



The overlap of Enawene-Nawe indigenous rights and the Iquê Ecological Station: the decline of a socio-environmental conflict

A superposição do direito originário Enawene-Nawe à Estação Ecológica de Iquê: o ocaso de um conflito socioambiental

Marcelo LOPES^{1,2,3*}, Kátia Torres RIBEIRO^{1,2*}

¹ Instituto Chico Mendes de Conservação da Biodiversidade (ICMBio), Brasília, DF, Brasil.

² Instituto de Pesquisa Jardim Botânico do Rio de Janeiro (JBRJ), Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brasil.

³ Centro de Estudos Sociais (CES), Universidade de Coimbra (UC), Coimbra, Distrito de Coimbra, Portugal.

* Contact e-mail: marcelo.lopes@student.fe.uc.pt

* Contact e-mail: katia.ribeiro@icmbio.gov.br

Article received on January 2, 2023, final version accepted on April 1, 2024, published on October 11, 2024.

ABSTRACT: This article analyzes the historical process of the socio-environmental conflict related to the territorial overlap between the Iquê Ecological Station (ESEC) and the Enawene-Nawe Indigenous Land (TIEN) in Brazil. It reviews and examines key events that began in the 1970s, starting with the initial contact between the Enawene-Nawe people and Jesuits from the Anchieta Mission (MIA), followed by the establishment of the Iquê Ecological Station, and culminating in the peak of the conflict between the indigenous community and environmental agencies. This conflict ultimately forced the organization responsible for the station, the Chico Mendes Institute for Biodiversity Conservation (ICMBio), to officially dissolve the ESEC in 2019. The research includes an analysis of relevant Brazilian legislation, government documents, letters from Jesuit missionaries, and memoirs by Thomaz de Aquino Lisbôa, a Jesuit who led the recognition process of the TIEN, and Paulo Nogueira-Neto, an environmentalist who conceptualized and led the creation of the first ecological stations. To examine the socio-environmental consequences of adopting the U.S. model of protected environmental areas by the Brazilian state and other countries, the article applies sociological concepts developed by Antônio Carlos Diegues and Paul Little. The hypothesis is that the establishment of the ESEC on the traditional lands of an indigenous group still in the process of being recognized was not merely an institutional error, but rather a reproduction of the colonialist instrumental logic that characterizes the Brazilian state. It concludes that the dissolution of the ESEC resulted not only from the Enawene-Nawe's strong demand for full possession

of their land in response to the denial of their rights, but also from the inability and lack of interest of state authorities in finding ways to implement shared management.

Keywords: protected areas; territorial overlap; environmental governance; socio-environmental conflict; Enawene-Nawe.

RESUMO: Neste artigo analisa-se o processo histórico do conflito socioambiental associado à sobreposição territorial entre a Estação Ecológica (ESEC) de Iquê e a Terra Indígena Enawene-Nawe (TIEN), no Brasil. São relatados e analisados os principais acontecimentos da trama iniciada na década de 70, quando dos contatos iniciais dos Enawene-Nawe com os jesuítas da Missão Anchieta (MIA), seguidos pelos movimentos para a criação da ESEC Iquê até o ápice do conflito entre o povo indígena e os órgãos ambientais que compeliu o órgão então responsável pela ESEC, o Instituto Chico Mendes de Conservação da Biodiversidade (ICMBio), a acatar a extinção oficial da ESEC em 2019. Realizou-se o levantamento e análise da legislação brasileira pertinente; documentos oficiais governamentais; cartas dos missionários jesuítas; e livros de memórias de Thomaz de Aquino Lisboa, jesuíta que liderou o processo de reconhecimento da TIEN, e Paulo Nogueira-Neto, ambientalista que concebeu e liderou a criação das primeiras estações ecológicas. Com o objetivo de analisar as consequências socioambientais da adoção do modelo estadunidense de área ambientalmente protegida pelo Estado brasileiro e outros países, utilizam-se os conceitos sociológicos elaborados por Antônio Carlos Diegues e Paul Little. Parte-se da hipótese de que a criação da ESEC Iquê sobre o território tradicional de um povo indígena em processo de identificação significou, mais que um mero equívoco institucional, a reprodução da razão instrumental colonialista que marca indelevelmente o Estado brasileiro; e constata-se que a extinção da ESEC se deveu à incisiva reivindicação dos Enawene-Nawe pela plena posse de seu território em reação a fatos objetivos de negação de direitos, mas também pela incapacidade e desinteresse dos órgãos de Estado em encontrar meios de viabilizar uma gestão compartilhada.

Palavras-chave: áreas protegidas; sobreposição territorial; gestão ambiental; conflito socioambiental; Enawene-Nawe.

1. Introduction

The Brazilian state implements territorial planning policies that designate lands to various categories of Protected Areas (PA), including Indigenous Lands (IL), Nature Conservation Units (UC), and Quilombola Territories (QT), under different legal frameworks (Brazil, 2006). These are specific types of areas that each represent, in their own way, the

achievements of different social groups in relation to the Brazilian state. For indigenous peoples, this is through the guarantee of their original rights¹, while for UCs and QTs, it involves the redefinition of these spaces.

The Federal Constitution (CF) and existing laws do not clearly address situations of overlap between protected areas² limiting how these cases are regulated. However, hundreds of such cases

¹ The principle of original rights is considered a conceptual and legal innovation introduced by the Federal Constitution (Brazil, 1988). It acknowledges that indigenous peoples' rights to their lands predate the existence of the state itself, placing on the state only the obligation to recognize these rights.

² In scientific literature, terms such as overlap, superposition, interface, and double impact are used interchangeably to refer to cases where the designation of specially protected areas occurs over the same geographic space. In this article, the term "superposition" is used in the title, considering the meaning of the prefix "super" and linking it to the original rights of the Enawene-Nawe people as a semantic and political expression of the epistemological choices made here. After that, throughout the text, the more common term "overlap" is used.

have emerged for various reasons, including political decisions, historical events, technological or informational deficits, technical errors, and ethnic resurgence. According to the Socio-Environmental Institute (ISA), by 2018, 77 cases of overlap between IL and UC had been recorded, covering 11.4 million hectares and involving 37 federal UCs, 20 state UCs, and 61 ILs (ISA, 2018). At the federal level, in 2015, FUNAI and ICMBio identified 60 cases of territorial overlap between federal UCs and ILs, covering 7.3 million hectares (FUNAI; ICMBio, 2015). There are few legal provisions explicitly established to address these overlaps. One such law is Federal Law No. 9.985 (Brazil, 2000), which created the National System of Conservation Units (SNUC). The law, however, is general and lacks specificity, merely calling for the formation of a working group (WG) composed of federal agencies responsible for environmental and indigenous policies to propose guidelines for resolving “any cases of overlap” between ILs and UCs (Art. 57). A first WG, created in 2000, lasted only two months (Ramos, 2004), and a second one, created in 2013, worked for two years investigating and analyzing identified cases. However, both were disbanded without officially presenting consolidated results. At that time, due to their inability to overcome disputes and disagreements, indigenous people, indigenous rights advocates, environmentalists, and the institutions they represented failed to reach the necessary consensus to address the conflicts and deadlocks (Ramos, 2004).

The National System of Conservation Units (SNUC) also provides for categories of Conserva-

tion Units (UC) that recognize collective land rights and cultural continuity — such as Extractive Reserves (RESEX) — and the establishment of terms of commitment (TC) with Traditional Peoples and Communities³ (PCT) in fully protected UCs. These agreements have been implemented amid many challenges and have strengthened dialogue and the joint management of territories (Talbot, 2016; Barradas & Ribeiro, 2021). However, the interpretation of these TCs as temporary instruments reinforces insecurities and creates uncertainties.

