is twofold: not only is its well-being linked to that of the entire Earth, but the policy battles, issues, and conflicts that play out across the Amazon are also reflections of the challenges faced by the climate justice movement everywhere. Understanding the climate struggle in the Amazon, therefore, transcends the national and regional sphere. It also serves to inform international efforts to combat climate change. By analysing the interplay between formal policy, local knowledge, and power dynamics, we can gain valuable insights into the effectiveness of existing approaches and start a trend for future more sustainable, and advanced strategies.

The PPCDAm is indisputably the most internationally praised and noteworthy of Brazil's deforestation policies, receiving credit for successfully reducing deforestation by more than 80% between between 2004 and 2012; in the same timespan, revenues from agriculture and cattle ranching nearly doubled, seemingly reinforcing Imazon's argument (ibid). Its efficacy began to lose steam in 2012 following a number of reforms by President Lula's successors, including the aforementioned 2012 Forest Code (Kröger, 2017, pp. 25-26). Its abolition by Bolsonaro during his presidency was highly consequential and significantly accelerated

deforestation; its reintroduction by Lula in 2023 was equally consequential, resulting in deforestation being reduced by 59% compared to the previous year (Spring, 2023).

The Brazilian legal system contains an extensive framework for safeguarding the Amazon rainforest. One of the key instruments that provided the basis for the importance of the environment for the Brazilian government and people, was an article in the Brazilian Federal Constitution. Within the Constitution, Article 225 "acknowledges that everyone has the right to an ecologically balanced environment" (Gandour, 2021, p. 16). It explicitly declares that any activity causing harm to the environment is a violation of that right, and therefore a crime. The Constitution also establishes a multi-level environmental responsibility system that surrounds criminal, administrative, and civil areas (ibid). This means that individuals or organisations that violate this right are subject to criminal prosecution, fines, penalties, and potential imprisonment.

It is through this constitutional basis that strategic action plans against environmental crimes, such as the PPCDAm, were created. Legal frameworks provide an overview of rules that must be taken into consideration when tackling climate change events or mitigators, such as deforestation. The Amazon rainforest is incredibly remote, and the vast majority of it is disconnected from modern infrastructure and largely out of reach by authorities through typical means. Action plans, such as the one this paper is focused on, consider the national and subnational understanding of how deforestation can be combated, 'on the ground' not just in the courtroom or through larger institutional actors. The PPCDAm provides a framework for how to mitigate and adapt to the changing land degradation and carbon levels, and how various actors can assist in this process, by applying strategies that they have come up with through the knowledge of having worked within the Amazonas for decades.

Given the inherently variable, flexible and variably informal strategies that state and non-state actors alike have to consider in policy implementation, we believe that Critical Institutionalism lends a valuable lens for analysing these complex scenarios. It underscores how institutions, both formal and informal, shape, reproduce and also influence the social and environmental arrangements they exist in, using the tools at their disposal (Whaley, 2018: p. 139). By critically examining the PPCDAm, we can explore how formal policies interact with the intricate web of informal institutions and power structures within the Amazonas, the study of which this school of thought captures succinctly in the concept of institutional bricolage. This necessitates investigating how diverse local actors, including government bodies,

indigenous communities, NGOs, and civil society organisations, navigate these institutional landscapes to formulate and implement their own adaptation strategies. Thus, potentially altering power dynamics in this case. Through this view of the changing power dynamics, these different local institutions can become 'bricoleurs', providing innovative ways to adapt to changing atmosphere on the ground, increasing the institutions' power and legitimacy, competing with that of the national government, in the eyes of the society directly affected by the droughts, deforestation, and fires.

Critical Institutionalism and its key terms will be explained in exhaustive detail in the Theoretical Framework chapter, but in the interests of legibility we will briefly summarise two of them. Institutional bricolage, Whaley (2018), is "a concept that attempts to capture the ways in which people both consciously and non-consciously patch together institutional arrangements from the social and cultural resources available to them"; in essence, describing the process of creating, reforming, reproducing and altering social, political, economic relations (Whaley, 2018, p. 139). The peoples and groups in these variably formal and informal spaces, collectively referred to as institutions, become 'bricoleurs' through their efforts and ability to influence, alter and interact with these institutional arrangements, with their ability depending on their degree of formality and embeddedness in the locale (De Koning, 2014, p. 360).

A Critical Institutional approach enables us to examine bridges and potential tensions between the PPCDAm's stated goals and its actual implementation on the ground. Given the remoteness of the Amazon rainforest, analysing how the PPCDAm and the various local institutions handle profound influence of informal institutions on local adaptation efforts is crucial for a comprehensive analysis. Customary practices, traditional ecological knowledge, and social norms play a crucial role in shaping how communities interact with their environment and respond to changes. A comprehensive understanding necessitates investigating how these informal institutions interact with formal policy frameworks like the PPCDAm, fostering synergies or creating potential conflicts. Unravelling the intricacies of power dynamics within the Amazonas is equally crucial: examining how power relations between local communities, indigenous groups, NGOs, and the government influence adaptation strategies, sheds light on potential inequalities in resource allocation, decision-making processes, and the ability of different actors to shape the region's future.

This profound asymmetry also exists *between* institutions: Brazil's most advanced and developed policies and institutions are well-established in the most urbanised parts of the country, but only distantly so in the Amazonas state. Such asymmetries exist on the municipal level too; outside of the capital, Manaus, the most affected areas are also the ones most distant from infrastructure and formal institutional reach. This points us to the question: what institutional arrangement must we reckon with there?

We want to analyse the Amazonas state because from a geographical perspective, it takes up a majority of the Legal Amazon. From a purely mathematical view, most of the forest's economic value lies here, and the policies that affect this state in particular are the most consequential for the rainforest as a whole. As such, the ecological importance and economic and political dynamics of both Brazil and the Amazon are at their most amplified and visible in this state, making it the perfect fractal model. Amazonas represent the Amazon rainforest, the Amazon rainforest represents Brazil, and Brazil represents the world at large. From this, we decided to formulate our research question as follows: "What strategies are local groups and institutions in the Amazonas state of Brazil employing to mitigate and adapt to consequences of climate change in the area?"

#### Literature Review:

Previously published literature we uncovered focused on Brazilian climate policies and their implementation in the Amazon region: alongside articles that cover general issues in this policy field, we had a particular focus on finding research that was as "on the ground" as possible, examining policy implementations and institutional bricolage in municipalities, indigenous reserves and the like, with the approach in particular focus. Under this research, we had a particular focus on cases that applied Critical Institutional (CI) Theory to the case. This was done not only to further underline the heavy theoretical basis of our thesis, but also to elucidate how the concepts of CI have been utilised in this field and how institutional bricolage manifests in these remote areas of Brazil.

Beginning with De Koning (2014), one of the main writers within the school of Critical Institutionalism, her analysis of community forestry policies across the Amazon illustrates one central issue inherent to Amazon-targeted policies: "In spite of much research, it remains unclear what actually happens at the local level when new institutions are introduced" (De Koning, 2014, p. 359). The challenge of policy implementation, as seen here, is

well-recognised. De Koning outlines the issues of forestry governance in the Amazon in sentiments that will be a common theme for much of this thesis: "an ambiguous institutional framework, with more stakeholders, such as NGOS, intervening", are chalked up as inevitable and inherent to Amazon policy implementation in general (ibid). Another overarching theme laid out by the author is the adaptation to such an informal, ambiguous and ever-changing environment. In the article, she tracks an evolution in community forestry from the 1990s "from government to governance": with the major changes that took place including increased focus on local engagement and decentralisation (ibid, p. 358). This issue transcends the Brazilian Amazon: using Bolivia and Ecuador as examples, De Koning illustrates how their respective governments, either in recognition of existing economic structures or conflicts instigated by previous government policy, transitioned to a local governance-oriented approach in the the mid-to-late 1990s, where the frameworks were built around "community forest management and increasing the responsibilities of municipal level administration (...) linking land rights to access to forest resources. (...) most of the administrative tasks and responsibilities were delegated to the local administrative level" (ibid, p. 362). For Ecuador in particular, its transition to governance took place throughout the 2000s and explicitly focused on sustainable management that ensures the rights of minority groups (ibid).

As the policies were partially instituted in response to conflicts between existing indigenous peoples and migrant farmers drawn by government incentives), NGOs soon gained prominence in their ability to to promote and implement these new regulations to the local people, as the government was not able to do so (ibid). In doing so, they also took the initiative to adapt the efforts to their own ends: "In this process of promotion, NGOs also took the opportunity to plant their own ideas", which led to "deal-like situations in which it was difficult for local farmers to understand where the forest regulations ended and the NGO ideas began" (ibid, pp. 362-363). One example of this bricolage took place in Bolivia, management plans were linked to land titles, which came into conflict as one community, which extracted timber informally and had received assistance from an NGO to set up the community, lacked formal documents and titles. As it had been set up without titles, the community managed to get their plan approved nevertheless, which meant that the management plan essentially 'became' their land title in practice. Ultimately, the community went back to their original livelihoods, with the management plan essentially serving as their way of securing the land on paper as an institutional framework (De Koning, 2014).

The challenges of the Amazon's unique environment are echoed by Gebara (2019), where she analysed the implementation of the CAR<sup>6</sup> in one indigenous municipality in the Pará state following the introduction of the 2012 Forest Code (Gebara, 2019). Intended to assure environmental compliance, reduce deforestation and build towards sustainable land use, the focus went primarily on changing the behaviour of individual landholders. Gebara used institutional bricolage to illustrate the varying ways in which the CAR was challenged and subverted in its implementation by land owners, with their strategies depending on the size of their holdings, local power and social dynamics, as well as their relative wealth and authority (ibid, pp. 638-639). Depending on these factors, their responses ranged from open resistance to underhanded subversion of its enforcement mechanisms, thus making themselves 'bricoleurs' in the municipality. Such subversions included cutting smaller trees below the taller ones to avoid satellite monitoring, introducing poisons that would kill the trees at varying stages invisible to surveillance, "cattle laundering" by forging CAR-compliant statuses for cows put on sale, and so on (ibid, pp. 650-651). Smaller landowners, without access to these resources and their ability to influence governance hampered by unequal power relations, would instead openly resist the CAR due to distrust of the government and a feeling of being controlled and surveilled (ibid, p. 652). Some landowners, however, worked with local chapters of NGOs like the Nature Conservancy, receiving resources and training that enabled proper compliance with the CAR. In this way, the dynamics of control, suspicion, and the desire to subvert were overcome, as implementation was adapted to their local conditions and compliance was built up organically (ibid, p. 649). Overall, she concludes that the CAR was linked with higher rates of deforestation and that its mixed results were due to a failure to take the social practices, power relations, and institutional arrangements on the ground into account; simply telling people what to do is not enough (ibid, p. 650; ibid, p. 637). The pitfall is summarised as follows: "The concept of bricolage enables us to challenge the view of actors as powerless victims of institutional change, once it stresses the agency of actors and their strategic improvisation and adaptation (...) how people actually link structure and agency through their actions and provide a framework for empirical research" (ibid, p. 638).

Kröger (2017) covered the influence of bricoleurs in Brazilian climate policy from a different angle, namely the notorious 'agribusiness' lobby. Through analysing the passage of the Forest Code, he illustrated the "tension between the large landholders-lobby" and proponents of

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Rural Environmental Cadastre.

green economy measures, and how the lobby used its vast resources and influence (including the appointment the Minister of Agriculture) to word key aspects of the law in their favour (Kröger, 2017: p. 24). These included: amnesties for illegal land occupations and properties that otherwise were required to restore forests, shrinking of APPs<sup>7</sup> by 80%, relaxation of restrictions on using non-native tree species, as well as granting governors the power to create or dismantle APPs (ibid, pp. 26-27). He additionally points out that CAR was launched after the Forest Code, connecting with Gebara's finding and broadly tracking with the PPCDAm's efficacy slowing down in 2012 (ibid).

Vasconcellos and Sobrinho. (2015) analysed the implementation of the *Proambiente*<sup>8</sup> development program in the Pará state and the roles that NGOs, FANEP and FASE, played between policy and people. Providing "a realm in which society interacts constructively with the state", the article lays out how they used their legitimacy among and connection to the local community to open "channels of communication and participation" (Vasconcellos and Sobrinho, 2015, pp. 795-96). Such an intermediary connection has been directly connected by the authors to substantial advances in development, in ways both good and bad: positive examples include "agricultural technology development (...) and the dissemination of services in development management", but the negative potential is also apparent, such as, "reinforce state neoliberal projects and also to replace civil society in participatory arenas, particularly in Latin America and Brazil." (ibid, pp. 796-797). This history played out through the advent of the rural social movement, which asserted a new relationship with NGOs and state agencies for the purpose of reforming rural development policy; FASE in particular is illustrated by the authors to exemplify the fluidity and constant evolution of bricolage, their trajectory facing "constant construction and reconstruction." (ibid; ibid, p. 798). Beginning in the 1960s with a focus on organising the rural community in opposition to the military dictatorship, its focus shifted towards issues of inequality and left-wing opposition to the regime before shifting its focus following the 1980s democratic transition to economic exploitation of the Amazon, development and building civil society. Throughout its various phases, it maintained a close relationship to local communities and adapted its connection to the government according to local interests, thus becoming bricoleurs (ibid, p. 799-800). How these institutions have evolved since 2015 remains to be seen.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Areas of Permanent Protection.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> English Translation: Pro-environment. Socio-environmental Program.

A prominent aspect of the PPCDAm is the REDD+ framework. Formulated to manage and financially support forest management efforts to reduce emissions, it has been implemented in varying ways in multiple states across the Amazon, with the Amazonas state hosting the most ambitious efforts. Cenamo and Carrero (2012) analysed a pilot program in the Apuí municipality in the South of the state, centring its explicit focus on including stakeholders as well as its explicit focus on aligning "interests of governmental, non-governmental, and local civilian institutions in an agreement mechanism of mutual commitments" (Cenamo & Carrero, 2012, p. 446). A large problem in the Amazon is the presence of irregular land usage and improperly-documented land titles, so the first step of the project, done in coordination with IDESAM, the municipal authorities, the state, as well as the Sindisul<sup>9</sup>, immediately ran into problems when its assumptions of land ownership came into conflict with both what is explicitly allowed in law and land use arrangements on the ground (ibid, p. 453-454). When focused on forcing changes in land delineation and use, the result was not "effective rural settlements that generate agricultural production, but (...) high rates of deforestation, lot turnover, and land concentration, concluding that the actual land reform model fails to produce the expected results" (ibid, p. 455). Local institutions will instead take the opportunity to adapt, oppose or subvert the imposed rules, producing very different results. In an effort to avoid these inherent logistical issues, the project would instead use economic incentives to induce the intended reforms, "participants would receive R\$80.00 (US\$47) per hectare per year of area reforested over the 30-yr lifespan of the project. (...) above the value of the cattle ranching activity", which the author believes directly contributes to aligning incentives, rewarding producers both for conservation and agricultural efforts, and highlighting common goals among stakeholders above potential conflicts. (ibid, pp. 454-455). The plan, which included the issuance of land titles in exchange for landowners committing to reforest 80% of their properties and ceasing forest clearing, illustrated a coordination among several NGOs and government bodies to provide technical assistance, assisting with forest management plans, as well as financing the projects and monitoring results (ibid, pp. 455-456). According to the authors, it is an ideal for forest governance as it brings "together government, non-government, and private stakeholders in a mutual agreement combining their various interests to achieve compliance with Brazilian environmental and land tenure laws (...) (presenting) an option for a cost effective strategy based on positive incentives that could generate several environmental and social benefits to Apui's inhabitants and to the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Rural Syndicate of Southern Amazonas.

global climate." (ibid, p. 462). All of this, of course, depends on the willingness of bodies like INCRA<sup>10</sup> to participate (ibid).

When it comes to Brazil's climate policies, their idiosyncratic and varied nature is also prominently highlighted in academic research, in particular their propensity for localised and informal implementations, contestation and subversion by local actors, and the high degree of authority by "second-tier subnational governments" (Brandão et al., 2020, p. 11; Seca et al, 2023, p. 1). These have implications for all climate-related efforts: Seca et al. (2024) analysed the current pitfalls that exist in implementing Jurisdictional REDD+ systems in the Amazonas State, noting how Brazil's "profound regional idiosyncrasies (...) can influence the dynamics" of that process. (Seca et al, 2024, p. 1). While acknowledging how the Amazonas state's UCs<sup>11</sup> system has "made a significant contribution to the control of deforestation", the jurisdictional programs created to organise and adjudicate land use is challenged by their inherent complexity in the wide range of land types covered by them. In particular, the authors lay out their vulnerability to changes in legislation, institutional weakness, political conflicts, as well as the lack of resources available to them in the form of staff, funding and technologies; issues well-documented in Brazilian policy (ibid, p. 7). Additionally, legislative and practical articulations of REDD+ programs on the state level are lacking: as of the article's publication, "only one regulatory decree has been issued, which operationalizes a small proportion of the legal instruments". This also went hand-in-hand with aforementioned bureaucratic and technological difficulties: "According to (...) data provided by the IPAAM in July 2021, 96.1% of the records from Amazonas state were still awaiting analysis" (ibid). 12 With a lack of finance given to building up carbon credit distribution, compensating conservatory actors, and financing more sustainable economic activities, the authors argue that "the valuation of these services depends on the establishment of a system for the monitoring and disclosure of the results obtained, as well as a mechanism for the distribution of the benefits, which recognizes and remunerates the different actors that contribute to the conservation of forests and support the development of sustainable productive activities." (ibid, p. 8). Overall, while the authors believe the REDD+ model to have "enormous potential to unite the fight against climate change with the growth of low-carbon strategies in developing countries", they argue that they key to its success lies in building up, financeing

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform;. Government agency in charge of issuing and governing land titles.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Conservation Units; Unidades de Conservação.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> IPAAM: Amazonas State Environmental Protection Institute.

and making advancements in technologies of surveillance, data collection, storage and processing, as well as developing the bureaucracies and growing the specialised personnel that distribute carbon credits and compensate sustainable land users (ibid, p. 8-9).

As shown here, there is a large and detailed body of work that already analyses policy implementation in the Amazon, as well one that has applied a CI lens to examples across the Amazon. However, none that we have found focus particularly on the PPCDAm, and even the newest articles here have not examined developments in the Amazon following Lula's re-election in great detail. Institutional bricolage is a proven concept in terms of analysing environmental policies and efforts in Brazil, and has shown itself to be useful for capturing the intricacies of climate mitigation efforts in these cases. None of the articles, however, that touch on the timeline since Bolsonaro's election have applied a CI framework. Of the academic research on Brazilian climate change in the wake of Bolsonaro's presidency (or Lula's election), none have analysed them through the lens of bricolage or looked in great detail at the Amazonas state. In particular, we have not found a contemporary CI analysis of the plan that we intend to analyse. By analysing contemporary efforts in the Bolsonaro/post-Bolsonaro era, we are utilising a tested framework that is proven to be informative to illustrate the current political situation in this area and how the strategies manifest in the current post-Bolsonaro environment.

#### **Theoretical Framework:**

In order to understand how the consequences of climate change (such as deforestation, displacement) are dealt with on the ground, as well as the actors enacting such change, we believe that it is important to understand the moving parts of the institutions involved, the power dynamics between them, as well as the varying amounts of agency at their disposal to contest with and against the others. As mentioned before, these problems are likewise inherent to policy implementation in the Amazon. Critical Institutionalism, as we also mentioned before, centres these spaces and processes as the object of analysis; as such, it forms the theoretical backbone of our thesis. Originally coined by Frances Cleaver in her analysis of commons governance as a way to understand how "historically specific social relations and ecological conditions [are embedded], where power and culture is paramount to explaining their workings", CI was established as a critique of the mainstream institutional school of thought as defined by Elinor Ostrom (Whaley 2018, p. 138; Cleaver and De Koning 2015, p. 3). Cleaver and de Koning highlight criticisms arguing that commons scholarship

often leaves discussions of agency "rather thin", alongside their lacking focus on how w the "messy middle" of institutions (often at local levels or in intersections between groups) can be a space of change (ibid, p. 8; ibid, p. 6). Criticising commons scholarship for its overarching inability to handle "heterogeneity within communities, (...) skating over the politics of policies, discourses and local power dynamics", as well as "lacking meaningful conceptualisation of the social relations and meanings associated with natural resource management" (ibid, p. 3). The authors emphasise how their usage of 'critical' is used to emphasise "critical realist thinking which recognises diversity in social phenomena, the potentially creative effects of individual agency and the influence of social structures in shaping individual behaviour and the patterning of outcomes" (ibid).

The main basic tenet of the theory is that institutions are intertwined within daily life and influence the relationships between individuals, resources, and their history (ibid, p. 1). In that line, institutions tend to not only replicate historical power relations but also establish them. Here, they can be seen as political and ideological: where they enact a sense of power over resources and the established meanings of society, and where these shared resources are managed by various institutions and to varying degrees through time. It is with this division of power that institutions must enact their agency, with or against the institutions that have been understood to govern power. This can be one in a formal or an informal setting, but it is important to note that "institutions seldom perform consistently over time but instead operate intermittently in relation to changing conditions", which is particularly interesting to see when taking into consideration situations in which conditions change rapidly and drastically (Whaley 2018, p. 140). In the case of the Amazon, a historically neglected region of Brazil both in terms of development as well as climate policies, the operations of the institutions on the ground are much more contested and variable in their ability to enact agency, with the institutional bricolage developing much differently than elsewhere (de Wit and de Freitas, 2019, p. 4-7).

CI can then be utilised as an "organising principle' that helps to structure critical and systematic analyses" of resource management (Cleaver and De Koning, p. 3). This embeddedness of institutions and the context they exist in, the processes of developing norms and jockeying for agency, resource management, and the practice of power, shows that there is a connection between norms and evolution: rather than norms being set in stone and held by one set of actors. They are progressively-evolving paradigms being pulled in each direction

by each actor through what's available to them, a vector through which power and agency is enacted.

This is the foundation for one of the most important concepts of Critical Institutionalism: institutional bricolage. According to Whaley, it is "a concept that attempts to capture the ways in which people both consciously and unconsciously patch together institutional arrangements from the social and cultural resources available to them" (Whaley 2018, p. 139). These arrangements are derived from history, but change frequently due to changing circumstances, leading to community innovation, always within reason of the society's "acceptable ways of doing things" (ibid). Through this lens, institutions and societies do not become static or elusive to grasp, but dynamic and pluralistic in more 'systematised' ways: rather than existing within an unchanging state, members or institutions can become bricoleurs in their own right, by deploying new and innovative ways of dealing with a problem (Cleaver and de Koning, 2015, p. 7) These actions can then be shaped by the change of direction of policies and the expanding connections these bricoleurs make throughout the innovation process. Particularly this can be seen in the context of natural disasters, especially for communities that were unprepared for the intensity of the impact of these disasters. Nevertheless, it is still important to differentiate between institutions in terms of newness or degree of formal structure, so as to better understand their positions: "Institutional bricolage differentiates between newly introduced institutions—often formal in character and introduced by government, NGO, or other external entity(sic)—and locally embedded institutions—more informal, already existing institutions" (De Koning, 2014, p. 360).

When describing the process of bricolage and bricoleuring granularly, scholars commonly divide it into three moving parts: aggregation, alteration, and articulation. In this context, *Aggregation* can be defined as, "recombining different types of institutions" (ibid, p. 363). This is said to mean that the local institutions, such as family farmers, indigenous organisations or community-based practices, combine together with newly-introduced institutions, newer formal policies or new stakeholders, such as NGOs, to tackle a variety of challenges more holistically. *Alteration*, deals heavily with adaptation practices, which is very suitable for the theme of this research project. *Alteration* refers to "adapting or reshaping institutions to certain circumstances", noting that "legislation can be reinterpreted, rules can be bent, or community norms can be tweaked to better fit the current situation, livelihood, or identity" (Ibid, p. 364). An example of this could be updating farming methods or

community-focused adaptation plans due to the impacts of climate change. This displays how institutions are not just static objects, but evolve over time in response to a variety of changes and are meant to. The practice of alteration has been noted as especially widespread in Brazil, with Gebara (2019) dubbing it Jeitinho Brasilero<sup>13</sup>, in regards to how landowners in the Eastern Amazon would disguise deforestation to satellite monitoring by either poisoning trees, meaning they die in different stages that are less noticeable, or by leaving larger trees last so that the cutting of the smaller ones were not visible (Gebara, 2019, p. 650). In our interview, our expert notes the phrase as well-understood but also as carrying a pejorative tone, often associated with corruption and dishonesty (Ludermir, 2024, Expert Interview). Articulation deals heavily with interconnectedness and identity. It refers to when "newly introduced institutions conflict with local identities and locally embedded institutions—such as traditions" (Gebara, 2019, p. 365). Its focus is on understanding how different strategies connect and influence one another in an institutional landscape. This process can be seen with the interactions of NGOs and local communities in the Amazon. For example, the Yanomami community, take part in certain cultural practices and have shared knowledge in relation to their identity. This knowledge is useful for identifying how they deal with climate change effects. When outside institutions, NGOs, come in, they can either come into conflict with these traditions or they can learn from them, by exchanging knowledge and strategies. NGOs can also work alongside these communities by helping with funding, awareness, support for these practices in the face of the changing environment. Here, a sense of cultural hybridity occurs. More importantly, is how the articulation shapes the power relations between these two institutions, where NGOs advocate for the indigenous voice and their strategies to be heard in the national sphere in regards to decision making, leading to a more collaborative relationship, and not just taking the knowledge from the indigenous communities and using this knowledge to their advantage. The central policies analysed in this thesis explicitly mention concepts like adaptation in their texts, showing at least some degree of intention to take institutional dynamics into account: how this focus plays out in practice, and furthermore how it connects to the results of the policy implementation, further proves the applicability of CI to this case.

This theory can be used to analyse global, national, and even local institutional relationships. To illustrate it at to levels: If one were to look at a country's entire government as an institution, one would need to take into account the power dynamics and interests of

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> 'The Brazilian Way'.

international actors, but if you would look at municipalities, one would then focus more on their relationship with the local actors within the state's arena. Through this, "a degree of indeterminacy, overlap, and potential contestation when it comes to the functional remit across different institutions (for example, in the case of claims by different state and non-state institutions to wield public authority in a given sphere of social life" can occur leading to lesser-known institutions being provided with authority (Whaley, 2018, p. 140).

This is all well and good; but according to Whaley "this begs the question, how can this specificity and complexity be translated or represented in such a way that it has purchase for public decision-making? What might make critical institutional research more amenable to policymakers whilst maintaining the integrity of the research itself?" (Whaley, 2018, 140). With examples of how institutions interact and enact their agency in multiple locales throughout the Amazon demonstrated in the literature review, we hope to bring this frame of analysis to a contemporary example and produce equally illuminating findings, showing how institutional efforts on the ground in connection to the PPCDAm's reimplementation play out. This would help us understand the potential faults of Brazilian environmental policy and to see how it has evolved over several years, interacting with ever-changing government administrations and workers of NGOs in the Amazonas state, displaying the institutional bricolage taking place. It would also illuminate strategies that have been proved as successful, which could be adopted elsewhere in the world.

### **Methodology:**

We decided that based on the newness of the analysed body of data combined with the inherent structural and political challenges of working in the Amazon, an abductive approach would make the most sense. An abductive approach aims at definitely verifying a conclusion, yet does not seek to eliminate uncertainty or doubt, and may be a better fit given the relative age of much of the CI-focused work we highlighted in the literature review. While we are rather confident of what our findings will look like, we also want to let the data 'speak for itself': Given the relative age of these sources combined with the sheer breadth of socio-political changes in Brazil since these studies took place, we could not be sure whether other approaches would sufficiently illustrate or capture the present dynamics of specific actors' current strategies. We are certain that certain parts of the theory will fit perfectly, but we also leave the door open for some things possibly not aligning.

As part of this chosen abductive approach, we wanted to cast a wider net look for a wider variety of data types so as to obtain a fuller picture of the strategy implementations and the institutional machinations on the ground: an activity report from an NGO will capture one side of the story and provide thorough retellings of a project, but perhaps local news articles, court cases or statements from a social movement, will highlight a possibly unforeseen angle, consequently providing a much deeper understanding of the process of evolvement into 'bricoleurs'. We also deliberately sought out document sources about specific initiatives that were as contemporary as possible, with the ideal being projects that began operating after the end of Jair Bolsonaro's presidency. Sources on strategies and initiatives that precede Bolsonaro's rise to power are only sparingly used in the analysis section for specific reasons. These reasons include the long duration of certain initiatives and the demonstration of how local groups have historically engaged with the institutional bricolage process up to the present day. Brazilian climate policies are highly turbulent and subject to change depending on the sitting government, as well as the level of influence of myriad groups like agribusiness and advocacy organisations. Therefore, sources older than a few years may have come from an entirely different political environment, but are nonetheless important for the linkage of our theoretical framework and the main concept of institutional bricolage.

As will become apparent in the analysis, the strategies of local actors and Brazilian government policies are deeply intertwined at nearly every level. In order to illustrate the strategies and interactions of the actors on the ground in the course of implementing the PPCDAm and policies connected to it, we first looked at the wording of the policy itself. As the central piece from which all the other institutions play off, the wording and instruments laid out in the PPCDAm will be vital to understanding how the core processes of aggregation, alteration, and articulation are utilised by the local institutions drawing from it. Aspects of the Brazilian constitution that focus on environmental protection and environmental crimes will also come up, as some institutions engaged in policy advocacy and court cases invoke them prominently.

## Method & Research Design:

A central tenet of CI is the variably formal and informal nature of their strategies and institutional arrangements. As they are ever-shifting and dependent on local context, we think it is highly necessary to look beyond formal research papers and studies in order to fully capture these strategies. This is not a new approach in CI: when Gebara (2019) laid out the

intrigues of how land owners subverted and opposed the CAR, she emphasised the importance of focusing on the informal "messy middle" of institutional arrangements in showcasing influence and power relations (Gebara, p. 650; Cleaver & De Koning, p. 8).

Our primary method was content analysing an array of documents from the various local institutions discussing their programs and strategies encompassing them. These would include policy briefs, program reports, evaluations, journalistic articles, videos and maps created discussing these programs and the impact they had. Getting multiple perspectives was preferential: we looked at them through government sources, as well as local institutions themselves in order to understand their strategies and interactions on the ground. These sources, which were both in Portuguese and English, centre almost exclusively on the Amazonas state. The PPCDAm and climate policies connected to it are necessarily broad and complex, spanning a wide range of actions in fields like legal enforcement, indigenous rights, and economic activities, often straddling local and federal lines.

