THE EMERGENCE OF CONSERVATION UNITS IN THE WESTERN AMAZON:
THE CASE OF EXTRACTIVE RESERVES OF ACRE

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Abstract

This article discusses the origin of Conservation Units, especially the extractive reserves in Acre, one of the important forms of recognition of property rights in the region. This, mainly, allows unravel the complex relationship between two opposing processes that express the dynamics of occupation of the Acre state land from the decade of the 70s of the last century. During this period began a peculiar economic and social process of occupation of the Amazon lands that are now considered as ideal place for application of capitalist investment, supported by these economic and fiscal policy of the Central Government of Brazil.

The fragility of property rights is considered by a vast literature a crucial obstacle to economic development. There are unanimous in saying that the existence of security of property rights has a crucial role in increased economic efficiency of land use, and ensure political and social stability, reducing conflicts over land. The process clearly demonstrates the speculative character and this concentrator process of appropriation of large plots of land in Acre. The acceleration and expansion of deforestation on the other hand, shows the degrading aspect of this process.

Key Words: Extractive Reserve; Land Governance; Sustainable Development; land use; Amazonia.
1. Introduction

The fragility of property rights is considered by a vast literature a crucial obstacle to economic development. There are unanimous in saying that the existence of security of property rights has a crucial role in increased economic efficiency of land use, and ensure political and social stability, reducing conflicts over land (SOTO, 2000; DEININGER, 2003). This article discusses the origin of Conservation Units, especially the extractive reserves in Acre, one of the important forms of recognition of property rights in the region. This, mainly, allows unravel the complex relationship between two opposing processes that express the dynamics of occupation of the Acre state land from the decade of the 70s of the last century (Cavalcanti, 1983; Souza, 2016). During this period began a peculiar economic and social process of occupation of the Amazon lands that are now considered as ideal place for application of capitalist investment, supported by these economic and fiscal policy of the Central Government of Brazil.

The appropriation of land in Acre, especially in legal terms, clearly demonstrates the speculative character and this concentrator process of appropriation of large plots of land in Acre. The acceleration and expansion of deforestation on the other hand, shows the degrading aspect of this process. Finally, the conflicts arising from the struggle for land tenure conforms the general context that defines this process of occupation (Cavalcanti, 1983). It is in this scenario that occurs the establishment of extractive reserves. It was within this context that emerged in 1985, a response from the Acre rubber tappers to the expropriation of land and forest devastation process, based on the proposal of the Extractive Reserves (RESEX). These were, therefore, a result of this resistance movement that aimed to generate value without environmental degradation (Cavalcanti, 2002).

The Extractive Reserves (RESEX) are public domain areas, with use granted to traditional extractive populations, whose livelihood is based on extractivism and subsistence agriculture and the small animal husbandry, and has as basic objectives protect the livelihoods and culture of these populations, and ensure the sustainable use of natural resources of the unit (Cavalcanti, 2002; Allegretti 1994).
The data sources for the elaboration of this article shall be, in addition to the bibliographic data, field surveys conducted by the Department of Economics of the Federal University of Acre to the development of a database named "Economic Analysis Systems Basic of Rural Family Production Acre Valley." The first was held between May 1996 and April 1997, a data collection was conducted in July 2001, through interviews with producers, trade union leaders, members of the National Council of Rubber Tappers and technicians of the various bodies working in the area such as EMATER, INCRA and IBAMA. Finally, a field survey was conducted in July 2014.

2. Background

2.1 Conservation Units

Environmental concerns in Brazil, it can be considered, had their mark defined in the middle of the 18th century, in the space of consolidation of the conception of naturalist ideas and values. This wide movement of preoccupations with nature, in the sense of its unveiling, originated in Europe and was expressed through the intensification of studies, collections and research on flora and fauna extending to the social and cultural way of life of peoples, especially Those of the Americas.

The roots of this movement, at least as expressed in Imperial Brazil, seem to point to at least two determinants. The first of them is based on the idea of unveiling the New World, to which Europe began to have access from the discoveries. This position, on the other hand, was closely associated with a broader construction project of the Modern State, within which natural history and the national future were closely intertwined. The second element to which we have referred above concerns a growing awareness in both Europe and North America of the destructive potential of the human being.

