The Municipality as Scale for Combatting Deforestation: emerging actors and agendas

Doctoral Dissertation
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UnB

March 23, 2018

Outline

1. The problem
2. The research
3. Findings
4. Discussion
5. Conclusion

We analyze the outcomes of the ***decentralization*** *process triggered by the territorial approach to anti-deforestation policies inaugurated by the* ***List****, asking which* ***actors*** *and* ***networks*** *became relevant stakeholders in the emerging "****new environmentalism****" in the Brazilian Amazon*

Starting point: underlying question

- The Amazon as frontier: contested models
  - Economic development
  - Socio-environmentalism
  - Conservation
- Emergence of a new model: reconciling conservation and economic development
  - But what does this mean for land use dynamics, specially in a frontier region?

Starting point…

- Interest in the success of Paragominas' Green Municipality Project
- Analysis of Paragominas', a model for other municipalities: importance of the local landowning elite for collective action (Viana *et al* 2016)

Special report: Biodiversity

Brazil's conversion

Trees of knowledge

How Brazil is using education, technology and politics to save its rainforest

Sep 14th 2013 | From the print edition

Logging off

MAURO LUCIO IS living the dream. Having started work as a cowboy at 16, he is now 48 and raises cattle on 50 square kilometres of Paragominas municipality in Pará state. The

GOVERNO DO PARÁ

PROGRAMA MUNICÍPIOS VERDES

ESTADÃO

Paragominas é o exemplo a ser seguido

"Todo mundo aqui quer ser Paragominas", resume o gerente de hotel Cledson Mendonça, acostumado com o vai e vem de pecuaristas, representantes de ONGs e autoridades na cidade, que tem o município localizado mais ao norte do Pará como modelo a ser seguido.

SÃO FÉLIX DO XINGU (PA), O Estado de S.Paulo
18 Março 2012 | 03h08

Paragominas foi o primeiro município da Amazônia a deixar a lista de maiores desmatadores, em março de 2010.

Environmental Policy and Governance
Env. Pol. Gov. 2016
Published online in Wiley Online Library
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How Does Hybrid Governance Emerge? Role of the elite in building a Green Municipality in the Eastern Brazilian Amazon

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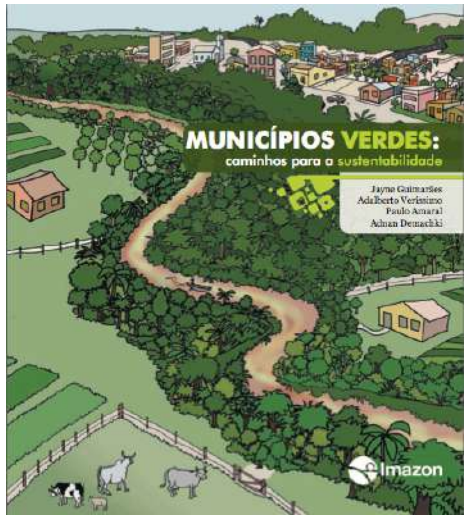
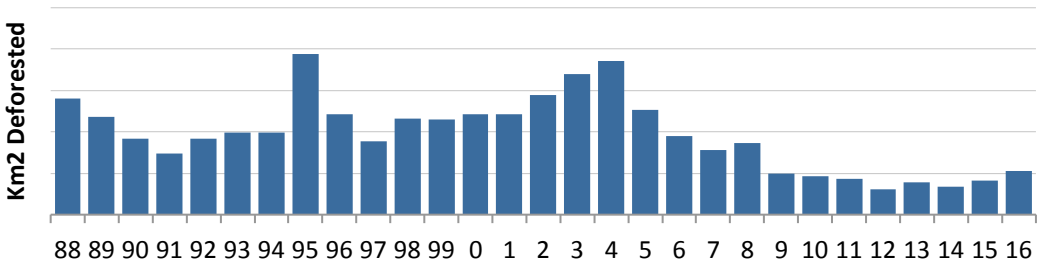