To account for this, we cast a wide net and collected data from 14 different and variably interconnected institutions: 5 of them were government bodies involved in diminishing deforestation and increasing reforestation in the Amazon, and the rest consisted of a variety of local non-governmental organisations running their own on the ground initiatives against deforestation, taking into consideration their potentially limited resources and different focuses. As mentioned before, we focused on initiatives that are still taking place to this day or began after the end of Bolsonaro's presidency and PPCDAm's reimplementation, so as to provide the most accurate and contemporary picture of the conditions that the fight against deforestation is currently under. Projects (especially long-term) that preceded this time were analysed in order to illustrate historical changes in power dynamics and the political environment, and subsequently how these institutions adapt their strategies and approach based on whichever administration and phase of the PPCDAm was in place. By providing this historical backdrop to reflect current efforts onto, we gained a more holistic understanding of the ongoing institutional adjustments in this context. This also shed light on how an actor becomes a bricoleur, by innovatively using available resources and adapting to changing circumstances, and ultimately assisted in the success of certain strategies.

At the beginning of the data collection process, we had some initial vague ideas as to which kinds of actors and strategies would be at play. We took inspiration from the PPCDAm and created a sorting table of initial strategy names, which were derived from the names of the

plan's axes. This initial sorting table would eventually become the final mind map in the analysis.<sup>14</sup> As we collected and reviewed the various documents, we were able to further polish and refine how we defined and delineated these strategies, leading to us creating additional categories on more specific issues (such as forest manag, and community forest management) as they became apparent; as they could not be directly linked to the PPCDAm, we based the names on the data itself. With the CI framework in mind, we also put a lot of thought into how we attempted to categorise the various actors; while we initially thought that we would be categorising a larger host of distinct actors (Municipal, federal, local NGOs, international NGOs, indigenous advocacy organisations and indigenous groups themselves), the data collection process led us instead to majorly rework and streamline this part, as such clear-cut distinctions were either difficult or outright counterproductive to make. Many of these local institutions exist in the NGO sphere, and thus collaborations and coalition-building is an inherent part of their work regardless of field or focus. Additionally, some of the NGOs were engaged in multiple projects across several fields. As such, making further elaboration proved unnecessary and likely cumbersome. Instead, we found that the distinctions were more clearly discerned in the approaches and rhetoric of each strategy.

At the end of the data collection process, we were left with a large and incredibly varied set of actors and initiatives to look at. As is obvious by now, analysing them in isolation would go against the very basic premise of the theoretical framework. In order to make the process workable and easier to manage, we took the roughly sorted data and employed systematic coding techniques as an analytical tool to identify common themes and terminologies mentioned in the various sources. From this coding process, we were also able to finalise and refine how we categorised and named the various strategies and actors. Overall, the coding allowed us to unravel rhetorical and organisational patterns in the strategies used by Amazonas state local institutions when dealing with deforestation, the effects of the deforestation and institutional initiatives, while also taking into consideration the impact that national legislation surrounding this climate change contributor has on local institutions. It also allowed us to begin to understand how deeply the PPCDAm has influenced the rhetoric and vocabulary of each strategy. This shed light on the intricate dynamics of the institutional bricolage process within Brazilian Amazon's environmental context, enabling us to discern the successes and failures of these strategies. Consequently, this pinpointed aspects of strategies that local institutions should hone in on in the future. For the purpose of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> See Identified Local Strategies subchapter.

analysis, we also generated a variety of 'word clouds' from the body of key terms and phrases to illustrate the frequency and degree to which these were used both within and across the strategies, so as to see which phrases, themes and framings each actor shares, and also to which degree. As an aside, we generated word clouds for each strategy. This originally began with one word cloud covering terms in every strategy, but as we began to make ones for each strategy, we were increasingly able to give the categories more specific and descriptive names. The conclusions from these processes are in the Word Cloud subchapter of the analysis. Word clouds were not the only way in which we illustrated our data set.

The sorting table we used to organise the data collection process would stick around and eventually become our main method of visually organising all the chapters, turning into the Mind Map in the analysis section. With the aid of the coding process (as elaborated on in each strategy chapter) the initial set of strategy categories were identified as: Empowerment and Protection of Locals, Command and Control, Bioeconomy, Community Management, Land Demarcation, Activism, and Policy Advocacy. The actors in each initiative are identified either as government bodies or local institutions. As most Brazilian climate policies explicitly mention mitigation and adaptation in their texts, we also categorised the strategies by whether they focused on mitigation or adaptation; how we define adaptation and mitigation will be elaborated on in the analysis section. The structure of the initial sorting table is illustrated below.

Strategies	Focus	Actors	Institutional Type	Initiative	Description	Key Terms per Article	Common Terminology*
Empowerment & Protection of Locals	Mitigation	FUNAI	Govt. body	Case Study/ Media Articles	Seen in Appendix D.	Terms that were coded	Analytical Findings
Command & Control	Adaptation	F <i>AS</i>	Local Inst./ NGO	Program Documents			
Land Demarcation						:	
Community Management			•••				
Bioeconomy							
Activism					•••	•••	
Policy Advocacy							

Figure 1 – Outline of the Initial "Strategy Sorting Table": illustrating the initial process of the identification of common terms and themes. Examples of two actors are included. This would ultimately turn into the mind map illustrated in Figure 3.1 - Final Strategy Mind Map.

In order to further build up the analysis and gain an "insider perspective" on how NGOs work and collaborate, , we conducted a qualitative semi-structured interview with Dr. Raquel Ludermir, a policy advocacy expert from Habitat for Humanity Brasil. Her education and field of expertise is in urban planning, and her work has varied widely, spanning subjects like building up infrastructure post-disasters, implementing concepts like housing rights, as well as urban redevelopment within favelas.

She highlighted throughout the interview that her field of work was not focused on deforestation particularly, and climate change strategies are still nascent in Habitat for Humanity Brasil. Although they are still developing a climate change-focused strategy, Habitat has been active in on-the-ground work during climate emergencies, such as housing reformation after floods hit in the Southeast, and providing WASH<sup>15</sup> assistance, such as providing water cisterns, while droughts have persisted in the Northeast of the country. We believe her academic and professional insight, knowledge of the machinations of local institutions and 13 years of experience within the NGO sphere provided a valuable additional perspective on the data we analysed. Her external viewpoint on the machinations of local institutions, collaborations, as well as her understanding of which strategies work most successfully when dealing with on-the-ground efforts gave valuable insights that proved indispensable for the analysis. Due to the sheer amount of NGOs and respective projects that we sifted through for this project (plus the fact that only one of us speaks Portuguese), her ability to provide a more concise viewpoint with years of experience in Brazil behind her gave us the ability to sort the "wheat" from the "chaff"; to better reflect across multiple strategies and spaces how these local institutions operate. Statements from the interview will be woven throughout the analysis in relevant places to provide extra context to the actors, initiatives and topics at hand so as to further illuminate the processes of bricolage and the inner workings of the NGO sphere.

#### **Analysis:**

The analysis section will be broken into multiple subsections. In order to understand the framework, vocabulary and context that the strategies draw so heavily from, a brief explanation of the PPCDAm, its structure and history will be laid out in detail. Understanding its temporal dimension (regular updates, its suspension under Bolsonaro) will also aid in understanding how the government and local groups influence one another, and how

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Water, Sanitation and Hygiene.

consequential its absence/disruption can be. Following this, the REDD+ framework (a backbone of the PPCDAm), its structure, as well as the opportunities and challenges it poses in the context of the Amazon, will be discussed in detail as well. For the purpose of providing additional context to the strategies, this chapter will cover the implications of the 'mitigation bias' that we have observed throughout the strategies, and what this says about the limitations of the government's role as bricoleur. Leading into the strategies, we briefly lay out a statistical analysis of keywords prominently used by the data (visualised with word clouds) to show the PPCDAm's influence in rhetoric, as well as how it influenced the naming of the strategies. Finally, we will cover each strategy and its respective actors in detail, laying out how their initiatives play out acts of institutional bricolage and helped create our final strategy names.

#### **Historical Brazilian Legal Context:**

#### The PPCDAm

It is inarguable that PPCDAm, including its implementation in the Amazonas state of Brazil, has been a cornerstone of Brazilian environmental policy since its first introduction in 2004 during the first term of President Luis Inácio 'Lula' da Silva's first term in office; beside its suspension during Jair Bolsonaro's term in office, it has more or less operated continuously since then. This plan was created to provide an overarching structure and unified approach to organising the government's various climate policy strategies and implementations, as well as a systematised implementation of the REDD+ framework and PNMC.16 Its main aim is to "reduce deforestation rates continuously and to bring about the conditions for a transition towards a sustainable development model in the region" while also working together with various sectors and subnational governments in its implementation (MMA.gov.br, 2023). The plan was originally considered particularly innovative due to its "cross-cutting nature", being coordinated by a GPTI<sup>17</sup> consisting of several ministries and working in cooperation with NGOs and environmental researchers (PPCDAm, 2023, p. 23). 18 Through this coordination of actors, it led to the funding and partnerships between the Federal Police and IBAMA<sup>19</sup> diminishing environmental crime acts, a monitoring system, the creation of UCs, and the recognition and protection of indigenous lands. Research has credited the PPCDAm with the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Brazilian National Policy on Climate Change.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Permanent Interministerial Working Group.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Document outlining the PPCDAm's 5th phase; translated from Portuguese to English by Author.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Brazilian Institute of the Environment and Renewable Natural Resources.

83% decrease in the deforestation rate in the Amazon from 2004 through 2012 (Bridi and Maisonnave, 2023). Following this, the progress began to progressively slow with the passage of a series of reforms to the PPCDAm under his successors Dilma Rousseff and Michel Temer, whom arguably undermined its governance and efficacy (as argued in the literature review), resulting in a gradual rise in deforestation. During Bolsonaro's presidency, the PPCDAm was suspended entirely and deforestation rose sharply by 72%, which was also followed by a sharp increase in illegal mining (Freedman, 2022). When Lula reinstated the policy in 2023, deforestation decreased by 66% in 2023 compared to the previous year, and more recent data has shown that it has continued to decrease (Mongabay.com, 2023). However, there continue to be challenges with the implementation of the Jurisdictional REDD+ approach of local negotiations in the Amazonas state. As was previously noted, Brazil has "profound regional idiosyncrasies that can influence the dynamics of the implementation of a REDD+ system", other actors have the opportunity to take the "helm" and implement aspects of the REDD+ system themselves on-the-ground, in turn increasing their power within this situation, even becoming bricoleurs themselves (Seca et al., 2024, p. 1).

In order to uncover the intricacies in the power dynamics of the fight against deforestation, a historical overview of the PPCDAm is important to understand the environment that the institutional bricolage played out in . The PPCDAm generally has 3 thematic axes that they focus on throughout the past 20 years: Land Tenure and Territorial Planning, Environmental Monitoring and Control, and Fostering Sustainable Production (MMA.gov.br, 2023). Within this, each of the 4 year phases that this plan has moulded into over these years, have additional and more specific focuses based on environmental changes and technological advancement within the country's Legal Amazon. Given the PPCDAm's structure, longevity and large degree of historical influence over the Amazon, its effect on how the myriad groups covered in this thesis approach and work with the subject cannot be overstated.

The first phase, 2004-2008, focused on "Efforts to create protected areas": these included the creation of new indigenous reserves, limiting the deforestation from the creation of cross-state roads, surveillance, and the creation of UCs and the beginning of a settled land and credit system (InfoAmazonia, 2020). Phase two, 2009-2011, saw a massive drop in deforestation rates in areas where land tenure was regularised, , the implementation of the DETER surveillance system was highly successful in stopping illegal deforesters and other environmental crimes thanks to the successful cooperation between IBAMA, Federal Police, and the Army (ibid). The phase also focused on promoting sustainable production activities

among local communities with the help of technical assistance. The third phase, 2012-2016, was introduced to the challenge of understanding that "command and control was not enough", as deforestation rates rose rapidly again by 2015 (ibid). They later realised that focus was needed on finding successful ways to "promote the practice of sustainable activities", environmental infrastructure, and sustainable production chains that support local communities with income and employment (Ibid). In order to achieve this, they allocated federal public land and attempted to settle the struggle of indigenous environmental land management, which was not allocated properly even by 2014. During this time, it is also important to note that the PPCDAm's coordination was taken over by the MMA<sup>20</sup>, therefore there was a shift in power dynamics amongst legislative actors. Without there being much inter-ministerial coordination, certain axes lost priority, while others gained more importance. The coordination with the infrastructure sector when dealing with rural credit allocation and UC management, was put on the backburner, while monitoring with more access to geoprocessing and satellites started to gain more focus to curb the increasing deforestation rates by the next phase (PPCDAm, 2023, p. 24).<sup>21</sup>

This increase in deforestation became the backdrop for clearer planning of the fourth phase, 2016-2020. The largest innovation of this phase was the creation of a fourth axis, the "Normative and Economic Instruments Axis", in which the PSA<sup>22</sup> program was developed with the help of the Floresta+ Project by IPAAM, one of the initiatives covered in this paper (ibid, p. 25).<sup>23</sup> The PSA has also been such a useful program within NGO projects, we noticed it being discussed heavily amongst several of our identified initiatives, especially within the strategies Fostering the Bioeconomy, and Community-Based Forest Management.<sup>24</sup>

At the beginning of Bolsanaro's presidency, the administration discontinued the PPCDAm, shifting its responsibilities to a National Council and created new plans and operations to combat illegal deforestation and other environmental crimes with the help of armed forces. These operations were called Operation Green Brazil I and II, and Operation Guardians of the Biome (ibid, pg. 27).<sup>25</sup> However, these efforts have been criticised for their lack of priority and effectiveness, as from 2018 to 2020, there was a significant reduction in enforcement actions by IBAMA, about 37% (ibid). Alongside this, the creation of UCs and the approval of

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Brazilian Environmental Ministry.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Translated by Author.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Payment for Environmental Services Program

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> See respective chapters

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Translated by Author.

indigenous lands were stopped, while there were also numerous legislative initiatives that could potentially reduce these protected areas. The Bolsonaro administration cut the budgets for massive agencies fighting against deforestation, such as IBAMA, ICMBio<sup>26</sup>, in charge of 300 UCs, and the INPE<sup>27</sup>, an organisation in charge of monitoring deforestation and fires through space, with there being a 71% decrease in the budget in 2021 since 2014 (Chaves, 2022).<sup>28</sup> Thus, these organisations also had to limit their discretionary spending and the amount of employees they can afford to have working for them. Through this began the idea that actors, such as agribusinesses and organised environmental crime organisations, could take over parts of the Amazon for their own financial benefit (ibid).<sup>29</sup> Throughout this period of unease amongst civil servants and the government, it caused another type of actor to take charge in the fight against deforestation, NGOs and civil society organisations, with the aid of private and international funding. Through this, there was a significant shift in the power dynamics between them and the government, which saw an increase in responsibility, and greater influence. As a result, they became 'bricoleurs' creatively using the resources they had and adapting strategies that were available to them to fill the gaps left by the government. This involved a range of activities, from direct on-the-ground action, protecting not only the land, but the indigenous populations living within the area, to advocacy efforts to resist harmful legislative changes. Despite these challenges, NGOs played a crucial role in maintaining Brazil's environmental integrity, especially in the international sphere, during this period of governmental and environmental neglect.

When the current president, 'Lula' da Silva, came back into power in 2022, the PPCDAm was reinstated a year later, beginning the current phase, phase five, which will last until 2027. This current phase is already being characterised as innovative and ambitious due to its setting of the goal "Zero Deforestation by 2030" and its increase in the use of modern technologies, which will allow for anticipating where it will occur in the future (Costa, 2023). Very interesting as well is the active involvement and consultation of NGOs and environmental researchers in the draft version of this phase, therefore creating a more transparent atmosphere between the three types of actors and potentially leading to closer relationships amongst them. Therefore, greatly increasing the potential positive outcomes within the Legal Amazon. As of writing, the administration has restarted the Amazon Fund, the National Environment Fund, PPCDAm's sister plan for the Northeast of Brazil,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> The Chico Mendes Institute.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> The National Institute for Space Research.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Translated by Author.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Ibid.

PPCerrado, and annulled a decree permitting mining in public and protected areas (ibid). The secretary of the MMA points out the beginning strengths of the phase, by focusing on two main axes, the sustainable production activities and the normative and economic instruments, two axes that had not been successfully implemented throughout the history of the plan (ibid). It is also planning on allocating Undesignated Public Forests in order to avoid future land grabbing. This saw an uptick in NGO initiatives having focused on involving the local community, teaching them about lower-emission bioeconomy and promoting traditional and sustainable techniques when dealing with cultivation. As stated previously, the largest innovation is the technological advancement, where they are creating a system of intelligence with "the ability to predict forest degradation and survey its production chains as a new feature, with the signalling of a possible new system that predicts deforestation", an idea they seemingly got from Imazon's PrevisIA (ibid).<sup>30</sup> These AI-powered platforms can process satellite and other data at a much faster pace than humans, utilising machine learning to signal irregularities, such as illegal activities, deforestation, areas of risk, and other related warning signs, potentially leading to more individuals being charged for environmental crimes at an even more efficient page than DETER. All in all, the reinstatement of the PPCDAm, especially with these new advancements and increased coordination, has seemingly ignited this discourse that positive change is coming, and that with these changes, the Amazon is one step closer to zero deforestation and the "end of the unconstitutional state of things" in the Legal Amazon (ibid).

## **REDD+:** Inviting Bricoleurs into Public Policy

The PPCDAm's approach to deforestation has drawn heavily from the REDD+ framework since it was first introduced, which in turn illustrates not only a central playbook from which many of the local institutions' efforts draw from, but also some of the central themes and challenges within the Brazilian climate policy field.

As briefly described, the REDD+ framework is an incentive-based approach that rose to prominence following the advent of the UNFCCC<sup>31</sup>, with Brazil being the first country to pioneer its implementation and have it recognised by international bodies (Seca et al, p. 2). As its focus is on its use by developing countries, the framework's general guidelines first laid out by UNFCCC were quite vague: to qualify for payments, countries must have the ability to conduct "reliable monitoring and reporting of REDD+ activities", develop "a

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> One of the NGO initiatives this thesis analyses.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change.

national strategy or an action plan" as well as "[submit] (...) a national [or subnational] reference level of forestry emissions or forestry reference levels" and have "an information system on the implementation of REDD+ safeguards" (ibid, p. 2). In layman's terms, countries must develop the means to monitor and document projects connected to REDD+ and have an overarching nation-level plan for these projects to follow.

Given the aforementioned biases in climate policy governing the Amazon, it makes sense why the REDD+ framework soon became a backbone of it. As shown by its use in Brazil, the framework revolves around incentivising land users and forest managers to protect forests and adopt sustainable land use practices through a variety of financial means, either through direct payments from a state for land use change, discrete projects related to conservation, restoration or forest management, or more recently through the hyper-local "jurisdictional" approach, in which local land users in a particular land area solicit payments or investments from local "jurisdictions" (ibid, pp. 1-2). An overarching focus of this implementation, as laid out by Brandão et al. (2020) has been the inclusion of stakeholders: with the region's remoteness and much of the funding and approval coming from external actors, the authors note that "the presence of external actors and externally funded projects required the engagement of a broad base of local actors through participatory processes" (Brandão et al., 2020, p. 9).

This approach, as shown by Seca et al. (2024), Viana et al. (2009), and Brandão et al (2020), does provide positive opportunities for Brazil that a mere command-and-control approach can not, which has been especially relevant for the Amazon. Its implementation has also been the subject to challenges and criticisms. When it comes to stakeholders, Brandão et al. (2020) argue that an excessive focus on this can inhibit results and prove counterproductive, especially when improperly targeted, quoting interviewees as saying that "too many multi-stakeholder platforms, countless meetings and speeches that encouraged participation raised high hopes among participants that were eventually not fulfilled, leading to general demobilization and disenchantment. Moreover, important players behind deforestation, such as land speculators, were rarely targeted by participatory processes" (Brandão et al., p. 9). They also warn of the inherent danger of the jurisdictional approach if government bodies, are not strong or competent enough: "Poor domestic policy and legal frameworks, along with weak state monitoring and enforcement capacity predominat[ing]] (...) leads us to question to what extent jurisdictional approaches to reduce deforestation are possible where state capacity and local authority to tackle deforestation is weak" (ibid, p. 11). In short, they point

out that stakeholders are not a panacea, but their inclusion must be targeted and well-considered.

Cenamo and Carrero (2012) concur, REDD+ mechanisms "provide significant opportunities for re-arranging political networks and (overcoming) forest governance problems" as opposed to command-and-control-centric policies that "purposely or inadvertently have encouraged the rapid depletion of forests", but agree in pointing to potential dangers from "lack of commitment from public institutions", with its viability hanging on the "consistent participation of local actors" as well as "Brazilian politicians' willingness to create new development scenarios which value standing forests as a way to achieve governance in the chaotic portrait of land tenure and deforestation the Amazon region" (Cenamo and Carrero, 2012, pp. 445-446; ibid, p. 462).

In summation, the efficacy of the REDD+ approach hinges heavily on the strength of state institutions and the effective participation of local actors: for productive aggregation to take place, their place must be well-considered and purposeful, with the necessary investment from all parties involved.

#### Difference between Mitigation & Adaptation: Aggregation in Practice

Across the large variety of strategies that the various local institutions have been engaging in, we sort their initiatives into one of two approaches. The first is mitigation, which is based around directly reducing emissions and enhancing carbon sinks, and often centres on incentive-based projects and improving existing economic activities and infrastructures to be more sustainable (MMA.gov.br, 2012, pp. 1-2). The second is adaptation, which promotes deeper structural changes, focuses on developing newer technologies and improvements in "capacity building" (ibid). Adaptation-focused strategies look at fundamentally changing current conditions to reflect or defend against a present or imminent reality. To put it in layman's terms, one can use the example of a household's oil-based heater: replacing the oil with a renewable biofuel would be an example of mitigation, whereas replacing the heater with a system that draws heat from a nearby geothermal spring would be an example of adaptation.

We noticed that in the vast majority of cases, the strategies we looked at were mitigation-focused, with only 5 in total displayed as adaptation-focused. This has been concurred by academic research: Raniero (2021) has remarked on "the predominance of a mitigating bias, as opposed to one of adaptation, also reflected in the number of times that such words appear throughout the [climate policy documents]", arguing that this observation

is especially noteworthy given the directness of state-level policies and importance of having local institutions involved and included (Raniero, 2021, p. 5). "State policies bring to the decision-making process – and to the people and institutions involved in such processes – clear objectives, instruments of implementation and a certain level of predictability, in doing so adding a significant variable to the local climate agenda: legal certainty" (ibid). Raniero further muses on how the importance of legal certainty in these policies is important for the purpose of legibility to local institutions, as well as "[holding] decision-makers accountable, but to also play their own role in the process" (ibid). They note adaptation to be in its nascent stages in climate policy. "While Brazil maintains a leading position in the UNFCCC debates on climate change mitigation, its position on adaptation is still limited. This is not only important at the national level, but can also serve as a bad example for other developing countries and semi-arid regions, where there is a general intention to learn from the case of Brazil" (ibid, p. 167).

Within the context of local institutions, the predominance of mitigation-focused approaches can be explained by two factors: the PPCDAm's focus on including stakeholders, and the well-documented issues with governance and policy implementation that are inherent to the Amazon. When the foremost issues have involved just getting the initiatives implemented in the first place, incentivising and including actors to cooperate may be most practical when they require fewer fundamental changes to economic and social structures: as it is easier and may be more practical to convince land users to make sustainable improvements to their land use and material in exchange for financial rewards. This particular approach, in essence, explicitly invites local groups to participate in the CI process of aggregation: where different types of disparate institutions (NGOs, governments, land users) encounter each other and are recombined in novel ways, realigning their strategies in tandem with one another, each group utilising their own positions and priorities in service of this goal without anyone explicitly giving up their respective agency (De Koning, 2014, p. 363). This approach exemplified the pitfalls and opportunities of institutional bricolage more broadly: while the government has far greater influence and agency than other actors, having had the unique ability in this case to set the whole framework for climate initiatives, it can mostly only do what other actors are willing to agree with. As such, the government seems to have focused on making the most of the approaches guaranteed to be effective and agreeable to other actors, rather than go the whole mile and achieve nothing at all.

When it comes to aggregation and the inclusion of stakeholders, Cenamo and Cerraro (2012) made very similar arguments in their analysis of the REDD+ project: "Despite disparate

interests, these stakeholders have objectives that overlap. Rural producers would commit to stop deforestation and promote forest restoration in degraded lands, if allowed to retain their landholdings, as well as the time, effort, and capital invested in farm consolidation," also claiming that "the success of this strategy will rely on behavioural change among various government and non-government stakeholders in the Amazonian frontiers" (Cenamo and Cerraro, 2012, p. 455). They argue that effective change comes through a reciprocal change in strategies and priorities for mutual benefit, with landowners being able to "diversify their income options with revenues from timber, non timber forest products as well as the possibility of increase crop yields and livestock efficiency" (ibid, p. 454-455). With the unique geography and political environment challenging the government's ability to assert itself, acts of aggregation and alteration, where both sides are recombined and adapted into novel arrangements, as opposed to pure command and control, are argued to be the most pragmatic and effective. Beyond the general approach to cooperation, stakeholder inclusion and the approaches and strategies given the most attention, the most prominent and visible example of institutional bricolage can be seen in the rhetoric each actor uses.

# Identified Common Terminology: PPCDAm's Influence in Language & Framing



**Figure 2.1: Word Cloud** – *Common Keywords used in Every Strategy* <sup>32</sup> As shown in the figure above, there were some terms that were used in every strategy. These are: 'implementation', 'conservation', 'sustainable', and 'communities'. <sup>33</sup> Displaying a local focus, the focus on how the initiative is carried out, and seeking to work with pre-existing (rather than imposing something new). Here, the PPCDAm's overarching approach can be seen in the variety of words. Related terms like 'stakeholders' and 'indigenous' were also often used. One can reason that all of the projects broadly focus on engagement with local

<sup>32</sup> Largest terms: used in 5-7 stragies; Smallest terms: used in 1-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Communities refers to Environmental Conservation and Traditional refers to Traditional Communities.

communities, ensuring that the plan's goals are reached through incentives and cooperation with locals, while taking into account their local knowledge.



Figure 2.2: *Top 10 Common Terms in Every Strategy:* Assuming that Sustainable and Conservation overlap, we ascertained that there were three main concepts mentioned by all 7 strategies: 'communities', 'conservation', and 'implementation'. These three terms denote the the local communities, the goal that each actor shares, and the ever-present issue of deforestation that they attempt to tackle. 'Environmental' and 'protection' were used in 5 strategies, which could highlight that one of the strategies has a broader conservation focus, leaning more towards the protection of the land, and also the communities. 'Engagement', 'strengthening', 'sustainability', and 'traditional' were used in 4 categories, denoting their goal to empower their target communities and desire to uplift historical traditional knowledge and techniques as a counter to harmful industrial production. "Cooperation' was used 3 times, displaying that actors work more closely together in some strategies than others.



Figure 2.3: Example: Direct Inspiration for Naming Strategy - Courts, Control and Legal Enforcement: For the terms that eventually became the Courts, Control and Legal Enforcement strategy, there were direct linkages with the keywords identified and eventual strategy names. Common key terms include: 'court', 'breach', 'deforestation', 'enforcement',

and 'crime'. As the initiatives in this category consist of court cases and police activities, and these terms were identified, we were directly inspired in the creation of this strategy name.



Figure 2.4: Example: Connecting Themes to Create a Strategy Name - Community-Based

Forest Management: We varied on the approach for all the other strategy names, granting ourselves the liberty to use words that are similarly-themed. This can clearly be seen in the creation of the Community-Based Forest Management strategy name. 'Forest', 'environmental', 'agroforestry, 'conservation', 'deforestation', all overlap on the same theme of managing the natural environment. Combining it with terms such as 'community', 'development' and 'services' converging with organisation and assistance. As programs in this strategy category dealt with matters of how to assist, organise and incentivise both

management of natural environments and sustainable production activities in these areas, we

thought this strategy name encapsulated the theme of these terms well. We were also

influenced by our expert interviewee, who stated that community-focused projects are a

common strategy within Brazil (Ludermir, 2024: Expert interview).<sup>35</sup>

production management environmental family community conservation

Figure 2.5: Indirect Inspiration for a Strategy Name- Bioeconomy: One category required us to need to think laterally in order to name a concise title. This grouping spans public and private initiatives utilising a wider variety of strategies, but nevertheless touch on key tenets of economic adaptation and sustainable business. The commonly used key terms are of no help: 'conservation', 'community', 'environmental', 'management', 'production', 'market' are broad and overlap with many of the other strategies. Ultimately, due to the economic and sustainability focus, we drew inspiration from the PPCDAm axis: Fostering Sustainable

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Referring to Environmental Services.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> See Appendix B.

Production, and the continuous use of the term 'bioeconomy' to create the official name of this strategy. Here, beyond acting as an 'agenda setter', helping focus strategies, the PPCDAm has also influenced the vocabulary and rhetoric of the various local actors, where the core terms used by all of them can be traced, even indirectly, to the Plan's axes.

# **Identified Local Strategies**

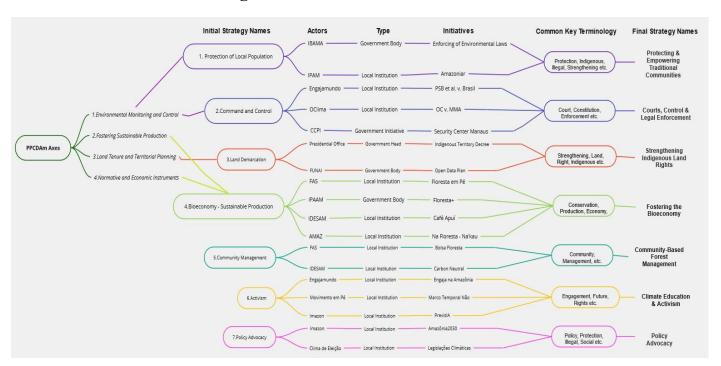


Figure 3.1: Final Strategy Mind Map

# **Protecting and Empowering Traditional Communities:** How to Assert Traditional Communities as Bricoleurs

The two actors grouped in this section, heavily revolved around enabling and providing protection for the traditional communities within the Amazonas state. In this context, traditional populations include indigenous peoples, *ribeirinhos*, and *quilombolas*. The success of the first actor, a government environmental enforcer, hinged heavily on the federal government's decision-making, with their initiative focusing on protecting indigenous territories from deforesters and mitigating their fallout. The second actor, an NGO, was particularly focused on solutions for deforestation that could be adapted by all sorts of institutions, for the common goal of empowering indigenous communities. As these were the first two actors we covered, we were originally not convinced of the 'mitigation bias', due to them covering both mitigation and adaptation respectively. We realised that these two actors

fit broadly into the PPCDAm axis, 'Environmental Monitoring and Control'. Common identified keywords, such as 'traditional communities', 'monitoring', 'protection', and 'security', reinforced this. This led us to establishing two thirds of the strategy name, 'Protecting Traditional Communities'. With the discovery of additional terms like 'strengthening', 'cooperation', and 'sustainable development'<sup>36</sup>, it added a perspective of working with the traditional communities in service of their strengthening.<sup>37</sup> Ultimately, this assisted in the creation of the rest of the strategy name, by adding the term, 'empowering'. With this, we concluded that the final strategy name would be the most fitting.