The naturalistic conception, as it was structured in the USA, seems to have kept a great distance from the European naturalistic conception, in a movement that points to a peculiar form of perception of the nature. In the USA, naturalism has assumed a more specific character, based on the idea that the only way to preserve nature is to keep it away from man. As a result, it expressed itself concretely in the definition of natural areas endowed with scenic beauties with the
aim of protecting "wilderness" increasingly threatened by the industrial pattern and urban expansion.

The creation of Yellowstone Park in 1872 in the USA clearly embodies this idea of naturalism as a guarantee of wildlife through the creation of "islands of preservation" of the natural world isolated from the predatory presence of man. If the idea of creating these "islands of preservation" is based, on the one hand, on the conviction of the need to protect the natural world away from human presence, on the other hand, it points to a new interpretation of the myth of Paradise lost, which would help this way of exercising environmental policy by reinforcing this notion through the imaginary.

In addition to the importance of the naturalist position expressed in the creation of parks, it should also be pointed out that this conception of nature has become a form of conservation policy most used by Third World countries (Diegues, 2001).

The American naturalist conception, as mentioned above, was concretely manifested in Brazil at the time of the proposition, drawn up by André Rebouças, in 1871, for the creation of a national park in Sete Quedas, an idea that would only come to fruition in 1961 (Atlas, 2000). However, in 1937 was created the first park of this genre in Brazil, then baptized with the name of National Park of “Itatiaia”.

It should be noted that this moment is differentiated from the European naturalistic movement insofar as both the project of Seven Falls and that of Itatiaia demonstrate the influence of American naturalism. Until the creation of the Forest Code in 1965, parks and other preservation areas were created according to the North American naturalist logic of creating natural public monuments with aesthetic value or whose ecological attributes were of interest for scientific knowledge (Morsello, 2001).

Although US naturalistic policy has influenced environmental policies in different Latin American countries, its transposition has entailed accommodation in relation to specific realities. The case of Brazil is exemplary in this sense since, since its forests are inhabited by indigenous
people and by populations nowadays called traditional, it has become imperative to take into account their presence for the elaboration of environmental policies.

Traditional populations are organized as groups of small producers, attracted by a momentous economic activity. For them, nature plays a significant role in the definition and development of specific ways of life, generally in tune with the basic rules of the forest ecosystem. In this way, they acquire deep knowledge of the biological cycles of nature and develop simple technologies, but adapted to their way of life and the logic of the environment. Finally, it should be emphasized that these communities develop their own culture, rich in knowledge that involves the laws of nature (Diegues, 2001).

Reflecting these specificities to a certain extent, the Forest Code of 1965 (Law 4.771) created a series of categories, dividing them into two major groups:

- areas of restricted use that do not allow the exploitation of natural resources, such as parks (national and state) and biological reserves;
- areas that allow human exploitation, such as state and municipal national forests and environmental protection areas.

In 1977 special areas and places of tourist and archaeological interest were created, such as reserves and ecological stations, and finally, in 1990, the Extractive Reserves were created, representing an innovation within the conservation units (CUs), both as they are the result of the demands of the rubber tappers and extractors, and of defining a new form of land tenure, resulting in the definition of land use whose exploitation of natural resources must be sustainable.

2.2. The public lands of the Amazon and land regularization

Due to a lack of cadastre and an effective regulation of land ownership in Brazil, the most common practice is land grabbing, especially in the Amazon. The data in Figure 1 show that only 4% of the private areas (20 million ha) are with the registers validated by INCRA. There are another 158 million ha (32%) that are supposedly private land without validation of cadastre. And there are still 21% that were not in any of these categories and therefore are technically considered
unallocated public lands. Therefore, the absence of land regulation in the Amazon corroborates significantly for the generation of economic, social and, above all, environmental problems, with emphasis on the deforestation of forest areas.