Starting point…

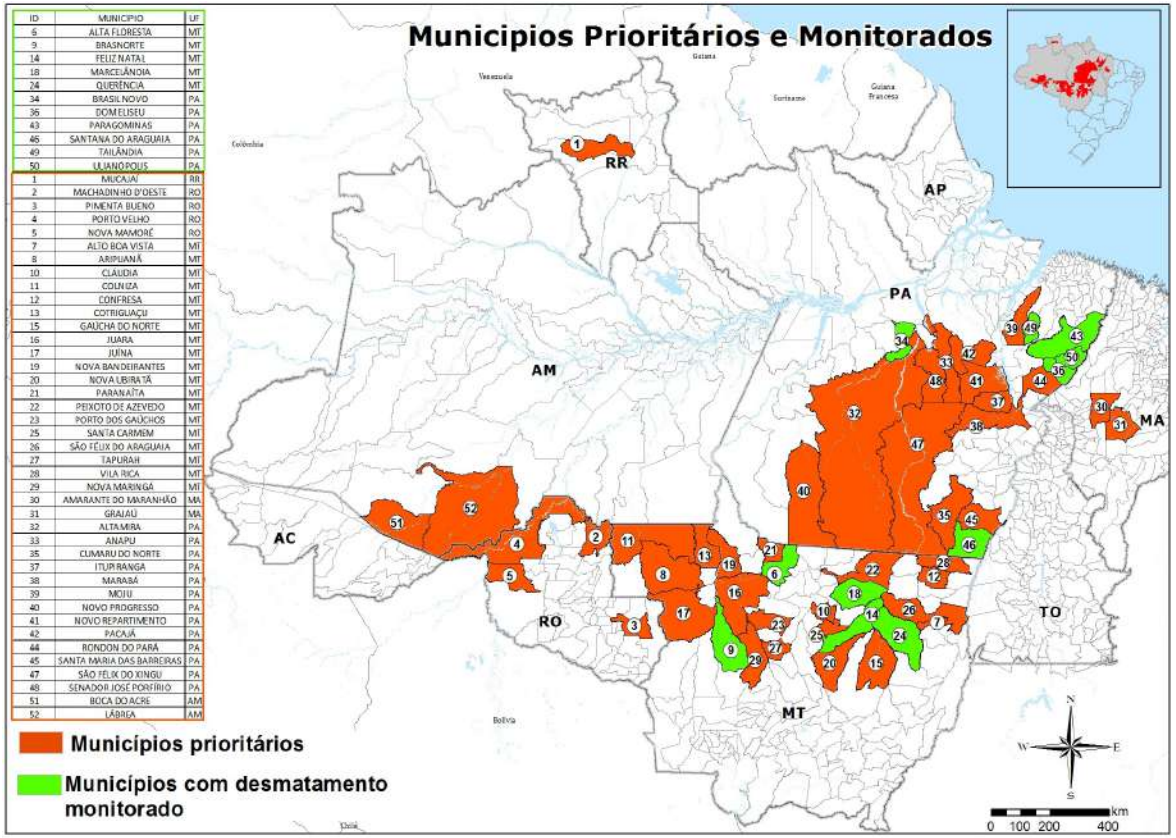
- Reduction in Deforestation rates
  - Downward trend since 2004
  - Federal law enforcement (stronger monitoring) and land restriction
  - Supply-chain governance
    - Soy Moratorium
    - Meat Agreements
  - Efforts focused at local level



- Ongoing process of decentralization
  - Decentralized environmental governance is predicted since 1980s, and gradually being implemented
  - More than transfer of power & resources, it is desired strong cooperation between government levels

The problem: context

- 2008: List of Priority Municipalities inaugurated a territorial approach to anti-deforestation policies
- List as benchmark to analyze differences between municipalities in their engagement with anti-deforestation policies



ID	MUNICIPIO	UF
6	ALTA FLORESTA	MT
9	BRASINORTE	MT
14	FELIZ NATAL	MT
18	MARCELÂNDIA	MT
24	QUERÊNCIA	MT
34	BRASIL NOVO	PA
36	DOM ELISEU	PA
43	PARAGOMINAS	PA
46	SANTANA DO ARAGUAIA	PA
49	TAILÂNDIA	PA
50	ULIANÓPOLIS	PA
1	MUCAJAÍ	RR
2	MACHADINHO D'OESTE	RO
3	PIMENTA BUENO	RO
4	PORTO VELHO	RO
5	NOVA MAMORÉ	RO
7	ALTO BOA VISTA	MT
8	ARIPUANÃ	MT
10	CLÁUDIA	MT
11	COLNIZA	MT
12	CONFRESA	MT
13	COTRIGUAÇU	MT
15	GAÚCHA DO NORTE	MT
16	JUARA	MT
17	JUÍNA	MT
19	NOVA BANDEIRANTES	MT
20	NOVA UBIRATÃ	MT
21	PARANAÍTA	MT
22	PEIXOTO DE AZEVEDO	MT
23	PORTO DOS GAÚCHOS	MT
25	SANTA CARMEM	MT
26	SÃO FÉLIX DO ARAGUAIA	MT
27	TAPURAH	MT
28	VILA RICA	MT
29	NOVA MARINGÁ	MT
30	AMARANTE DO MARANHÃO	MA
31	GRAJAÚ	MA
32	ALTAMIRA	PA
33	ANAPU	PA
35	CUMARU DO NORTE	PA
37	ITUPIRANGA	PA
38	MARABÁ	PA
39	MOJU	PA
40	NOVO PROGRESSO	PA
41	NOVO REPARTIMENTO	PA
42	PACAJÁ	PA
44	RONDON DO PARÁ	PA
45	SANTA MARIA DAS BARREIRAS	PA
47	SÃO FÉLIX DO XINGU	PA
48	SENADOR JOSÉ PORFÍRIO	PA
51	BOCA DO ACRE	AM
52	LÁBREA	AM