More recent understandings, such as those expressed in a legal opinion by the Specialized Federal Attorney’s Office at ICMBio (Rios, 2022), suggest the possibility of permanent agreements in cases of territorial overlap with PCTs. A significant example of these advances is the development of the management plan for the Pico da Neblina National Park, which was based on the creation of Indigenous Environmental Management Plans (GATI) and incorporates the aspirations and needs of indigenous communities into its vision and management objectives (ICMBio, 2022).

Besides, two other important instruments in this context are: the National Protected Areas Plan (PNAP), established by Decree No. 5.758/2006, in which the Ministry of the Environment includes conservation units, indigenous lands, and quilombola territories within the scope of Brazil’s protected areas. One of its guidelines is to “ensure the territorial rights of quilombola communities and indigenous peoples as an instrument for biodiversity conservation” (Brazil, 2006). The second is the National Policy for Territorial and Environmental

³ As Little (2004) problematizes in his preambular analysis in the article “Territórios sociais e povos tradicionais no Brasil: por uma antropologia da territorialidade”, here we ask permission to use the concept “Traditional Peoples and Communities”.

Management of Indigenous Lands (PNGATI), Decree No. 7.747/2012, whose third pillar emphasizes the relationship between protected areas, conservation units, and indigenous lands. It recommends

to draw up and implement, with the participation of indigenous peoples and FUNAI, joint plans for the administration of areas where indigenous lands overlap with conservation units, guaranteeing management by the environmental agency and respecting the uses, customs, and traditions of indigenous peoples (Brazil, 2012).

Amid various forms of resistance, important transformations are taking place in the country regarding the management of these territorial overlaps, based on the clear understanding that the CF equates the diffuse right to a balanced environment (Art. 225), the rights of indigenous peoples (Art. 231), and the rights of quilombola communities (Art. 68). Furthermore, the ratification of ILO Convention 169 (Brazil, 2019) positions ordinary environmental legislation, such as the SNUC, as subordinate not only to the CF but also to the convention's principles. These include obligations related to PCTs, such as the prohibition of resettlement without consent and the requirement for prior, free, and informed consultations.

Socio-environmental conflicts resulting from overlaps, within a context of cognitive, conceptual, normative, and managerial gaps that hinder socially just and culturally and environmentally appropriate solutions, have negative effects on indigenous peoples and other Traditional Peoples and Commu-

nities (PCT) affected. This can be seen in conflicts associated with the failure to recognize the rights of these peoples (Ferreira, 2018), or in overlaps between Indigenous Lands (IL) and Extractive Reserves (RESEX), often linked to the phenomenon of ethnic resurgence (Ioris, 2009; Mendes, 2009). These conflicts also negatively impact public institutions and non-governmental organizations, which are challenged by this wide-ranging disarray. The interinstitutional disagreements and deadlocks, including those involving civil society, taint the relationships between the various actors and institutions involved, to the detriment of both environmental conservation and the defense of indigenous territories and rights (Fany, 2004). On the other hand, as Silva (2018) describes when analyzing the Supreme Federal Court's (STF) stance on the conflict arising from the homologation of the Raposa/Serra do Sol Indigenous Land in Roraima, each opportunity is used to reiterate positions from the dominant society that undermine indigenous rights. New verbal constructions continue to redefine the colonialist stance toward indigenous lands and peoples⁴. In this case, conditions for recognizing the Indigenous Land were established, and indigenous usufruct was made dependent on state authorizations and regulations, including those from environmental agencies responsible for the conservation units that overlap indigenous territories. This position contradicts ILO Convention 169, which was shaped by indigenous demands at international bodies, where they denounced the forced integration of traditional peoples into the dominant society. The convention

⁴ In 2023, Law No. 14,701/2023, which establishes the time frame, was enacted after presidential vetoes were overturned by the National Congress. The law was immediately challenged by Actions for the Declaration of Unconstitutionality (ADI) – ADI 7582, 7583, and 7586, as the Federal Supreme Court had already ruled that the adoption of a time frame to define the traditional occupation of land by Indigenous communities is not compatible with constitutional protection of their territorial rights.

asserts their rights to autonomy, self-determination, territorial rights, cultural and ethnic identity, political participation, and more (Joca *et al.*, 2021). According to ILO 169, legal pluralism should prevail over the logic of a singular legal framework imposed by the dominant society.

Despite numerous records of socio-environmental conflicts related to the overlap between UCs and ILs throughout the latter half of the 20th century and into the 21st century in Brazil (Fany, 2004), there is at least one case where the presence of indigenous people was used as a supporting argument for the creation of national parks. In this case, indigenous peoples were portrayed as an intrinsic part of the nature to be preserved (Barretto Filho, 2004; Fany, 2004), suggesting that environmentalists did not always view such overlaps as something to be avoided. The Araguaia National Park (Parna), one of the first parks conceived in the country (Rebouças, 1898), though only officially created in 1959, was intended to protect Bananal Island. In the book *National Parks of Brazil*, agronomist Wanderbilt de Barros (1952), then the director of the Itatiaia National Park, listed locations suitable for the creation of national parks, reviving Rebouças' proposal but now with a picturesque portrayal of the indigenous peoples who inhabited the largest river island in the world (Barros, 1952).

However, this idealization would not endure. The advancement of development frontiers extended the conflict and territorial disputes with indigenous peoples across all regions of the country. Underpinning these disputes was the confused territorial planning established by the Brazilian state regarding its PAs. As indigenous peoples asserted themselves as social actors with political autonomy, they challenged the paradigm of cultural stagnation

(Cunha, 1990) and the pervasive positivist ideological formation that had guided Brazilian public management since the First Republic, which had promoted ideas and practices of cultural assimilation for indigenous peoples (Silva, 2018).

It is within this context of institutional and sociopolitical dissent that the case discussed here arises: the socio-environmental conflict caused by the overlap of the Enawene-Nawe Indigenous Land (TIEN) with the Iquê Ecological Station (ESEC), a fully protected federal UC created in 1981. The TIEN was officially recognized in 1996, encompassing a significant, though not complete, portion of its traditional territory (Almeida, 2015), covering 96.3% of the ESEC.

The two territories, which largely overlap, are located in the northwest of the state of Mato Grosso (MT), within the municipalities of Juína (both TIEN and ESEC Iquê), Sapezal, and Comodoro (TIEN). This region encompasses the traditional lands of various indigenous ethnic groups (Fany, 2004). Almeida (2015, p. 7) presents a proposed territorial delineation referred to as the *Juruena-Guaporé Interfluve*:

The Enawene-Nawe are part of a multilocal system that involves a circuit of collectives speaking Arawak (Enawene-Nawe and Paresi), Tupi-Mondé (Cinta Larga, Suruí), Tupi-Guarani (Apiaká), Tupi-Guarani (Kayabi), macro-jê (Rikbaktsa and Umutina), of the Nambiquara family (Nambiquara of the Cerrado, Nambiquara of the Valley and Nambiquara of the Serra do Norte), as well as isolated languages (Myky/Manoki), living in the interfluve of the Juruena and Guaporé rivers.

The region, located at the transition between the Cerrado and the Amazon, became the destination

of intense migratory flows of Brazilians, especially from the southern region, during the 1970s. This movement was driven by the colonization policies of the military dictatorship that began in 1964, which were aligned with the broader integration and occupation strategies for the Amazon, following the *March to the West* initiative conceived by Getúlio Vargas during the Estado Novo era (Joanoni Neto & Guimarães Neto, 2019). It was also linked to the process of creating "labor surpluses" and subsequent exodus, caused by agricultural mechanization and land concentration in the migrants' home states (Swain, 2018). In large part, this reflected the troubling process of pitting the vulnerable against the vulnerable (Galeano, 1988).