Based on satellite images, it has been shown that annual deforestation in the Legal Amazon in recent years has been around 6.4 and 7.4 million ha, which is already a substantive improvement when compared to previous periods, but despite Of this reduction, deforestation rates are still very high for a biome with the characteristics of the Amazon.
When analyzing the data on land prices in the States of the Legal Amazon, it can be seen that the amounts paid per hectare in forest lands are lower than those paid per hectare of pasture land. In the case of States with higher forest density, such as Acre, the prices of "standing forest" land are lower and this encourages the action of speculators in order to buy land at a low cost and, to transform into pasture areas. In this process, the speculator can also obtain gains both from the sale of timber and from the sale of grazing land, which in the case of Acre, the hectare can increase its value by up to 14 times (Figure 3). What is perceived is that there is no doubt that, in large territorial extensions such as the Amazon, non-land regulation is one of the major obstacles to the promotion of regional development.
3. Resex as an environmental policy

3.1 Brief history

Internalized environmental preservation as the focal point of the RESEX proposal was described as follows: "The main characteristic of RESEX, therefore, is the recovery of the importance of man, in a new perspective of occupation of the Amazonian space, associated to the conservation of the environment where they are taken Social, cultural and economic aspects of local populations "(CNS, 1993, p.6).

The relevance of this conception is expressed, beyond its historical aspects, by the incorporation of environmental preservation as a basic element and articulator of the principles of sustainability. Since then, the conservation of natural resources and the improvement of the living conditions of the extractive populations (CNS, 1993, p.10) have been considered as core elements, all of which are an expression of the collective will.

One of the most important dimensions of this process is the rubber resistance that made the leader Chico Mendes known worldwide. The reaction of the rubber tappers had its beginning in a
disorderly way, much more like a defense reaction. Political struggle in an organized way through trade unions and the impediments of popularized killings, such as "ties", only take place in a second stage. In the meantime, the rural-urban exodus is intensified, generating a population boom in the cities, mainly the capital of the Rio Branco state.

The "tie" over time became generalized as a form of political action to prevent deforestation by the rubber tappers, especially under the leadership of Chico Mendes, who became responsible for popularizing this form of struggle.

Secondly, gradually, the forces of society that opposed the process of land sales and the consolidation of livestock as a model of regional development, were articulated and the resistance movement grew in political importance and representativeness.

For most of the people involved with the issues dealt with, CONTAG's actions were definitive in the organization and clarification of the rights of squatters, because, as already mentioned, when they became aware of their rights, the rubber tappers changed their position in facing the problems. In order to get an idea of the work of CONTAG, with regard to the direct defense of workers, the lawyer of the institution Pedro Marques, in the first year of operation, entered the courts with about 400 labor actions. (O Rio Branco, 1981)

Thus, it is clear why rubber tappers have struggled in an organized way, and rural syndicalism has experienced rapid growth since then. The first rural workers' union in Acre was founded in Sena Madureira on September 20, 1975, with the participation and influence of the church through Fr. Paulino Baldassari. The meeting took place at Santa Juliana College and 557 workers attended, almost all of them rubber tappers (Costa Sobrinho, 1992: 172).

Three months later, on December 21, 1975, the most important and active of the unions, the Brasiléia, was founded, counting in its board of directors as a member of the fiscal council Wilson Pinheiro de Souza, who would later assume the presidency of the same and adopt The strategy of "ties" as a way to prevent the desmates. Wilson Pinheiro was assassinated by gunmen on July 21, 1980, at the behest of farmers and his death triggered a wave of violence, which resulted in the death of Carlos Sérgio, foreman of the Nova Promissão farm, a fact already told at the
beginning of the chapter. He also participated in this directorate as secretary, Chico Mendes, at the time unknown, but already showed great knowledge of the problem and power of mobilization.

The third phase of the rubber struggle has already occurred under the undisputed leadership of Chico Mendes. His skill, power of persuasion and leadership were not limited to the rural milieu. On the contrary, Chico Mendes demonstrated great power of articulation, in that it involved the urban sectors in defense of the seringueiros.