What we know from the literature

Frontier

- Land use dynamics are result of multiple and interacting factors
- Scalar arrangements heavily influence local outcomes

Environmental Governance

- Non-state actors play an increasing role in governance
- Non-state actors may motivate local gov action

Decentralization

- Can reconfigure power relations
- Local governments often lack resources
- Decentralization reforms often require the adherence of local governments
- Outcomes are varied
- Risk of disproportional benefits for local elites

So… the research question!

- What actors and resources engaged in the anti-deforestation agenda at the local level, and what conservation and development model emerged from these local processes?
- **Hypothesis**: local elites, building on multi-level governance, gained control over forest governance at the municipal level

Methodological approach

Data Collection

- 2011: interviews in Santarém and Paragominas
- 2013-2017: 45 Semi-structured interviews
- Participatory observation in relevant events
- 10 case studies

Data Analysis

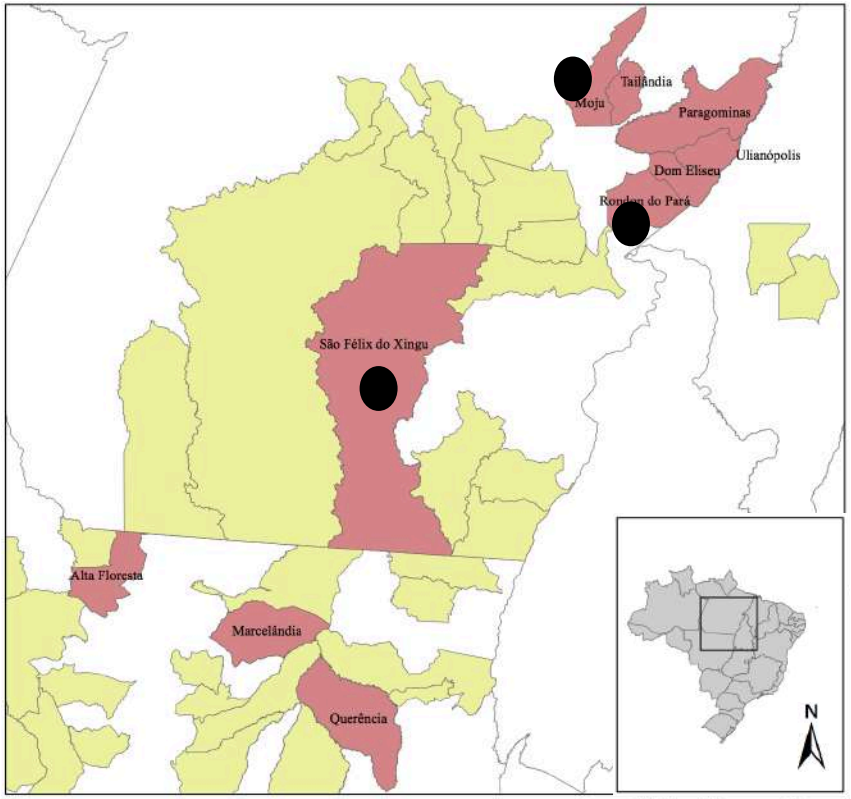
- Triangulation of information
- Qualitative analyses

Table: Semi-structured interviews

Scale	Sector			
	Public	Union	NGO	Scholars
Municipality	9	5	-	-
State	9	-	8	-
Federal	4	-	-	-
Regional	1	-	2	7

Case studies

- Initially municipalities in the surrounding of Paragominas
- Included others using secondary data (Neves *et al*., 2015*)
- 3 municipalities out of the sample of 10 had not exited the List