#### **IBAMA**

Media Framing of Indigenous Protection in the Yanomami Territory post-Bolsonaro

The developments that this initiative is responding to are particularly recent: during the presidency of Bolsonaro, governance was significantly weakened in vulnerable majority-indigenous areas of Amazonas. Many of his first acts as president, as covered earlier in the thesis, was to strip power away from institutions responsible for indigenous areas, UCs<sup>38</sup>, and environmental protection. The administration transferred the management of indigenous lands to the MAPA<sup>39</sup> with the goal of opening them up to resource extraction (da Fonseca *et al.*, 2022: p. 23). They proclaimed clearly that prioritising indigenous rights or environmental protection was not his priority: "More than 15% of national territory is demarcated as indigenous land and *quilombos*. Less than a million people live in these places, isolated from true Brazil, exploited and manipulated by NGOs" (Phillips, 2019).

Government sources have not covered past and present political developments in a satisfactory manner; as such, media coverage provides the most substantive data on this actor. In all but name, Bolsonaro's dismantling of deforestation policies (Fonseca et al, p. 19-24), was a clear signal to all sorts of legal and illegal economic actors alike: that their land was available for the taking. As a result, indigenous lands throughout Amazonas were set upon by garimpeiros<sup>40</sup> often affiliated with criminal groups, who conducted incursions through intimidation and violence against indigenous peoples and police agents alike (Bachega, 2021). A BBC article (2021) stated that, federal prosecutor Marugal said that "illegal miners have been emboldened (...) by a discourse that legitimises their work, (..) Indigenous

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Originally identified as Portuguese terms: 'fortalecimento', 'cooperação', and 'desenvolvimento sustentavel'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> See Appendix A: Figure 2.6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Portuguese acronym for: Conservation Units.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Ministry of Agriculture.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> English Translation: Illegal Miners.

communities are under extreme pressure" (ibid). That year, the Yanomami indigenous reserve in the North was one of the worst affected, having lost the equivalent of 500 football fields to illegal mining (Tollefson, 2021, pp. 15-16; Bachega, 2021).

During this time, FUNAI and IBAMA were either too underfunded to provide protection or neutered through the appointment of pro-Bolsonaro staff (ibid). The situation is clear: when the Bolsonaro government cut back protections and means of governance on a wide scale, the already-uncertain and shifting institutional arrangements in the Amazon were rocked to their core. Through this, criminal organisations could assert themselves as bricoleurs and replace the rule of law with the rule of violence. Their efforts were ambitious; not only did they establish large illegal mines, they were even able to establish a network of clandestine airstrips across the territory in order to fly miners and materials in and out of the reservations; as the miners passed them off as civilian private planes and landed in remote areas far out of reach of the authorities, their operations were able to clear lands and extract minerals on a spectacular scale (ibid). These actions could be understood, as what Gebara referred to as Jeintinho Brasileiro, in a negative and pejorative sense. The expert interviewee understood this term as having two faces, as "there is almost some relationship with like "soft corruption", but it can also be viewed in a positive sense, reflective of Brazilians being resourceful (Ludermir, 2024).<sup>41</sup> Through the government's abandonment of indigenous protection, garimpeiros were given free reign to enact practices of alteration, reshaping the social norms and power structures as they saw fit given the circumstances the government had created (De Koning, p. 364). In these remote areas, their ability to become bricoleurs was unchecked and without limit, and their destruction only escalated throughout Bolsonaro's presidency, with the Yanomami nearly completely defenceless as rates of disease, malnutrition, COVID-19 and Malaria escalated. (Phillips, 2023b).

Given how thoroughly institutional trust and governance was damaged in this period, the efforts of Bolsonaro's successor to reassert governance would be an uphill battle. Part of the PPCDAm's 5th cycle is improving coordination between different government bodies as well as developing and implementing new technologies to monitor deforestation and environmental degradation, strengthening enforcement in order to meet the present challenges: "The lack of effective presence of the state in the field, the weakness in the implementation of regulatory instruments and inaction on certain issues are some of the main factors that facilitate the occurrence of illegal acts of deforestation, grabbing of public lands,

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Expert Interview: See Appendix B.

logging, mining, etc" (PPCDAm, 2023, p. 66). To this end, it is considered a top priority for the PPCDAm to build the digital and physical infrastructure needed to "improve the capacity to monitor deforestation, fires, degradation and production chains", in order to return effective environmental enforcement to these vulnerable areas (ibid).

These efforts began in February 2023 when IBAMA, in collaboration with FUNAI and the newly-created MPI<sup>42</sup>, launched the first raids against illegal miners in the Yanomami territory, establishing what would become a running theme of this campaign: direct conflicts with the miners and large-scale destruction of equipment, property and infrastructure, with the scale of these efforts becoming hallmarks of the operation's public messaging (Phillips, 2023a).

These efforts are diverse and multi-pronged, taking the form of multiple diverse special forces and joint commands formed either by IBAMA itself or the PRF<sup>43</sup>: utilising air and satellite surveillance and regularly patrolling near detected spots of conflict, cracking down on illegal mines and responding to attacks on indigenous peoples as they occur (Phillips, 2023d). In addition, satellite monitoring, night-vision goggles and heat sensors were recorded as major investments to improve the capability of the forces to detect mining operations and conduct raids, and logistical/material support by the formal Brazilian army (Brown, 2023). As a testament to how established, well-funded and emboldened these groups have become, the conflicts between the forces and miners are particularly fierce; following the killing of three Yanomami by miners belonging to the PCC<sup>44</sup>, the subsequent discovery and raid of their gold field by IBAMA and PRF special forces was met with gunfire from miners whose arsenal rivalled theirs: "We're fighting a de facto war" was how one commander described the situation at the time (Phillips, 2023c).

Despite the escalated state presence, the inherent logistical issues of reaching the miners persists; during raids, their heavy firepower combined with airstrips and forest cover makes capturing all the miners difficult (Brown, 2023). As such, the efforts of the armed campaigns have mainly been to destroy and uproot their infrastructure. A New Yorker article quoting a special forces member argued that miners, "who would emerge as soon as we left", would find continuing their work to be impossible and would thus be pressured to leave on their own: "With their food stores destroyed, they would have to evacuate the jungle, and would make the journey together" (Anderson, 2024).

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Ministry for Indigenous Peoples.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Federal Highway Police.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Primeiro Comanda da Capital: criminal organization

Shortly before government numbers registered zero new mining operations for the first time since the start of the crackdown, IBAMA reported that the crackdown had resulted in the destruction of 327 camps, 18 planes, 2 helicopters, "hundreds of engines and dozens of ferries, boats and tractors" in addition to having seized "36 tons of cassiterite, 26 thousand liters of fuel, as well as equipment used by criminals." The same press release reported an 80% decrease in deforestation two months after the start of operations (MercoPress, 2023).

The crackdown also extended to the miners' air travel: as mentioned previously, the miners were able to surreptitiously transport themselves and mined resources through clandestine airstrips and planes that could be passed off as civilian aircraft, making their logistics difficult to disrupt. To disrupt this, the airspace around the reservation was immediately closed to all non-military or non-public flights, with increased air surveillance and enforcement, significantly hampering the manouvring of the gangs and their resources (FAB.mil.br, 2023; Abdala, 2023). Limited exceptions were granted for "humanitarian flight corridors" for "coordinated and spontaneous departure of non-indigenous people from illegal mining areas by air"; essentially establishing a new arrangement where the miners no longer had free reign over the skies, but were granted limited ability to leave on the government's terms (Vilela, 2023). When the corridors were terminated in April 2023, targeted destruction of confiscated planes occurred (FAB.mil.br, 2023). These efforts were dramatic and heavily publicised on media channels, and its immediate effects were readily apparent: by mid-2023, satellite monitoring by the showed no alerts of new mining operations "for the first time since 2020", with the agency's numbers also showing a 93% reduction in deforestation in the area alongside numbers from IBAMA showing that up to 80% of miners had left in the same period" (Brown, 2023). These news were widely celebrated, with president Silva declaring the operation to be "bearing fruit" (Phillips, 2023b).

Coverage since mid-2023, however, painted a different picture, that there is still much to be done and enforcement and cooperation has faltered. A Reuters report (2024) stated; since the glowing results of the operations, the military has scaled back its support, with cooperation no longer being as effective as before and enforcement of the airspace faltering, leading to a seeming resurgence in mining incursions (Boadle and Marcelino, 2024). According to IBAMA forces, they were now working alone: "The Brazilian military reduced operations in mid-2023 and stopped transporting fuel for Ibama's helicopters to forward bases inside the reservation, limiting their range across the giant territory. The Air Force has not enforced a no-fly zone, despite being ordered to do so by Lula in April, while the Navy is not doing enough to blockade rivers that are the miners' main access for machinery and supplies"

(ibid). This caused "growing numbers of unregistered pilots flying miners into Yanomami land, and then crossing the border to safety in Venezuela when intercepted by Ibama helicopters" (ibid).

The New Yorker noted these same declines and gaps in support; supplies of fuels from the military and air force to the special forces, previously abundant and spread throughout refuelling points in the territory, would often dry up or be "suddenly removed (...), offering no explanation" (Anderson, 2024). Due to this decline, special forces noted that the *garimpeiros* were seen returning to previously cleared mines and adapting: "... when they saw that the operations had decreased they came back, and they've learned how to adapt to our tactics" (Anderson, 2024). This report in particular implies that the faltering support from the military was inevitable due to its deeply-rooted cultural norms: it quotes an author saying that "the military fundamentally doesn't believe in conservation"; they have always been a consistently conservative force that still is beholden to lines of thinking from the military dictatorship, referring to the rainforest as a "green hell" (ibid). Thus, unlike the special forces assembled by IBAMA and other forces, they were never 'true believers' in the mission (ibid). Although Lula immediately replaced the leadership following his rise to power, the military is "still regarded as hostile to Lula—not to mention to the idea of Indigenous rights" (ibid).

The legacy of the military dictatorship, along with the prevailing culture and institutional norms, can be considered a major obstacle to the success of this operation, which highly relies on acts of aggregation to function. While these arrangements are novel, ambitious and well-funded by the government, they appear to be fragile if constituent actors change their minds or commitments – while the military gave the required support when media attention was at its greatest, deep-rooted attitudes and skepticism towards its goals can rear their heads as soon as the pressure lessens.

The government has also had to reckon with the high level of support for *garimpeiros* in communities neighbouring the Yanomami. Special forces, aware of the high support for mining, keep a low profile in the state capital and drive in unmarked cars; "A couple of years before, an angry group had protested the seizures of mining equipment by attempting to set a government helicopter on fire" (ibid). As illustrated here, the effort needs to be consistent and upheld; as the illegal mining operations are well-funded and run by large criminal syndicates, a faltering in the enforcement will lead to the miners trying to assert themselves and seek to return to the previous state of affairs under Bolsonaro. These efforts can be significantly hampered if one of the parties has different incentives and historical/cultural attitudes to the other parties. It is a prime example of alteration and articulation; on the part of the miners,

they violently enforce alteration whereas IBAMA make use of aggregation, alteration, and articulation to respectively maintain the terms of cooperation between the various government agencies, build up their infrastructure, and enforce laws. However, the mere act of aggregation is not enough to ensure effective cooperation; whereas the other agencies seemed to be genuinely committed to the cause, the institutional arrangement falters if it is critically reliant on a party that is only on board as long as the pressure is continuous. To ensure their support, deeper institutional and cultural changes need to take place in the military.

The case of IBAMA's mission showcases both the benefits and pitfalls of aggregation in institutional bricolage; they can create truly effective results in a relatively short time and challenge socio-political arrangements on the ground in an effective manner, but can also be fragile to changes in attitude; when such vital parts of the crackdown relied on the investment of a deeply conservative institution that can easily withdraw its labour without consequences, its achievements can be fast eroded. The articles covering this effort in particular emphasised terms like 'traditional communities', 'strengthening', 'monitoring', and 'government efforts', which influenced the name of this particular strategy.

#### **IPAM**

# Amazoniar Project

Strengthening indigenous empowerment does not just come from policing actors committing environmental crimes, local institutions play their part by empowering and advocating for indigenous knowledge and the benefits of adopting such knowledge. A project that encapsulates this, is IPAM's<sup>45</sup> adaptation-focused *Amazoniar* initiative, created in 2019. The initiative's goal is to "be a channel of knowledge and a stage for the global community interested in delving into different characteristics of the region" and "promote a global dialogue about the biome" from youth and experts alike (IPAM, 2024). This in itself, is an example of articulation, aligning several institutional elements in order to produce the best solution for deforestation. The term "amazoniar", used as a verb, is the act of getting involved with the region, by promoting and protecting local cultures, thus spreading awareness and empowering these local communities, boosting them into the spotlight of protection (Ibid). This initiative runs in cycles, and for the purpose of this research, we decided to analyze the fifth cycle, "Solutions to Stop Deforestation", which was most thematically fitting to this

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Amazon Environmental Research Institute.

thesis. The cycle is split up into 4 short articles, written in 2023, with each accompanying videos involving the opinions of experts and youths on alternative strategies to tackling deforestation, and how to coordinate actions leading to successful implementation. Although it could be argued that these documents, with such varying focuses on solutions for deforestation, could potentially have fit into later established strategies, such as Community-Based Forest Management or Climate Education & Activism, this series facilitated in the creation of this current strategy, through all of them, enveloping the theme of learning from or protecting traditional local populations.

The first article introduces the challenge of the lack of designation of public forest areas, as they are the most vulnerable to private entity usage and illegal activity (IPAM, 2023b) The term 'undesignated public forests' is defined as "public lands that are under the domain of the state or federal government and have not yet received a destination to be consolidated as a conservation unit, indigenous land or extractive reserve" but, according to Public Forest Management law, are meant for conservation and sustainable production by traditional communities (ibid). Yet, various entities and criminal groups see this as an area deemed as 'up for grabs', also termed as land grabbing. With this ideology in mind, regarding the entire Legal Amazon, "51% of deforestation in the region in recent years has occurred in areas that, in other words, belong to the Brazilian people" (ibid). According to the article, these rates are a "consequence of the weakening of governmental institutions at different levels, especially in relation to the control of illegal activities" (ibid).

There is a lot of potential when it comes to the Public Forest Management Law when implemented correctly. It can be seen as an aggregator of forest conservation, by creating a mandate that combines public lands, UCs, traditional lands, and extractive reserves, to designate them specifically for sustainable use. When they are designated, it hampers the levels of commercial deforestation and illegal activities, protecting the local populations, as it provides the traditional communities with a legal standing to personally protect their lands, and the assistance of policing bodies, such as IBAMA. This then influences sustainable management practices to being ones taken care of by individuals who are always perceived as "protectors of the forest" with no malicious intent (IPAM, 2021). This power dynamic conflict leans into what the expert within the article expressed: "it has never been more urgent to resignify the term "no one's land"", instead the understanding of these land names must be altered, that it "belongs to the Brazilian public lands belong to Brazil, not to specific few people", in order to truly protect it (IPAM, 2023b).

The next two articles focus on conservation of private areas and the fostering of sustainable agribusinesses. These are two major themes discussed heavily within the Fostering the Bioeconomy subchapter. Therefore, these articles will be used to introduce these concepts, and will be analyzed through how the institutional bricolage concepts can be seen through these solutions suggested by the environmental experts.

The second article of the series discusses the importance of the areas already designated, stating that "avoiding deforestation is more efficient than restoring degraded areas" (IPAM, 2023a). The most productive course of action to do so, is to provide several aggregated actors, agricultural producers, traditional communities, and agribusinesses, with economic incentives, influencing them to enact sustainable methods on their land. This is proven especially effective when local producers additionally provided with technical assistance (ibid). This idea can be seen through a legislation, PNPSA<sup>46</sup>, which aggregated legal provisions, environmental services, and economic incentives, thus altering pre-existing economical structures, which never incentivized conservation. If this policy is not expanded, deforestation within these areas could cause an "agrosuicide" or "agricultural losses of around US\$ 1 billion annually by 2050" (ibid). Since all of these actors must follow within the same legal framework, it places them in a similar standing within their power dynamic. This article articulates, that it is only through this comprehensive approaches of conservation like the PNPSA, that the traditional communities within the region would be properly protected on this type of land. Examples of how this policy was utilized on the ground, with the help of local organisations, can be seen in the 'Bioeconomy' subchapter below.

The third article centers on the misconception that reducing deforestation would be a barrier to agribusinesses, negatively impacting the nation's export economy (IPAM, 2023c). Through this article, the expert articulates this is not the case if done correctly. Instead, increased conservation and agribusiness productivity can and must coexist with each other, using cattle as an example, "it is possible to triple the average productivity of cattle raising without deforesting by adopting techniques already existing in the region" (ibid). Examples of this are aggregating crop and livestock integration with pasture rotation, creating a more agriculturally and financially productive environment. This productivity is further increased with the adoption and alteration of traditional family farming techniques, such as diversification, by agribusinesses, shifting the focus from single-crop farming to a mixture of different crops and livestock (ibid). "Family farming produces so much and so well because it

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> National Policy for the Payment of Environmental Services.

is diverse. The small producer knows that diversity brings more profit, more health to the soil, and to nature", therefore larger businesses can learn from the traditional communities, while also stimulating their local economy, providing them with income and food security (ibid). This local knowledge being adapted to larger contexts also empowers traditional communities to become a bricoleur within this context, as they are able to innovate a pre-established process, making it more sustainable and successful simultaneously.

The last article tackles the idea of strengthening command and control being of great importance in tackling deforestation, "we have a big challenge in the Amazon: especially in recent years, there has been a weakening of all the environmental command and control agencies in the region. Besides, we must mention the lack of leadership from the federal government – which reflected on the performance of the Amazon states – to coordinate a robust program", referring to the PPCDAm (Ushirobira, 2023). It is important to remember that it was only after these articles were published that the PPCDAm was reinstated by the Lula Administration.

As previously stated, Bolsonaro had limited the funding of IBAMA, and other agencies fighting against illegal activities within the Amazon. This lack of command and control caused an uptick in illegal activities, therefore more deforestation, breaching the Federal Constitution (ibid).<sup>47</sup> The creation of the PPCDAm, and its reinstatement, was a combination of aggregation and alteration. The PPCDAm originally aggregated environmental enforcement capabilities and international cooperation, strengthening the country's approach to deforestation. The later reinstatement of the plan altered the role once again of the command and control agencies, and the power and potential they have with them, curbing environmental crimes and protecting the indigenous and local communities, thus empowering them. The article also articulates that the solutions for solving deforestation is a collective action with shared responsibility, and no actor should be left out, "our role as cooperators of the Amazonian communities needs to be contributive, not imposing, in the construction of solutions" and that the "solutions for the Amazon must be developed from the knowledge of the Amazonians" (ibid).

Although these articles discussed a variety of themes which can be seen amongst several strategies commonly seen in the region, the one aspect that all these articles have in common is the understanding that traditional communities and the knowledge they can give us, is productive regarding conservation. Therefore they must be empowered and protected to help

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Refer to Courts, Control and Legal Enforcement subchapter for why it is a breach.

the rest of the country achieve the goal of getting deforestation under control within the near future. The general common theme led us to the beginning of the creation of this strategy name, with keywords such as 'Amazonian knowledge', 'traditional populations', 'effective action', 'productivity', 'sustainable', 'community engagement', and 'public power' leading to the creation of the of the first half of the name 'Empowerment of Traditional Populations'. This eventually was further refined into the final strategy name, with the addition of the term 'Protection' due to common terminology such as these: 'environmental crimes', 'illegal activities', 'land grabbing', 'structural problem', 'agrosuicide'. All of these terms indicated that local populations must be protected against deforestation instigators.

# Courts, Control & Legal Enforcement: Articulation and Alteration through Courts

All three cases in this section revolve around the legal realm, and are concerned with fighting for the reintroduction of previously-existing institutions or establishing new institutions of command and control. While the vast majority of the initiatives are concurrent to Lula's presidency, the first two are unique in that they took place during Bolsonaro's presidency, and are thus heavily informed by its aforementioned drastically different political environment. All the initiatives are mitigation-focused, and it was here that we began to perceive the 'mitigation bias' unfolding before us. The initiatives here aligned exactly with the PPCDAm axis 'Environmental Monitoring and Control', being overall concerned with the 'control instruments' of the Brazilian government and if the Amazon was being governed and monitored properly. Informed by the political environments they exist in, these actors used the agency that they had to pursue this common goal of bettering the effective enforcement of deforestation law. Common terminology that we identified amongst the three actors, such as 'control', 'surveillance', and 'policing' and 'enforcement', reinforced their place within this axis. As the first two initiatives were court cases, with their identified common terminology being, 'breach of law', 'unconstitutional', 'structural flaws', 'environmental crimes', and 'effective instruments', this led to the final strategy name.

## Engajamundo et al.

ADPF 760 – PSB et al. v. Brazil

In 2020, a case was brought to the Brazilian Supreme Court by a coalition of civil society organisations and political parties regarding the Bolsonaro government's suspension of the

PPCDAm.<sup>48</sup> Brought forward by seven political parties with NGOs providing material support and evidence, the case has been considered historic due to the sheer number of organisations involved, the comprehensive amount of data put forward, as well as the eventual impact on environmental policy it would have. The brief laid out that the Bolsonaro administration had been "encouraging deforestation and burning through a series of acts and omissions that, in practice, halted the PPCDAm", arguing that this went against previously agreed-upon international commitments on reducing greenhouse gas emissions (GHGs) and mitigating the effects of deforestation on climate change, actively neglecting the Amazon and its people (Conectas, 2022). Arguing that these actions constituted a violation of Article 225 of the 1988 Federal Constitution, the lawsuit was presented as an ADPF<sup>49</sup>; As previously mentioned, the Constitution states that "everyone has the right to an ecologically balanced environment" and that "the Government and the community have a duty to defend and to preserve the environment for present and future generations" (Conectas, 2020). For the purpose of analysing how this multi-stakeholder case played out, two media articles from the activist NGO Conectas were analysed, alongside the official Supreme Court Tribunal website, with the page linked to the case, which provided updates until the court's final decision in March 2024.

The two Conectas articles are from 2020 and 2022, in the middle of Bolsonaro's presidency. These articles discuss the demands of the PSB et al. and the evidence that they have to back them up. Besides the resumptions of the PPCDAm, the demands included ensured compliance with the Constitution, the resumption of deforestation targets, the elimination of illegal deforestation on indigenous lands and UCs, increases to the federal budget for this purpose, and to once again "strengthen federal bodies, such as the environmental watchdog IBAMA, ICMBio and the FUNAI" (Conectas, 2022).

The evidence laid forward by the coalition was thorough; with data from the DETER monitoring system, they were able to prove a "34% increase in the annual deforestation rate" and that "the enforcement of penalties and inspection of illegal activities in the Amazon fell 61% compared to 2018" as of the case's filing, heavily impacting the lives of local communities (Conectas, 2020, p. 5). This court case, especially in its sheer scale, was a grand attempt at articulation to institutional arrangements regarding environmental and deforestation policy at the time, attempting to ensure political change by calling on the supreme court to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> These groups are: Article 19, APIB (Association of Indigenous Peoples of Brazil), Climate Observatory, Conectas, CNS (National Council of Extractivist Populations), Engajamundo, Greenpeace Brazil, ISA (Socioenvironmental Institute) and Terrazul.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Conectas (2020): "Action Against the Violation of a Fundamental Constitutional Right."

essentially enforce policy on the government's behalf, potentially articulating and reshaping certain power dynamics to a point where federal bodies would officially be monitored and accountable to the Supreme Court in order to ensure efficacy.

Following a long gap, the first rulings of the case came out in their favour in 2024, coinciding with the restart of the PPCDAm. Instead of directly taking action, however, they instead stated that the federal bodies targeted in the case would need to present a plan for the effective reimplementation of the Plan and proper inspection measures of the changes made would need to be overviewed (STF, 2024).<sup>50</sup> While the court won on many counts, the Supreme Court did not agree with the case's argument that the acts of the Federal government were unconstitutional, and instead acknowledged the deficiencies in environmental policy as liable (ibid).

This articulates an interesting legal situation; usually, acts like these would be grounds for a breach of the Constitution, but with the decisions now being made by an administration aligned with the plaintiffs, there was a change in tone; with the Court and federal administration no longer being set up for potential conflict, the Court did not deem it necessary to make direct decrees onto the government and instead saw it fully capable of solving the issue on its own. The PPCDAm's reintroduction by the Lula administration included many elements and commands directly aligned with what the plaintiffs wanted from the case (including the goal of zero Deforestation in the current phase); this displayed that this aggregated collective response of actors who usually work separately, political parties, government bodies, and NGOs, created a much needed impetus for the tackling of deforestation that Lula could pick up on, making the 2030 goal of Zero Deforestation potentially more achievable. From now on out, one can only wait to see how successful the next phases of the PPCDAm will be.

The general theme of this case leaned into the original terms we were considering for a potential strategy, with them being 'Command and Control' or 'Legal Enforcement'. Due to terminology identified within these sources, such as 'environmental crimes', 'breach of constitution', 'structural flaws', and 'effective implementation', we decided to bridge these two names, with the addition of the term 'courts', due to two out of the three legal focused actors and initiatives, having taken place in court. We also omitted the 'Command' aspect due to the weakening of these bodies, during the period that the case was brought to the Supreme

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup>Translated by Author.

Court, and the length of these proceedings, especially with the compelling evidence, to get this win for the coalition.

#### Observatório do Clima

OC v. MMA & Brasil

Another major court case of similar nature was filed in 2021 by Observatório do Clima (OC)<sup>51</sup>, a climate advocacy umbrella organisation of 71 other NGOs, many of which have been analysed elsewhere in this thesis. Filed against both the Brazilian government and the MMA. This and the previous cases were just one of several at the time. The court case makes a similar argument as the previous one, with this one focusing on the government's international obligations instead of breaches of the constitution; the initial filing argued that the government, as a signatory to the Paris Agreement, "has assumed a series of duties related to the mitigation of climate change in the national territory, having promulgated and thus incorporated the climate treaty into our legal system as ordinary law (...) Even before the Paris Agreement, however, Brazil already had domestic climate obligations, set out in the National Policy on Climate Change (Federal Law No. 12,187/2009 and its regulations)." (Observatório do Clima, 2021, p. 2).<sup>52</sup> The petition lays out in detail what OC believes their duties are: Take the necessary measures to predict, avoid and minimise the identified causes of climate change (...) Reduce anthropogenic emissions of greenhouse gases in relation to their different sources (...) Make the instruments of the National Policy on Climate Change effective" among other such duties (ibid, p. 3). By abolishing climate policies and not acting, OC argued that the government was de facto in breach of these binding duties (Tigre, 2021). This court case in particular was highlighted by Mantelli and Bicalho (2021) in an article for Economico Valor as an example of cases that highlight "the relationship between human rights and the climate, highlighting government policy contingency measures of climate change as violations of the right to a healthy climate and a range of other rights inherent to human beings." (Mantelli and Bicalho, 2021) Reporting on the case at the time stated that it was as holding Brazil's role as a climate "protagonist" to account, with Tigre noting that "Brazil has a significant role as a regional leader in climate mitigation efforts, especially as it pertains to reducing deforestation in the Amazon region", pointing to the PPCDAm's previous successes in curbing deforestation (Tigre, 2021). But at the same time, she highlighted that "Brazil is one of the world's highest emitters of GHG and ranks fourth in historical emissions", chalking these emissions down to deforestation given Brazil's lack of

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> English Name: Climate Observatory

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Translated by DeepL.

reliance on fossil fuels for energy: "with 47.5% of primary energy demand met by clean energy (...) The country maintains this position primarily due to deforestation." (ibid).

This case has not progressed as far as the first one; no updates have occurred since 2022 and no legal ramifications have occurred as of yet, though given the long gap before any decision was made on the previous case, it is reasonable to expect that a decision will come at some point this year. The arguments it is making is not that much different from the previous case; while it is not enormously consequential in itself, highlighting this case is still interesting as an example of a particular strategy that many NGOs and local organisations utilised at the time; at the time of Lula's return to the presidency, these two cases were one of more than 50 "climate litigation" cases proceeding throughout the country at all levels of government (Barry and Tigre, 2021). Using this common avenue of attack, these actors attempted to resist, reverse or otherwise hold to account the climate agenda of the Bolsonaro government through the judicial system.

As the Bolsonaro government's dramatic reversals directly touched on areas which previous governments declared itself bound to by law, litigating government bodies through the courts was seen by climate activists, otherwise completely shut out from the government, as the only ways to enact their agency and force the government's climate agenda. These two cases are some of many cases that directly sought to force the government's hand by targeting its handling of climate mitigation instruments, arguing through a variety of approaches that the government's actions were in violation of the law, and therefore subject to liability: "It contributes to increasing pressure against President Bolsonaro for widespread environmental damage across the country (...) The increase in climate litigation efforts in Brazil might significantly contribute to this goal, targeting specific commitments, laws, targets, and policies that could warrant Brazil a leadership role in climate mitigation once again." (Tigre, 2021) It is an ambitious example of alteration being practised on a larger scale; when influencing the government's climate policy through usual channels is taken away, these groups use the avenues and instruments of the legal system as means of political change. By "adapting or reshaping institutions" (De Koning, p. 364) such as the courts in these dramatic circumstances, they are utilising the courts as a political instrument, reinterpreting a state instruments in new and novel ways for their ends: "Legislation can be reinterpreted, rules can be bent, or community norms can be tweaked to better fit the current situation, livelihood, or identity." (ibid).

As this case is incredibly similar to the previous one, utilising similar arguments and near-identical rhetoric, the prominence of terms like 'environmental crimes', '(legal)

instruments', 'implementation', and 'enforcement' meant that it further reinforced the existing wording of the strategy name.