The creation of the National Council of Rubber Tappers clearly shows Chico Mendes' way of aggregating and engaging the way of work. In his words, "the history of the National Council of Rubber Tappers begins with the concern that we began to face in the fight against deforestation, in the search for an alternative proposal to guarantee the Amazon rainforest. Hence, an idea emerged among some people, some advisors of the Xapuri union, and in the union itself, to organize a national meeting of Rubber Tappers or to take a committee of rubber tappers to Brasília to discuss some things "(Grzybowski, 1989, p. 21). Later, she added that Mary Allegretti, a consultant, "met" the idea and that he had a meeting with the staff of the Ministry of Culture. And finally, it involved other entities, such as OXFAM, a Catholic agency in Europe that played an important role, mainly in connection with the financing of the meeting held in October 1985 and in which, among the various proposals, the rubber tappers Decided to create an entity that had representation at the national level capable of enabling the greater concern of the rubber tappers, which was the definition of a broad and alternative proposal capable of guaranteeing them land ownership and, at the same time, the preservation of the Amazonian forest.

The National Council of Rubber Tappers was created. In the words of Chico Mendes, "we discovered that to guarantee the future of the Amazon it was necessary to create the figure of the extractive reserve as a way of preserving the Amazon, but as an economic form, as an economic proposal at the same time" (Grzybowski, 1989, p. 24).

It is thus seen that Chico's ideas were already present in the notion that the preservation of the forest should occur concurrently with the problem of the ownership and income of the rubber tappers. This nuclear idea is still present in the conception of reserves, constituting it, as it were, in an Amazonian agrarian reform project.
In the RESEX guidelines document (CNS, 1993) the specificity of the proposal is attributed to its content of agrarian reform and sustainable development. Thus, this model could not only expand into specific areas of the Amazon, but above all, and according to the document, should be an alternative to the predatory development model based on the large property, which commanded the expansion of the agricultural frontier in the region.

3.2 The situation of Resex:

Table 1 shows the amount of Extractive Reserves and Sustainable Development Reserves divided in the Brazilian territory by biomes. It is observed that the Amazonian biome, being the most extensive in the country, has the largest amount of extractive reserves. It is worth mentioning that this amount is more than twice the other biomes classified in other - cerrado, caatinga, Atlantic forest and coastal marine.

In this way, we can see the important impact that the Amazon presents to the issue of environmental preservation. Because it is the biome that has the most reserves, as well as the one that has the greatest territorial extension, the responsibility for land and environmental policies appropriate to this region is even greater.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categoria</th>
<th>Amazônia</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Outros</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nº de UC</td>
<td>Área (ha)</td>
<td>Nº de UC</td>
<td>Área (ha)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reserva Extrativista</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>11,984,524,94</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>492,218,80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reserva Sustentável</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>64,442,18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>38,177,27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totais</strong></td>
<td>46</td>
<td>12,048,967,12</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>530,396,07</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1 shows this map more broadly and confirms data from the Chico Mendes Institute for Biodiversity Conservation (ICMBio). Figure 1 shows more broadly the number of Conservation Units scattered throughout Brazil. The map of Brazil’s territory shows the concentration of these units, mainly in the Legal Amazon region.

In particular to the State of Acre, according to data from the Economic and Ecological Zoning (EEZ), there are currently five Extractive Reserves (RESEXs) in the territory of Acre. Among them are RESEX Alto Juruá, being the first one created and RESEX Chico Mendes, created next and considered the largest one in territorial extension, covering seven counties Acre, including the area of the capital Rio Branco.
Tabela 2 – Reservas Extrativistas (RESEX) do Estado do Acre.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nome</th>
<th>Área (ha)</th>
<th>Município Sede</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RESEX Cazumbá-Iracema</td>
<td>750.795,00</td>
<td>Sena Madureira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RESEX Alto Juruá</td>
<td>506.186,00</td>
<td>Marechal Thaumaturgo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RESEX Riozinho da Liberdade</td>
<td>325.602,00</td>
<td>Tarauacá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RESEX Alto Tarauacá</td>
<td>151.199,00</td>
<td>Tarauacá e Jordão</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RESEX Chico Mendes</td>
<td>970.570,00</td>
<td>Sena Madureira, Rio Branco, Capixaba, Xapuri, Brasiléia, Epitaciolândia e Assis Brasil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fonte: ACRE (2010).