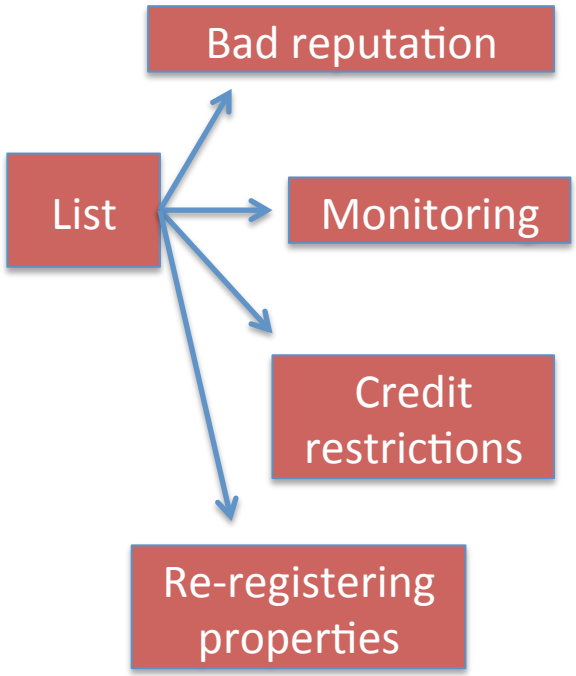
Case study municipalities

Municipalities on the List

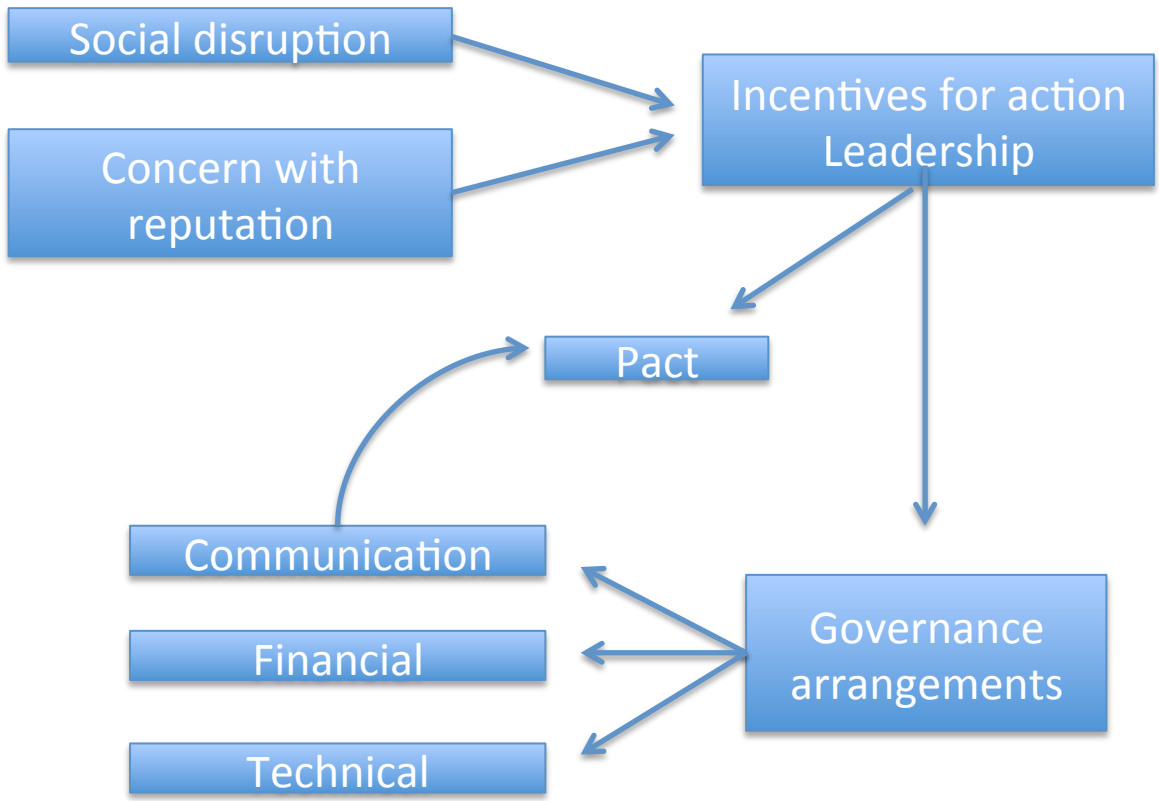
Neves, E., Whately, M., Lopes, M., & Cordilha, A. C. (2015). *O Processo de Municipalização da Estratégia de Prevenção e Combate ao Desmatamento na Amazônia: estudos de caso sobre municípios integrantes da Lista de Municípios Prioritários do MMA* (Research conducted for the Climate and Land Use Alliance – CLUA) (p. 155). Belém, PA: CLUA.