# **ACTO (Amazon Cooperation Treaty Organization)**

CCPI - Centre for International Police Cooperation

Following Lula's return to the presidency, the work to reassert enforcement of the climate agenda was no longer restricted just to the courts, but entered the agenda of the government once again. Given the significant and willful atrophying of climate governance that was enacted by Bolsonaro, the work to introduce effective bodies of enforcement would necessarily require investments in logistics, intelligence, technology and the coordination of several different actors, especially since the Amazon spans multiple countries that deforesting actors likewise operate from (as shown with IBAMA). Thus, one of the Amazonas state's first developments in 2024 included the setting up of the CCPI, founded and controlled by the ACTO.<sup>53</sup> Funded by the Amazon fund (also majorly affected by the Bolsonaro government), the security centre's stated mission is to "bring together Amazon nations in policing the rainforest, sharing intelligence, (...) (fighting) drug trafficking and the smuggling of timber, fish and exotic animals, as well as deforestation and other environmental crimes", with the Federal Police Chief emphasising the aforementioned operations in the Yanomami reserve as a priority for the centre (Lo, 2024). To this end, the centre focuses mostly on coordinating joint operations taking place across the rainforest's borders, sharing and distributing intelligence among the other ACTO nations, but also sharing technology among the nations to improve the tracing and monitoring of illicit materials (ibid). In particular, the centre currently has ambitions to roll out and distribute radioisotope technology currently being developed to establish the "DNA of gold": the ultimate origin of illegally extracted gold down to the exact prospect (ibid). This technology, likewise developed with funding from the Amazon Fund, requires the mapping of gold mining areas across the Amazon, which the centre hopes can be accomplished with their support and logistical assistance (ibid).

While still in its nascent stages, it is an example of aggregation happening on an international scale: as the illegal economic exploitation of the Amazon often takes place across borders<sup>54</sup>, the activities of the centre hopes to make the fight against that illegal activity practical and efficient. Unlike the IBAMA operations, however, we do not have the year's worth of activity to look back on and analyse; by the time of the first report's publications, the headquarters

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> ACTO: Amazon Cooperation Treaty Organisation.

Mainly across the Venezuelan border: "unregistered pilots flying miners into Yanomami land, and then crossing the border to safety in Venezuela when intercepted by Ibama helicopters" (Marcelino & Boadle, 2024).

had just been rented and equipment had only recently been purchased. This is also one reason why we placed it under this strategy category, rather than the previous one.

Through the coordination of intelligence sharing and operations across borders, including the sharing of technology to trace the origin of ill-gotten gains, this recombination of institutions seems to hold promise; perhaps this unique arrangement may be the key to making cooperation across multiple actors effective, lasting, and defined by trust rather than suspicion and fragility as opposed to the aforementioned IBAMA-led operations. The Brazilian military's lack of involvement seems equally promising.

The data on this actor prominently features key terms like 'enforcement', 'policing', 'cooperation', and 'legal', which leans into the same themes as the previous two actors did; as this actor deals directly with building instruments for enforcement of these laws in an ambitious matter, this initiative solidified the inclusion of 'Control' and 'Legal Enforcement' in the strategy name.

# **Strengthening Indigenous Land Rights**: How to Strengthen Governance and Indigenous Rights Simultaneously

It has been previously established that one of the biggest issues faced by governing is how to plan territories within an area and who the land belongs to<sup>55</sup>. These two government body initiatives discuss this same topic of establishing territories for the local populations. Here, they revolved around the idea of land demarcation, setting the geographical boundaries of indigenous lands, and the importance of these particular populations having land rights. One of these initiatives was done by the Presidential Office of 'Lula' da Silva after he was re-elected, when he recognized new indigenous lands; the other was FUNAI's initiatives in collaboration with the federal administration to protect the traditional communities' land. Both of these initiatives were identified as mitigation-focused, due to them reducing the effects of environmental crimes, and the harm to the environment and its people within existing instruments, as opposed to some deeper changes. This helped confirm the 'mitigation bias'. These actors once again bore resemblance to a PPCDAM axis, 'Land Tenure and Territorial Planning'. This was further established when common keywords, such as 'indigenous', 'land', and 'rights'<sup>56</sup>, were identified within the analysed documents, creating half of the strategy name, 'Indigenous Land Rights'. Further terminology identified,

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> See Protecting and Empowering Traditional Communities sub-chapter – specifically Amazoniar Initiative.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Referring to Land Rights.

such as 'protection' and 'promote' inspired this full strategy name, with the addition of the term, 'strengthening', encapsulating the main actions made by both actors.<sup>57</sup>

#### Office of the President of Brazil

Decrees Recognising New Indigenous Reserves

Concurrent with the government's efforts to consolidate command and control of existing protected areas, the intersection of indigenous rights and environmental protection continues with the creation of new protected areas and indigenous reserves. In April 2024, during the same period that the aforementioned IBAMA-led operations hit their peak, Lula marked another dramatic reversal from Bolsonaro's policies by issuing two decrees recognising 6 new indigenous reserves, covering an area of 620,000 hectares; two of these reservations<sup>58</sup>, are in the Amazon, and the former of the two is located in Amazonas state (Planalto, 2023; Ningthoujham, 2023; Decree N° 11.510, 2023). Alongside banning mining, commercial farming, logging and other extractive economic activity were likewise restricted in these areas, and the indigenous peoples in these lands were granted the exclusive right to the use of its natural resources.

These recognitions are a part of Lula's ambitious plan to recognise "as many indigenous reserves as possible", which is no small task; of the 730 territories that have been mapped out, only 430 have been recognised so far (Al-Jazeera, 2023). Along with expanding on the existing list of protected territories, these decrees were followed by the announcement of increased funding to FUNAI by R\$12 million, <sup>59</sup> as well as the recreation of the CNPI<sup>60</sup>, suspended under Bolsonaro, and the foundation of the Steering Committee of the PNGATI (Planalto, 2023). <sup>61</sup> The purpose of the new institution is to "promote and ensure the protection, recovery, conservation and sustainable use of natural resources in indigenous territories. The initiative ensures the improvement of the quality of life of indigenous peoples with full conditions for the physical and cultural reproduction of current and future generations, in addition to ensuring the integrity of the material and immaterial heritage of these peoples" (ibid). The purpose of the increased funding was "for the acquisition of inputs, tools and equipment to flour houses, recovering the productive capacity of the indigenous Yanomami communities" (ibid).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> See Appendix A; Figure 2.7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Uneiuxi and Arara do Rio Amônia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> The official currency of Brazil (real brasileiro, BRL).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> National Indigenous Policy Council.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> National Policy of Territorial and Environmental Management of Indigenous Lands.

The demarcations were announced at the 19th Camp Terra Livre, an indigenous political conference, where Lula also directly responded the previous president's comments: "it is necessary to discuss the indigenous right to land, since many think that them having 14% of the land would be too much, without taking into account that they owned 100% of the territory and act decisively in the preservation of biodiversity" (ibid). He additionally argued against the unnecessary hoarding of land: "agricultural expansion does not need to use indigenous lands, since there are 30 million hectares of degraded land that can be recovered and used by agriculture" (ibid).

These acts were not merely a simple addition to the lists of protected areas, but were explicitly made in the context of his government's other environmental policies, particularly in the Yanomami territory. These are arguably acts of aggregation, putting the demarcation of new lands as part of an explicit move to increase governance, protection and services in the region. This is further supported by his re-introduction of the CNPI. The connection between indigenous rights, economic development and environmental conservation was a constant line throughout the rollout of these demarcations, which makes these demarcations an act of articulation as well; further emphasising the hybridity of these political issues, well-understood in Brazil under the label of 'socioambiental'. The importance of the ownership and neglect of these lands, especially in the context of how intersections are always relevant was echoed by Ludermir in our expert interview: in reference to the related phrase "It is not the rain's fault" said "It's actually a history of the deprivation. It's a history of human rights violations (..) It is the idea that there are climate change elements to a disaster, but there's also a social and political neglect about certain rights that really need to be emphasised. It is a combination between socioeconomic plus political plus a climate disaster" (Ludermir, 2024, Expert Interview). 63 Several of the keywords identified within the documents for this initiative, which included 'protection', 'land rights', 'designation', and 'recognition', were particular influences on the final strategy name.

#### **FUNAI**

### Press Releases & Open Data Plan

Working in collaboration with the presidential office is the National Foundation of Indigenous People (FUNAI)<sup>64</sup>. They coordinate and implement policies relating to native populations, and their main mission is to "protect and promote the rights of indigenous

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Original Portuguese Quote: "A culpa não é a chuva" (Translated by Expert Interviewee); See Appendix B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Portuguese Name: Fundação Nacional dos Povos Indígenas.

people in Brazil", they also map and assist in protecting traditional territories (FUNAI, 2023a).<sup>65</sup> They work alongside the 'federal watchdog' IBAMA to prevent foreigners from invading indigenous lands, a constitutional right. According to the 1988 Federal Constitution, an indigenous land is "a demarcated and protected territory for the permanent possession and exclusive usufruct of indigenous peoples" which are "intended for the preservation of their culture, traditions, natural resources and forms of social organisation, in addition to ensuring the physical and cultural reproduction of these communities" thus, providing the indigenous people with autonomy and taking part in their own land management and preservation (FUNAI, 2023b).<sup>66</sup> As they are one of the few federal bodies that empower traditional populations, we knew that some of their more recent initiatives must be analysed. In order to do so, we identified three recent initiatives in FUNAI press releases, published within the current presidential term, that heavily discuss indigenous land demarcation. We also identified the implementation of an 'open data plan'<sup>67</sup>, which they created to provide a more transparent view into their activities for the Brazilian public.

The first press release discusses the *SOS Yanomami* initiative, a report prepared by FUNAI and other federal organs, focusing on the "reality of the the Yanomami and Ye'kwana indigenous peoples, the causes of the current health calamity, and the emergency actions that have been adopted to reverse the situation" (FUNAI, 2023c).<sup>68</sup> This was done after the Hutukara Yanomami Association had previously provided the government with a "history of mining in the Indigenous Land" and a list of possible proposals to combat it (ibid).<sup>69</sup> the document highlights how the indigenous people themselves have a say in their territorial management and general development and the necessary investments through the PGTA<sup>70</sup>, where they have their own schedules for governmental consultation (Ibid). This collective action and collection of information regarding the Yanomami emergency is a perfect example of the aggregation of efforts and resources from various stakeholders. Here, a combination of institutions, including various Ministries, the Federal Police, FUNAI, and IBAMA are tackling the illegal miners breaching indigenous land rights (as covered earlier), calling for a public health emergency due to mercury poisoning of waters and the physical harm to the populations caused by these incursions (ibid).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Translated by Author.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup>Translated by Author.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Portuguese: Plano Dados Abertos.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Translated by Author.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

Portuguese name: Plano de Gestão Territorial e Ambiental. Translated: Territorial and Environmental Management Plan.

The second article covers the announcement of the demarcation of indigenous lands by president Lula, previously discussed by the other initiative in this section. As APIB<sup>71</sup> head Sonja Guajajara stipulated, this was a reaffirmation from the government and a complete transformation from the previous administration. She exclaimed, "in recent years, we have suffered the consequences of a policy totally focused on the denial of indigenous rights, with not a single centimeter of demarcated lands. An institutionalisation of genocide by the weakening of indigenous and environmental policies by the Brazilian State" (FUNAI, 2023d). She also addressed the government saying that, "Funai needs to be strengthened, it needs to have resources and it needs a Career Plan for its employees", so as not to repeat the previous presidency's mistakes. (ibid).

The last and most recent of the articles discusses an active dialogue occurring between FUNAI and other indigenous organisations to establish a joint Action Plan for the Yanomami territory. This cooperation between different institutions to combine their resources for a common goal, is another example of aggregation, by broadening dialogue and prioritising certain actions. Also included in these dialogues alongside FUNAI were the ICMBio and the ISA<sup>72</sup>, both of whom were essentially shut down during the Bolsonaro administration by budget cuts. The themes of their plans include "areas of monitoring, protection and inspection, with reinforcement of teams at Funai Bases; food security and emergency actions; health and care for children; management of actions and infrastructure; and interinstitutional dialogue" (FUNAI, 2024). 73 FUNAI president Joenia Wapichana stated that there is much to do in "the face of the destruction that has occurred in recent years", and that in order to start again, "we will need a joint effort of different bodies and organisations" with a "space is open for dialogue and the construction of solutions" (ibid). Through this, it is displayed how these various stakeholders are coming together to articulate the importance of the Yanomami territory, thus, strengthening their right to land, while concurrently empowering the indigenous community.

Their last initiative is the Open Data Plan: as a guide for specific actions to be implemented during 2021 and 2023. It aggregates multiple data sets relating to indigenous land rights, including geospatial data on the lands themselves, prioritise environmental protection bases, and the authorizations of building on indigenous lands (FUNAI, 2022).<sup>74</sup> An important aspect

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Portuguese: Articulação dos Povos Indígenas do Brasil; Translated: Articulation of Indigenous People of

Portuguese Name: Instituto Socioambiental. Translation: Socio-environmental Institute.
 Translated by Author

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Translated by Author

of this plan is the key word 'open data' signifying the openness and access for reusability of the data that the FUNAI wants to portray to the Brazilian public, articulating an image of transparency. This "provides citizens with a better understanding of the government machinery, in addition to promoting access to public services, control of public accounts, and participation in the planning and development of public policies" within a two year time period (ibid). These are the most open monitoring programs made by a federal government body, altering the pre-established course of action, with it adjusting at different points in time utilising new data. The open use of newer technologies and monitoring programs, such as PrevisIA, is also an altered way of handling land rights and land demarcation, where they do not just use it to prevent, but to also plan future adaptation.

This article could have assisted in the creation of another strategy, Protecting and Empowering Traditional Communities, but with the combination of the other initiative within this subsection, they jointly created the name of this current strategy subchapter. This is due to terminology within this initiative, such as 'promotion of rights', 'land rights', 'protection', 'management' 'strengthening' and 'Yanomami', and its general main focus more on land rights and demarcation.

# Fostering the Bioeconomy – Sustainable Production Advocacy: Adaptation & Aggregation through Financial Incentives

The actors in this category were broadly engaged in sustainability and environmental protection from an economic angle: either through direct financial incentives in line with the REDD+ framework, or through supporting and engaging in sustainable business ventures. From a glance, the group of actors in this section continuously touched on this idea of 'bioeconomy' and implementing the PPCDAm's second axis 'Fostering Sustainable Production' on the ground. This idea can be defined as, "a field of knowledge that is concerned with conscious consumption, in balance with the environment and natural resources. Its goal is to build an economy based on the use of bio-based, recyclable and renewable resources – or generally more sustainable" (eCycle, no date; MAPA, 2019). Most of the data on these projects dealt with the sustainable production of native produce like cocoa and guaraná, furthering this emphasis through promoting traditional indigenous knowledge and agricultural practices. In spite of the aforementioned mitigation bias, adaptation-focused strategies are prominent here, making up half of this category and almost

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> ECycle Definition originally written in Portuguese, Translated by Author. The English definition from the Powerpoint presentation was provided by the OECD.

half of all the adaptation initiatives overall. This broadly tracks with the PPCDAm as well, which only began to prioritise sustainable production during phase 4. Indeed, this support has often happened in *spite* of the PPCDAm: NGOs used similar techniques of institutional bricolage to attempt to further their goals, with it being argued that their local focus only increased with the PPCDAm's decline in this period. This focus and connections to other strategies are reflected in the common keywords: throughout this strategy, identified under the theme of community engagement and sustainable economy, such as 'coordination', 'empowerment', 'sustainable development' and 'livable income' and 'traditional knowledge', one can clearly see the the creation of the name of this strategy, and how this strategy intersects with other strategies, especially Community-Based Forest Management and Policy Advocacy.

#### **IPAAM**

## FLORESTA+ Program

Local groups have often played the part of bridge-builders between government and the ground, utilising trust and legitimacy to build a "a realm in which society interacts constructively with the state" with open "channels of communication and participation" (Vasconcellos and Sobrinho, pp. 795-96). This, of course, depends on the political environment of the time, and if the government sees them as anything but enemies.

This tendency is seen in the work of other NGOs today with an increasingly explicit and formal dimension; one example is the Floresta+ Amazônia Project, which we analysed through published reports like their operational manual. As a REDD+ PSA program<sup>76</sup>, the project "aims to create an efficient payment mechanism for environmental services so that small rural producers, Indigenous Peoples and Traditional Peoples and Communities can maintain, manage and restore their territories through the economic incentives received", with an additional goal of "[contributing] to innovation in the forestry sector" (Floresta+, 2024, p. 20).<sup>77</sup>

There are four moving parts to the Floresta+ program. The first two, 'Conservation' and 'Recovery', aim " to promote the conservation of native vegetation areas" and "the recovery of Permanent Preservation Areas" through financial incentives to "Small rural producer(s), owner(s) or possessor(s) of rural property/properties totalling up to 4 fiscal modules" (ibid, p. 40; ibid, p. 65). The third, 'Communities', connects directly to institutional bricolage with its

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Portuguese: Pagamento por Serviços Ambientais; English: PES: Payment for Environmental Sevices.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Translated by DeepL

aim to "support the implementation of local projects aimed at strengthening environmental and territorial management in the territories of indigenous peoples and traditional peoples and communities (...) [which] must be developed in a participatory manner (...) [by]representative organisations", notably mentioning the need to take into account "the collective nature of management activities in these territories" (ibid, p. 90). This is a direct example of both aggregation and alteration, firstly in how it "recombines different types of institutions" through the government project's direct involvement indigenous communities for projects that target them (de Koning, p. 363; Floresta+, p. 92). Secondly, it signals a readiness for adaptation, where "legislation can be reinterpreted, rules can be bent, or community norms can be tweaked" in order to better fit the changing environment and enhance these communities" (de Koning, p. 364).

The fourth, 'Innovation', is entrepreneurship-focused and "aims to encourage the development of solutions and ventures that contribute to the creation and consolidation of the environmental services market and other approaches that promote the conservation, recovery and sustainable use of native vegetation, as well as generating income for environmental service" with the desire to target startups, consisting of producer associations, extractivists, NGOs, and both private and public research institutions with an overall "focus on innovation" (Floresta+, p. 120). This project segment focuses on several areas of innovation and development, including improvements and development of "surveillance and monitoring processes for PES<sup>78</sup> projects and technologies; (...) monitoring and fighting fires and integrated fire management (as well as) basic technology (...) with an immediate impact on the quality of life" for local communities (ibid, p. 122). Additionally, developing and encouraging "innovations for products, services and production chains" alongside "productive intensification and the sustainable production of forestry products that generate income from the conservation and sustainable use of forests" is seen as a priority in the pursuit of a green and sustainable economy in the Amazon (ibid).

Uniquely, this project is run primarily by the MMA<sup>79</sup> in collaboration with other Brazilian government bodies and the UNDP<sup>80</sup>, meaning that this project is a rare example of the government directly running a project by themselves instead of through collaborations with NGOs. This is a unique example of bricolage, especially articulation and alteration: many projects have directly reckoned with the issue of policy implementation in the Amazon

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> PES: Payment for Environmental Services.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup>Portuguese Name: Ministério do Meio Ambiente e Mudança do Clima; English: Ministry for the Environment. <sup>80</sup> United Nations Development Programme.

through either the collaboration with, or direct replacement by, NGOs and other local actors acting either as a bridge or in their place entirely. As will be explained below, this project is an example of a government body acting like an NGO, attempting the same approach that many projects either done by or with NGOs: here, the project is reconstituting and adapting, tweaking its role to be both formulator and implementer of legislation by tweaking itself.

Beyond this, the way in which this project is structured can be argued to be a particularly strong example of the PPCDAm's influence. What follows is an explanation of the project's governance model and the actors involved in the program.

This project's most recent operational manual contains a list of laws and vocabulary they use and are operating under, sourced directly from Brazilian legislation (ibid, p. 22-28). This is an example of aggregation, where they combined institutional aspects in order to achieve the goal of combating climate change: imbuing their program with legitimacy through connections to legislation, state knowledge and capital, as well as using their position as a local group to show their ability to achieve this goal that they both have in common.

At the highest level, it is defined by an overall high degree of formality and complexity, with each branch and involved institution's role (of varying local, federal and international levels) explicitly defined at each level, defined in relation to other constituents. Organs of the United Nations, Brazilian federal institutions, and local organisations are well represented in the structure (ibid, p. 29): The UNDP, as one of their biggest funders, is the main executor, "chairing the Steering Committee and organising its meetings at least once a year or at the request of one of the parties" (ibid, p. 31). The MMA and the ABC/MRE<sup>81</sup> are "responsible for monitoring activities", particularly "providing expertise and technical knowledge" in part through its appointment of a technical coordinator, with the goal of "ensur[ing] that the conditions for implementation, with regard to the articulation of inputs, information and systems from the federal government and the states, are met in order to fully carry out the activities of the programme" (ibid, p. 31-33). Advisors from these agencies are "responsible for making management decisions, by consensus or majority, in accordance with this manual and responding to any complaints about the Floresta+ Amazônia Project" (ibid, p. 30). A Project Advisory Committee<sup>82</sup> (chaired by the MMA and the UNDP), "made up of relevant representatives" from relevant state/non-state groups (ibid, p. 31), constitutes another avenue of stakeholder inclusion: "The PAC plays a key role in facilitating inter-institutional coordination and ensuring the complementarity of actions between the different stakeholders,

and its main responsibility is to ensure that the activities of the Floresta+ Amazônia Project achieve the implementation results by 2026" (ibid, p. 32).

The Comitteee includes varying local focus like the ICMBio, the OCB, FUNAI, the CNS (founded by Chico Mendes), and others (ibid, p. 150). NGOs are notably lacking from the PAC; apart from the OCB and the CNS and some other representatives of economic sectors, there are no environmental groups represented, and all are outnumbered by the various federal and state government bodies. This raises a few questions about their approach to CI: while they put a spotlight on their approach and local focus, their cooperation with non-state actors are limited to a few choice actors, already well-established, with explicit roots in a specific economic sector.

This project illustrates a two-way relationship in terms of influence and bricolage. Firstly, it is a clear and direct example of a strategy that draws from both the PPCDAm and laws, their goals, approach, governance structure and method of implementation, particularly in its focus on REDD+ strategies and entrepreneurship-based focus on investing in sustainable economic activity. Secondly, it is an example of a government body taking influence from NGOs; by seeking to implement the goals of the PPCDAm in the same way an NGO would.It is illustrating this two-way relationship, NGOs work and exert their agencies within the institutional arrangements set together with government bodies, and government bodies in turn take after the approaches of NGOs in order to more effectively achieve its aims. Overall, it can be argued to exemplify aggregation and alteration, firstly in how the project "recombines" these institutions through its various projects that both incentivises and solicits the involvement of land owners and indigenous groups, as well as its elaborate governance structure (de Koning, p. 363). The project also alters its adaptation practices and its role as a government body by engaging how a NGO does and changing the norms of what a typical government body does in this area. After a long-established tradition of relying on the cooperation with local groups and non-state actors to implement its policies and aims (as in the face of previous failures, this project shows the MMA and other government bodies trying to implement its policies directly by using approaches typical to NGOs. This is exemplified particularly by its focus on including and engaging with stakeholders, as well as its focus on incentives and investment rather than command and control. To Ludermir, the importance of the government taking direct action cannot be underestimated: "There's also

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> Organization Names: Chico Mendes Foundation, Organisation of Brazilian Cooperatives, the National Council of Extractivist Populations.

some aspects of it though, that it is so much easier when it comes from the national government, right? More so, from the national level" (Ludermir, 2024).<sup>84</sup> This particular focus on cooperation, economic development and adaptation, along with the prevalence of key words like 'production', 'management', 'market', and 'conservation', led us further down the path of picking the final strategy name.

### **IDESAM (2012-)**

## Cafe Apui Project

One of the lengthier initiatives within this strategy is the adaptation-focused *Cafe Apui Project* managed by IDESAM<sup>85</sup> which started in 2012. This project was born out of a partnership established between IDESAM and SDS<sup>86</sup> in 2007, when IDESAM first started with the REDD+ pilot projects in the Apui municipality (Cenamo and Carrero 2012, p. 446). During the project's initial planning stage in 2010, the Apui municipality was the Amazonas state's third most deforested municipality; while it remains a priority municipality at present, it now holds fifth place as of 2020. (ibid, p. 450; Soares and D'Araujo, 2020, p. 7).<sup>87</sup> It is displaying from the outset that with the help of this project, the municipality was able to improve the situation of it being one of the most deforested municipalities.

Two Portuguese-language documents were analysed for this project; one document discussed the results and perspectives of the project, and the other discussed the potential opportunity of the development of a PSA<sup>88</sup> in the municipality. The common end goal is involving and incentivizing the local community and trading knowledge between the two parties, promoting their traditional practices, and "intensifying livestock production and promoting the recovery of degraded areas through intercropped agricultural systems, such as agroforestry coffee" (ibid, p. 8).<sup>89</sup>

Within this context, IDESAM aggregated a mix of strategies involving several stakeholders from differing power dynamics and skillsets, using people trained within the NGO field to assist and promote the communities' traditional practices however which way they can,

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> Institute for Conservation and Sustainable Development of the Amazon

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> Secretariat for Environment and Sustainable Development of Amazonas

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> Opportunities Document: Translated by Author.

<sup>88</sup> English: Payment for Environmental Services.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

strengthening the locals' agency and sense of community. To this end, the document advocated for the implementation of a PES<sup>90</sup> Program according to State Law<sup>91</sup> (ibid, p. 5).<sup>92</sup> The document lays out how this initiative created a comprehensive approach to sustainable rural production and deforestation prevention; it led to the socio-economic development of the local people and farmers, who managed to receive above-minimum wage jobs thanks to the program. At the same time, they altered the traditional farming practices to a certain extent, introducing new agroforestry management and organic farming techniques; the introduction of biofertilizers against pests that attempting to eat the beans and the trees, as well as the building of plastic-wrapped wood huts for drying the coffee beans, is a prime example of articulation (IDESAM, no date, p. 6).93 By altering the "local economic dynamics" by transitioning from "a traditional low-production and carbon intensive agriculture systems to a more efficient and low carbon forest-based economy" (Cenamo and Carrero 2012, p. 462), this has led to a massive increase in productivity amongst the farmers production chains, expanding their income and clientele throughout the country with the help of the NGOs and their contacts (ibid, p 14).94 Through this act of articulation, the local groups' autonomy power position shifted majorly, becoming evermore equal to IDESAM.

It is also important to remember that the initial stages of this project coincided with the beginning of a new PPCDAm phase, which saw very high rates of deforestation until 2015; thus, the need for a focus on 'sustainable production' was overshadowed by the 'control and monitoring' axis (PPCDAm, 2023, p. 25). As such, NGOs focused increasingly on the former, necessitating more innovation on the ground without much help from the legal plan, thus altering the power dynamics within the state. This uptick of focus in this strategy can be credited to FAS' 'Bolsa Floresta' Project, which will be covered later in this thesis.

The key terminology identified within this project were of particular importance in the creation of the name of the strategy, being strongly linked with the strategies Community-Based Forest Management and Policy Advocacy. Terms such as, 'socio-economic', 'sustainable production chains', 'agroecological management' and the 'Payment Program for Environmental Services' were terms that originally linked this document to the second half of the name of this strategy, 'Sustainable Production Advocacy',

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> Payment for Environmental Services.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> 2015 State Law of Environmental Services in the Amazon.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> Translated by Author.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid.

<sup>95</sup> Terms originally in Portuguese: socioeconômico, cadeias produtivas sustentáveis, manejo agroecológico, Programa de Pagamentos por Serviços Ambientais.

due its advocacy of the State Law<sup>96</sup>, the focus on sustainable production of native vegetation, and their promotion and selling of their product to the rest of Brazil. Alongside this, terms such as 'family farming', 'participative', 'socio-environmental', and 'income generation'<sup>97</sup>, unveil the connection to Community-Based Forest Management, and how community engagement, and receiving the knowledge of a community that is more familiar with a territory, can simultaneously, reduce deforestation, with technical assistance from NGOs, while also 'fostering the bioeconomy'. It is through this coding of terminology that the creation of the name of this strategy came about.

#### **IDESAM (2021-)**

### AMAZ Business Accelerator

IDESAM is also responsible for launching another prominent actor in the bioeconomy sector, AMAZ, which has the most comprehensive focus on the PPCDAm's axis, 'Fostering Sustainable Production'. We analysed their business report for 2023, as well as news articles and website content on one specific business venture that they accelerated to illustrate their impact and focus.

Calling themselves an "impact accelerator", AMAZ is an angel investment firm based in the North of the country, coordinated by IDESAM, which has the goal of building up 'impact businesses' and entrepreneurs in the Amazon in order to build up profitable and sustainable businesses with conservation and environmentalism at their core. In the report, IDESAM' new business director and AMAZ CEO argued that seeing "the need for or dependence on donations and non-refundable investments and the challenge of achieving financial sustainability" as a common issue with many of these projects was instrumental in their motivation to set up AMAZ in the first place (AMAZ, 2023, p. 1). Their mission is moving the sustainable economy beyond experimentation and research, into lasting, sustainable and profitable ventures. The firm focuses heavily on the moving parts vital to any economic cycle that severely challenged previous projects: "entrepreneurial training, strengthening of local chains, logistics infrastructure, market access, long term capital, and valorization (and valuation) of the socio-environmental impact generated" (ibid). Their stated mission is thus to invest and 'accelerate' businesses that can successfully bridge these gaps and unite the two goals of economic development and conservation. With their aim of finding their 'Mapinguari'98 a company whose value is measured not only in millions of Brazilian reais in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> Of Environmental Services.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> Portuguese Terms: agricultura familiar, participativa, socioambiental, geração de renda.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup> Brazilian folklore mythical creature that protects the Amazon Rainforest.

turnover, but also in thousands of jobs created and millions of hectares of forest conserved or restored" (ibid, p. 2).

As the business-oriented arm of IDESAM, they operate much like any other angel investment firm: soliciting applications from prospective ventures, running pilot programs, building connections between ventures and local partners, impact modelling, as well as providing counselling and support on governance structures, tax and accounting, as well as "impact communication and narrative" (ibid, p. 27).

AMAZ also heavily promotes the environmental impact that these businesses have supposedly had: since their latest round of investments in 2022, the firm claims that "159 thousand hectares" have been "directly or indirectly conserved" and that 487 families "from communities and associations (were) positively impacted by the businesses through fair income generation" (ibid, p. 13).

As a venture committed to supporting new economic activities with sustainability at their core, rather than focusing on existing ones, AMAZ is one of the few examples of true environmental adaptation in this thesis; beyond just improving existing economic activities and mitigating their effects, AMAZ wants to build up economic activity that carries sustainability at its heart, built from the ground-up with these goals in mind. As the 5th phase of the PPCDAm lays out, the achievement of sustainable industry in the Amazon is indispensable without the bioeconomy, necessitating "support for local production chains and socio-biodiversity economies (...) for forest conservation and social inclusion of the populations that survive from it" (PPCDAm, p. 61). AMAZ's particular focus on family farming echoes the PPCDAm's call for the "the inclusion of family farming, indigenous peoples and traditional peoples and communities, as well as (likewise) agricultural activities" as integral to public policies aimed at economic transition (ibid). Along with a heavy emphasis on aggregation, putting the very different worlds of modern business development and local traditional economies together, AMAZ's venture can be described as articulation in a CI context. Here, the venture is dealing with what it sees as the hitherto unexplored intersection of business development and local communities, attempting to help give rise to a sustainable economic transition through their unification. In this context, AMAZ is exploring how an angel investor can act in support of conservation, while traditional communities and agricultural methods are put in a new context, their role and way of life put in a central position of both a nascent economic and ecological cycle.