Until the 1960s, the Jurueña-Guaporé Interfluvio was still a refuge for the indigenous peoples who lived there (Almeida, 2015). This reality changed rapidly after the Mato Grosso State Development Company (CODEMAT) implemented the State Colonization Program — Project Juína — in 1978, which led to the creation of the municipality of Juína in 1982 (Santi, 2016). During those decades, numerous Conservation Units were established in the Amazon, especially National Parks and Ecological Stations, which required the absence of residents.

It was in this sociopolitical environment, favoring a new cycle of colonization promoted by the Brazilian state at the expense of indigenous peoples, that the historical process analyzed in this study began. However, the use of environmentalist ideas as a strategy for occupying indigenous territories is not unique to Brazil. To better understand this phenomenon, let us begin by exploring its origins.

2. Historical and colonial roots of the Yellowstone model

Before delving into the investigation, it is necessary to clarify the goals of this research to avoid misunderstandings. To attribute the social harms caused by Western colonialism solely to PAs, without considering their historical context, would be an act of epistemic reductionism that obstructs the understanding of a complex issue. By critically analyzing the colonial characteristics inherent in the PA model developed in the United States in the 19th century, and later exported worldwide, we aim to understand how Western colonialism, in many emblematic cases, transformed nature conservation concepts and projects into additional instruments of colonization of other peoples. This critical assessment does not seek to deny the tactical importance of PAs for the conservation of socio-biodiversity, but rather to contribute to their necessary improvement. Considering both the traditional knowledge of indigenous peoples and modern Western scientific knowledge about biodiversity requires an intercultural translation that avoids wasting valuable human experiences (Santos, 2018).

With that said, and in line with the transformative intention of this work, we do not shy away from pointing out the institutional errors and serious crimes committed against PCTs, who are often in vulnerable positions in relation to urban-industrial societies, all in the name of a specific vision of nature preservation.

The socio-environmental conflicts arising from territorial overlaps between Conservation Units and indigenous territories and other PCTs arrived in Brazil as seeds hidden within a Trojan Horse — the model of protected environmental areas created by

U.S. preservationism⁵ — welcomed by Brazilian preservationist leaders as an unequivocal civilizational gift. This model had already caused disruptive processes in the territories of indigenous peoples, even in its place of origin, including invasions, expulsions, and murders, which had been occurring as part of the colonial settlement model. These actions aimed to demarcate public areas for environmental protection, including those intended for resource exploitation, such as National Forests. Originating in a colonial state, this PA model, even for different reasons, became one of its colonial instruments (Colchester, 2003).

Although this was not the expected outcome by the creators of the seminal U.S. environmentalist ideas (see below), the usurpation of indigenous lands in the name of environmental preservation added to the essentially genocidal methods of spreading contagious diseases, firearm attacks, village burnings, and the encouragement of alcoholism, as noted by Benjamin Franklin, one of the “founding fathers”: “if it be the design of Providence to extirpate these savages in order to make room for cultivators of the earth, it seems not improbable that rum may be the appointed means. It has already annihilated all the tribes who formerly inhabited the seacoast” (Slotkin, 1994, in Losurdo, 2017, p. 209).

The iconic case of Yellowstone National Park marks the beginning of this history. Its creation in 1872 led to the expulsion and murder of 300 Shoshone-Bannock Indians in 1877 and blocked

access for the Lakota, Crow, Bannock, Nez Perce, Flathead, and Blackfeet peoples, who traditionally frequented the region. The escalation of the conflict between state authorities and indigenous peoples became so severe that the management of Yellowstone was handed over to the military, as was the case with Yosemite (Colchester, 2003). Yosemite remained under military administration for 52 years before being transferred to civilian management in 1916, when it came under the jurisdiction of the newly created National Park Service⁶ (Colchester, 2003).

We recognize that territorial usurpation and genocide of indigenous peoples were not present in the intentions, principles, and early discourses of U.S. preservationist ideology. The tragic outcomes for indigenous peoples largely represent a distortion of the naturalist ideals of Thoreau (2013) and Muir (1989). Despite substantial differences in their political stances regarding colonialism, both are considered founders of the U.S. preservationist environmental movement, which began in the mid-19th century — Thoreau being an active anti-colonial militant, a radical praxis ignored by preservationists, and Muir someone indifferent to such issues, an indifference embraced and preserved by them (Ferdinand, 2022). Influenced by an Edenic ethos⁷ — found in human cultures as ancient as Mesopotamia (Colchester, 2003) — or practicing a kind of civil refuge, as Thoreau did (Ferdinand, 2022), both were largely responsible

⁵ The terms “preservationism” and “preservationist” are used in this paper in the terminological sense presented by Mercadante (2001, p. 29): “Preserving nature, in a technical sense, means ‘keeping it untouched, without human interference.’ Conserving nature has a broader meaning; it does not exclude human use of natural resources, within limits that do not compromise the reproduction of ecological systems.”

⁶ The National Park Service of the United States of America.

⁷ “The idea of a park as a wild and uninhabited area, typical of the first North American conservationists, may have its origins in the myths of the ‘earthly paradise’, typical of Christianity.” (Diegues, 2001, p. 29).

for reconceptualizing the notion of wilderness and re-signifying it for the urban-industrial societies that were expanding across the planet (Diegues, 2001).

The ethical and aesthetic preservationism envisioned by them and used in the formulation of the first modern protected areas, combined with the instrumental rationality of colonial Western states (Quijano, 1988; Little, 2004), resulted in drastic consequences for the lives and ways of life of PCTs around the world, including in Latin America, where studies show human presence in 86% of demarcated protected areas (Amend & Amend, 1992). To implement this PA model, many peoples in peripheral countries were forcibly removed from their territories or had their ways of life made impossible, adding to the other colonial fronts — political, economic, and social — that were also advancing over their territories and the remaining preserved natural environments (Amend & Amend, 1992; Kemf, 1993; Mendes & Oliveira, 2022). The limited research on the forced removal of people for the creation of PAs makes it difficult to estimate exact numbers, but estimates range from 14 million people in Africa alone, or 10 to 20 million globally (Dowie, 2006; Agrawal & Redford, 2009).

3. The memories of Iñote⁸: the origins of the conflict according to Thomaz de Aquino Lisbôa and Paulo Nogueira-Neto

The historiographical research conducted here, particularly through the reading, interpretation, and comparative analysis of the diaries of Thomaz de Aquino Lisbôa (2010) and Paulo Nogueira-Neto

(2010), later transformed into memoirs, combined with a review of academic works, documents from environmental and indigenous institutions, and those from indigenous advocacy organizations within civil society, allowed for the creation of a narrative thread aimed at elucidating the origins and development of the socio-environmental conflict under discussion.

The analysis of the clash between Thomaz de Aquino Lisbôa, a Jesuit associated with the Anchieta Mission (MIA), coordinator of the first contacts with the Enawene-Nawe people and one of the founders of indigenous missiology (Simões, 2019), and Paulo Nogueira-Neto, the first national secretary of the environment and a major figure in Brazilian preservationism, is crucial to understanding this historical process.

Their memoirs contain significant elements that clarify the storyline. Through them, we can observe the MIA Jesuits' efforts to alert the Brazilian state to the existence of the Enawene-Nawe people as well as the concerns this revelation stirred in Nogueira-Neto, as it posed an obstacle to his plans for establishing an ESEC in that region. However, this concern did not deter him from pursuing his goal.