Findings

List Effects on Municipalities

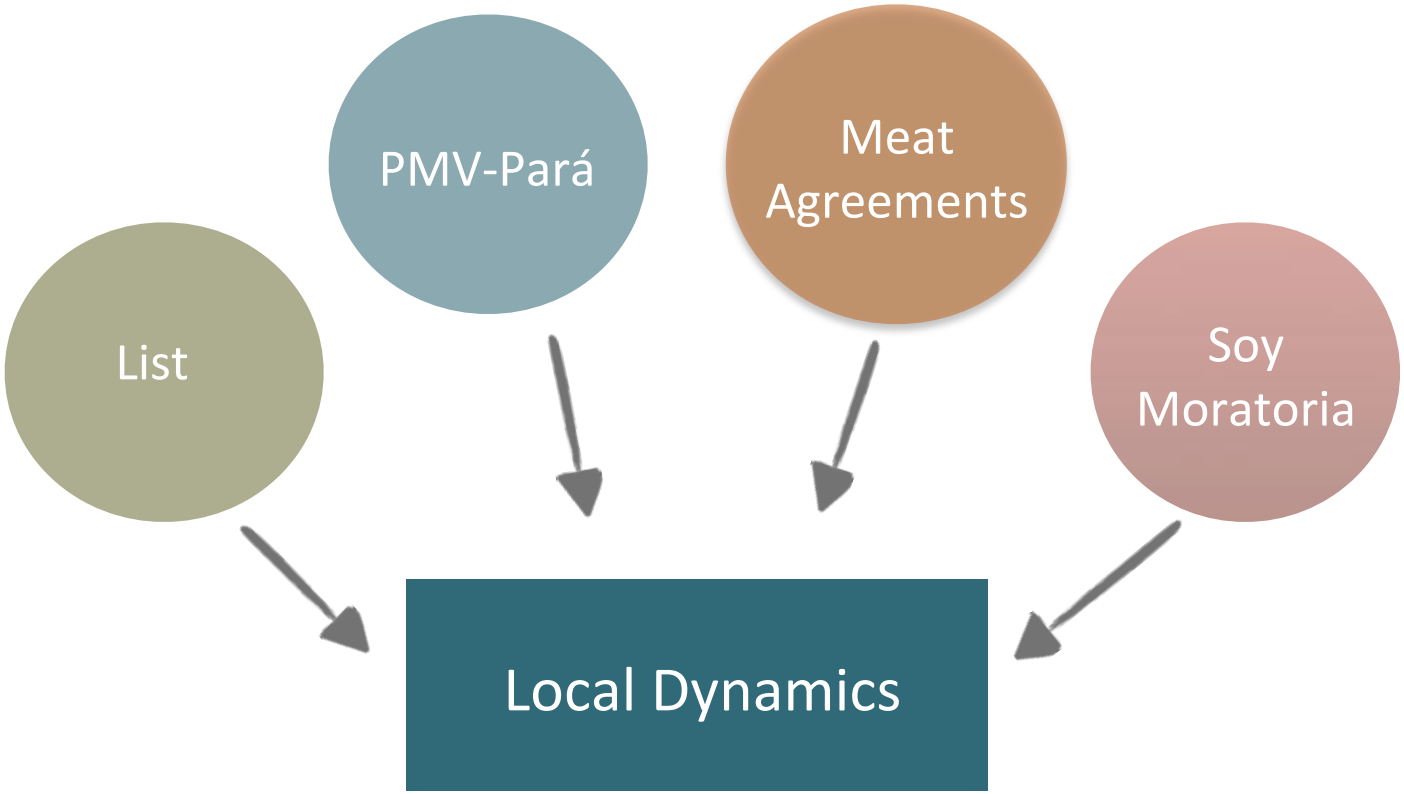


Municipal responses