Few ventures supported by AMAZ exemplify this dynamic better than Na'Kau, a chocolate brand by Na Floresta accelerated in 2021; at present, it claims to be the only chocolate of its

kind to actually be manufactured in the Amazon; other companies that purchase Amazonian cocoa process it into chocolate elsewhere (Na'Kau, no date). The name is a compound of the company's name and the word for cocoa in Tupi: like many other fair-trade chocolate companies of its kind, it buys cocoa at above-market rates directly from "caboclos<sup>99</sup>, riverside communities and indigenous people" that operate in the Amazonas state and utilise traditional, indigenous and otherwise sustainable agroforestry methods, with the purpose of increasing the value of their work and sparing them the pressures of lower salaries by larger conglomerates and the pressure to abandon their traditional methods putting strain on their natural environment (ibid; Prang, 2018). Na'Kau was founded to "value the Amazonian woman and man, while paying a fair price for the value of the products. We are tired of seeing disregard for the forest, disrespect for the people of the Amazon and the amount of conventional and poisoned products we consume today" (Grão Especial, 2018). The main purpose of this relationship is twofold: grant these smaller and more sustainable producers a livelihood by integrating them into the cocoa supply chain, and showcase their traditional and indigenous agricultural practices as a benefit for both the environment and the consumer.

In an article covering Na'kau's initial period of operations, Prang detailed the unique form that agriculture takes in the cocoa's native Amazon biome: "It is the only cocoa in the world collected from within a canoe. Cocoa trees are affected annually by the floods and droughts of the Amazonian rivers, a positive influence being a heavy nutrient load coming from the muddy waters" (Prang, 2018). The Na'kau works explicitly with producers who farm according to the natural cycles and utilise traditional methods, seeing their approach as a benefit and guarantor of quality as opposed to an impediment to higher potential output.

The centering of the producers extends to the branding; each batch of chocolate is packaged with the names and harvesters of the cocoa's producers and harvesters, further highlighting their image as focused on sustainability and traceability. In their websites they even give socio-economic descriptions of the producers, where for one producer it is stated that 50% of her family's income comes from cocoa production, of which they produce approximately 700kg (Na'Kau, 2020). The profile of another producer promotes directly the benefit of working with Na'kau:"Involved in agriculture since childhood, Rodrigo has dreamed of improving his quality of life without giving up cocoa. (...) The cocoa that he once sold for R\$5.00, is today bought from him by Na'kau for R\$17.00, with organic certificate in hand' (ibid).

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> Detribalized Indigenous Individuals or ones with mixed descent.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>100</sup> As mentioned in Floresta em Pe.

Like the activities of AMAZ, Na'kau is engaged in both acts of aggregation and articulation. The aggregation manifests firstly through the creative recombination of two distinct fields (a chocolate company and small traditional producers) in a new arrangement, where the producer's identity, size and methods are an economic benefit rather than an obstacle to their bottom line and potential output. Secondly, it manifests through the company's own positioning in the free-trade chocolate market, with a sharper focus on each individual producer and the intersectional aspects to what they are engaged in. Na'kau is also a clear example of articulation practice: through the integration of these families and communities into the supply chain, the company seeks to connect indigenous rights, sustainable business, conservation and quality products, engaging the position of these traditional growers in a new way and putting them in a new context. With the smaller traditional farmers, who are typically perceived to be perpetually poor, underpaid and at a disadvantage due to their methods, smallness and position as traditional, their cooperation with Na'Kau significantly alters their position in the economic activity of the region, with the aspects of them that previously impoverished and marginalised them suddenly playing to their great benefit. The novel encounter between these two different worlds, the chocolate business and indigenous farmers, leads to the creation of a new institutional arrangement, hybridising both of their identities and putting them in a new context. Several key words used by this actor, including 'sustainable business' 'sustainable production', 'acceleration', 'supply chain transparency', 'conservation', 'livable income' and 'traditional methods', the inclusion of 'Fostering' and 'Sustainable Production Advocacy' in the strategy name was solidified.

# FAS (2018-)

# Floresta em Pé

Fundação Amazônia Sustentável<sup>101</sup> (FAS) is one of the largest NGOs working within the Amazonas state, with some of the longest and most well-known projects receiving international acclaim and accolades (UN News, 2019). The *Programa Floresta em Pé*<sup>102</sup> (PFP), created in 2018 and still running to this day, is the second adaptation-focused project in charge of implementing bioeconomy-focused local initiatives (Viana *et al.*, 2021, p. 18). From 2018 to 2022, the PFP initiative was in charge of implementing FAS' most well-known program, *Bolsa Floresta*<sup>103</sup>, and subsequent public policies in the same vein (FAS, 2020).<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> English: Sustainable Amazon Foundation

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>102</sup> English: Standing Forest Program

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>103</sup> English: Forest Grant; Further discussed in the Community-Based Forest Management Strategy subchapter

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup>Translated by Google Translate option embedded in the website.

The initiative's main goal is implementing projects within UCs and RDS<sup>105</sup> which "strengthen the bioeconomy with a focus on environmental conservation, food security, community empowerment, contributing to improving the quality of life of riverside populations in the Amazon based on the objectives of sustainable development" (ibid).<sup>106</sup> The PFP's modus operandi is extensive and includes participatory educational workshops with the local community on environmental services and climate change, the issuing of Bolsa Floresta cards, as well as investment plans regarding community infrastructure, income generation, entrepreneurship, additionally providing training and technical assistance for these projects (ibid). Projects within this initiative can thus be broad and categorised under other strategies like Fostering the Bioeconomy, Community-Based Forest Management, and even Protecting and Empowering Traditional Communities. In order to find out which was the best fit, documents on two different Portuguese 'solutions for sustainability' projects were analysed, focusing on two diverse native crops.

The first document focused on the traditional and sustainable cultivation of cocoa in the floodplains of the Madeira River. Its cultivation is of extreme importance when discussing climate change mitigation as "cocoa has become one of the items in growing demand on the world food commodities market", with a "significant impact on global deforestation" (FAS, 2022a, p. 1). Cocoa's traditional production chain has been proven to be sustainable, as growing this native fruit by the river means it receives necessary nutrients from its sediments, stopping the need for deforestation and chemical fertilisers while also making it resistant to flooding effects and pest infestation (ibid, p. 2). Riversides being the optimal place for cocoa production implies therefore that the traditional knowledge of local riverside communities becomes vital, with great implications for their communal autonomy. This knowledge can be easily articulated with the cooperation of nationwide partners wanting to invest in the product, potentially creating a large market for sustainable cocoa.

These communities, however, have become increasingly vulnerable; the 2014 floods in the region, which destroyed large amounts of native vegetation and housing, claiming lives and necessitating assistance from outside stakeholders to provide innovative solutions on adapting to a continuously changing environment (ibid, Cruz, 2023). The impact of this climate change-induced event, being worsened in deforested areas, unable to brace the initial impact

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup>Sustainable Development Reserves.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>106</sup> Translated by Author.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup> Translated by Author.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> Portuguese: Comunidades ribeirinhas

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup> Translated by Author.

without tree cover, reinforced this: according to Herraiz et al., "in addition to global climate change, ongoing deforestation also increases flood risk", with PPCDAm data highlighting increased that deforestation during this phase (Herraiz et al. 2017: p. 46; FAS. 2023b). With this knowledge, the focus of legal plans like the PPCDAm on a siloed monitoring/command and control, which did not directly address potentially preventative measures, became apparent. In response to this lack of focus on communication and sustainable production, FAS veered towards intervention, following the emergency response, initially through singular investments before developing the PFP 10-step process (ibid). This act of 'veering their focus' heavily increased their influence within the municipality: with the local population becoming aware of government inadequacies, FAS was given the opportunity to change the power dynamics within the context and assert their influence, creating a shift in the institutional landscape.

With help from FAS, the community aggregated the government's assistance with funding from the Amazon Fund, which heavily altered and expanded solutions for this climate emergency. Suggested alterations to the cocoa production process, such as technical training and assistance, providing elevated platforms to dry the cocoa beans, and educating the local community in agroforestry systems to use the soil to plant a variety of native vegetation, helped to improve their commercial prices, expanding their income and clientele base (ibid). Thus, empowering them. Some of these solutions were still underway when the document was published, and may still be to this day.

The next document explores how to more successfully commercially produce *guaraná*, a native Amazonian fruit described as having an "antioxidant, energising, antimicrobial" properties, assisting with cognitive functions (FAS, 2022c, p. 1). It covers the practices of the Maués municipality, which has the most traditional way of producing the fruit; deeply historically and culturally rooted, *guaraná* is credited by locals as the "cause of the local population's longevity" of life (ibid). Here, the local communities decided to clone the seeds in order to avoid pests and meet market demands, but the supply did not suffice, causing the mass indebtedness of producers. Following this, FAS stepped in to provide technical assistance and create strategic partnerships with producers, hoping to improve the process, generate income and provide more value to the 'floresta em pé'' (ibid).

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup>Translated by Author.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

<sup>112</sup> Standing Forest.

A highlight of this project was the intensive participatory collaboration with the local community through workshops, communal meetings, and technical assistance, which aggregated the local social traditional practice of 'puxirum' with newer labour technologies (ibid, p. 2). Ergo, causing an increasing shift in power dynamics for the local community and increased their 'public authority', where their traditional practices were deemed to be viable at larger scales. FAS also aggregated various stakeholders, connecting producers and communities involved in this production with commercial conglomerates like Coca Cola, which makes the popular Brazilian Guarana soft drink, in order to enhance the production chain and generate more income for the communities (ibid, pp. 2-3). In addition, FAS introduced new technologies which altered the entire production chain to keep up with larger market demand, such as brushcutters, new fertilisers resistant to pests, and the installation of a processing plant. This fertiliser was created in collaboration with a local community member from a native ant which fights the pest, thus articulating a synergy between science and traditional knowledge (ibid, pp. 3-4). The document articulated the cultural and economic importance of guaraná to the local culture, displaying how this form of cultivation contributes to the broader national conservation goals. The program also engaged with the PPCDAm's fourth axis in its introduction of new economic instruments to contribute to reforestation, with the PSA program allowing producers like these guaraná farmers to be paid for their active role in maintaining sustainable and productive innovation.

From reading these documents, more than 50 keywords were identified; these include 'market access', 'commercialization', 'bioeconomy', 'sustainable economy', 'strategic partnerships', and 'participative and sustainable management'. These terms also assisted in the creation of the 'Fostering the Bioeconomy' part of the strategy name. The heavy discussion of 'production chains' and 'sustainable production' assisted in the creation of the other half of the strategy name. Although the idea of community engagement was heavily discussed, with keywords such as 'community engagement' and 'community empowerment' terms within the general bioeconomy theme and the value of production of native vegetation were more prevalent, making this eventual strategy name a better fit. That being said, there has been an extensive intertwining of these two strategies throughout this strategy, which is reflective of the complex and interconnected nature of sustainable

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>113</sup> A practice of members working together in shifts.

Portuguese Terms: acesso ao mercado, comercialização, bioeconomia, economia sustentável, parcerias estratégicas, manejo participativo e sustentável.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>115</sup> Ibid: cadeias produtivas, produção sustentável.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>116</sup> Ibid: engajamento das comunidades, empoderamento comunitário.

development. Essentially, the strategy encapsulates a holistic approach, fostering a sustainable and resilient Amazonas region, while also setting a precedent for other regions in their sustainable development.

# **Community-Based Forest Management:** Conservation for Hire?

Historically, land use change (transitioning an area of land from one form to another) has been a major source of GHGs in Brazil; it was by far the largest emitter before the PPCDAm's introduction, outrunning agriculture and energy production (Gandour, 2021, p. 12). It is also the primary driver of deforestation: "This decline in forest loss also led to a substantial decrease in the participation of the land use change and forestry sector, which came to represent only a third of total Brazilian emissions by the beginning of the 2010s" (ibid, pp. 12-13). Land use change has also been linked with animal-human disease transitions, managing existing forested lands and ensuring their sustainable use has been a priority of the PPCDAm since the beginning, along with mechanisms to improve their management (PPCDAm, p. 19). As such, some of the most prominent and longest-running anti-deforestation activities have focused on forest management and sustainable land use, and it is in these following strategies that we can see some of the most prominent innovations in stakeholder inclusion and community involvement take place; according to the interviewee, "Always bring communities or communities' voices into this conversation. So how can we either represent those voices or enable folks or enable what we call those popular territories or representatives of those popular territories to raise their voices, or to have a voice on public dialogues and so on?" (Ludermir, 2024: Expert Interview). The following chapter will cover a variety of programs that, in various ways, seek to promote and introduce sustainable forest management and land use through incentives, education, or economic ventures that centre on sustainable/restorative forestry. These programs are ran by the largest, longest-running, and/or the most prominent NGOs in Brazil, and thus have the largest historical legacy attached to them.

## FAS (2008-2022)

### Bolsa Floresta:

The longest and most famous of the anti-deforestation initiatives by far is FAS' Bolsa Floresta (BF)<sup>117</sup> climate mitigation initiative, which ran from 2008-2022 before being restructured into the Forest Guardians<sup>118</sup> program, which is ongoing to this day (GCF Task

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>117</sup> In English: Forest Grant.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>118</sup> In Portuguese: Guardiões da Floresta

Force, 2022). Throughout its years of operation, it demonstrated the importance of the 'standing forest', helping to improve the locals' quality of life and the position of women by ensuring a "commitment to non-deforestation of primary forests and environmental preservation" through financial aid and "improving the lives of communities, with participation in training workshops and the presence of children in quality school" (FAS, 2021). Using a lengthy book published by FAS following the program's completion, this subchapter lays out the history of the program, its challenges, and the lessons learned. Given the program's lengthy duration and the sheer size of the book, we deemed it to be the only document necessary to illustrate the institutional bricolage that took place. We originally placed this actor under the Fostering the Bioeconomy strategy, but with its intense focus on community engagement, participatory planning and management, exchanging of knowledge, and societal advancement, it became the inspiration for the conception of this strategy, especially as its approach was one well-known to our expert interviewee (Ludermir, 2024, expert interview).

The program benefited an average of 9,400 families and 39,000 people per year, living within 16 UCs, at that point newly established by the PPCDAm, aggregating a focus on sustainable development, livable wages, and infrastructure management for these communities, while simultaneously empowering them by soliciting their involvement and assistance (Viana et al., 2021, p. 27). In the early years, FAS became a pioneer in the field by being one of the first organisations to centre community engagement in the fight for biodiversity and conservation, making them a pioneer in the field (ibid, p. 20; ibid, p. 76), with the book concluding that overcoming "the challenge of keeping the forest standing would only come from this engagement" (ibid, p. 19). Through this, the BF program became a PSA program, paying individuals within these UCs were paid for engaging in sustainable practices; it took things a step further by also focusing on encouraging innovative ideas, community autonomy of their production chains, youth education, as well as incorporating gender equality throughout (ibid, pp. 16-18). By introducing women into these decision making processes, the program altered the previous ways that these communities usually held their typically male-dominated communal meetings. The creation of schools in certain areas, as well as generally educating the youth involved in the program on sustainability, entrepreneurship, and the usage of technologies like the internet created a level of socio-environmental advancement that had never been experienced in this region before, thus empowering the communities and building trust towards FAS (ibid, p. 49). This continuous involvement of the community articulated a shift in power dynamics for both

parties. Firstly the locals themselves were able to advance and positively influence their future, while some previously untouched communities became visible in public policy. Secondly, the program earned FAS a great deal of community support and media popularity, with its approach proving greatly influential not just among other NGOs, but also within the Brazilian government; it did not just influence the priorities of subsequent phases of the PPCDam, but some of their efforts were even directly adopted into public policy such as the Bolsa Familiar (ibid, p. 39; ibid, p. 76).

The funding for this program came from a combination of FAS's private contacts and the government's Amazon Fund; this aggregation would further aid in the community's development, alleviating extreme poverty while also lessening their reliance on government funds (ibid, p. 19). Additionally, FAS limiting their reliance on government finance would also limit their influence from changing political administrations and potential budget cuts, such as those of the Bolsonaro administration after suspending the PPCDAm.

The program's beneficiaries received identification cards (like FAS's aforementioned Floresta em Pé program) through which they could receive their payments (Ibid, p. 51). By receiving an actual physically tangible document, this made the program's focus all the more attractive, increasing their trust in the NGO. Throughout the years, the community meetings provided an open platform to discuss specific aspects of the program that needed to be altered to best fit that specific community, further reinforcing the success of its approach. The meetings were described as a "great learning laboratory", where FAS and the communities could learn from one another through the exchange of scientific insights and traditional knowledge (ibid, p. 94). During times when the government was less ecologically conscious, especially during PPCDAm's suspension, this community-focused laboratory was also utilised for the protection of local populations from illegal loggers when dealing with forest management, (as discussed previously), where FAS provided them with safety training in order to defend themselves (ibid). FAS further engaged the communities and showcased the program's success by conducting evaluations, confirming its general success over the years: "81% say that life has improved (positive changes) after the beginning of the Program; deforestation was reduced by 53% and average income increased by 202%" (ibid, p. 7).

Through all of these actions, FAS has exemplified the role of a bricoleur throughout the years with the successful management of the BF program. They emphasised themselves as a catalyst for the "emergence of a green and inclusive economy in Amazonas", with the involvement of local communities and joint management of these territories, where the locals were not just the "beneficiaries of the sustainable use of natural resources" but

"environmental conservation agents" (ibid, p. 97). Over 14 years, they innovatively manoeuvred and adapted themselves through various institutional arrangements, successive differing PPCDAm phases, the evolution and weakening of federal and subnational environmental governance, constitutional breaches, and the cooperative arrangements with state and non-state actors of varying interests. They also adapted to the communities' ever-changing socio-environmental situations, including climate and health emergencies such as the 2014 Madeira River and 2021 Gregório River floods, as well as the COVID-19 pandemic (ibid, p. 39). Technological advancements throughout the years were also into the program which included ambulance boats, internet connectivity, solar powered water purifiers, and telemedicine (ibid, p. 62).

At the end of the program, BF's former coordinator stated that it "played an important role in bringing public policy more efficiently to the forest, which today is even more relevant given the limitations of governments and the lack of commitment to combine development with environmental conservation in the Amazon at the necessary level in the face of reflections for the whole planet", reflecting on the then-incumbent Bolsonaro administration (ibid, p. 38). Throughout this thesis, it can be seen that BF's approaches and techniques have been extremely influential on NGOs and state actors alike, with aspects even adopted into public policy; this displays how they became an especially strong bricoleur within the environmental sphere, their pioneering of local community engagement as a strategy for the Amazon starting a domino effect of other institutions doing the same. In the end, it received the UN Millennium Award for contributing to the achievement of the MDGs<sup>119</sup> (FAS, 2021).

Due to the length of the book analysed, many key terms were identified. Most of these key terms enveloped a theme of an involvement with local populations, either laterally or explicitly. The lateral terms were, 'socio-environmental', 'environmental services', 'innovation', 'natural resources', 'environmental economy', and 'influence'. Terms like these brought up questions, such as, who needs environmental services, who contributes to the innovation of the environmental economy? With the addition of more specific identified terms such as, 'community engagement, empowerment, and management', 'reduction of poverty', 'dialogue', 'standing forest', 'quality of life', 'indigenous communities', and 'social participation', they all fall under this idea of community engagement. It was through the identification of these terms and the similarities to the terms identified within the next actor,

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>119</sup> Millennium Development Goals.

and the quote by our expert interviewee, that we were able to come up with this strategy name.

### **IDESAM (2023-)**

### Carbon Capture Program

As shown by the role that the Amazon plays in storing vast amounts of carbon, forests play a vital role in taking carbon dioxide out of the atmosphere and balancing the Earth's atmosphere; conversely, deforestation has been of the biggest and most consequential sources of GHGs for decades, especially in the years leading up to the PPCDAm's introduction (Gandour, 2021, p. 12).

With this basic fact in mind, reforestation has long been a popular and practical strategy of environmental conservation; after all, there is a more direct response to the loss of biodiversity than the restoration of it. And as with several other projects analysed in this thesis, reforestation can also contain an inherent socio-political dimension; transforming the communities' lives alongside conservation efforts.

Pitching this within the bioeconomy is somewhat challenging: If one wants to make planting forests a sustainable and desirable venture without relying on government funding, how can it be incentivised? One of the solutions is IDESAM's CNP<sup>120</sup> has sought to tackle since 2010. With the self-described objective of "connecting large urban centres to forests", the program is a carbon-offsetting venture that offers "people companies and initiatives" the opportunity to offset their emissions by funding the planting of trees in SAFs<sup>121</sup>: trees native to the Uatumã RDS<sup>122</sup> in the Amazonas state, with "economic value" (IDESAM, 2023a). Seeking to contribute "to mitigating the effects of climate change by sequestering CO2<sup>124</sup> from the atmosphere, connecting the provision of environmental services by communities to companies and individuals that are willing to mitigate their impact on GHG emissions" (IDESAM, 2023b, p. 1). The program is also engaged in the "development of GHG emission reduction strategies" as well as "measurement of individual carbon footprint (through an) online emissions calculator", as a way to sell potential patrons how much is needed to sell and how they can do so (IDESAM, 2023a).

Its priorities are twofold: stating that "keeping the forest upright is only possible if the people living in the Amazon are also strengthened", the program seeks to work with farmers who

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>120</sup> Carbon Neutral Program.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>121</sup> Sistemas Agroflorestais; Agroforestry Systems

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>122</sup> Sustainable Development Reserve.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup> Translated by Google Translate.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>124</sup> Carbon Dioxide.

had deforested their land for use, "showing the economic return that the preserved forest can offer" (ibid). By assisting in the planting of these SAFs through carbon offsetting, the program "meets an internal demand for income generation and quality of life for the communities, while also meeting a global need for solutions for the Amazon and for fighting climate change" (IDESAM, 2023b, p. 1). It seeks to connect three main axes; the need for local Amazonian communities to make a living, the need to protect the forest, and the need for corporations and communities in far-away urban spheres to compensate for their GHG emissions. The program is engaged in the preservation of endangered species, while also being engaged in traceability and transparency: "For those who offset, the PCN issues a carbon neutral seal and certificate" displaying their carbon neutral status (ibid, p. 2).

The CNP "is a synthesis of Idesam's plans for the Amazon. It meets a productive demand for income generation and quality of life within the reserve", they achieve this by bringing "investments to the communities that promote a new economy, with a new form of production that is reconciled with nature, based on increasing income and improving the production process, reconciled with local knowledge" (ibid, p. 3). They cite 30,000 hectares restored, 50,000 trees planted, and 10,000 tons of carbon captured so far as part of the program, and the number of families benefited (ibid). The focus on framing the results in this way, especially with the number of families benefited, echoes the language of the previous actor in this strategy. Firstly in their continuous inclusion alongside traditional peoples as vital for inclusion and guardians of biodiversity, and secondly in their vulnerability to losing land to wealthy external actors (PPCDAm, p. 61). "These categories of UCs were originally designed to protect the territories and ways of life of (...) family farmers, developing sustainable productive activities, such as community forest management" but are actually being taken over by external actors' rural properties (ibid, p. 45). Thus, preserving their centrality not only plays into their focus on sustainability as it intersects with the communities the PPCDAm seeks to benefit, but also in highlighting that their mission is not undermined by larger actors who do not have the Amazon's best interests in mind.

This venture is an example of different types of institutions recombining with each other in an investment-oriented context. By offering carbon credits to urban businesses looking to compensate for their emissions, simultaneously impacting local communities who are in charge of farming these areas, in a eco-conscious way, thus improving their quality of life, through higher income and food security (IDESAM, p. 1). IDESAM's role in this relationship was as a 'bridge' between these two otherwise disparate worlds, aligning their incentives and providing the means to build a profitable and sustainable economy. Like the Na'Kau venture,

the CNP allows for a shift in power dynamics and institutional arrangements by spotlighting their traditional practices and ecology as an asset and potentially profitable venture, rather than a liability and hindrance of growth. At the same time, it allows for these communities to be boosted by the urban businesses and their ventures, rather than negatively impacted by them as the PPCDAm highlighted above.

The prominence of key words in this venture's data, like 'community', 'awareness', 'encouragement', 'engagement', 'local knowledge', and 'quality of life', all contain a focus on the local populations, their involvement in the management of agroforestry systems, and the benefit and development of their communities as a central focus alongside environmental protection helped lead to the creation of the current strategy name this program is under.

Climate Education & Activism: Educating, Mobilising, and Engaging with Civil Society

Across many of the strategies that the PPCDAm seeks to centre and promote, education is framed as a central part for all of them, whether it is related to fire management, monitoring, or the general legal integration of the Legal Amazon (PPCDAm, p. 75; ibid, p. 71; ibid, p. 88). Raquel echoes this sentiment, stating that part of including communities and stakeholders is educating them, both on the stakes of the issue at hand and their ability to make change and engage: "There's so much that needs to be done in terms of building the capacity of community leaders, local leaders to be able to respond quickly, and to be able to act" (Ludermir, 2024, Expert Interview). 125 This chapter will cover the efforts of a variety of actors (some of whom are also covered elsewhere in this thesis) who are engaged in educating and raising awareness about deforestation in the Amazon. This can either take the form of direct engagement and education of the "leaders of tomorrow" (as with Engajamundo and Movimento em Pé), or with the dissemination and development of data that concerns the Amazon (as with Imazon). Through specific themes and the help of common terminology, such as 'engagement', 'advocacy', 'young people', 'future', and 'rights', we were able to create this strategy name, as two of the initiatives were activism-focused, while the other educates through their technological advancements.

### Engajamundo

Engaja na Amazônia Pilot Project

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<sup>125</sup> See Appendix B

Given the importance of activism and gathering knowledge among environmental groups and traditional communities within the Legal Amazon, especially among younger generations, we looked into initiatives that focused on educating and empowering potential "leaders of tomorrow" about their rights and the protection of their lands. We found a perfect example of this: the mitigation-focused 'Engaja na Amazônia' pilot project, an "advocacy training project that aims to strengthen the engagement of young people from traditional communities as protagonists of their own actions and campaigns for the protection of their territories" created by the youth-focused NGO Engajamundo (Engajamundo, 2020a). The project took place between 2018 and 2019 and occurred in three communities across Amazonas and Pará. The Portuguese final report of the project and the official Engajamundo website were analysed to identify keywords, which were particularly influential in the creation of this subchapter's strategy name.

The spark for the project came from their 2017 National Conference, where youths in attendance "brought questions about the lack of skills and learning opportunities in their own territories related to mobilisation, activism and communication" this created an opportunity for Engajamundo to step in and help educate them about their territorial rights (ibid). This took place during the PPCDAm's fourth phase, which as mentioned previously was a time of rising deforestation and land grabbing, which personally affected the highlighted communities. Across indigenous reserves, "200 land defenders lost their lives (...) trying to protect their communities from mining, agro-business and other projects they see as threatening their existence", with 2017 said to be their deadliest year (Dickerman, 2019). Over the span of 10 months, Engajamundo gathered 121 young individuals to partake in this training, aggregating three different youth groups: ribeirinhos<sup>128</sup>, quilombolas, and urban university students. They partook in community engagement events for this purpose, additionally to exchanging ideas about what they learned in their training, and how it can be adapted and implemented within their own individual communities (Engajamundo, 2020b, p. 8).. The training aggregated a combination of techniques for efficiency: Through the usage of different advocacy tools, such as taking part in public forums, joining a school of activism, and even meeting with legislators to suggest their solutions while simultaneously displaying what they learned (Engajamundo, 2020b, p. 8). Concurrent to this, the participants made journalistic content about what they felt was the biggest issue within their environment,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>126</sup> Translated by Author.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>127</sup> Translated by Author.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>128</sup> Portuguese: Riverside communities

allowing them to develop their agency and confidence, essentially becoming the "protagonists" of their own stories while changing their environment around them. This empowerment and change in agency could lay the seeds for them to potentially be the pilots of drastic change in the future. Participants also travelled out of the Legal Amazon to take part in protest encampments in front of the Ministry of Justice in Brasilia, further articulating and empowering their role as agents of change (ibid). This project gave new meanings to different social groups, personally developing them and enhancing their power through numbers as well as Engajamundo's place in the NGO sphere; the organisation would later go on to join other NGOs and political parties in launching the previously discussed ADF-760 court case. <sup>129</sup>

Due to this project's thematic focus engaging with local communities through the exchange of knowledge and educating themon political participation and activism, we began to see the developments of a new strategy name outside of the PPCDAm's axes. Although not part of the PPCDAm, the role of activism and educating civil society is still of great importance in its ability to help citizens assert their agency on the ground and enact political change. The PPCDAm's focus on stakeholder inclusion and implementation implies the necessity of activists in monitoring and enforcing it on the ground, making it an important addition to the aforementioned strategies.

The data's usage of key terms like 'actions and campaigns', 'engagement', 'strengthen', 'political participation', 'responsibility', and 'future', all suggest that political engagement and participation is the responsibility of civil society. This also necessitates education on matters that impact their future, as movements in themselves have proven especially influential in national institutional dynamics. Our interviewee echoed this, saying that "there are examples of things (ideas) in Brazil that became really, really useful and were adopted across the country, that really came from local efforts or local initiatives or local pilot (projects)" (Ludermir, 2024, Expert Interview). This project is a classic example of a grassroots initiative; aiming to convince the community that any degree of engagement and political participation can lead to big changes even on a national scale; one just has to act. This further motivated the creation of this final strategy name.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup> See Courts, Control and Legal Enforcement chapter

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>130</sup>Original Terms in Portuguese: ações e campanhas, engajamento, fortalecer, participação política, responsabilidade, futuro.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>131</sup> See Appendix B: Expert Interview Transcript

### **Imazon (2023-)**

#### **PrevisIA**

Investing in the improvement of surveillance technology is a core part of the current phase of the PPCDAm: "improv(ing) the capacity to monitor deforestation, fires, degradation and production chains" was deemed central to the work of almost every other aspect of the plan, with the need to invest "in detecting deforestation and forest degradation through radar images", but also to invest in means of surveillance and detection that enable preventative measures: "in addition to forest degradation data that also indicate probabilities and risks of deforestation" (PPCDAm, p. 66-69). The PPCDAm's investments in monitoring was "a game changer. (...) It not only allowed the environmental law enforcement authorities to spot illegal activity throughout the entire Amazon, but it did so with unprecedented speed — and speed was the key to boosting law enforcement's potential for impact" (Gandour, 2021, p. 18). As both Gebara (2019) and the PPCDAm's current phase emphasise, upholding the ability to enforce environmental legislation lies not in keeping with existing monitoring technologies, but in their continual evolution and escalation, as deforesting actors strategise new ways to evade detection and capture, so too must the technology keep pace. And given the dramatic escalation of deforestation during Bolsonaro's presidency, it follows naturally that its response should escalate.