In 1974, the MIA made the first contact with the Enawene-Nawe people, an Arawak-speaking group that had been vaguely known since 1817, based on accounts from Father Aires Casal (Arruda, 1984, p. 26). Following these initial contacts, it was confirmed that an indigenous group — until then considered isolated — inhabited the far northwest of Mato Grosso (MT), between the Nambikwara and Cinta Larga Indigenous Lands.

⁸ A word used by the Enawene-Nawe to refer to non-indigenous people, or even indigenous people to whom they do not consider themselves close (Almeida, 2015).

However, shortly after, in 1976, Nogueira-Neto, then secretary of the Special Secretariat for the Environment, initiated conversations with the governor and secretaries of MT to secure the allocation of land for the creation of the Iquê Ecological Station, which would come to fruition in 1981. The critical issue was that the area chosen by Nogueira-Neto was located precisely in the central-northern portion of the Enawene-Nawe's traditional territory, which was just beginning to be mapped with the support of MIA missionaries (Lisbôa, 2010).

An analysis of Nogueira-Neto's statements (1991) in the book *Ecological Stations: A Saga of Ecology and Environmental Politics*, compared with his account of a flight between Cuiabá and Vilhena in 1976 to survey the area intended for the Iquê Ecological Station, as described in his memoirs (Nogueira-Neto, 2010), suggests that during that flight, he may have spotted an indigenous village in the very region where he planned to establish the ESEC Iquê.

I once flew from Cuiabá to Vilhena. After refueling the plane, we took off towards the Ecological Station. In the distance, I saw a column of smoke rising into the sky. I thought it might be invading land grabbers. I asked the pilot to head there. When I flew over, I was surprised. We were over an indigenous village. There were two large tabas, or collective dwellings, surrounding a central space or square. There, a few dozen naked Indians were looking at the plane. It was as if we had returned to the time of the discovery of Brazil (Nogueira-Neto, 1991, p. 31).

However, upon being informed on April 6, 1979, that the government of the state of Mato Grosso (MT) had suspended the donation of the

area intended for the creation of the Iquê Ecological Station due to the presence of an indigenous people undergoing identification in that territory, as requested by FUNAI, Nogueira-Neto (2010, p. 409) recorded in his diary thoughts that conveyed a mixture of surprise and indignation:

Manuel Vieira, from Cuiabá, phoned me worried to say that Governor Frederico Soares Campos, from Mato Grosso (do Norte), had issued a decree annulling the donation of 266,000 hectares that the state had made to us. This is complete nonsense! It came as a shock to me. We received the donation, invested around 9 million cruzeiros to comply with the clauses of the donation and now it's been annulled without us being heard!!! It's the end of the road! I called Secretary Ivo Scaff in Cuiabá. He confirmed the fact, but said he was already working to have the situation reviewed. It all started because Funai, in October, asked for 56,000 hectares to be excluded from our Iquê-Juruena Station, because it was a reserve of the Salumã Indians. Instead of excluding this area from the donation, the Mato Grosso government simply revoked the entire donation!!! And FUNAI hasn't said a word to us!!!

Subsequently, as assured by Secretary Ivo Scaff, the situation was reconsidered, and the state government reinstated the donation of the area for the creation of the ESEC Iquê, despite the knowledge — at least among the main institutional representatives involved in these negotiations — of the existence of a recently contacted indigenous people in the targeted area. Later, on October 15, 1979, Nogueira-Neto (2010, p. 410) reported new information regarding the indigenous presence in the region:

Ono and the topographer returned from their expedition to the Iquê and Juruena rivers. There really are

Salumãs Indians near these waterways. It looks like we're going to lose a third of the Station's land and, what's worse, we'll be far from the rivers. Our area will total approximately 180,000 hectares. We'll try to defend our previous boundaries, but it won't be easy. This is an ecological disaster. There are only 123 Salumã Indians, and they already have more than 500,000 hectares!!!

As documented in official records from the Anchieta Mission (MIA) dated 1979, the MIA alerted FUNAI, which in turn informed the government of Mato Grosso (MT), about the significant overlap between the area sought for the Enawene-Nawe people and the land donated for the creation of the Iquê Ecological Station (Lisbôa, 2010). A few years later, in an undated account that is certainly not before 1983 — the year the Jesuits discovered that the self-designation of this people was not Salumã, but Enawene-Nawe (Meliá, 1985; Lisbôa, 2010) — Nogueira-Neto (1991) recalled being approached by Thomaz de Aquino in Brasília, where they discussed the overlap between the indigenous territory and the ESEC. The ideological divergence between the two figures, as expressed in their respective discourses, becomes evident when observing that while Nogueira-Neto (2010) recounted having argued with the Jesuit that 120 indigenous people did not need so much land and that environmental preservation enabled by the existence of the Iquê ESEC was necessary for future generations, Thomaz de Aquino, when reflecting on his conversation with Eloiso Bueno Figueiredo, the coordinator of ecological stations at SEMA, expressed dissatisfaction with the ethnocentrism present in the discourse adopted by SEMA officials (Lisbôa, 2010).

In 1979, the first Working Group (GT) addressing the conflict was established (FUNAI Ordinance

No. 630/E) to review the boundaries of the Salumã Indigenous Land and those of the Iquê ESEC, and to develop a proposal for the interdiction of the area mapped by the MIA (Lisbôa, 2010).

Thomaz de Aquino reported that the preliminary map presented by the GT included, in addition to the initially requested area, portions further north that extended the boundaries over Fazenda Juína and the area donated for the creation of the Iquê ESEC (Lisbôa, 2010). However, on April 18, 1980, he received what FUNAI declared to be the final map. To his surprise, the northern boundaries had been significantly reduced (Lisbôa, 2010).

After the formation of a new GT (FUNAI Ordinance No. 1.057/E of 07/30/1981), the MIA missionaries continued to inquire about the interdiction of the area destined for the future TIEN, but without any sign of progress. Despite numerous warnings from the MIA about the risks of not interdicting the area, two serious events occurred in 1984 (Arruda, 1984; Lisbôa, 2010). On August 20, 1984, Jesuit Vicente Cañas informed Thomaz de Aquino via radio that the Enawene-Nawe, while walking along the left bank of the Iquê River, had encountered new fences, a workers' camp, and a bulldozer. The Enawene-Nawe then began destroying and damaging everything they could, with some reaching the headquarters of the Iquê ESEC. The situation was not more severe due to the absence of workers at the site. However, on September 7, Jesuit Thomaz de Aquino was informed via Rádio Nacional about the death of a surveyor and his assistant, as well as two workers who were seriously injured, attacked by unknown indigenous people in northwestern Mato Grosso. The next morning, Vicente Cañas informed him that the Enawene-Nawe were responsible for the deaths of these workers,

who had been hired by rancher Eloy Monteiro de Carvalho to clear a path marking an area he claimed as his own, partially located within Enawene-Nawe territory (Lisbôa, 2010).

These grave events led FUNAI to form another GT (FUNAI Ordinance No. 1766/E of 09/19/1984), once again aiming to conduct studies to define the boundaries of the indigenous area, a task completed in October of that same year. The TIEN was officially recognized by the Brazilian state 12 years later, in October 1996, and 22 years after the first contacts were made by the MIA (Lisbôa, 2010).

4. The new paths sung by sotakatari⁹: the struggle to end a territorial overlap

Two events related to the official recognition of the TIEN opened a new chapter in the ongoing conflict between the Enawene-Nawe and the Iquê ESEC. The first was the near-complete overlap of the TIEN with the area of the UC, covering 96.3% of the ESEC. The second stemmed from the determination in Article 2 of the presidential decree recognizing the TIEN (Brazil, 1996), which ordered the dissolution of the Iquê ESEC. For reasons outlined below, the two environmental agencies responsible for managing the ESEC — IBAMA and, starting in 2007, ICMBio — resisted accepting the UC's dissolution and continued to manage the area, albeit in a legally precarious situation.