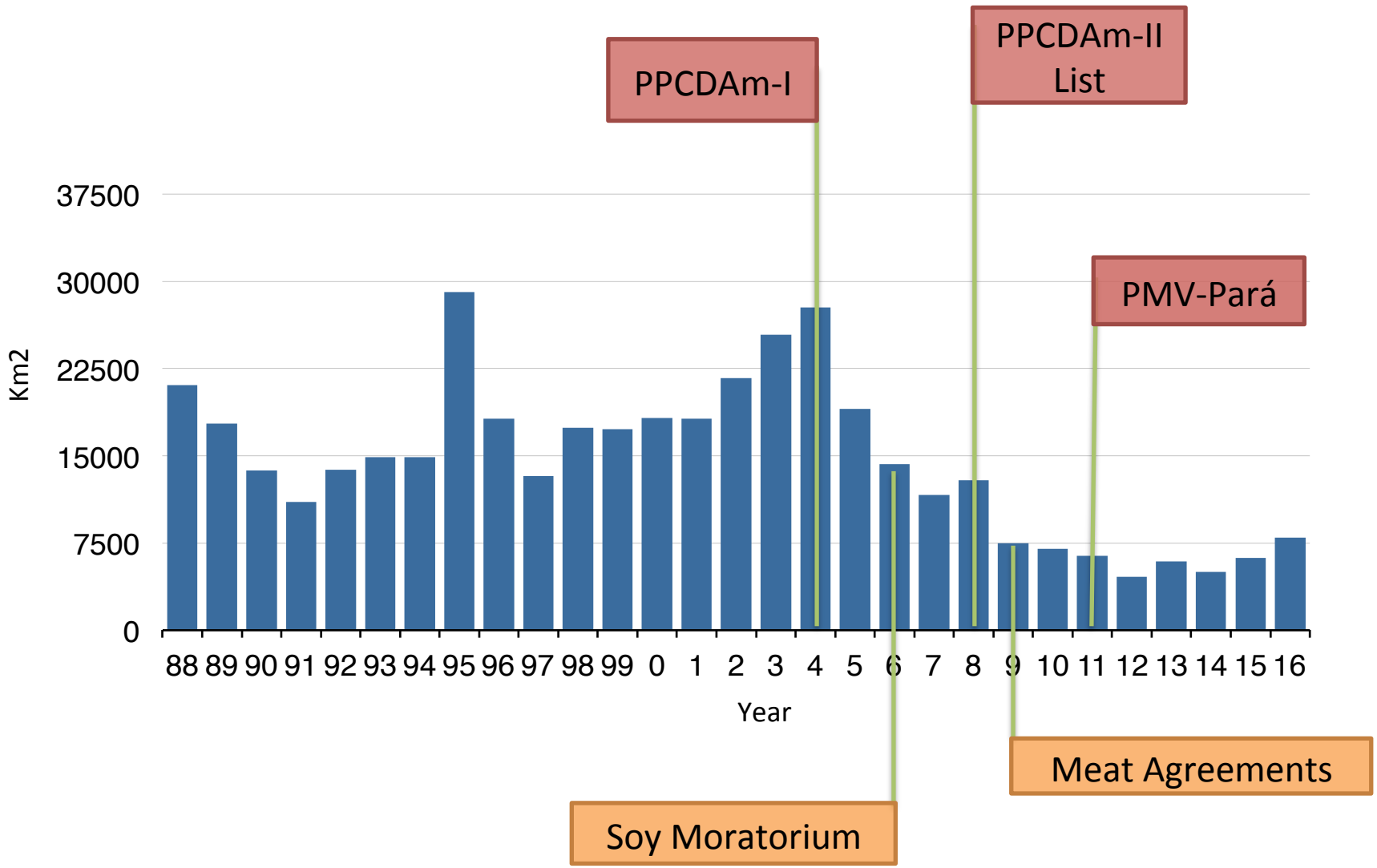


Discussion

- List was not the only policy to offer incentives for private landowners!