In keeping with this goal, IMAZON<sup>132</sup> stepped up to the plate with the development of PrevisIA, a satellite monitoring platform made in partnership with Microsoft and the Vale Fund, an example of aggregation on an international scale. Describing itself as "an innovative platform (...) born out of a desire to change the narrative about the forest", PrevisIA is a satellite and land data analysis platform powered by artificial intelligence that seeks to "indicate the areas most at risk of deforestation in the biome", using an algorithm developed specifically by Imazon with resources provided by Microsoft (IMAZON, 2023, p. 3). <sup>133</sup> Through the use of artificial intelligence, the program aims to not only streamline the processing and analysis of satellite data (which typically takes much longer by often-underfunded and understaffed government staff), but also to implement innovative methods of predicting forthcoming deforestation, using "technology to predict imminent destruction. And thus provide data to prevent it" (ibid).

Using a variety of data sets that covers areas like "topography, land cover, legal and illegal roads, urban infrastructure and socioeconomics", IMAZON's AI algorithm has been trained

<sup>132</sup> Instituto do Homem e do Meio Ambiente da Amazônia

<sup>133</sup> Translated by Author.

to utilise these diverse sets to make predictions on which areas are most at risk of deforestation, using its ability to automatically detect and monitor newly-built clandestine roads to make further comprehensive predictions (ibid, pp. 3-4). Imazon chose to focus on the ability to map roads as important for predicting risk areas; "unofficial roads are one of the most important variables in risk prediction. (...) These roads are opened up in the forest for logging, mining and the occupation of public land without a destination - land grabbing" (ibid, p. 4). 135 This enables PrevisIA to make detailed deforestation risk predictions in the short-term, up to 12 months (ibid, p. 4-5). The document laying out the program's function and structure also lays out statistics on areas most at risk (from the federal to the municipal level): a total of more than 11,000 square kilometres "of native forest" could be lost according to PrevisIA "if deforestation continues at the current rate" (ibid, p. 6-7). Their data identifies the Amazonas state as the second most vulnerable to deforestation in the whole of Brazil, with 19% of the territory at risk; the massive risk faced by the Yanomami territory and Apui municipality are likewise identified, confirming the relevance of previously mentioned initiatives taking place there (ibid, pp. 15-16; ibid, p. 63). 136 It keeps in the spirit of previous monitoring innovations encouraged by the PPCDAm in how the primary focus is in utilising new technological developments to not only make monitoring and data collection more comprehensive, but also in making its processing and analysis quicker and more efficient in order to aid governance efforts, giving relevant actors the ability to keep pace with present threats as they develop.

As a whole, the initiative is an act of alteration as it is adapting new technological developments to enhancing environmental monitoring and aiding in command and control by the use of AI to predict future deforestation risks; it holds great potential in aiding the execution of preventative measures against deforestation on a hitherto unforeseen scale. While not directly focused on activism as the other initiatives, the initiative prominently uses key terms like 'transparency' and 'traceability', while 'monitoring' and 'detecting' areas at risk for mass deforestation, emphasising transparency and accessibility to the issue at hand and thus educating them on the most 'vulnerable' of areas so that they can potentially make changes within those areas in the future. Thus, assisting in the creation of the Climate Education half of the name, through correlating this initiative within this theme.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid.

<sup>135</sup> Ihid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>136</sup> See IBAMA and IDESAM Café Apui project subchapters.

#### Movimento Em Pé

### #MarcoTemporalNão

Another example of a social movement that gained traction in recent years is the #MarcoTemporalNão (Time Frame No) movement, started by the organisation Movimento Em Pé. The movement is stemmed from the controversial 'Marco Temporal' legal thesis, which holds that "indigenous peoples only have the right to the lands they were occupying on October 5, 1988, the date of the promulgation of the Federal Constitution of Brazil'; this is seen as a great infringement upon indigenous land demarcation and the rights of traditional communities (Movimento em Pé, 2023). Here, the court decisions were not themselves analysed, but the social movement that came out of it, even with an established website of its own name by Movimento em Pé. We found that, within this website, it provided us with enough context about all the recent government decisionmaking, and the more important aspect, different organisations and civil society coming together across a nation, expressing and addressing their opinions to different actors over the months about this one subject.

Within this website, they explain the history of the movement and a historical timeline of the decisions being made about this legal matter, going further into the rights of traditional communities, violations upon them, and how a movement was sparked from it. It specifically states that due to this legal thesis, indigenous lands and their people<sup>139</sup> are at risk of exploitation and human rights violations from ruralists and illegal loggers (ibid). The movement condemns it as "in the interest of the ruralists - who, through their power of economic influence, have been able to increasingly increase their bench of parliamentarians. The interest of this group is not linked to the protection of the forest, but to profits from the exploitation of the environment" (ibid). 140 These acts violate the communities who are continuously held up as 'forest protectors', and with this thesis being upheld, it could alter the governance of the forest. Protesting this topic became such a major deal across the country, in which Greenpeace helped create a petition to rule this legal thesis as unconstitutional, aggregated several NGOs, civil society organisations, and the civil society, which in total got 500,000 signatures (Greenpeace Brasil, 2023). 141 They sent it to the Supreme Court, where they, as a majority, ruled in favour of it being unconstitutional (Movimento em Pé, 2023). This caused the Lula administration to veto the Marco Temporal, but to their shock, a few

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>137</sup> English: Time Frame.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>138</sup> Translated by Author.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>139</sup> The Yanomami, Munduruku, and Kayapo people are mentioned as examples.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>140</sup> Translated by Author.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>141</sup> Translated by embedded Google Translate.

months later, the National Congress, within it, ruralist senators and deputies, overturned the veto, causing nationwide protests to resume (ibid). The protests garnered 80,000 people, and put pressure on decision makers, with even APIB filing another lawsuit with the Supreme Court, aggregating several actors once again to hopefully achieve a different response (ibid; APIB, 2024). This mere act of garnering so much support to refile a lawsuit, proves that when different stakeholders come together, there is a lot of power and legitimacy that comes with it. This would hopefully provide a different outcome after the Ruralist Caucus in future elections are for the majority ousted from the National Congress, altering the environment that this Time Frame thesis was passed in.

Terms within this website such as 'mobilised', 'violates', 'defend', and 'protect', leads to the idea of activism also needing to exist within this strategy name<sup>142</sup>. The website provides the history of the Marco Temporal and explains what it is, plus providing other resources to engage with the public, lending to the idea of educating civil society on the climate.

**Policy Advocacy:** *Insight, Research, and Advice into How Deforestation & Climate Protection should be Implemented* 

Related to (but distinct from) Climate Education & Activism is policy advocacy, which is more concerned with the promotion and dissemination of climate action through *policy*; laws, instruments and legislation that pass through the halls of power and can be exercised by documents. Beyond merely disseminating data on deforestation, these following actors focus specifically on building support and putting public pressure on governments through the promotion of policies (existing, historical or proposed) on conservation and climate change. Policy advocacy is a central part of our interviewee's work, during the interview she highlighted the importance of critically analysing law and promoting effective alternatives: "We often try to emphasise (...) how Brazil can have beautiful walls and beautiful policies on paper, but nothing is really implemented. (...) It just sits there and no one really cares about it. (...) How can we engage with public defenders with the public ministries, with the judicial system in general to first of all, work with the idea of promoting or defending human rights, but also denouncing them or reporting them? Put some, a little bit of pressure on governments, which is something that is really, really much needed when we're talking about changing our influence in public policies or policy implementation in Brazil, right?" (Ludermir, 2024, Expert Interview). 143 The actors seek to build their case and legitimacy by

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>142</sup> Terms in Portuguese: mobilizamos, viola, defendermos, protégé.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>143</sup> See Appendix B.

documenting how the plans are put into practice, conducting research and disseminating data on their historical efficacy, as well as publicly highlighting and critically analysing inadequacies in legislation throughout the country, all in order to build public support for their proposed plans of action. For these two actors, placing political pressure on the government and educating the public on what must be done to combat deforestation is their priority. Common keywords found between them like 'indigenous', 'environmental', 'protection', 'illegal' and 'policy', pointed to certain existing policies not being sufficient for such actors, therefore with Raquel's contribution, regarding policy advocacy of importance, we came up with this strategy name.

### Clima de Eleição

Climate Legislation Registry & Municipal Government Plan Document

Brazilian policy advocacy within the Brazilian context can take many shapes, such as research documents recommending specific policy changes, NGOs campaigning for certain policy implementations, or even public-facing databases to make civil society aware of how they can be affected by prospective candidates' policy proposals. The third option is arguably the most relevant for minorities in Brazil, especially in a climate and deforestation context. An example of this are two mitigation-focused initiatives by the NGO Clima de Eleição<sup>144</sup>, namely their Climate Legislation Database and the publication O que dizem os planos de governo?<sup>145</sup>. The organisation is well-regarded amongst the NGO community, even by our expert interviewee who stated that "The Clima de Eleição, it's a very interesting organisation that you should look up" (Ludermir, 2024, expert interview), highlighting their coalitions with other organisations like Rede por Adaptação Climatica Anti-Racista<sup>146</sup> on issues of environmental racism and traditional land rights (ibid). These two initiatives illustrate the extensive knowledge and expertise that the NGO has on Brazilian municipal policies, and it is through this that we were able to correlate a specific organisation to a well-known strategy in Brazil, which then helped with identifying the other organisation under this strategy subchapter through common terminology.

The Climate Legislation Database is an observatory tool tracking the progress of various Brazilian environmental legislations throughout the country, aiming "to be a tool for parliamentary action by inspiring the multiplication of good practices, bringing visibility to existing legislative initiatives" (Clima de Eleição, no date). Through this database, Clima de

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>144</sup> English: Climate of Choice.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>145</sup> English: What do the government plans say?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>146</sup> English: Anti-Racist Climate Adaptation Coalition

Eleição aggregated technology, climate policy, advocacy, and civil society involvement by transparently laying out the myriad climate legislations being passed within a state or municipality, what specific themes they follow, as well as the years they were passed. This articulates a dynamic of valuing transparency towards the public, increasing awareness and in turn putting the NGO in a positive light and increasing its legitimacy. This alteration of utilising technology to provide public transparency has been seen through other actors identified within this thesis, and leans towards the ever-prevalent idea that one must utilise technology to one's advantage, especially when attempting to find solutions to adapt and mitigate the consequences of climate change.<sup>147</sup>

The Portuguese document, was a research project made in collaboration with the previously-mentioned NGO Engajamundo, discussing civil society's participation in the electoral debate during the 2020 municipal elections (Clima de Eleição and Engajamundo, 2020). The document highlights the urgency of not only advocating for particular policies, but also electing environmentally-minded politicians who help create them and have the rights of local communities at heart, even in an urban context (ibid, pp. 3-4). Examples of such groups at this time included members of congress who were part of the Working Group<sup>148</sup> for Climate of the "Environmentalist Parliamentary Front of the National Congress" which worked in partnership with the Clima (Frente Ambientalista, no date). This was an especially pressing matter at the time, given that this all took place during Bolsanaro's presidency; his role in the intensification of deforestation and illegal logging can be treated as a given by this point (ibid, p. 3).

The way that this research is structured, through the presentation of research and data sets, it is clear that the document is meant to be altered and adapted for other elections and reutilized for future use, thus, providing an existing framework for use in different contexts; this act of aggregation and alteration is central to institutional bricolage. The document also aggregates data on "315 government plans, with 214 citing forest proposals" and "116 [having] proposals about indigenous communities" (Clima de Eleição and Engajamundo, pp. 5-7). Within the Amazonas state, only the urban municipality of the capital of Manaus was studied; research identified that 63.63% of the municipal government plans discussed forest proposals and 45.45% discussed proposals regarding indigenous or other traditional communities (ibid). Similar to this thesis, These percentages came from the identification of key terms within

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>147</sup> See subchapters on FUNAI and IMAZON's PrevisIA venture

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>148</sup> Portuguese: Grupo de Trabalho (GT), the term for a parliamentary committee in the Brazilian Congress.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>149</sup> Portuguese: Environmental Front.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>150</sup> Translated by Author.

Supreme Court documents to understand which focused on traditional community rights and forest preservation (ibid, p. 3). This not only confirmed the value of our methodology, but also made it easier to identify keywords within this document and shed light on environmental actors in cities, areas not known for focusing on forests and traditional communities. This document made a point out their relevance, saying "it is not the indigenous person who goes to the city, it was the cities that arrived in our territories" (ibid, p. 6). As such, cities and forests are both relevant in the climate policy field.

With the help of the bolded keywords from the second document of this subchapter, such as, 'conservation', 'indigenous people', 'changes', 'recomposition' the keywords we separately identified within this document, and the ones we found in common with other actors, we were able to identify a few initiatives that fit into this common Brazilian strategy, Policy Advocacy.

### **IMAZON (2020-)**

### Amazonia 2030

During the Bolsonaro administration, the function of policy advocates changed dramatically as the policies they helped bridge were either being scaled back or suspended. As part of the Bolsonaro agenda, they argued that previous climate policies were ineffective, economically disadvantageous and not in the country's public interest. With the arguments and assumptions of climate policy now kicked out of the halls of power, NGOs now faced the task of essentially re-establishing the public legitimacy of climate action. To this end, the PUC-Rio's<sup>152</sup> Climate Policy Initiative research firm joined forces with IMAZON to launch the Amazonia 2030 initiative, whose purpose is to develop "an action plan for the Brazilian Amazon" in order to "achieve a sustainable use of natural resources by 2030" and establishing an alternative public agenda particularly convincing in its practicality (Gandour, 2021, p. 2). Through this, they aggregated their resources to identify successful policies. For this initiative, we looked at two documents. The first one contains a detailed layout of the various government policies and initiatives that have been implemented in the Amazon Rainforest throughout the decades, putting particular emphasis throughout on advocating why these policies are not only effective, but beneficial both in socio-environmental and economic terms.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>151</sup> Original Portuguese Keywords: conservação, povos indígenas, mudas, recomposição.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>152</sup> The Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro.

With the first document published in 2021, it clearly displays purpose of this document: giving ammunition and research for policy advocates and other activists to draw on.

The paper is split into three sections. The first section lays out why the Amazon should be protected, detailing many of the interconnected benefits to protecting the rainforest and its biodiversity. The second and third sections, cover a range of policies that have been implemented in the Amazon in the past, covering areas like multi-actor coordination, command and control, priority municipalities, rural credits, protected territories and so on (ibid, pp. 14-45). As these sections cover many strategies that this thesis has already extensively discussed, explaining the contents of them is ultimately redundant. The first section is the most interesting for us, namely in how its arguments in favour of implementing such policies in the first place say a lot about the political context in which it was made.

Apart from the goal of maintaining biodiversity and the "balance of forest ecosystems", the paper makes a socioambiental case: it argues that the maintenance of the biome is vital for the myriad local populations: "indigenous communities, quilombolas, river communities, and family farmers, among others — depend on this balance to live, produce, and prosper" (ibid, pp. 6-7). It also argues that protecting the forest is inherently linked to fighting illegal activity "at both national and international levels", with deforestation driven by selfish desires for economic gains by private corporations (ibid, p. 7). Through this mentality, their pursuit of gain at all costs simply does not consider the local populations, as the Bolsonaro administration's acts to strip environmental protection were often coupled with the argument that the residents of these areas were expendable in the name of growth. IMAZON claims that protecting the forest and ensuring economic growth are not mutually exclusive. Firstly, it argues that existing economic drivers of deforestation are largely unproductive and unprofitable, as land cleared for pasture was not only illegally seized, but unnecessary due to the "region's very low cattle productivity" (ibid). Working smarter with existing resources, is argued to be the key to prosperity: working in already open and degraded areas is deemed as more productive. With the 80% decrease in deforestation between 2004 and 2012 coinciding with a 50% increase in agricultural revenues being pointed to as proof that smarter land usage boosts the economy and saves the forest simultaneously (ibid, pp. 7-9). For this transition, the paper also advocates for further investments in bioeconomy ventures, as "Amazon businesses that already export forest-compatible products (...) could have had annual revenues almost eight times higher, totaling annual sales of US\$ 2.3 billion, by increasing their share of the global market for these products" (ibid, p. 9).

Taken to its ultimate conclusion, the paper argues that current deforesting economy is 'agrosuicide', with the loss of the Amazon ultimately destroying production capacity altogether: "Simulations suggest that changes to the climate caused by increased Amazon deforestation could lead to significant losses in production, even when the forest was cleared as a means of expanding agricultural production" (ibid, p. 10). Ultimately, it is a combination of actors that can tackle these issues, not just one: "Brazil has a unique opportunity to align the interests of diverse government entities, productive sectors, and civil society around a single effort" (ibid, p. 46). Here, they make a plea that directly describes the responsibilities of the PPCDAm, pointing to the time period it was written in when there was no such plan at all: "In this context, the government is responsible for planning, supporting, and coordinating strategic activities across different spheres of action, thematic areas, and segments of society. The country knows what must be done and is fully capable of doing it" (ibid).

It is clear that this initiative is engaged in acts of bricolage by structuring and sharing data and information that can be used in other contexts by advocates in the larger sphere; the arguments and data provided in this document are not meant to convince the Brazilian government; that task fell to the aforementioned court cases. Rather, the contents provided are meant to be utilised in the public sphere as arguments to point to, thus providing an existing framework for use in different contexts. When it comes to building legitimacy, our interviewee emphasises particularly the importance of data in policy advocacy "It was really difficult to come to specific dialogues or very qualified dialogues with no data, only with our opinions or only with our intentions" (Ludermir, 2024, Expert Interview). None of this data is new, of course, but the power lies in its presentation and the context it is presented in: "So how can we put the data into the world, where it's not an option to produce all this information, all this knowledge? (...) How can we really spread the word and have everyone, and I mean everyone, how can we make the information usable, useful for public demonstrations and for the Supreme Court?" (Ludermir, 2024, expert interview).

The second document covers the same policy areas, including the success of the PPCDAm in developing "innovative policy instruments" and "establishing the fight against deforestation as an interagency effort rather than a responsibility solely of the Ministry of the Environment" (Gandour *et al.*, 2023, p. 14). Unlike the previous document, however, this one was published with 'Lula' back in power, and the shift in tone and framing is interesting. Echoing the current phase's slogan, this document discusses how the government's goals of

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>153</sup> See Courts, Control and Legal Enforcement subchapter

"zero deforestation" can be achieved, such as through "incorporating innovative approaches to address the region's new challenges, such as the substantial increase in crime" (ibid, p. 6). It also advocates looking forward and innovating in climate policies: "Reestablishing the PPCDAm is necessary to achieve zero deforestation, but it will not be enough. It is also necessary to tackle issues that were not fully addressed by previous public policies" (ibid, p. 9). It focuses overall more on highlighting gaps in forthcoming policy that can be addressed, emphasising the importance of command and control, effective coordination, and additionally highlighting land designation in particular as an area of concern (ibid, pp. 15-16; ibid, p. 18). These two documents display the different contexts in which policy advocacy can take place; if the institutional arrangement grants credence and legitimacy to the positions of NGOs, they can position their advocacy as improvements to existing policies and how they should be approached, showcasing the more even power balance between the two sides. During times like the Bolsonaro administration, they are instead put in a more combative and critical position as the shifts in power leads them to instead have to argue for their own legitimacy in the first place, much like the aforementioned court cases. Key words such as 'policy', 'effective', 'conservation', 'protection', 'implementation', 'strategy', and 'governance' echoed similar language as the previous actor, leading to it being sorted under this category and reinforcing its relevance as a strategy in the climate policy field, strengthened further by Ludermir's comments.

### **Discussion:**

Within the Amazonas state, the PPCDAm has had major positive effects throughout its years of existence, but has not been able to properly execute all its goals by itself, and is highly vulnerable to changes in federal government leadership and priorities. Due to this, there have been issues regarding proper on the ground implementations of this Plan's goals, creating a space for other actors, such as local institutions, to become bricoleurs by leading these actions analysed here. Nevertheless, the PPCDAm has proved majorly influential in the structure, priorities, and design of these myriad initiatives on a large scale. The various strategies utilised by these initiatives to mitigate and adapt to the consequences of deforestation, a climate change instigator, aligned broadly with this Plan's axes. These strategies are: Protecting and Empowering Traditional Communities, Courts, Control and Legal Enforcement, Strengthening Indigenous Land Rights, and Fostering the Bioeconomy. Common strategies outside of the PPCDAm's scope, recognized as prevalent by our expert interviewee, were also identified, which were as follows: Community-Based Forest

Management, Climate Education and Activism, and Policy Advocacy. We confirmed that deforestation remains the primary focus of most initiatives against climate change within Amazonas and the Legal Amazon more broadly. We also confirmed that there is a mitigation bias prevalent in Brazilian efforts against climate change, due to mitigation efforts requiring less fundamental economic and social change. Although, we were surprised by the sheer scarcity of adaptation-focused initiatives within the data. We observed continuities between initiatives discussed within the literature review and the strategies we identified and named. The focus on local implementation and unique adaptations to varying circumstances, confirmed the findings of previous literature emphasising how local/subnational efforts in the Amazon are highly important in effective governance and successfully combating deforestation. Our usage of Critical Institutionalism as a lens for analysing these initiatives within the Brazilian climate change sphere, as was reinforced by pre-existing literature, verified the usefulness of this theoretical framework for this discussion. These results, the identified strategies, displayed the effectiveness of certain approaches over others, providing insight to actors inside and outside Brazil on which strategies show the most promise in the current socio-environmental context. As well as, the pitfalls and challenges of present approaches by everchanging government bodies. It is also, to our knowledge, the first academic analysis of the effects of the PPCDAm's recent reinstatement under President da Silva's incumbency. This research was not without its limits. Firstly, the limitation of a master's thesis time frame, page numbers restriction, and access to extensive resources, such as travel to Brazil, prevented us from conducting a more elaborate and contemporary study. Additionally, only one of the researchers speaks Portuguese, limiting our capacity for effective data collection within the allotted time frame. Our interview also ran into some limitations, mainly due to restriction of time that the interviewee could grant for our research, which was further hampered by her increase in emergency work due to the floods in Rio Grande do Sul which occurred right after the interview. Therefore, we were unable to get all the responses to our proposed interview questions in time for submission. This approach and analytical lens would also show promise in analysing vulnerable areas outside of the Amazonas state, such as the Cerrado area, but it can also be applicable to other countries in analysing different climate change instigators or consequences. As many of the articles utilising CI in the literature review tended to conduct field studies, we can recommend other scholars doing so in the future, as being on the ground can lead to more comprehensive observations and opportunities to interact with local institutions and ascertain their arrangements in ways that written sources can not. Certain strategies that were still ongoing or incomplete at time of submission, would be useful to revisit once they have developed further, and the 5th phase of the PPCDAm would be complete. Regarding improvements, more comprehensive and direct interactions with these initiatives would have provided a deeper and more nuanced analysis.

### **Conclusion:**

We used Critical Institutionalism and institutional bricolage as a lens to help identify strategies that local institutions used to mitigate and adapt to a climate change instigator, deforestation. In order to do so, we applied the PPCDAm, as a policy framework, to see how the local institutions and initiatives were influenced by this plan and the continuously changing political environment. This was supplemented through the interview with an NGO policy advocacy expert, who helped in the identification of strategies she deemed as successful in her professional opinion. Across the large group of organisations and actors covered in this thesis, we systematically coded key words to identify and categorise their initiatives into a variety of strategies: ultimately identifying 7 broad strategies, which were 'Protecting and Empowering Traditional Communities', 'Courts, Control and Legal Enforcement', 'Strengthening Indigenous Land Rights', 'Fostering the Bioeconomy', 'Community-based Forest Management', 'Climate Education & Activism', and 'Policy Advocacy'. While most of these could be traced back to the PPCDAm's various axes, the last three ones were identified separately and came out organically through the research process, and discussion with our interviewee.

It is crystal clear that since the PPCDAm's introduction in 2004, initiatives against the consequences of climate change in the state of Amazonas have been profoundly influenced by it on all levels. The rhetoric and many of the strategies and approaches used by these various actors have drawn directly from its structure and the approaches it promotes, meaning the PPCDAm has been especially successful in essentially setting the framework for all climate change and deforestation-related initiatives in the whole country, including central concepts and key words. In particular, the *socioambiental* angle that many of these share (taking into account how environmental protection intersects with economic activity and indigenous rights), as well as their focus on stakeholder inclusion, community engagement and implementation, can also be traced to the PPCDAm, and the legacy of the Lula presidency more broadly.

Every initiative covered in this thesis leaned heavily on the CI institutional bricolage concepts of aggregation, alteration, and articulation. A vast majority used acts of aggregation,

establishing alliances or mergers between two or more different groups in novel arrangements, with this recombination of variably formal/informal institutions pitched as beneficial for the included stakeholders and/or vital for the initiative's success, especially if 'traditional' communities were involved. Beyond aggregation, the other aspects of institutional bricolage spanned all actors to varying extents. Alteration was highly utilised among many categories, with institutions, traditions and other social arrangements being adapted to local circumstances as either a necessary adaptation for the larger goal (as in the case of Bolsa Floresta) or as the point of the initiative itself (AMAZ and the Na'kau venture). Articulation, the process of hybridity that can result from institutions coming into contact with local identities and embedded institutions, was especially prominent in cases that touch on traditional communities and conflicts between institutions: the court cases against the government is an example where both parties are put in a new context from the political environment created by Bolsonaro, where disempowered NGOs utilise an otherwise apolitical instrument as a tool for political pressure and change. Other examples, such as Floresta em Pe, Na'kau, and the Carbon Neutral Program, exemplifies how two otherwise distinct spheres (conglomerates, the chocolate industry, or rural corporations and traditional indigenous agriculture) are put in a new context when traditional local growers are sought out and promoted instead of being put at a disadvantage, in turn also assisting those smaller communities.

The actors spent a lot of time answering the *how* as opposed to the *why*, focusing heavily on how the various initiatives would be implemented and safeguarded against potential subversions. This does not stem from the PPCDAm alone; its decisions were not made in a vacuum. Rather, this particular focus draws from the unique challenges of governance and more 'traditional' implementations in the Amazon due to its sheer remoteness and lack of infrastructure, as well as the unique institutional arrangements that come from it. With governance difficult and tricky, tailoring implementations to the locale and cooperating with multiple actors as a 'bridge' to the ground has been deemed to be vital in this context.

We found that these conditions also led to the actors leading a disproportionate focus on mitigating against, rather than adapting to, the consequences of deforestation. With a few notable exceptions, it is implicitly reasoned by all actors that getting stakeholders on board and ensuring effective cooperation is best ensured when the demands made of them do not fundamentally disrupt their modus operandi, thus making improvements to existing activities more viable than fundamental transformations, meaning that strategies that hold the most

potential for sustainable change and seek to eliminate problems at their roots face far greater challenges.

Overall, the strategies on display are examples of novel, creative and highly ambitious initiatives by a wide variety of actors that seek to improve and effectuate the protection of the Amazon rainforest through advancements in monitoring and control, sustainable production, land demarcation and use, and the bioeconomy. Through adapting their approach and implementation to the unique conditions of the Amazon, utilising cooperation between multiple actors and varying between incentives and strengthening governance, these have contributed to, or show future promise in, the decrease and limitation of deforestation in the Amazonas state. However, the strategies and local conditions that have made many of these initiatives particularly effective also impede a broader focus on environmental adaptation and stopping the drivers of deforestation at their root, though the few adaptation-focused initiatives and the inherently fungible nature of institutional arrangements in the Amazon according to Critical Institutionalism means it is not completely impossible.

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# **Appendixes:**

#### **Appendix A:** Word Clouds



Figure 2.1: Common Keywords used by Every strategy



Figure 2.2: Top 10 Common Keywords





Figure 2.4 – Top 10 Common Words in Community Based Forest Management



Figure 2.5 – Top 10 Common Words in Fostering the Bioeconomy



Figure 2.6 – Top 10 Common Words in Protecting & Empowering Traditional

Communities



Figure 2.7 – Top 10 Common Terms in Strengthening Indigenous Land Rights



Figure 2.8 – Word Cloud for Climate Education & Activism



Figure 2.9 – Word Cloud for Policy Advocacy

## **Appendix B:** *Interview Transcript*

April 25, 2024

1h 12m 3s

## Magnus Elsuson Høgenni started transcription

Raquel 1:01 Dominique. Give me one second. My Internet connection.

I lost since you started to speak, apologies about that. But then if you could start over, just just start over.

#### **Dominique Ender** 1:21

No worries, no worries, Yeah, yeah, absolutely.

I'm Dominique. I am Austrian and Brazilian. My mother is Brazilian, my father is Austrian.

And I grew up partially in the United States, hence why I sound the way that I do.

And yeah, I decided to do this masters with Magnus here in Copenhagen, Denmark. While I was there, I realised that a lot of the material that we have didn't really focus on Latin America. There wasn't much material in Latin America, even much less in Brazil. And so I decided to start researching more into Brazil. And then of course, being at Habitat for Humanity, that definitely influenced me to write more about Brazil, which is why we decided to go down this route of climate change issues happening in Brazil pecifically.

And also it helps that I have the linguistic capability to read the documents too.

And so, yeah... we decided to go down this route together. Magnus was really excited to learn about some new areas as well, which I'm sure he'll tell you more about. We saw a lot of information in both English and Portuguese about deforestation, specifically in the state of Amazonas. So that's why we went down this route, especially because our theoretical background also has a lot of basis in that region. So any input that you have as a person who's worked within the NGO field, your personal opinions about certain things as well, we welcome as an added benefit to our thesis. So yeah. Magnus, please go ahead and introduce yourself as well.

#### Magnus Elsuson Høgenni 3:42

OK, sure, my background is nowhere near as exciting as Dominique's, unfortunately.

My name is Magnus. I'm 27 years old and I'm originally from the Faroe Islands. Unfortunately, no mixed genetic heritage here. Both my parents are, you know, born and raised in the Faroes. It's a very small place. It's objectively - you can say there's not as much going on in, you know, the Faroe Islands as there is in Brazil or even Copenhagen and elsewhere.