In 2007, the Federal Court of Accounts (TCU), through ruling No. 51/2007, required the appointment of staff and investment in the infrastructure of

the UC, directing IBAMA's presidency to notify the Ministry of the Environment (MMA) of the unconstitutionality of the article ordering the UC's dissolution (TCU, 2007). This TCU stance was based on Article 225 of the Federal Constitution (Clause III, Paragraph 1) (Brazil, 1988), which establishes that only through law can specially protected territories be altered or suppressed by the Brazilian state.

IBAMA sought to comply with these orders and, in 2007, assigned four environmental analysts to the ESEC, in addition to the two technicians already working there, and provided new equipment and vehicles to the UC. This management model was maintained and improved by ICMBio. Nevertheless, until 2010, interactions between the ESEC management and the Enawene-Nawe were sporadic and took place exclusively at the administrative offices of IBAMA, ICMBio, or FUNAI, a situation that began to change with the development of a participatory fire-use management project. This initiative led to the first visit of an ESEC management team to the Halataikwa village in June 2011, where training courses were held for the Indigenous Volunteer Brigade (ICMBio) and Indigenous Volunteer Environmental Agent (IBAMA) (Lopes, 2021).

Two demands made to the ESEC management between 2007 and 2010 heightened the conflict and led to more decisive actions by the indigenous people.

The first was presented by Operação Amazônia Nativa (OPAN), into which the MIA had transformed after becoming secular. It involved a request from the Enawene-Nawe, made on September 30, 2006, for the construction of a 40-kilometer road

⁹ In the Enawene-Nawe language and culture, this word refers to the singers, musician-ritual masters, masters of the “sciences of the paths” (awiti). They are, through their science, the conductors of the paths that must be traveled by Enawene-Nawe society in various directions, towards the spirits, the levels that make up the universe, the past, the present and the future (IPHAN, 2008, p. 148).

connecting highway MT 319 to the Halataikwa village.

With FUNAI's consent, OPAN forwarded the request for approval to IBAMA's Mato Grosso Superintendent Office (Supes/MT) on March 9, 2007, as the road would pass through the Iquê ESEC. This shows that both the indigenous people and the entities associated with them considered the existence of the ESEC as an established fact. However, the Brazilian state's slowness in addressing the rights of the Enawene-Nawe escalated tensions, much like in the case of the TIEN recognition. In 2009, the Enawene-Nawe sent another letter (Process ICMBio 02025.004004/2006-16)¹⁰ to reinforce their request. During a meeting at the FUNAI Regional Coordination in Juína/MT, they even threatened to kidnap the UC's head if their demand was not met (Process ICMBio No. 02129.000044/2012-61). Despite these actions, the Enawene-Nawe were never able to start the complex environmental licensing process required for such works.

The second demand was raised by the Mato Grosso State Environment Department (SEMA/MT) in 2010, during the state environmental licensing process for private properties located in the 3.7% of the ESEC Iquê area that was not overlapped by the TIEN. At the prompting of these landowners, SEMA/MT formally questioned the UC management team about the dissolution of the ESEC Iquê by the TIEN recognition decree (Process ICMBio No. 02129.000044/2012-61). This question was forwarded to the Specialized Federal Attorney's Office (PFE), which reaffirmed the TCU's interpre-

tation in ruling No. 51/2007 (Process ICMBio No. 02070.005675/2010-27). Despite this interpretation, the existence of the Iquê ESEC was again officially questioned, and the Enawene-Nawe became aware of it.

On February 10, 2012, at the end of a meeting at the FUNAI Regional Coordination in Juína/MT to discuss the participatory fire-use management project, being developed between the Iquê ESEC management team and the Enawene-Nawe people, and their involvement in the UC advisory board, several of their representatives, including Daliyamase, the president of their association¹¹, informed the head of the Iquê ESEC that their leaders had decided they would no longer accept the UC's existence and demanded that ICMBio leave their territory. They believed that ICMBio's challenge to the legality of Article 2 represented a threat to the existence of the TIEN. The UC management team relayed this information to ICMBio's headquarters in Brasília, along with a letter from the Enawene-Nawe expressing their demands. Throughout 2012, several meetings were held between representatives of the Enawene-Nawe, FUNAI, ICMBio, IBAMA, and the Federal Public Prosecutor's Office (MPF), but the indigenous leaders were not swayed from their decision. The most significant interinstitutional meeting aimed at mediating the conflict took place in Juína/MT on June 5, 2012. During the meeting, the Enawene-Nawe emphatically stated that they would not allow ICMBio to operate in their traditional territory, marking a significant rupture between them and ICMBio (Lopes, 2021).

¹⁰ To access ICMBio's administrative files, simply send an email to cotec.suporte@icmbio.gov.br and request external access.

¹¹ After a long period of work by OPAN to guide the Enawene-Nawe on the possibilities and forms of interaction with the state, the Enawene-Nawe Indigenous Association was created in 2010 (Almeida, 2015).

After multiple threats to destroy the structures of the Iquê Ecological Station (ESEC) headquarters, which became more credible with each new threat, and intensified by the slow authorization process for the road construction, the ESEC management team removed all staff and transportable equipment. On May 25, 2013, ICMBio was informed by FUNAI that the Enawene-Nawe had destroyed and set fire to the Iquê ESEC headquarters. By the time of the incident, local management activities at the ESEC had already been suspended (Lopes, 2021).

Between ICMBio's expulsion from the Enawene-Nawe territory (2012–2013) and the environmental agency's decision to officially extinguish the UC, ICMBio's management was limited to legal developments concerning the decommissioning of the area. This situation seemed to reach an institutional resolution in January 2019, when ICMBio's Management Committee accepted the guidance expressed in PFE/ICMBio Note No. 55/2018. This note allowed for the application of the interpretation from PFE/ICMBio Opinion No. 28/2008, which had provided legal grounds for the extinction of the Caracarái Ecological Station in Roraima due to its overlap with the Niquiá Ecological Station, also established by presidential decree (Process ICMBio No. 02070.002573/2013-01).

Following this decision, ICMBio's Management Committee recommended submitting a legislative proposal to formalize the discontinuation of the Iquê ESEC and taking steps to remove all references to this UC from institutional documents and websites.

It can be concluded that it is now up to the Brazilian National Congress to accept the decision made by the Enawene-Nawe clan leaders and, after nearly half a century of territorial and socio-envi-

ronmental conflicts, formalize the extinction of the Iquê ESEC through a bill.

What stands out as important to analyze here is that, after decades of social and institutional upheaval, the Enawene-Nawe forged their own path to resolve this ideological-political-social-cosmological impasse, stemming from a territorial overlap that was difficult for them to comprehend. A situation experienced by an ICMBio employee illustrates this challenge. During a 2015 meeting between ICMBio, FUNAI, and the MPF at the Halaitakwa village, convened to assess the road the Enawene-Nawe had eventually built on their own — following ICMBio's expulsion from their territory, the seizure of a tractor, and the kidnapping of its operator — one of the Enawene-Nawe leaders said to the ICMBio staff: *"Where was ICMBio born? I don't know. But Enawene-Nawe were born here"* (a story shared with the first author).