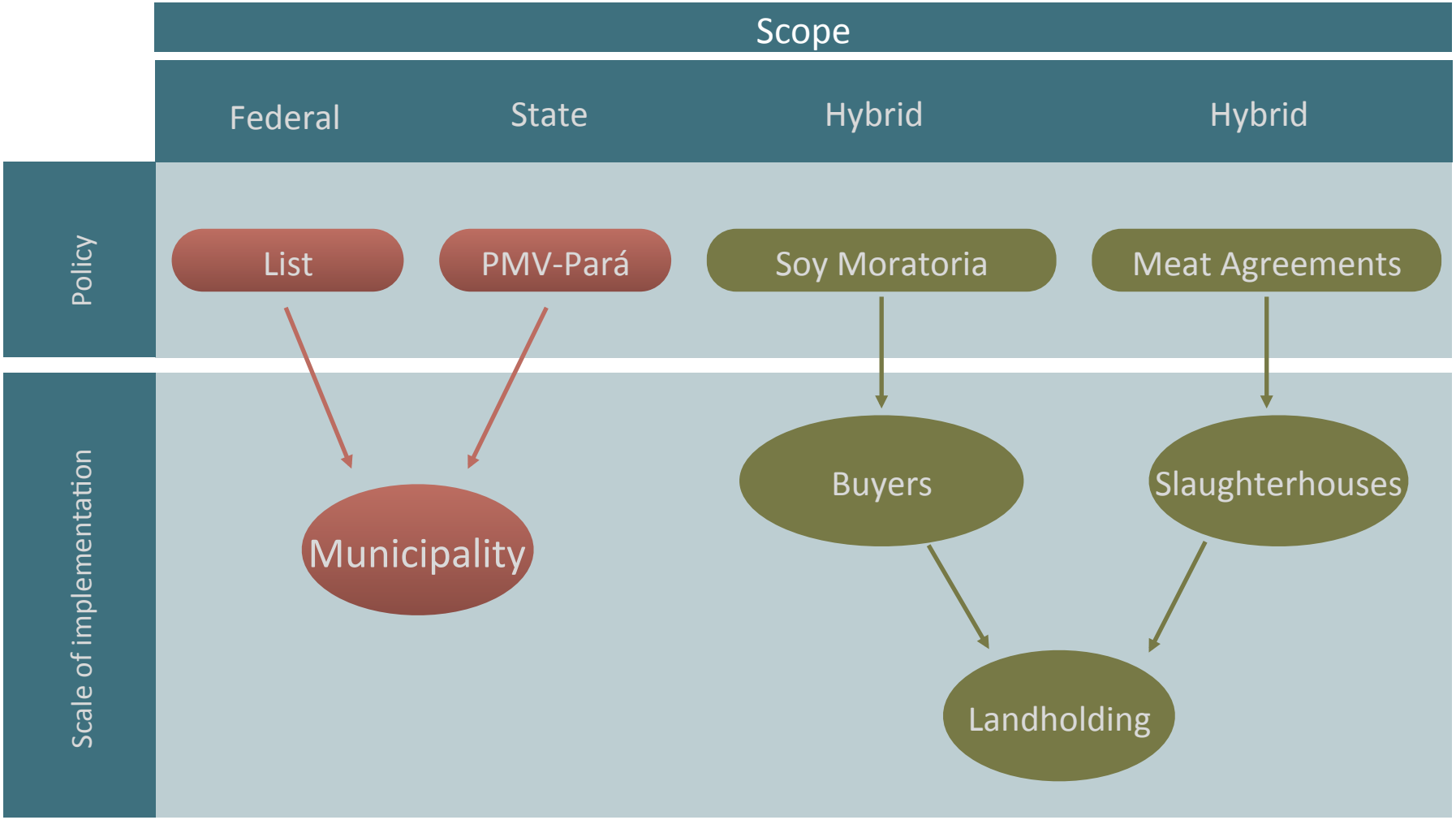


Discussion: Public policies and governance mechanisms in the Brazilian Amazon

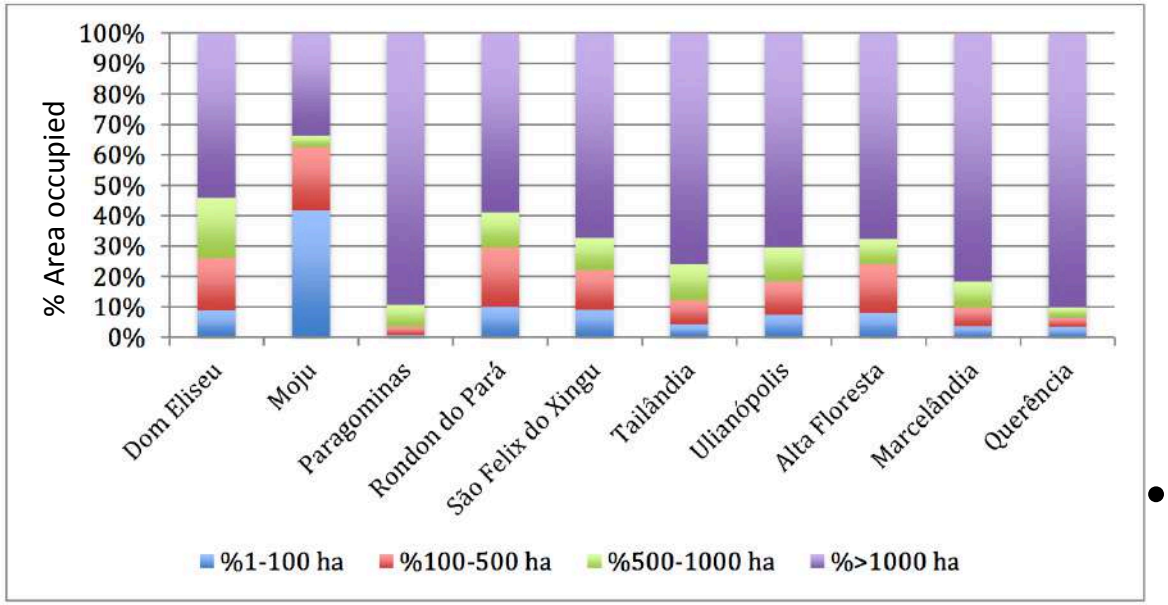


Source: Prodes/INPE, 2017

Discussion


Scope
Federal
State
Hybrid
Hybrid
Policy
List
PMV-Pará
Soy Moratoria
Meat Agreements
Scale of implementation
Municipality
Buyers
Slaughterhouses
Landholding