But originally I studied for a bachelor's in Scotland from like 2017 to 2021, right around the

time of Brexit. Like I basically witnessed a whole transition period from the beginning to nearly the end. And well, I've always been fascinated by, you know, how larger macroeconomic and social political forces and the like play out "on the ground" from the larger scale there. And I basically saw all of it there, like, very much in front of me, you know, like how the consequences of both Brexit and the like, large political forces that sort of push and manifest them, you know. Particularly Scotland, which also has its own historical and political dimensions to it. And like how that interrelated, you know there was the whole independence movement there as well. So I was very much in the "Belly of the beast" when it came to that whole thing. Other than that. I came to Copenhagen, Denmark to study Global Refugee studies, you know, at the same time as Dominique. Because, like – this was not exactly a factor. By the time I applied it was because it was actually before, but...

Like... The Faroes, we have taken into refugees for the first time. Like, we've never taken refugees until the Russian invasion of Ukraine. But we did that for the first time, like, ever.

Following the start of it I found it so fascinating, particularly in how the Faroes are a country that's very small but which has also had, like, very close economic ties to Russia. Basically, how the whole political system was prone to like a massive crisis where basically like on the one hand, they're super Pro Ukrainian, but also are super close to Russia economically, and basically like how these larger societal wars forces, you know, like war, economics, climate change, like how it all plays out in the miniscule. And, of course, also along with that we would take in refugees for the first time, motivated me to continue with this. And just like Dominique said, there's not been lots of focus on Latin America In our studies whatsoever. So like, when Dominic pitched his project to me, I was of course very, very excited about it. Especially in, you know, the sheer amount of intersections that's going on. Like, you know, there's climate change. Like socio economics, like layers of colonial and more recent history on top of it, you know. There's there's. There's so much there, you know, like displacement additions issues, you know, like how things like, just like, just how much intersects just in this one area alone, which we focus a lot on here.

Yeah, I've got nothing more to add to add to that, other than that, you know the sheer amount of like intersections and the like, how do you say like the kings and intrigues of the work there was, what really motivated me to take this up with Dominique.

#### **Dominique Ender** 7:34

And you've been very much adopting the Brazilian culture as well. He's been getting into the music and the arts and everything about Brazil. And so he's been very into it. And so it's been a great writing experience with him.

#### Magnus Elsuson Høgenni 7:49

I know, I should admittedly broaden my taste in Brazilian music a bit. It was... It's not as much Bossa Nova that I got into. It was more like Baile Funk.

#### **Dominique Ender** 8:02

Anyways, so we just wanted to provide a quick introduction for you to sort of know us a bit better. But now we actually wanted to hear a bit about you and we would be sort of leaning into like that first question that we sent you, which was: Could you briefly describe your role and experience and policy advocacy, especially in relation to climate change mitigation and adaptation?

And tell us about your role within Habitat and your previous roles as well.

#### Raquel 8:39

Wonderful. No, First of all, you seem like 2 very exciting people and I would love to just work more closely with you alongside your research. And I just love my time when I was doing my masters and my PhD. Just such a fun time. So just enjoy! And I see that you're doing it, so let me tell you a little bit about myself and how I arrived at Habitat (for Humanity), and then what we are doing now. And I think that we can take it from there. So basically I am an architect and urban planner by training.

I did my masters and my PhD in the Urban Development programme, so this is my training right? my professional training, but since... 11? Yeah, I've been working with Habitat for Humanity for 12 or 13 years now. So then, the reason why I entered in the 1st place was to start what we call a technical assistance project. Looking at the social housing and basically redevelopment of urban – we can call them slums now, if we officially can call them slums. There's a whole discussion about whether we should use it or not, this term. Symbolic. All the meanings, all the intertwined meanings that can have that into a name.

#### **Dominique Ender** 9:54

Mm hmm.

#### **Raquel** 10:01

But basically, the informal settlements or the low income settlements. So what could habitat do? And there was at the time a project together with the State Company of Housing and Construction, so that if we could think about improving those areas, what could we do?

Besides building a new home, what else could we do? So it was very much on the idea of slum – upgrading your slums, develop, redevelopment and so on. So This is what I first entered within Habitat.

But since then, there was a specific area within Habitat that was more focused on

development of policies, public policies focusing on how we can monitor, evaluate but also propose new policies and how we can engage with representatives of the state in general, but... And then I say: I always say state in general because when we're talking about influencing public policies, there tends to be a focus on government as in executive – as in the executive branch of government. But here we're also speaking about the legislative branch and also about the justice system and about the courts and the public defender's office and so on. So there has always been a focus and I have always been a part of that area of development.

**Dominique Ender** 11:19

Mm hmm.

**Raquel** 11:33

But by then I was doing my masters, and then I was doing my PhD. So then I was always working half time. As you saw, I was never full staff for... I don't know how how to say that... How to say it in English... but it was basically – I was doing my studies but also working at the same time, so I was doing both works in parallel. So I was doing consultancy work for Habitat Brazil and then I was doing consultancy work for Habitat Latin America.

And I was, you know, here and there and everywhere. And then within that, I had the chance to go to several international meetings and several events and to contribute to very interesting things, but also in Brazil, I was doing very much in developing methodologies to training folks and to training regarding legal empowerment, and how how to explain, and how to make folks understand the ideas behind urban planning and how it could be done, how could they contribute together as a coalition, as part of the social movements, contribute to monitor, to control, to improve public policies and so on. So that's always been my area of interest and under this umbrella of "the right to the city": the idea of housing as a human right, housing far beyond the roof and and for, you know... A roof? What is it called? A roof and four?

**Dominique Ender** 13:08

Walls.

**Raquel** 13:09

Well, yeah, basically. Yeah. So I was just trying to translate the sentence here that we say very often over here. So it was very much with the idea of housing as a human right, and having the ability to exercise the right to the city: everyone should exercise their right to the city. And by right to the city meaning having a decent place to live, but also to work and to play, to come and go and so on, but more specifically...

**Dominique Ender** 13:11

Mm hmm.

Yeah.

**Raquel** 13:33

Above all, having the ability to participate, the right to participate and engage in public policies and engage in decision making and engage in a transparent way to see what's going on, how decisions are being made and so on. So this is, this is more or less the area that was being developed, by then Habitat for Humanity was working in this, what we call the advocacy sector. But we didn't have by then a formal sector within the organisation to focus specifically on that.

And that happened only when I finished my PhD, and we had a European Union project, a multiannual European Union project that allowed us to basically strengthen our team and to develop a strategy to influence public policies and to... Really develop that strategy basically, so what we do currently. And then I became the leader of this sector within Habitat Brazil, right, because of the background, because I knew a lot of what was going on within the organisation, not only at Brazil but also within the connections with Latin America and with the headquarters over there over in Washington, so it was basically... I was in the right place at the right time.

So basically I became the leader of this movement to structure... basically to structure this department within Habitat for Humanity. So right now what we do is that we do our advocacy work, focus on specific themes, and I could tell you a little bit about those.

But we also work with what we call live streams of work, or lives of work, or if fillers. I don't know. It really depends on how it would translate that. So it's basically coalition work, we never work alone. So we're always trying to articulate and try to connect or trying to engage with different partners being those partners part of civil society or part of the state more generally so.

How can we engage with public defenders with the public ministries, with the judicial system in general to first of all, work with the idea of promoting or defending human rights, but also denouncing them or reporting them? And how can we?

Put some, a little bit of pressure on governments, which is something that is really, really much needed when we're talking about changing our influence in public policies or policy implementation in Brazil, right?

**Dominique Ender** 16:17

Yes.

#### **Raquel** 16:18

So this is the first pillar of our advocacy strategy. The second one is data, data information, studies, and evidence. So how can we bring it, bring evidence into our work? Because basically we understood that it was really different. It was really difficult to come to specific dialogues or very qualified dialogues with no data, only with our opinions or only with our intentions. So it was really with the idea to bring data to the conversation. So this is one of the things that habitat for humanity Brazil is using its possibilities for the data section or the information or the content sectors within our coalitions, right? The third one would be communication. So how can we put the data into the world, where it's not an option to produce all this information, all this knowledge? Or keep it to ourselves? So how can we put that into mass media? How can we really spread the word and have everyone, and I mean everyone, how can we make the information usable, useful for Public demonstrations and for the Supreme Court.

So this is one of the things that we try to do right and we understood that the simpler, the better. That basically, the more complex that we went, never it never really caught attention. So it was just having a sequence having a, you know, just just some ideas here to some insights from our work as well in this area and the 3rd.

And the 4th one would be: Always bring communities or communities' voices into this conversation. So how can we either represent those voices or enable folks or enable what we call those popular territories or representatives of those popular territories to raise their voices, or to have a voice on public dialogues and so on? Sometimes that's what can be done either by, let's say, subgrants.

We put some, we basically... We can serve like an umbrella organisation and develop resources, and then direct those and channel those to smaller organisations that are doing their advocacy at the local level. But at other times it's more a matter of bringing those folks to national dialogues, and that has to do also with the scale of Brazil, right? We're talking about a huge, huge country and about the very, very complex civil society environment. Meaning third sector environment, right?

So this is more or less what we do. And I was telling Dominique also that Habitat Brazil does not work specifically with the – although we work with the impact of climate change – climate change is not among our priority themes at the moment. So let me tell you what are the core themes that we work with at the moment.

So, within the umbrella of housing as a human right, we work very, very strongly with security of tenure.

And of course that has a connection with climate change. But for us, what we're focusing on is the idea of people being displaced by judicial sentences or by private forces and so on. And of course, we also work with the idea of people being displaced by disasters or or climate change, the effects of climate change. But this is some... This is a bit beyond our current work.

And I'll tell you a little bit more in a minute. So, security of tenure is a core that we've been working with historically. The second one would be what we call WASH: Water A Sanitation and Hygiene. So this is a second topic of our work. And the third one is the socio-environmental justice rights, which has connection with security of tenure and has connection with water and sanitation and hygiene of course.

You think about, I don't know, the climate, refugees and deforestation and so on. So of course that has a connection. All these three topics are more or less connected. But the third one is the one that we have a less structured capacity to work on. And here I'm talking about better understanding the laws and how we can influence the laws. Better understanding of the public policies and the adaptation plans at the national level at the local level, something that we can do very easily now.

With the other two topics, we still cannot do it with climate change, so... But once we understood that we could not not speak about climate change, we started to develop this strategy. But that's very much... We're still on baby steps. So this is, I just wanted to be very, very clear with you from the beginning that this is not yet a topic that Habitat for Humanity in Brazil works with, although Habitat for Humanity in Haiti or in Central America, that's that's a core topic of their work.

In Brazil, this is not yet a core of our work, but we have been engaging with several coalitions in several activities that touch on this topic. So perhaps just to give you an idea that everything that I'll be sharing with you, all those ,you know, any thoughts that come might have to have to do specifically with specific moments or specific activities that we did within this work.

Even though we don't have a specific strategy to work systematically on changing policies or in changing or changing reality on the ground per se, right? So just just to give you a heads up about that and try to just to be very, very clear and very transparent, right? This is also one of the reasons why I asked Dominique, if you did want to speak with the Greenpeace folks here in Brazil or other organisations, that might be more focused.

So just let me know if you still want the contact person or the phone numbers, or if you want me to bridge any of those contacts. So just to let you know, right?

Yeah. So I think that covers the first question, all right. Is there anything else that remains from that question?

#### **Dominique Ender** 23:13

No, I don't think so. I just wanted to reiterate that of course I knew that Habitat for Humanity specifically focuses on housing reformation and things like that.

But I do know for a fact of when I would enter into those monthly meetings that we would have, we would engage in many conversations about different topics that weren't just limited to, like, the Habitat for Humanity... reformation housing topics. We would talk about climate justice and different aspects of climate change and how a person's state was being affected versus how another person's state was being affected.

And so that's why I still wanted to bring you in, because I feel as if you do have a general knowledge as a person working in the tertiary sector, but also as a Brazilian who is very aware of the different areas and regions and how the Amazon, even internationally, is a very important piece of ground to conserve. And we mostly wanted to bring you in because I feel as if... As much as Habitat for Humanity doesn't have, per se, a strategy, for example, within the climate change route that's officially laid out yet.

A lot of the organisations that we have been looking at don't have set strategies either. We have, in fact ,through looking at their documents that they've published, been identifying our own strategies through those documentations. That's part of our thesis. Work, it's doing that aspect. And so it's no worries at all that Habitat itself doesn't have a strategy. We will find ways to, sort of, put Habitat or put your opinions into whichever which strategy, and then we'll keep you in the loop as to whether you think that that is what you meant and which sector it should be actually in. We have identified only a few strategies, and one of them is the policy advocacy strategy. That has been very large, and also the strengthening community engagement aspect, that's been a big thing, which I know that Habitat works on a lot. I attended the Favela housing reformations as well, and so I know about their community engagement. And so I feel as if just generally as a person who works in this sphere, you would still have some valuable opinions for us to have, which is why I decided to continue on with this interview.

But any other contacts as well would be fantastic. I don't necessarily know if we would, per se, have the chance to put all of the information into the thesis 'cause we do have a page limitation and a time limitation.

But it would still be fantastic to speak to these people about their different opinions, of course.

Magnus Elsuson Høgenni 26:30

It's always better to have too much than too little.

**Dominique Ender** 26:32

Exactly. Exactly.

So yeah, this answered our question. Our first question perfectly.

Magnus, do you have anything else to add or do you want to continue on with the questions?

Magnus Elsuson Høgenni 26:49

Oh nothing particular, like you did mention that, you know, like the topic of climate change is very peripheral at the moment in Habitat for Humanity. But when it comes specifically in terms of regions, of course we are looking mainly at the Amazon, the state of Brazil, especially its most remote region, so to say.

Have you ever done work that touches on the Amazonas state, or how generally familiar are you with the efforts of local groups and actors in the states?

**Raquel** 27:25

Mm hmm. Wonderful.

Umm, umm. So perhaps let me share with you a little bit about our current strategy development that would be and I think... Dominique, perhaps you you were there when we were.. We are now transitioning into... We had two offices or two headquarters, one controlled by Habitat for Humanity International and the other one was a national organisation with 30 years of functioning in Brazil, and we were merging right? We're merging the two structures and within that we are developing... That's why I'm saying that we are currently developing the climate change adaptation Strategy. So this is peripheral, but it's very much, very important really. This is something that we are... What is it called? [Brazilian] Anyway, it's something that we're working on and dedicating a lot of effort into developing, and another aspect is that we think this merging process, we....

Perhaps let me tell you a little bit about the story of Habitat for Humanity Brazil, and how we arrived on to this... Geographic priority, right?

So right now we have a geographic priority, which are the North and the Northeast region. As a national organisation, we understand that the most critical areas for us to work on are in the north and in the Northeast region. And within that we're different – we have a lot of work being done already in the Northeast region, but not so much in the north. So we are expanding, right? We are expanding our work in the North region.

Magnus Elsuson Høgenni 28:55

Hmm.

#### **Raquel** 29:21

But basically I think it is worth mentioning that.... A few things from our history that when I was speaking, I forgot to mention. First of all, Habitat for Humanity came to Brazil, after – I don't know if you if you heard that Dominique yet, but – Habitat for Humanity came to Brazil after a huge flood that happened in Belo Horizonte. Belo Horizonte is in the Southeast region, but it's very close to Rio and Sao Paulo, but not as important, not as rich and so on. So the first National Office of Habitat for Humanity, Brazil, was structured after a disaster, right? A climate-related socio-environmental disaster.

And then the first office was in Belo Horisonte. In the 1990s, the National Office moved to Recife, which is in the Northeast region, which is where we are now.

And it's a region where many NGOs move to, considering that there is a lot of capacity, I mean human capacity, but also it's an area where the demands, basically, the needs are much more accentuated, so there is there is a greater concentration of poverty, inequalities and so on. So it's our most critical area within Brazil and we've been working here for decades now, and it's been a few years since we are installing right, developing this new strategy and we decided to expand to the North region. So this is something new to us we are establishing.

So we have one office in Belém right now with a few... I'm trying to remember how many people we have there in our office in Belém., but it's a project dedicated specifically to sanitation in education facilities, so basically sanitation in schools.

In the Marajó Island, which is an island within the Amazon region, very isolated.

So we want a tender like a... What is it called? Is it a tender?

A selection process by the national by the federal government to do an assessment and to pilot a few sanitation solutions for, basically for those education facilities in the area of the Mariju Island.

Considering that there's an area which is... In the Amazon, there's so much water, so much food, and basically the sanitation aspects of it are just so complex that folks basically don't have bathroom facilities within the schools and basically the electricity, The power systems are so damaged or so precarious, basically, that there's no possibility to have a fridge or to refrigerate food, so therefore folks just basically... In school, kids, young child. Basically they eat... What is it called? Canned food. Canned food. Is that? Yeah. OK. So basically yeah. If I can be like the shortest I could be about that. That's the area and the main concerns about the area is that's very precarious, very isolated and very, you know. So this is one thing that we have in the Amazon. The other one is that we in Manaus, now we're changing. So

Belém is in the first major state in the Amazon. Right. So it's a Pará, in the state of Pará.

Magnus Elsuson Høgenni 32:54

Canned food, yes.

Raquel 33:21

The other one is the Amazonas. It's the other one, and where Manaus is the state capital. So in Manaus we have a mobilisation professional there, mobilisation Officer, I'm sorry, mobilisation Officer over there and in Manaus we're doing very interesting... In Manaus, we are a lot more articulated already, we're a lot more articulated within the civil society networks dealing with the urban reform or with the idea of having the right to the city over there. So over there we are part of the National Forum of Urban Reform, the Amazonas chapter of the National Forum of Urban Reform. We're also part of the Forum Das Aguas, which is the Waters Forum.

Is that the correct translation? Dominique? Help me. Yeah. So it's basically the water forum and over there both in Manaus and in Belém, the water issues is really alarming. And also one of the things that really catches attention it's the idea of dealing with water as a commodity, right? As something that it can be exchangeable, so all of the, all the issues related to the privatisation of water and sanitation services that have been going on in Manaus since the year 2000, And in Belém, the privatisation process is starting now. So this is really something that catches attention within our organisation. So right now, what we have going on in the Amazon are those two. Well, there there's two local... We have a local presence in these two areas over there, but we are not yet connected with the... So there. So one of the things that for instance in Belem coffee the what is it, COPI? The... Environmental what is the translation? I think COP is an acronym.

**Dominique Ender** 35:49

Mm hmm.

**Raquel** 35:49

Cop 30. What is it called?

**Dominique Ender** 35:51

Oh, the cop 30. Yeah, it's the. Yeah, yeah, yeah.

**Raquel** 35:56

So

**Dominique Ender** 35:58

It's like the cop that we have in Europe as well. Magnus the cop meetings.

**Raquel** 35:58

What does that acronym Stand for?

Ah, I think it's.

Conference of Parties?

What is it called? One second, COPI.

**Dominique Ender** 36:20

The Conference of Parties. Yeah. The Conference of Parties.

**Raquel** 36:24

Yeah, exactly. So the Conference of parties in 2025 will be in Belém and what's going on right now is that all the civil societies are getting ready to host that organisation, but also to confront that event, which is something that happens in many international events, right? There is often the main event and the Chamber of People, Right? But right on at the same time to say we are against...

Magnus Elsuson Høgenni 36:24

Oh yeah.

**Dominique Ender** 36:53

Yeah.

**Raquel** 36:56

All this UN system and we are against all these economic forums and all this economic approach to our cities, to our territories. So also what we've been seeing going on in delaying is that there are these two movements going on, one preparing and being aligned with the COP which is the main I think it's the main environmental... Is it the main environmental summit? I think? I think so. I think it's pretty much one of the most important ones. So there there's a whole line of work that that we're trying to engage with that has to do with how can we influence and actually be part of the official process, but also how can we align with our more radical and to the roots, connected to the roots allies to to also be part and to confront many of the ideas that are not consensual and how and how can we...

**Dominique Ender** 37:24

Yeah.

Magnus Elsuson Høgenni 37:24

Yes.

**Raquel** 37:53

Put light on the human rights violations that have been going on. Another thing that I think is worth mentioning is that we have been doing missions into the entire country, and we call them reporting missions. I don't know if that's a good translation or not. So it's basically

missions to go to specific areas and to speak, basically to articulate, to, well to, to establish a dialogue with local organisations, but also local representatives of local territories. To hear and to document their reports on human rights violations. So we did 10 missions over the last few years, looking at tenure security. And right now we are preparing 4 missions, two of them will be in the North region, which will focus on water and sanitation and hygiene. Right? So this one of them will be in Manaus and the other one will be in Belém. So this is the work that we've been doing in the North region.

**Dominique Ender** 38:57

Perfect.

Magnus Elsuson Høgenni 38:58

Fantastic.

**Dominique Ender** 39:00

And so within this sort of conversation, what do you place the importance of policy advocacy in these efforts? Basically, how do you think that policy advocacy changes the atmosphere while taking into consideration these human rights violations and dealing with these different organisations? How can one organisation's policy advocacy change an area?

**Raquel** 39:38

Tricky question.

One of the things, I was just out of a meeting and one of the things that we often try to emphasise is how Brazil can have beautiful walls and beautiful policies on paper, but nothing is really implemented. It can be that a law, what we call it, that it sits in a drawer, right? It just sits there and no one really cares about it.

It can be really frustrating if you dedicate all your efforts and all the efforts of 1 organisation or one coalition, many organisations or entire coalitions, just focusing on changing the law, the letters of the law. That of course, is one of the aspects that has very important potential. So I think one of the disputes, one of the focuses....

Here, perhaps, is where I should bring in the one of the discussions that we're trying to develop. There is a coalition that we're part of that it's called "Anti-Racist Climate Adaptation Coalition". Does that make sense? So, Dominique, in Portuguese, it is "A Rede por Adaptação Climatica Anti-Racista", right? It's a National Coalition and it's fairly new.

It does bring together several interesting coalitions, like he interesting organisations that have been dealing either with urban reform, such as Habitat (for Humanity) or the Black Rights Coalitions. I'm just translating it in a free manner, right, just to make it make it quicker. An

example is, The Clima de Eleição, it's a very interesting organisation that you should look up. And one of the things that is very clear is, and a dilemma, because when we are speaking about climate change, and climate adaptation, there is this idea that we need to change the law. We need to have a national, federal government that have a budget in place. So, the dispute for a budget is huge, right? How can we set aside money if the disaster hasn't even happened yet? There's all sorts of loopholes that can be put into place when there is a a dialogue about a public budget to deal with disasters and so on, Setting aside the previous government, the Bolsonaro Government, they had the budget set for the climate adaptation and they implemented around 3% of that budget. So what I'm trying to say is that the fact that there's the law, the fact that the money's there doesn't mean that it would be implemented, right?

So, this is one of the focuses of this, a huge, very interesting and very innovative network that's going on. But, one of the things that we've been discussing is that there's so much that needs to be done on the ground, right? There's so much that needs to be done in terms of building the capacity of community leaders, local leaders to be able to respond quickly, and to be able to act.

I won't say to prevent, but really to act quickly when there is a sign that something will happen and there is a siren just telling people, telling folks to basically "it's time to move or it's time to get out of the get out of the risk areas, houses of those areas" and so on. And especially when something happens, there's so much that needs to be done really on the humanitarian aspects of it, right? So we're talking about food. We're talking about clothes. So there's a whole sort of interventions that needs to be done. And there's really a dilemma. So how about Habitat For Humanity? Well, what do we do in this area? So we are a housing organisation and much of the work that we do is building, Like, it's construction. And within those construction works, we train folks based on looking at human rights, so we do so we have the training. We have the construction work in place, so we have the capacity to really support those areas, those needs. But if we're talking about climate change, we wouldn't. We'll never have enough money to deal with it. All right, so we'll never have enough resources, not money. Resources, really. Resources, time, human resources. But also anticipation. Time in terms of preventing what needs to be done, right? So I think there's really a dilemma that really haunts us every time we are speaking about climate change.

**Dominique Ender** 45:00

Yeah.

**Raquel** 45:16

So how can we be clear enough in our role? What do we want to do? Do we want to focus only on the policy advocacy aspects of it, or do we also want a humanitarian branch to our work? And I think those two areas are very, very important ones. The other one also is the dilemma of national versus local efforts, right?

So I think that's very clear also because when we're talking about a federative state like Brazil, there are lots, there are very many things that can be done really at the national level. But when it comes to scaling down – not scaled down – but like, the implications of it to the state level and to the municipal level, there can be all sorts of changes and all sorts of distortions basically on how the thing reaches the he local level, so this is also one of the aspects where our advocacy work should focus on. Should we focus on the national or on the local areas? So these are some of the dilemmas that we've been facing. I don't know if that answers it.

#### Magnus Elsuson Høgenni 46:44

It answers it marvellously. Do not worry about that.

#### **Dominique Ender** 46:52

Going off of what you said in regards to like local versus national, so a lot of what we've been looking at are local responses and local strategies that people that different organisations have been using.

In regards to adapting to and mitigating to our specific climate change instigator, which is, deforestation and one of the organisations actually was the Clima de Eleição so I'm glad that we got to have that in common.

We noticed that specifically what they wrote about in terms of climate change and advocacy, in regards that, they had one document talking about the "Planos do Governo" in regards to the indigenous people, which of course we know is of great importance within the northern states of Brazil especially.

# We were wondering whether you saw this importance of having a local strategy versus a national focused strategy because of the fact that there are all these different moving parts?

It can be completely opinionated. It doesn't have to be regarding Habitat for Humanity specifically.

#### **Raquel** 48:33

I think it's really a mix, right? I think with the local efforts plus the national efforts, it has to be a mix if we're thinking about long term transformation of our reality. So, I think we really need strong local actors or stakeholders to call attention, to be "antennas". Is it antenna?

#### Magnus Elsuson Høgenni 49:07

Yes, it's an English word.

#### **Raquel** 49:13

I'm really on the side that I think that having strong local stakeholders or local actors or local parties, is really, really important. Sometimes the most innovative (ideas) comes from local, the most innovative initiatives or efforts come really comes from from those local areas and and work on that. There are examples of things in Brazil that became really, really useful and were adopted across the country, that really came from local efforts or local initiatives or local pilot (projects).

There is this implementation of special zones of local interests, something that started here in Recife, and that was also implemented in Belo Horizonte and in another city over here. And then it just became, you know, those exchanges among local municipal government, and eventually just became more and more common, and then it became a part of the National Urban "Estatuto das Cidades", which is our main national urban policy law. I think there is a very strong bottom up approach to it that can really be important,

There's also some aspects of it though, that it is so much easier when it comes from the national government, right? More so, from the national level. I'm not only restricting to government. Let me give you an example not related to climate, during the COVID-19 pandemic we had what is called the "Zero Evictions Coalition". It was basically to stop evictions during the time of COVID. Folks were sent away from their homes, they were being displaced as a result of urban land conflicts. So, the original land owner says "this is my land, you're out of here" and so on. So there is this whole dispute for land in Brazil. Basically there is this idea that during a pandemic, there is an emergency period where one should not be evicted because being at home or going staying at home was basically a sanitary a matter of of life or death, right? So our advocacy efforts shifted, we started to map and to denounce and to report many territories and communities were being displaced, and were being evicted, and we understood that this was going on in the entire country.

For this instance, we shaped our advocacy at that moment to focus on the Supreme Court. So we focus on the Supreme Court and our dialogues and communications were focused and targeted Supreme Court and National Congress. But the Supreme Court was so much more effective, so much more effective. This then had a domino effect on all those states, because it's a federation, right? So I think it has to do with the structure of the government, how it is set up, but also where would be the entry points?

When it comes to climate, I think it's important for you to have a distinction between... I'm

going to say it in in Portuguese, because I don't know what the correct words for them are...but there is a distinction between the government efforts related to adaptation. This is the main, the overarching umbrella, right? But there is also the Defesa Civil (civil defence). Which is the humanitarian branch of it. Who should be removed from their homes when there's heavy rains and a flood coming? Where should these people go? What should be done with these shelters systems and then everything that has to be done.

Another one is what about cities, resilient cities? How can we work within the Cities Ministry and to prevent those and to adapt those? I think it's so complex that it's really difficult to figure where and what should be the target of those advocacy efforts, does that make sense?

#### Magnus Elsuson Høgenni 54:46

It does make sense.

The fact that you emphasise the importance of local actors, you know, like as sort of like the bridge there and also what you said with the difference between the national actors and civil defence layer, regarding the implementation of it. It's something we've noticed a lot like in our research how they're either challenges with a policy implementation especially in a more remote place such as the Amazon.

But also generally there's a lot of focus on like these NGOs either acting as bridges between like policy and implementation. A lot of the reports we're looking at have directly cited certain laws and policies, that they are working with or on as part of their mission.

We have also noticed that in a lot of our research, there were 2 main terms which really jumped out at us while we're doing our research.

The first one is like "Socioambiental" or socio-environmental. I remember you used this term earlier in the interview. One thing we find quite interesting is that, like socio-environmental is practically unheard of outside of Brazil, within other climate and political discourse.

The other term is "Jeitinho Brasileiro" (the Brazilian Way), which we noticed came up in academic articles and our research.

Since these terms are so prevalent, we wanted to first ask about "Socioambiental". What do you think that term "Socioambiental" implies when it comes to the scale of the consequence of climate change or the work that you do more generally?

#### **Raquel** 56:43

I think basically it tells us that, it's not only environmental, as it's not a climate disaster only. Remind me, Dominique and Magnus to send over a report that we just did about this actually for a disaster here in Recife, because our document says that what's going on is not new.

There's two phrases that I think were very important. So the first one is "A culpa não é a

chuva" (It is not the rain's fault) So, it's not only because it rained too much. It's actually a history of the deprivation. It's a history of human rights violations, a history of people being sent to areas because they like housing alternatives The other phrase is that no one chooses to live in hazardous areas, "Ninguem escolhe morar em area de risco". So it showed that these people are not there by choice, within this context I am talking specifically about the urban context, right? Because if you go to the Amazon and are discussing the traditional or indigenous aspect, it might be completely different, but could also be similar in some aspects, but make sure to pay attention to the differences. But that that phrase is really a synthesis of what we hear on the ground while walking within our popular territories and and speaking with the most vulnerable groups here. So we didn't choose to live there. It's a lack of choice to live there and it's not because it rained too much, it is not the weather's fault. It is the idea that there are climate change elements to a disaster, but there's also a social and political neglect about certain rights that really need to be emphasised. It is a combination between socioeconomic plus political plus a climate disaster.

So I think it's an intention to emphasise that it's not only a climate related disaster, it's also a disaster that has to do with inequalities, with deprivations and and human rights violations and the history of a country like Brazil. Another word that you may have heard of is "Racismo Ambiental" (Environmental Racism). This is also a term connected with the socio-environmental disaster. It basically says that those who are most affected or disproportionately affected by the social environmental disasters, we know their skin colour, we know their names, we know their address. It is almost as if the folks that are most disproportionately affected by a disaster are pre-detertmined by physical and economic attributes.