None of the texts or speeches analyzed in this research contained a prediction as precise as the one made by Jesuit Thomaz de Aquino, more than four decades ago, who stated: *"In any case, I am less pessimistic, realizing that at least the Enawene-Nawe would not be driven out of the ESEC area and that, sooner or later, they would be there, on their traditional territory, being the true guardians of that ecology"* (Lisbôa, 2010, p. 82). Thomaz's reflection remains relevant today: who holds the greatest legitimacy to protect nature?

5. Ruins of conservation fortresses: the Survival International/BuzzFeed News/WWF Case

A deep review of this historical process, in which urban-industrial societies recognize the colonialist nature inherent in the U.S. model of Protected Areas (PA), remains a demand from many Traditional Peoples and Communities (PCT). The tragic social consequences of this model were not confined to the 19th and 20th centuries but have been assimilated and redefined by so-called “fortress parks,” allowing these issues to persist to this day (Brockington, 2002). An investigative journalism report published by the U.S. news outlet BuzzFeed News (Warren & Baker, 2019) exposed a series of human rights abuses against PCTs with territories overlapping or neighboring fortress parks, carried out by park rangers funded by the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF)¹². These incidents, which occurred in six countries across Africa and Asia, brought worldwide attention to the issues Survival International had been reporting for nearly three decades¹³. We provide detailed coverage of this well-documented case as an example of the harsh realities faced by PCT in various other situations.

The accusations detailed practices of expulsion, home burnings, torture, rape, beatings, and murders against dozens of men, women, elderly people, and children, in some cases spanning two decades, with the knowledge of high-ranking WWF directors. These allegations were analyzed

and not contested by an independent investigation conducted by the Independent Expert Panel, which was hired by WWF itself¹⁴. The findings forced WWF to acknowledge some of its failures to ensure respect for human rights in its conservation efforts through its document, *WWF Management Response* (WWF, 2020).

However, U.S. congress members were not satisfied with WWF’s response, the measures taken, or the commitments outlined in the document. They decided to launch a congressional investigation. As a result of preliminary investigations, a meeting of the U.S. House of Representatives’ Natural Resources Committee was convened on October 26, 2021, titled *Protecting Human Rights in International Conservation* (Committee Repository, 2021). Chaired by Representative Jared Huffman, with the participation of Representatives Steve Cohen and Cliff Bentz, the meeting heard testimonies from Kaddu Sebunya (WWF), Ginette Hemley (WWF), Joan Carling (Indigenous Peoples Rights International), and John Knox (Wake Forest University). The testimonies were unfavorable to WWF’s efforts to convince the congress members of the effectiveness of the measures taken to prevent its administrative support and financial resources from contributing to various crimes against the lives and dignity of traditional peoples in national parks located in Cameroon, the Republic of the Congo, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Central African Republic, India, and Nepal. Jared Huffman’s opening remarks were particularly

¹² WWF is one of the largest and most important non-governmental organizations dedicated to nature conservation.

¹³ Non-governmental organization that promotes actions in defense of the human rights of PCTs, including when these rights are disrespected by the implementation and management of PAs.

¹⁴ The panel’s report is titled Embedding human rights in nature conservation: from intent to action (WWF, 2021).

revealing of the emotional impact the BuzzFeed News revelations had:

To be perfectly blunt, I, and others on this committee, have been extremely frustrated with how WWF handled this situation. WWF knew about many of these allegations, and in fact, its internal investigations confirmed many of the reports. To give you fair warning, these reported incidents are graphic and jarring, but I feel it's necessary to properly illustrate the horrors WWF knew was occurring. In one report, park rangers in Salonga National Park whipped and raped four women carrying fish by a river. Two of the women were pregnant, and one later had a miscarriage. In another case, a 52-year-old woman said she was arbitrarily detained and raped for two consecutive days, and her husband had to pay a fine for her release. [...] And most park rangers who perpetrated these acts were never brought to justice. (Committee Repository, 2021, p. 2).

The testimony of Professor John Knox (2021), a recognized expert in international human rights and environmental law, was equally powerful. As a former Special Rapporteur for the United Nations Human Rights Council, Knox was invited to testify before the committee due to his role on the Independent Expert Panel commissioned by WWF to investigate the allegations. He clarified that he would not be speaking on behalf of the Panel, which had concluded its work with the final report, but instead in his individual capacity as an expert. In addition to his verbal testimony, Knox (2021) provided a written statement in which he aimed to describe the role of indigenous peoples and local communities in conserving natural ecosystems, review the cases of human rights abuses documented in WWF-supported national parks in Africa and Asia, and suggest preventive measures for the U.S. government concerning conservation projects and human rights issues.

Knox (2021) reported that despite officially rejecting the fortress park model in its discourse, both governments and NGOs continue to block indigenous peoples and local communities from accessing their traditional territories, which overlap with national parks. This obstruction is often accompanied by various atrocities, including arbitrary arrests, torture, rape, beatings, theft, invasions, destruction of property, and murders. He noted that although WWF has signed on to robust commitments regarding human rights, the Independent Expert Panel concluded that WWF had failed, in important ways, to meet these obligations.

The Panel's report shows that WWF's initial actions concerning the abuses in Cameroon's national parks coincided with complaints made by two London-based organizations dedicated to defending the rights of indigenous peoples and traditional communities. Since 2014, Survival International had raised a series of allegations regarding the violence suffered by the Baka people, one of the groups commonly referred to as pygmies. This led to a formal request to the Swiss National Contact Point (NCP) to assess violations of the guidelines for multinational enterprises established by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). The Swiss NCP accepted the case in December 2016 and scheduled a mediation between the parties for June 2017. However, after Survival International withdrew from the process in September, the Swiss NCP closed the case in November 2017, stating that the claimant had breached confidentiality rules. Nevertheless, the NCP made several humanitarian recommendations to WWF regarding its engagement with the Baka people (OECD, 2016). The Rainforest Foundation UK (RFUK) also contributed to the international

visibility of the issues occurring in central African national parks with its publication of the report *Protected Areas in the Congo Basin: Failing both People and Biodiversity?* (Pyhälä, Orozco, & Counsell, 2016). This report highlighted situations very similar to those reported by Survival International, further underscoring the challenges faced by indigenous communities in protected areas.

Despite the measures taken by WWF in response to the humanitarian crimes documented in traditional territories that overlap or are adjacent to national parks under its influence in Cameroon, Knox (2021) emphasized the ongoing latent nature of the socio-environmental conflicts — particularly concerning the Baka people. He stressed that these conflicts would persist as long as the legal frameworks preventing indigenous peoples from accessing, traversing, using, and residing in their traditional territories are not revised.

The long-standing underlying problem is that the local communities – in particular the Baka – do not have clearly defined and protected access to the forests that they have historically relied upon for hunting, fishing, gathering and sacramental purposes. Without such access, conflicts between them and the ecoguards will continue as long as the Baka continue to try to adhere to their customary ways of life [...]. As of the finalization of the Panel report, 18 months later, no action plans had been adopted. My understanding is that they have still not been adopted to this day, and that the Baka still do not have effective access to the parks. (Knox, 2021, p. 6)

Overcoming these models and preservationist principles is imperative for any praxis that seeks to be genuinely socio-environmental. Otherwise, unacceptable conflicts between indigenous peoples, traditional communities, and the forest rangers and

management teams tasked with upholding these crumbling conservation fortresses will continue to persist.