One of the relevant points of the Resex proposal, as already emphasized, is the environmental dimension. From this we can observe them as a form of environmental policy from the point of view of environmental preservation.

Figure 2 shows the areas of Acre State Conservation Units in the State of Acre, which covers eleven municipalities in the state of Acre, that is, half of the municipalities of Acre.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ano</th>
<th>RESEX Mendes (ha)</th>
<th>Chico %</th>
<th>RESEX acreanas (ha)</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Até 1997</td>
<td>19.434</td>
<td>2,09%</td>
<td>32.038</td>
<td>1,19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>5.733</td>
<td>0,62%</td>
<td>11.679</td>
<td>0,43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>2.766</td>
<td>0,30%</td>
<td>3.772</td>
<td>0,14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>926</td>
<td>0,10%</td>
<td>2.779</td>
<td>0,10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>3.853</td>
<td>0,41%</td>
<td>6.024</td>
<td>0,22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Agricultura</td>
<td>34,1</td>
<td>24,7</td>
<td>-27,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Macaxeira</td>
<td>10,3</td>
<td>10,6</td>
<td>2,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Arroz</td>
<td>7,3</td>
<td>7,3</td>
<td>-0,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Total desmatado</td>
<td>51.290</td>
<td>5,51%</td>
<td>85.826</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Floresta</td>
<td>908.781</td>
<td>97,56%</td>
<td>2.648.030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Área total</td>
<td>931.540</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>2.700.310</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Feijão 6,8 1,8 -73,7
Melancia 6,6 1 -85,4
Milho 1,9 1 -45
Outros 1,2 3,1 150,1
*Criações* 37,3 30,2 -19,1
Criação de bois/leite/queijo 11,1 17,5 57,1
Criação de porcos 11 6 -45,3
Criação de aves/ovos 12 5,2 -56,5
Criação de ovelhas 1,8 0,8 -55,8
Outros 1,4 0,7 -52
*Extrativismo* 28,6 45,1 57,7
Castanha 15,2 27,1 78,2
Borracha 13,4 9,5 -29,1
Castanha certificada - 4,3 -
Madeira - 4,2 -
Total 100 100 -


Table 5 presents the economic performance of production at RESEX Chico Mendes. The research showed that in the period 1996/1997 the Gross Income (RB) value with production was R $ 510.55, rising to R $ 662.67 in 2005/2006. In this period, there was a positive variation of 29.79%. Net Income (RL) had a positive variation of 40.84%. This advantage presented in the last period was mainly due to the increase in the representativeness of extractive products in the composition of family income, the main source of production within RESEX, which uses a low technological level in its exploitation. This performance also affected the results presented in the Gross Margin of Family (MBF), which presented a positive variation in 33.85%, which made possible the increase in family consumption potential. However, even with this increase in income.
from production, it was observed that these indicators present median values lower than the current minimum wage (R $ 880.00).

Thus, in the search for extra income to the productive process, the extractive families resort to wage labor outside the productive unit and, mainly, to the government benefits granted in the form of income transfers, such as the Bolsa Família Program and pensions. According to Table 4, Gross Total Income clearly expresses the role of current extra incomes, particularly government benefits, since in the 2005/2006 period the value received by families, adding gross income to extras, practically Equals the value of the current monthly minimum wage, which guarantees greater access to the satisfaction of family needs in the market.