#### **Raquel** 1:00:38

One final thing that maybe I should call your attention is that "Jeitinho Brasileiro" it might have now a "pejorativo" a derogatory twist, that it doesn't go so well anymore.

Because at some point it has to do with "Oh, I'll do my way over here..." There is almost some relationship with like "soft corruption", and is very well known, but it is something that is not a 100% politically correct to refer to anymore. So if you want to bring that term into your work, reflect critically on it, but I do think it is very interesting. But I think there's some. It's just important to remember that there are some pejorative elements to it. So please pay attention when you're referring to it because it really emphasises some stereotypes of Brazilians or even Latin Americans. It can be used against many, many other things that I know you are very much trying to promote here. So I think just some heads up over here

about the term.

Magnus Elsuson Høgenni 1:02:29

That's actually very relevant that you pointed out specifically because in the paper that we encountered at term, "Jeitinho Brasileiro", the Brazilian way, was actually in a paper about how land owners in the state of Para in varying ways, subverted the CAR system.

**Dominique Ender** 1:02:56

The Rural Cadastre system.

Magnus Elsuson Høgenni 1:02:58

The paper points down varous strategies of "cattlelanders" and cattle laundering.

And also how people would deforest in less obvious ways, such as cutting smaller trees and so on. The article itself describes the term, in very glowing terms, she says "a special way of knowing of solving any problem or challenge or forbidden situation or a creative solution to some emergency, whether in the form of conciliation, cleverness, or skill". This was coined by Barbosa. That's the way she explained it. But the link to corruption there, it is very good that you pointed that out.

**Raquel** 1:03:44

Of course, we are proud to be resourceful, right? So just we'll just do our best and there's a romantic side to it. But there's also a stereotypification to it as well. So just pay attention and be aware that you're using a term that might have different connotations depending on how you use it and and where and so on.

Dominique and Magnus, let me just tell you that I do have a meeting right after this one. So I think should we start to wrap up, could we start to wrap up soon?

**Dominique Ender** 1:04:31

Of course.

**Raquel** 1:04:51

OK. Yeah. So if you do think it's relevant to have a a second interview we can attempt to schedule one? Or if you want to send me over any written questions, I will answer them. I apologise for not having said the time before the meeting started.

**Dominique Ender** 1:06:03

No problem. I think one of remaining questions that we can ask you is,

Out of the strategies that you know of in regards to tackling climate change,

what strategies in particular do you believe hold a particular future promise

In adapting and mitigating to consequences of climate change?

Do you have any names for these strategies, or you can "free ball" it and we can, like I

said before, relate what you say to different strategies that we already have identified. In the fight against climate change issues, is there any particular strategy that you believe is the better one to focus on?

**Raquel** 1:07:04

I think the most powerful ones that I've seen working is basically community level contingency plans, right? So it's basically working with communities. Here, I'm speaking from an NGO side, but that can also work from a public and local government point of view and of course the ideal would be to have everyone sitting on the same table and having the same focus. The most interesting ones that I saw were university led strategies facilitated with local leaders. To map the most sensitive areas and to have the contingency plans to what we do do next or to where. And here I'm specifically talking about floods and landslides, climate disasters, since Habitat does not work with deforestation specifically.

We're focused on those how to work with communities that are impacted.

One very interesting methodology I think is called PASA and it's from the Red Cross. It's called Participatory Action. It's an 8 step prep process methodology that's basically working with communities.

But here one of the things that I have to say is that it's very interesting one, but it is pretty much focused on the idea of "do it yourself" or the "let's not bring in the state together", but they do bring the state together. It's not the DNA on the Red Cross, right? So how not to be confrontational, how not to be as as diplomatic as possible.

And in the Brazilian context, that's not really the case. We really need to "put on the fan everything", there is a saying here which says "put it on the fan and then all the smell will come out". It's actually a strategy that's very "como constranger". How to make one embarrassed? How to make one embarrassed, how to make the state embarrassed for not doing this and that right? So this is a this is a very interesting strategy.

Together with those contingency plans, I think those are best ways to go if we're talking about local level strategies. So of course, on the national level, the better the policies and the most resources allocated to the issue, the better. But then we're when we're talking about local level change and until we don't have an adaptation set up or in place, I think that's the way to go.

**Dominique Ender** 1:10:39

Raquel, this has been great. We received a lot of information, and partially answer at least a lot of the other questions that we've had. So this has been great.

There are a couple of questions that we may just send over to you just in case, and you can feel free to send us very brief written answers. It's no problem.

And we will work with what we have.

But thank you so much for talking to us. This has been fantastic and this will be very, very valuable for our research, definitely.

# Magnus Elsuson Høgenni 1:11:17

Yeah, I fully agree. Thank you so much. This was.

Fantastic. Thank you so much for the incredibly valuable answer that you have. This was really, yeah, I've nowhere. It's just. Yeah. Thank you so much.

**Raquel** 1:11:31Thank you so much. Good luck. And if you do need anything else, just come over and apologies for jumping out so quick.

#### **Appendix C:** *Interview Consent Form*

# **Interview Consent Form**

This contract outlines the terms of your participation in an interview conducted as part of the interviewers' research into strategies for combating deforestation in the Amazonas state of Brazil.

Following the terms laid out in this form, the contents of this interview will be used as part of our Master's Thesis, to be submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for an MSc. in International Relations & Development – Global Refugee Studies from Aalborg University.

**Research project title:** *Jeitinho Brasileiro*: A Critical Institutional Analysis of The Fight Against Deforestation in The Amazonas State of Brazil

Interviewers: Dominique Ender, Magnus Elsuson Høgenni

**Master's program:** MSc. International Relations & Development – Global Refugee Studies - Aalborg University

Interviewee: Raquel Ludermir

**Purpose:** The purpose of this interview will be to gather the interviewee's insights, as an expert in policy advocacy and direct knowledge on Brazilian climate policy, on the most effective strategies for tackling climate change instigators, for example, deforestation, in the Amazonas, as well as her perspective on present challenges of implementing existing policies.

Interview details: The interview will be conducted on 25 April 2024 at 14:00 Recife, Pernambuco, Brazil (GMT-3) time and is estimated to last approximately 1 hour; the duration may vary depending on the discussion. As parties are in different countries, the interview will be conducted virtually through Microsoft Teams. The link to the meeting will be sent via email ahead of the date. The meeting will be recorded for transcription purposes.

Confidentiality: The interviewee has the right to remain anonymous. If anonymity is chosen either before or after the interview, all identifying information will be omitted from the thesis and any related publications. The recorded interview will be kept confidential and only used for this research project. After transcription and analysis, the recording will be securely deleted.

Voluntary participation: Participation in this interview is entirely voluntary. The interviewee also has the right not to answer any questions if they do not feel

comfortable or able to do so, and may withdraw from the interview at any point without penalty.

**Publication:** Quotes or excerpts from the interview will solely be used for the master's thesis, subject to the terms of this contract. If the interviewee wishes, she will have the opportunity to review and approve any quotes used before submission.

**Agreement:** I hereby agree to participate in the research interview. I have read and understood the terms of this consent form and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

Feel free to contact us if you have any questions about the research or interview process. Contact: <a href="mailto:dender22@student.aau.dk">dender22@student.aau.dk</a> <a href="mailto:mhogen22@student.aau.dk">mhogen22@student.aau.dk</a>

Thank you for your valuable contribution to our research!

Signature of Interviewee:		
		Documento assinado digitalmente
_	gov.br	RAQUEL LUDERMIR BERNARDINO Data: 25/04/2024 11:02:05-0300 Verifique em https://validar.iti.gov.br
Date:		

Signature of Researchers:

Date: 22/4/2024

# **Appendix D:** *Initial Strategy Sorting Table*

Strategies	Focus	Actors	Actor Type	Initiatives	Description	Key Words/Terms PER ORG	Common Key words
Protecting and Empowering Traditional Communities	Mitgaten	IBAMA	Government body - Administrative Arm of the Ministry for the Erwitormusch	Direct enforcement of environmental and deforestation laws, coording with the Federal phway Police	CASE STUDY: Launching armed raids against lilegal mines together with the PRT, strutting down camps and airsting and the protection. BLAM is the central organ for environmental protection. Acting nationwide with environmental police power, Executing environmental actions that are part of national policies; and environmental lacensing; Controlling environmental quality. Supervising and authorizing the use of natural ensources; Controlling environmental quality.	Brazilian Press Releases (Portuguese):  *Pagamento por performance** "Payment for Performance**  *2026 (Target date for the Union):  *70 (municipatities):  *73 (municipatities):  *74 (municipatities):  *75	Common words for 1st Strategy: Cornservation - Conservação Cooperation - Cooperação Implementation - Implementação Investiment - Investimento Environment (Enforcers, Services, Crimes - Meio Ambiento Monitoring - Monitoriamento Protection - Proteção Security - Segurança Security - Segurança Sustainable Development - Deservolvimento Sustentável Communidades Tradicionais - Traditional Communities Illegal Activity/Mining: Atividade/Garimpo Illegal Illegal Activity/Mining: Atividade/Garimpo Illegal Communidades India - Communidades Agricultura Emaniliar - Family Faming Policies (Public, Indigenous, Legal etc)

	Adaptation	IPAM	Local Institution - NGO	Amazoniar Project: Videos and Writtes: //ipam.org. //i	Amazoniar is an initiative of IPAM to promote a global discipue about Amazon and its importance for Braziffs resistants with the workfullon involvement with the Amazonas state community combats deforestation. https://jaam.com/bass/deforestation.html/jaam.com/bass/	- "Agrossidate" - "Standing Forest" – Foresta em Pe - Agrobulmas - Agrobulma Expansion - Biodeversity - Biodeversity - Biodeversity - Biodeversity - Biodeversity - Forest Code - Compatily - Catlet Raining - Collective Mobilization - Command and Control - Command and Control - Command and Control - Command Expansion - Command Expansion - Description - Descri	
2.Lt Enforc	Milgation	Engajamundo	Local Institution - NGO	PSB et al. v Brazil (Supreme Court Case) https://www.conectas.org/en/filtiolont/and/2760-the-resumption-of-a-plan-to-combinated forestation/https://portal.psb.br/processos/detal ha.asp2 incidents-604999	Court case against the Brazilian government, alleging that the government bracched the constitution when PPODMn was slothed, braziling environmental crimes as well as inagenous rights	Alloyed breach of constitution wit environmental crimes  - Coal to strengthen federal bodies like IBAMA, Funal and Chicko Mende institute (Strengthening command & control)  - Creation of an environment commission to make  - Proceeding after the return of the PPCDAm  - Proceeding after  - Proceeding	Common words for 2nd strategy: - Constitution - Environmental crimes - Constitution - Environmental crimes - Breach of duties - Breach of duties - Breach of duties - Breach of aw (by legally suspending another law) - Unconstitutional to suspend another law - Implementation - Structural flaws - Framework - Policing - Structural flaws - Framework - Policing - Strengthening - Effective instruments - Transprancy - Institutions - Enforcement - Engagement - Command - Control - Cooperation - Stakeholders - Sharing intelligence - Technology - Mapping - Sinure flance - Smuggling - Cooperation among multiple actors
	Milgation	Observatório do Clima	Local Institution - Network of Civil Society Organizations	Federal Court Class Action awaut: OC vs. MMA https://biogs.law.columbia.ge/du/climatechange/2021/12/01/a-new-climate-litigation-claim-in-brazil-raises-the-pressure-for-increased-climate-action-and-protection-of-the-amazon-rainforest/.	Filed a class action lawsuif at the Amazonas federal court against the environmental ministry. The petitioner in this case request bits in the NPCC be updated according to the best available. NPCC be updated according to the best available (Climate Change 2021) to reduce greenhouse gas emissions (GHG) by the Brazilan government consistent with a 15-50 global warming scenario. The claim is grounded on the constitutionally menocipated right to a healthy environment gardy, health, food, and housing, along with several recognized principles of infernational environmental law and international climate change commitments.	Instruments Constitutional recognised rights to a healthy environment convictionment (crime against humanity) Elevation discussed in the conviction of the c	

	Migation	Center for International Police Cooperation (CCPI)	Government - Policing Initiative	Security centre in Manaus (funded by the Amazon Fund) in coordination with Amazon Cooperation Treaty Organization (ACTO) https://doi.org/10/24/01/23/amazon-nations-to-lackle-rainforest-comre-to-genther-in-donor-funded-new-	air traffic and trafficking. Coordinated Intelligence and technology sharing, training, coordinating operations.	- Stakehokders - Mulmichael - Mulmichael - Pollicing - Pollicing - Sharing intelligence - Developing new technologies - Cooperation of multiple Amazonian countries - Enforcement - Illegal	
3. Sustainable Economy Advocacy - Bioeconomy	Adaptation	FAS	Local Institution - NGO	Floresta em Pé (Standing Forest) Program https: (ffas-amazonia, org/orogramas/flor ssta-em-pe/		Acesso ao Mercado: Martel Acoess Apriguotiones Familiares: Eanily Farmers Andridosas: Alimonds (Cocoa Production Agriguotiones Familiares): Family Farmers Andridosas: Alimonds (Cocoa Production Assistantis Ternica: Technical Assistance Alvidade Tradicional: Traditional Activity Autonomia das Communidades: Community Autonomy Avanços: Tables (Communidades): Community Autonomy Avanços: Tables (Communidades): Electronomy Bolisa Florests: Bioeconomia: Bioeconomy Bolisa Florests: Bioeconomia: Bioeconomy Bolisa Florests: Closas: Florests: Production Chain Cheiss: Florest (Cocoa Article - 2014) Cloragem: Cloning Comercialização: Commercialization Commercialização: Commercialização: Conservação: Conservation Curacia para Utilização: Commercialização: Conservação: Conservation Curacia para Utilização: Transimia Courses Conservação: Conservation Curacia particular pesta formation particular pesta particular pesta particular pesta particular pesta particular pesta	Common words for 3rd strategy: - Marketa Acoses - Families - Families - Families - Families - Empowerment - Empowerment - Sustainability - Indigenous practices - Indigenous communities - Indigenous practices - Traditional signiculture - Benefits - Engagement - Infrastructure - Biodiversity - Diversification - Natural environmental cycles - Divense polyculture (as opposed to - Divense polyculture (as opposed to - Divense polyculture (as opposed to - Nurient-rich soli fet by natural cycles - Stakeholders - Coordination - Traceability - Supply chains - Management - Implementation of public policies - REDD+ - Payment-by-results - Restoration - Incentives - Vulnerable area - Traditional - Socioambiental/socioenvironmental - Investment

Milgation	IPAAM	Government Body	Floresta+ Program https://www. florestamaisamazo na.org. prinovolsabre/	Supports those who protect and recover the forest and contribute to the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions.  With a Scuss on the Payments for Environmental Services strategy, by 2006 the initiative will recognize the work of small producers, owners or possessions of rural properties with up to four fiscal modules, support projects of indigenous peoples and inadditional communities and development in the Legal Amazon. The National Strategy for REDD4 will also be strengthened with the framework of the project.  Implemented with resources from the Green Climate Fund GGS1), the Percetat Amazonia Project is the result of a partmentiple between the Ministry of Environment and Climate Change (MAA) and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP).	manage and restore their land."  Detailed legal framework and governance model  SICARCAR mechanisms  SICARCAR mechanisms  SICARCAR mechanisms  Brown and the second
Adaptation	IDESAM	Local Institution - NGO	Projeto Café Apui https://idesam. org/en/cafe-apui- resultados- perspeck/asi. https://idesam. org/wpc- 21/02/Dortt- Desenv-de-PGM- de-Pagamentos- APUI.pdf	One of the reports discussing the project, alims to present a proposal for an Environmental Services Program for the Municipality of Apul Ritted to an admit and the Control of the Municipality of Apul Ritted to and aiming to enduce deforestation and aiming to enduce deforestation and aiming to enduce deforestation and inside to 2015 Annazonas State Policy. The second document in itself, proposed to the control of the Annazonas State Policy. The second document in itself, proposed to the control of the Annazonas State Policy. The second document in itself, proposed to the control of the Annazonas State Policy. The second document in itself, proposed to the Annazonas State Policy. The second document in itself, production of coffee and silvopastional diskip production diskip production diskip production diskip prod	Salat Law of Environmental Services in the Amazon Programa de Pagamente por Services Ambientals: Payment Program for Environmental Services - Cadelas Produtiva Sustentavies: Sustainable Production Chains - Cadelas Produtiva Sustentavies: Sustainable - Production Chains - Pr
Misgation	IDESAM	Local Institution - NGO	AMAZ Na Floresta Na'kau Chocolete Hitlps://amaz.org. br/Wb:- content/uoleads/20 23/09/AMAZ REL ATORIQ-202- EMG.udf : https://damaz.org. br/portfolio/na- floresta/	AMAZ is the largest accelerator and investor in inspact businesses in the north of the country, and currently has 15 businesses in the profitol. It is quarrently has 15 businesses in less profitol. It is full blended finance) of RS 25 million for investment in ingred businesses over the next five years, the first focused exclusively on the region. Ne Protest, faither correapy Nation agrowing mit the Amazon (viverside dwellers, indigenous peoples; credes) using their traditional growing methods. Pays above-market values to growers, further financially substiming them, and some control of the families involved. Producers are located on the Madeira and Amazon rivers.	Amaz  - Angel investor focusing on sustainable socioenvironmental business - Impact business/socioenvironmental impact - Sustainable business and prospority, trying economic and environmental sustainability together - Ingal-Impact and long-term financial sustainability opinion - Impact and long-term financial sustainability opinion - Tracking "diselled yo indirectly conserved" hectares (businesses that use fewer hectares or none at all, companing to there areas they don't work in maybe?) - Tracking "families beenfied"

4. Community-						•Bolsa Floresta	Common words for 4th strategy:
Based Forest Management	Milgation	FAS	Local Institution - NGO	Bolsa Fioresta Program (Forest Fund) (2008-2023 1888-2016-2018-2018-2018-2018-2018-2018-2018-2018	- Encourages conservation of forests through sustainable use. It provides direct financial assistance and indirect support to the residents of sustainable use protected danes (SORs) of drazal sustainable use protected danes (SORs) of drazal measures.  - It was a reward for environmental services for lamilies bring or using 16 Conservation Units (CU) in the state of Amazonse, provide of State Policy or Climate Change.  - The program was started in 2007 and contains a financial compensation program, where a small financial compensation program, where a small financial compensation program, where a small compensation and development compensation and development compensation and development compensation and several context of the cont	Sociaemiwental Sociaemiwommental Posemon/wimento Susteriake/e Sustainable Development Unidades de Conservação. Units of Conservator Unidades de Conservação. Unidades de Program - STANDING FOREST—Connection Podeza Estrema Extreme Povery Cadeises Produtivas Producidos Crains Programa Estreme Povery Engalgementa Communitário. Programa de Programa Communitário. Programa de	- Sustainable Development ( Closenvolvimento Sustentável) - Environmental Services (Serviços  - Ambientais) - Environmental Services (Serviços  - Ambientais) - Environmental Conservation - Environmental Conservation - Environmental Conservation - Riverside Communities (Communidades  Ribeininhas) - Communities (Communidades  - Ribeininhas) - Innovation (Inovação) - Implementataion (Implementação) - Sustainability (Sustentabilidade) - Environmental Conservation - Implementation (Implementação) - Sustainability (Sustentabilidade) - Environmental Conservation - Implementation Conservation - Tradictionals) - Tradictionals - Tradictionals - Tradictionals - Carbon Credits (Créditos de Carbono) - Carbon Credits (Crédit
	Adaptation	idesam	Local Institution - NGC/Institution	Carbon Neutral Program https: ///desamoneutro/	- Objective of connecting large urban centers to forests, allowing people, companies and instalves to take responsibility for the impacts they generate on the planet, by neutralizing their generations gas (CHC) emissions, under the present of the planet, by neutralizing their generations gas (CHC) emissions, under the planet of the pla	Agardonesty Systems (SAFs) Reserves - Soutainable Previousment - Sustainable Previousment - Sustainable Previousment - Sustainable Previousment - Inadiscus - Inad	

5. Strengthening ndigenous Land Rights	Miligation	President of Brazil	Government Body - Ministry	Name of Decree! Government Decree to recognise indigenous territories https://www.lstintimes. com/fbrazils-tula-recognizes-6-new- indigenous-reserves-calls-it- important-step- 543784	Signed a decisie in April 2023 that demandated sin new indigenous territories, granting exclusive use of the netural resources to the indigenous reasients, fanning mining and severely restricting logging and commercial agriculture in line with the PPC-DAns. The case in the Amazon, the targest of which is Universit.	- Protection - Recovery - Sustainable use of land - Natural measures - Respect for heritige - Sovereignty - Dignty - Dignty - Comment - Protection for land and climate justice - Strong control of the Comment - Protection for land users - Indigenous Reserves - Protection for land users - Indigenous Reserves - Protected Areas - Promote - Indigenous Registro-Cultural Land - Degraded Land - Agriculture	- Justice - Indigeneity - Designation - Inclusion - Stakeholders - Indigensiation - Respect and honour - Tradition - Rights - Rig
	Migation	FUNAI	Government Body	Conducting the formal designation of indigenous lands, historical official representative of indigenous peoples	Formally conducts the research and activities to delineate and designate indigenous lands, which may then be demarcated by opvernment. Also supports efforts by feedral police against deforesting on indigenous lands. Open Data Plan + Press Releases	Coltanes Constitutional Right Denial (of rights) Denial (of rights) Dislague Emergency Actions - Health Casmity - Infrastructure - Infrastructure - Infrastructure - Indigenous Land - Indigenou	- Socioambiontal
6. Climate Education & Activism	Migation	Engajamundo	Local Institution - NGO	Engaja na Amazônia Program (Pilot Phase: 2018-19) hitas: //engajamundo org/campanhas/eng/campanhas/eng/campanhas/engaja-na-amazonia/	*Advocacy training project that aimed to strengthen the engagement of young people from traditional communities as prolagonists of their variational communities as prolagonists of their brationes. 2000 people impacted and over their territories. 2000 people impacted and over Training. 8D house, preventing an arractiong tools for activism, political participation. A grant production and mobilization. Carried out with 4 different audiences. Carried out with 4 different audiences. Carried out with 4 different audiences from the Transplas River region (PA), quidenthole youth from the Transplas River region (PA), quidenthole youth from the Transplas River region (PA) and urban university students from Maraus (AM). There were 10 months of activities in the 4 termbres, with a batio of 121 young people being a formation of the production of the production. The production of the production	Adviscosiy Engajament: Engajament Fortalecer: Strengthen Fortalecer: Fortalecerials: Treaternal Communities Fortalecerials: Treaternal Communities Fortalecerials: Treaternal Communities Fortaleger: Fortalecerials: Treaternal Communities Fortaleger: Fortalecerials: Fortalecerials Fortaleger: Fortalecerials Fortaleger: Fortalecerials Fortaleger: Fortalecerials Fortaleger: Fortalecerials Forta	Common words for 6th strategy: -Advocacy -Advocacy -Strengthening -Empowerment -Education -Protection -Participation -Participation -Stakeholders -Mobilisation -Opportunities -Socioambiental -Dialegue -Impact -Impa
	Milgation	Movimento em Pé	Local Institution - NGO	Marco Temporal Não https://www. marcotemporalina .org.bd/	Activien campaign garnering 80.000 protestors: regarding the National Congress overfurning President Lula's veto of the Natron Temporal. disrespecing the Supreme Court and the Palnasilo and transpiring on indigenous rights, enabling the maisstatistics of mitiatry ories on refigenous lands. (Articulation of Indigenous Peoples of Brazz) filed at lewsuit of unconstitutionality in the Supreme Court.	- Julgamento: judgment - Netroo Temporal - Povos Indigenas: Indigenous People - Povos Indigenas: Indigenous Indi	

	Miligation	Imazon	Local Institution - NGO	PrevisiA - https: //previsia.org.br/; https://previsia.org. br/wp: content/uploads/20. 20/4/Previsia. Principals: resultados-2023.	PrevisiA is an innovative platform that uses artificial intelligence to indicate areas at risk of dedorestation in the Amazon. Its methodology analyzes a set of variables such as the presence of legal roads and deforestation, the classes of termbries, the distance to protected areas, the analysis of the control of the c	- New technologies  - Publiciprivate partnership (Imazon partnering with Microsoft)  - Tracking developments at a faster pace than humans.  - Tracking developments at a faster pace than humans in the second partnership of the proposition of the second partnership of the second	
7. Policy Advocacy	Document 1: document 2: Milgaton	lmazon	Local Institution - NGO	Amazon2030: Public Policies for the Protection of the Amazon Forest – What Works and How to Improve & Zero Deforestation and Land Use Planning Foundations for the Sustainable Development of the Brazilian Amazon https: //amazonia2030.org/br/public- policies-for-the- amazon-forest- what-works-and- how-to-improve/; https: //amazonia2030.org/br/public- policies-for-the- amazon-forest- what-works-and- how-to-improve/; https: //amazonia2030.org/br/public- content/uploads/20 23/09/ZeroDefores Lodf	schnical knowledge. Early capable of implementing an effective strategy for protecting implementing an effective strategy for protecting of the process of the protection of the strategy, it is organized as follows: section VMy Protect the Anazon Forest? provides an onservation, highlighting how this action has representations of the board, actional, and international levels; section VMhat Works to Protect the Anazon Forest summarizes empirical knowledge about the effectiveness of public results from the accelement literature that evaluates policies aimed at combating Amazon devices aimed at combating Amazon forest summarized in Strengthening Amazon Forest Protection* discusses ways to improve and sustainable development agends for the Brazilian Amazon.	Document 1 (dated 2021, during Bolsonaro's time):  - Explaining the importance of policy in protecting the  - Explaining the importance of policy in protecting the  - Explaining the importance of policy in protecting the  - Indiging government policy and action (or acting in  service of policy), contral to most NGO Initiatives  - Indiging government policy and action (or acting in  service of policy), contral to most NGO Initiatives  - Interactional protection of protection of the protection o	Common words for 7th strategy:  - Dedrostation (Desmatamento)  - Indiparentation (Implementação)  - REDD' - Implementation (Implementação)  - REDD' - Service (Implementação)  - Redispulse (Implementação)  - Indigenous Pecple (Povos Indigena)  - Indigenous Pecple (Povos Indigena)  - Indigenous Pecple (Povos Indigena)  - Traditional Communities (Comunidades  Traditional Communities (Comunidades  - Climate (Sovemança Climática /  Mudanças climáticas / Legislações  - Climate (Governança Climática /  - Consel (Abude Parlamentar / Apões)  - Action (Abude Parlamentar / Apões)  - Resoursos Naturos / Planos do  - Corrença / Governança Climática /  Governon / Covernança Climática /  Governon / Covernança (Parlamentar / Apões)  - Conservation (Conservação / Meio  - Conservation (Conservação / Meio  - Productivity (Production Chains etc)

Climate Legislation  Comparative  Comparative	Majorbion	IPAM	Local Institution- NGO	Policy Brief: Socicenvironment as Safeguards and the Guarantee of Forest People's Rights https://lipam.org.hr/bibliotecas/socicenvironment-asafeguards-and-the-guarantee-of-forest-beoples-rights/	REDD+ has proved resilient as a proposal for dealing with greenhouse gas (CHG) emission from deforestation and forest degradation in more deceasable and of level degradation in initialities have advanced through the project-project approach and restoration and restoration of the project-project approach and restoration of substancial Jurisdictional REDD+ Systems.  One of the most important components of a Jurisdictional REDD+ System is the socient-informents alregulards. Its main function is to reduce the occurrence of social and restoration in the grader-equitable inclusion of Indigenous Peoples and structures. It is essential that the managen responsible for implementing this policy look for effective ways of predicting these risks and structuring mechanisms to avoid, reduce, or mitigate them. COMMECTS TO JURISDICTIONAL REDD ASOVE.	FREDD+ Sistemas Jurisdicionals: Jurisdicional Systems Desmalamentic: Deforestation Sinkangaudras Sociambientalis: Environmental Shangaudras Sociambientalis: Environmental Shangaudras Sociambientalis: Environmental Resides de Qases de Eleito Estufs (GEE) Greenhouse Gas Emissions Flacos Sociais e Ambientalis: Social and Environmental Riskanda Equalitative de Género: Equitable Gender Inclusion Provos Indigenas Quitombotas e Comunidades Tradicionais (PICOTS): Indigenous People, "Sineriand Setters", Tradicional Communidae Setters", Tradicional Communidae Hallage Socials: Social Provisional Structures Implementation Hallage Socials: Social Participation Discussional Communidae Hallage Socials: Social Participation Discussional Communidae Conservational Socials: Social Participation Discussional Socials: Social Participation Discussional Socials: Social Participation Discussional Socials: Climate Companion Problemas com internet – Connectivity: Problema with in internet Protocolo de Consultar Consulting Protocola Recursos Financialis: Financial Resources Heauting of Beneficos Benefit Sharing/Distribution Reparticipation Communication Recursos Financialis: Financial Resources Protogico De Insignal Expression Recursos Financialis: Financial Resources Protogico De Insignal Expression Commendate Apricolatis Consulting Protocola and Rights Commondies Agricolatis Agricultural Commodies Extragio logal: Insignate Exercision Oriented State (Beglies Exercision Protogico De Insignation Financial Resources Conflicts Internos: Internation Contensus Fortalecor: Strengthen Respentance Structural Conflicts Commondies Agricolatis Representation Hulleres: Women Hulleres: Women Resources Automis: Natural Resources CMMC Commondies Collegia Caraction Collegia Exercision Laudice Collegia Exercision Colle	
	Mégaton			/: Legislações Climáticas https: //climadeeleicao, _com, br/legislacoes- climaticas/; https: //drive.google, _com/file/d/1q- yxDDAt48Hcuyrl, Trupz4cjac3og3t/vi	how Brazilian legislation has advanced on this agenda and related topics. It aims to be a tool for parliamentary action by inspiring the multiplication of good practices, bringing visibility to existing	Inspirar Inspire Visibilitade Visibility Visibilitade Visibility Visibilitade Visibility Visibilitade Visibility Visibilitade Visibility Visibilitade Visibility Povos Indigensa: Indigenous People People (Marcipal): Elections Pelledres (Marcipal): Elections Pelledres (Marcipal): Elections Perposale Indemnia Marcipal: Marcipal Leadership Peoplesa: Proposale Indemnia Marcipal: Marcipal Leadership Peoplesa: Proposale Indemnia Marcipal: Marcipal Leadership Peoplesa: Proposale Indemnia Superior (TSE): Superior Electoral Court Pedia Marcipal Pedia Marc	