6. The biased flirtation between western environmental modernity and indigenous cosmovision

It was only at the end of the 20th century that the social struggles of Traditional Peoples and Communities (PCT) in the environmental field began to achieve their first significant victories in terms of recognition. Growing dissatisfaction and indignation with environmental policies influenced by preservationist ideals became more evident from the 1970s onward, as traditional peoples from Africa, Asia, Oceania, and Latin America organized resistance movements against the establishment of Protected Areas (PA) based on the Yellowstone model and its successor, the fortress parks. These social demands were backed by important studies that emerged during this period. Various researchers, especially social scientists and biologists, began to analyze the socio-environmental impacts of creating PAs that excluded people from their traditional territories. These studies produced significant evidence of the symbiotic relationship between the biodiversity of rainforests and savannas, and the uses and worldviews of the peoples inhabiting them (Diegues, 1999).

The scientific approaches that arose during this new era allowed for innovative perspectives on the environmental outcomes of practices and land management by PCT. These studies were able to challenge some of the core premises of preservationism, particularly the belief that natural spaces

to be preserved should remain pure and untouched — sometimes imbued with a mythical and sacred aura, albeit under the guise of scientific discourse — and completely free from any permanent human presence (Diegues, 2001). Key studies on this issue were developed by anthropologist William Balée (1989; 1994) with the Ka'apor people, and by biologists Gómez-Pompa (1971) and Gómez-Pompa & Kaus (1992), who found significant evidence of the anthropogenic origins of the Mayan forests. They argued that the regenerative processes of the Amazon rainforest, as well as its biodiversity, were closely linked to agricultural and foraging models developed by the indigenous peoples of the Amazon. These studies were foundational and continue to influence multiple research projects and frameworks today (Garnett *et al.*, 2018).

Political and epistemological reactions echoed within global environmental organizations themselves. At the Third World Parks Congress in Bali (1982), initial discussions emerged regarding the social, economic, cultural, and spiritual rights of traditional societies. Furthermore, it was recommended that protected area managers integrate traditional knowledge into environmental protection actions (Diegues, 2001). In 1980, the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), a global organization dedicated to nature conservation, included in its *World Conservation Strategy* a recommendation to encourage traditional management systems, although it did not clarify whether this referred to local populations living inside or outside protected areas (Diegues, 2001).

However, beginning with the IUCN conference on "Conservation and Development: Implementing the World Conservation Strategy" held in Ottawa, Canada, in 1986, there was a clear shift in understanding regarding the impact of protected areas on Traditional Peoples and Communities (PCT). Explicit recommendations were made: recognizing the special relationship these peoples have with nature, involving them in the control of natural resource use, managing parks¹⁵ through consultations and agreements with these communities, and most importantly, ensuring their right to remain and maintain their ways of life within park areas. Relocation was only to be considered with their prior consent (IUCN, 1986, as cited in Diegues, 2001, p. 106).

Today, there is a solid scientific consensus among interdisciplinary researchers on the importance of indigenous and traditional territories for biodiversity conservation. The recent article "A Spatial Overview of the Global Importance of Indigenous Lands for Conservation" (Garnett *et al.*, 2018), a collaboration of 20 researchers from various parts of the world, reinforced the evidence of the significant contribution of traditional territories to planetary biodiversity conservation and climate balance. The study revealed that indigenous peoples "manage or hold tenure rights" over "38 million km² across 87 countries," representing a quarter of the Earth's surface and interfacing with 40% of protected areas and "ecologically intact landscapes." This was the first study to analyze and produce aggregated geospatial data covering

¹⁵ Within the IUCN, the concept of parks refers to a broader concept than that of a national park as defined by the SNUC, and does not exclude the possibility of permanent human presence. On the other hand, the SNUC categories cover practically the entire spectrum of intervention levels and forms of management of protected area categories according to the IUCN.

the entire Earth's surface, strengthening a series of previous studies, many of which were highlighted in the classic work *The Modern Myth of the Untouched Nature* (Diegues, 2001).

Despite these scientific advancements and the ethical and ideological transformations within the global environmental movement, they were not enough to counterbalance the hegemonic influence of preservationist ideology in shaping Brazilian environmental policies throughout the late 20th and early 21st centuries. The authoritarian nature of this branch of environmentalism continued to thrive in territories burdened by colonialism, bolstered by military governments like Brazil's post-1964 regime.

In addition to its authoritarian aspect, the technicality and scientism of preservationist environmentalists aligned well with the positivist ideology professed by Brazilian military officials, creating an "ecotechnocratic alliance" between old authoritarianism and new environmentalism (Little, 2004). Both groups viewed the territorial rights of indigenous peoples as obstacles to their interests, albeit for different reasons: for preservationists, it was the demarcation of fully protected conservation units, while for the military, it was the promotion of an exclusionary nationalism (Little, 2004).

The military developmental project targeted, displaced, and exterminated indigenous peoples to expand Brazil's geopolitical frontiers (Cunha, 1998; Valente, 2017). At the same time, preservationists advanced into these same territories by creating fully protected areas that made the continued presence of indigenous peoples illegal. Between 1975 and 1989, 60 new UCs were created at the federal level (17 national parks, 22 biological reserves, and 21 ecological stations), including the Iquê ESEC.

Two key figures responsible for coordinating this wave of UC creation were Maria Tereza Jorge Pádua, who served as director of national parks at the Brazilian Institute of Forestry Development (IBDF) from 1968 to 1981, and Paulo Nogueira-Neto, who was secretary of the Special Secretariat for the Environment (SEMA) from 1974 to 1985, the body responsible for managing ecological stations. Both are central to understanding the political developments influenced by the preservationist ideology in Brazil.

The defining features of preservationist ideology in national environmental policies, reinforced by the autocratic contours of Brazil's political environment in the 1960s and 1970s, are immortalized in the speeches of their leading figures. In the book *Os Parques Nacionais do Brasil* (National Parks of Brazil), written by Pádua & Coimbra Filho (1979), the authors consistently refer to populations affected by the territorial overlap of national parks as "squatters" and "degraders," without considering the specificities of each case. In another section, they express no hesitation in claiming that there is no compatibility between the presence of indigenous communities and the protection of biodiversity. This mindset is particularly revealing in how they proposed to resolve the territorial conflict between the indigenous peoples of Bananal Island (Carajás, Javaés, Tapirapés, Tuxás, and Avá-Canoeiros) and the Araguaia National Park, as seen below:

*Once the management plan has been completed and the problems still outstanding have been resolved, especially with regard to the definitive demarcation between the National Park and the Indigenous Reserve, including the due regularization of land ownership, **the intention is to remove all squatters from the National Park and make it suitable for***

recreation. (Pádua & Coimbra, 1979 *apud* Diegues, 2001, p. 118, emphasis added).

The influence of Maria Tereza Jorge Pádua and her ideological stance extended beyond the military dictatorship, continuing into the period of Brazil's re-democratization. In 1989, the Pró-Natureza Foundation (Funatura) — an organization founded with other preservationist environmentalists and chaired by Pádua for nine years — was invited to re-evaluate the Conservation Unit System Plan. This plan had already seen two versions published by the IBDF in 1979 and 1982 (Diegues, 2001; Mercadante, 2001). The invitation came from the newly created IBAMA, an agency linked to the MMA and responsible for managing federal Conservation Units. This work laid the foundation for what would become the SNUC, a legal framework that, as previously discussed, failed to provide satisfactory solutions for territorial overlap cases involving TI.

In the discussions leading up to the vote on the SNUC by the Brazilian National Congress, which spanned seven years, the ideological differences between the two dominant factions in Brazilian environmental debate — the preservationists and the socio-environmentalists — became apparent. Both were eager to see their ideological positions enshrined in the legislation. In an article analyzing the behind-the-scenes of this conceptual dispute, Mercadante (2001) asserts that preservationist hegemony prevailed, despite significant socio-environmental gains, such as the recognition of categories like Extractive Reserves (RESEX) and PAs. However, the proposal for the Indigenous Natural Resource Reserve, presented by the Socio-Environmental Institute (ISA) with the aim of addressing

socio-environmental conflicts caused by overlaps between UCs and TIs, was excluded (Santilli, 2005).