| Indicadores | Unidade | 1996/19 | 2005/20 | Variação (%)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Renda Bruta</td>
<td>R$/mês</td>
<td>510,55</td>
<td>662,67</td>
<td>29,79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renda Líquida</td>
<td>R$/mês</td>
<td>358,98</td>
<td>505,57</td>
<td>40,84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margem Bruta Familiar</td>
<td>R$/mês</td>
<td>454,32</td>
<td>608,14</td>
<td>33,86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renda Bruta Total</td>
<td>R$/mês</td>
<td>468,43</td>
<td>835,00</td>
<td>78,25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linha de Dependência do Mercado</td>
<td>R$/mês</td>
<td>460,69</td>
<td>1.450,8</td>
<td>214,93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autoconsumo</td>
<td>R$/mês</td>
<td>1.554,1</td>
<td>714,83</td>
<td>-54,01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nível de Vida</td>
<td>R$/mês</td>
<td>2.034,3</td>
<td>1.449,5</td>
<td>-28,75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Índice de Eficiência Econômica</td>
<td>und.</td>
<td>1,36</td>
<td>0,7</td>
<td>-48,53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4. Conclusions

The growth of environmental awareness coupled with the growing importance of land regularization in the last decades evidences the importance of studies and research on the diverse experiences whose central nucleus is the preservation of the Amazonian forest.

In this context, the elaboration and implementation of the Environmental Policy resulting from the experience of the rubber tappers of Acre in the construction of Extractive Reserves is particularly important, especially due to the growing importance of experiences in land regularization. The RESEX experience, far from an ideal model or a finished project, shows important lessons, both for the Brazilian environmental policy in general and for Land Governance, which aim to guarantee land tenure for rural workers and thus contribute to halting the process of Deforestation in Amazonia.

The success of the Resex, to a great extent, is a result of the effective participation of the people directly interested in its preservation of the Amazon forest. Social organization proved to be effective, and more than that changed the paradigm of existing policies all based on the naturalistic conception of occupation of spaces without human presence.

In Acre, the fact that the occupation of the territorial space since its inception is exclusively based on gumiferous extraction will define a peculiar land structure that will, in the future, have a definitive implication in the struggle for land, especially after the "Operation Amazon". Whose nuclear conceptual framework defines livestock as an activity capable of generating income and employment in the modernization of the region.

Extractivism, initially responsible for the process of occupation of the Acrean lands, was to a great extent the defining of the fundamental characteristics that marks the historical process of the formation of Acreana society. Indeed, the first characteristic feature of this process - the
productive organization known as seringal - is the specific form of land ownership by the producers, so that they do not have the benefit of production nor do they have control of land ownership.

The extractive activity of the Amazon and the pressure of the Green Movement resulted in the mobilization of large sectors of society, contributing to legitimize Resex as a viable proposal in the context of land regularization and access to land. It is also important to consider the great impact produced in the Amazon, resulting from the strong internal mobilization and channeling of the environmental concerns of the international community, which resulted in a change in Brazilian environmental policy and, above all, in the redefinition of land occupation policies.

For the group of extractivists the creation of the Resex, implied significant changes in the extent to which it guarantees the ownership of the land. This in addition to providing natural security, allows access to financing, which, in turn, results, in many cases, encouraging diversification of production, income expansion and improvement of living conditions of the population.

Despite these changes some problems still persist. One of them is the difficulty in supplying and supplying food and marketing products. In addition, we verified the existence of a problem that is represented by income differentials within the reserve. In some places of difficult access some families still live only from rubber extraction. For them, the creation of Resex, although it guarantees the ownership of the land, did not represent major changes in terms of quality of life.

In other words, the old relations existing in rubber plantations still persist or are even restored, in the form of poverty and misery. Thus, the land guarantee, the non-payment of taxes and the policy of exclusive buying and selling in the meeting room do not seem to have been substantially focused on the lives of the rubber tappers, which allows us to affirm that, although important, the regularization of Is not enough to change the existing poverty picture.

Moreover, the fact that extractivism is still predominantly the extraction activity of rubber shows the fragility and difficulties that the viability of the Resex makes possible. On the other hand, livestock farming gains considerable space as the best economic option for small production,
which carries with it the danger of expanding deforestation and, with it, the decharacterization of Resex.

The path seems to be long and requires an effective participation of the State in defining policies that imply improvements in the lives of extractive populations while expanding food production, combating unemployment and preserving the Amazon forest.

5. Referências Bibliográficas