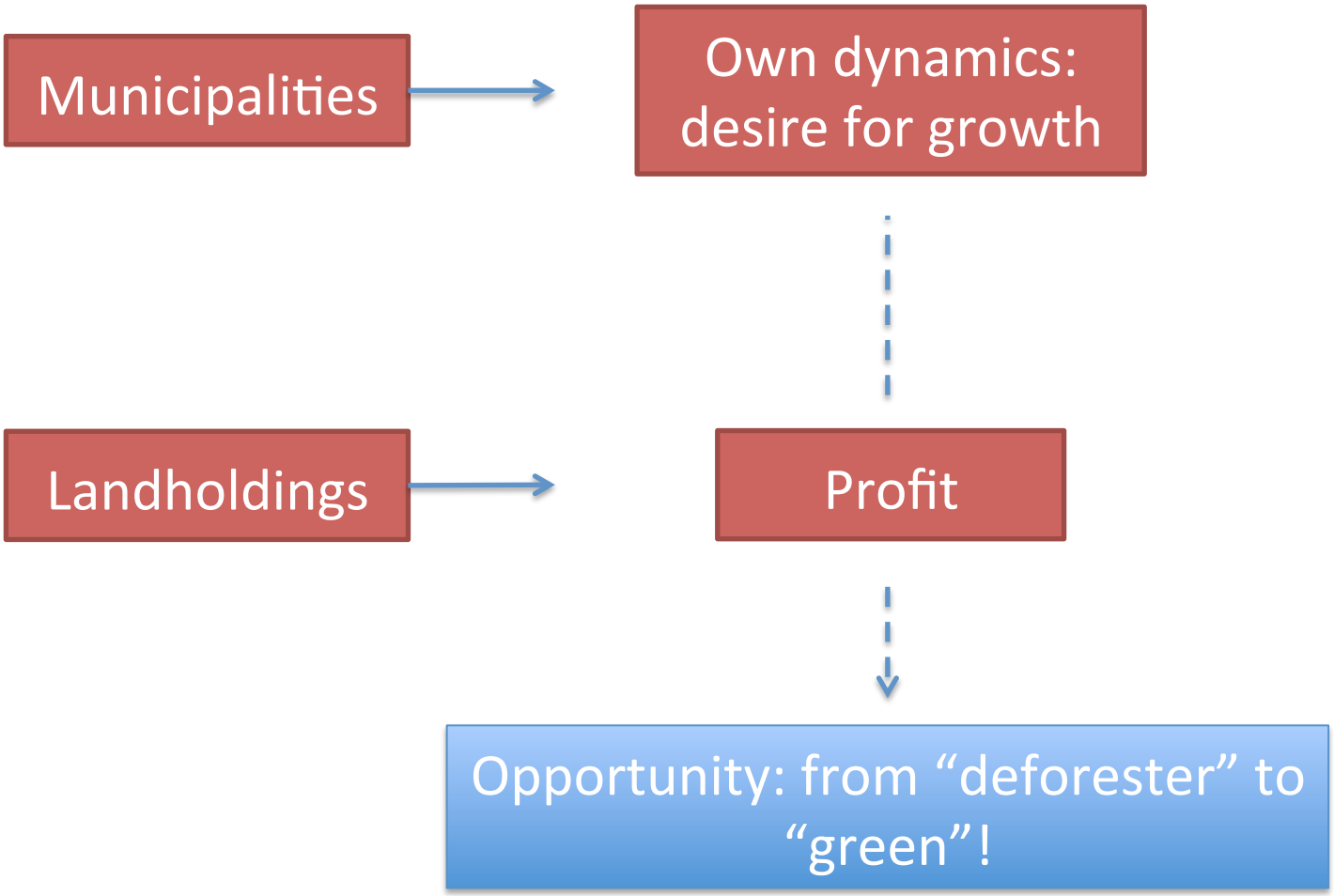
Discussion



- Local elites emerged as important actors engaged in the List agenda
  - medium and large producers more affected by supply-chain governance
  - medium and large landholdings are predominant in the old frontier
- Who is the local elite in Amazonia?
  - Overlap between urban and rural elite

Source: SIDRA/ IBGE/ Censo Agropecuario (2006)

Discussion: these are not only scales of implementation!



Conclusions

- List: from incentives for adherence to mandatory decentralization
  - responsibilities transferred to municipal governments
  - State becomes a supervisor
  - Municipalities determine the use of secondary forests (conservation x open areas)
  - Municipalities license agricultural enterprises
- Local elites empowered and setting the terms of the environmentalism in the Amazon

Thank you

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