Despite the various contradictions highlighted here, an anti-colonial historiographical and socio-logical analysis allows us to glimpse potential and desirable compatibilities. One such example may be the convergence between an important principle of Muir's (1989) mythical environmentalism and the creation myth of the Enawene-Nawe people. For Muir, stones possessed animistic properties, just like humans, animals, and plants. Similarly, the creation myth of the Enawene-Nawe explains that before coming into the world, their ancestors lived inside a stone, and their passage into the world was opened by a woodpecker (Valadão, 1995). In this way, these myths align in their imagery and semantics, representing a rare instance of potential harmony between the environmental vision of a Western modernity figure and the cosmovision of an indigenous people.

7. Conclusion

Considering the various historical and sociological aspects discussed in this text, it can be affirmed that the creation of the Iquê ESEC on the traditional territory of the Enawene-Nawe people was one of many colonial manifestations of the Brazilian state against indigenous peoples. In this sense, the defenders of Brazilian preservationism have inherited not only the ideology and U.S. model of protected areas, but also the legacy of invasions, expulsions, and killings of the original or traditionally connected peoples to those territories, which are a defining mark of the "Yellowstone model."

The Brazilian state, through both the agency in charge of indigenous policy and the environmental agency, was aware of the process of contact and rapprochement with the Enawene-Nawe, as evidenced by the repeated information provided by Jesuit missionaries. However, despite having received this information for five years, the decision was made to create the Iquê ESEC over this territory.

Regarding the dissolution of the Iquê ESEC by presidential decree, according to the analyzed documents, ICMBio has already decided to submit a legislative proposal to the National Congress to confirm the extinction of the Iquê ESEC.

In conclusion, overcoming socio-environmental conflicts related to territorial overlaps is a historic task that requires a reformulation of environmental policies and the system of protected areas. The ancestral rights of indigenous peoples, as well as the territorial rights of other PCTs, must no longer be treated as problems, but rather as solutions to the conservation of socio-biodiversity. Ultimately, our challenges should be different.

References

- Agrawal, A.; Redford, K. Place, conservation, and displacement. *Conservation and Society*, 7, 56-58, 2009.
- Almeida, J. *Enawene-Nawe wixo* - Diferença e convivencialidade na gestão sociopolítica do Cosmos. Manaus, Dissertação (Mestrado em Antropologia) – UFAM, 2015.
- Amend, S.; Amend, T. *¿Espacios sin habitantes?* Parques Nacionales de América del Sur. Caracas: Nueva Sociedad, 1992.
- Arruda, R. S. V. *Relatório antropológico sobre o grupo indígena Salumã* (Enaue-Nê-Nauê). São Paulo: FIPE, 1984.
- Balée, W. *Footprints of the forest*: Ka'apor ethnobotany. The historical ecology of plant utilization by an Amazonian people. New York: Columbia University Press, 1994.
- Balée, W. Managed forest succession in Amazonia: The ka'apor case. In: Posey, D. A.; Balée, W. (Eds.). *The New York botanical garden*. New York, EUA: New York Botanical Garden Press, 1989. p. 129-258.
- Barradas, A. C. S.; Ribeiro, K. T. Integrated fire management: Serra Geral do Tocantins Ecological Station's journey (2001 to 2020). *Biodiversidade Brasileira*, 11(2), 139-152, 2021.
- Barretto Filho, H. T. Notas para uma história social das áreas de proteção integral no Brasil. In: Fany, R. (Ed.). *Terras indígenas & unidades de conservação da natureza: o desafio das sobreposições*. São Paulo: Instituto Socioambiental, 2004. p. 53-63.
- Barros, W. D. de. *Parques nacionais do Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro: MASIA, 1952.
- Brasil. *Constituição Federal da República Federativa do Brasil de 1988*. Disponível em: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/constituicao/constituicao.htm.
- Brasil. *Decreto s/n., de 02 de outubro de 1996*. Homologa a demarcação administrativa da Terra Indígena Enawenê-Nawê. Disponível em: https://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/DNN/Anterior_a_2000/1996/Dnn02-10-1996.htm.
- Brasil. *Decreto n. 10.088, de 05 de novembro de 2019*. Consolida atos normativos editados pelo Poder Executivo Federal que dispõem sobre a promulgação de convenções e recomendações da Organização Internacional do Trabalho - OIT ratificadas pela República Federativa do Brasil. Disponível em: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_Ato2019-2022/2019/Decreto/D10088.htm#art5
- Brasil. *Decreto n. 5.758, de 13 de abril de 2006*. Institui o Plano Estratégico Nacional de Áreas Protegidas - PNAP, seus princípios, diretrizes, objetivos e estratégias, e dá outras providências. Disponível em: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_ato2004-2006/2006/decreto/d5758.htm
- Brasil. *Lei n. 9.985, de 18 de julho de 2000*. Regulamenta o art. 225, § 1º, incisos I, II, III e VII da Constituição Federal, institui o Sistema Nacional de Unidades de Conservação da Natureza e dá outras providências. Disponível em: <http://>

www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/LEIS/L9985.htm.

Brockington, D. *Fortress conservation: the preservation of the Mkomazi game reserve, Tanzania*. Indiana: Indiana Press University, 2002.

Colchester, M. *Natureza cercada*. Pueblos indígenas, áreas protegidas y conservación de la biodiversidade. Londres: Forest Peoples Programme (FPP), 2003.

Committee Repository. U. S. House of Representatives. *He-aring: Protecting human rights in international conservation*. Washington, oct. 2021. Disponível em: <https://docs.house.gov/meetings/II/II13/20211026/114183/HHRG-117-II13-20211026-SD002.pdf>.

Cunha, M. C. da. El concepto de derecho consuetudinario y los derechos indígenas en la nueva constitucion de Brasil. In: Stavenhagen, R.; Iturralde, Diego. *Entre la ley y la costumbre: el derecho consuetudinario indígena en América Latina*. Instituto Indigenista Interamericano. México: Instituto Interamericano de Derechos Humanos, 1990. p. 299-313.

Cunha, M. C. da. *História dos índios no Brasil*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, Secretaria Municipal de Cultura, Fapesp, 1998.

Diegues, A. C. *Biodiversidade e comunidades tradicionais no Brasil*. São Paulo: NUPAUB, 1999.

Diegues, A. C. *O mito moderno da natureza intocada*. São Paulo: HUCITEC, 2001.

Dowie, M. The hidden cost of paradise. *Stanford Social Innovation Review*, 4(1), 28-36, 2006.

Fany, R. *Terras indígenas & unidades de conservação da natureza: O desafio da sobreposições*. São Paulo: Instituto Socioambiental, 2004.

Ferdinand, M. *Uma ecologia decolonial: pensar a partir do mundo caribenho*. São Paulo: Ubu Editora, 2022.

Ferreira, I. V. *Unidades de conservação da natureza em terras indígenas no Brasil: conflitos e potenciais de transformação*. Florianópolis, Tese (Doutorado em Ciências Humanas) – UFSC, 2018.

FUNAI; ICMBio. *Relatório final do Grupo de Trabalho Interinstitucional Funai-ICMBio*. Relatório técnico (Processo ICMBio nº 02070.001739/2013-63). Brasília, 2015

Galeano, E. *Século do vento*. Livro III da Trilogia do Fogo. Porto Alegre: L&PM, 1988.

Garnett, S. T.; Burgess, N. D.; Fa, J. E. *et al. A spatial overview of the global importance of Indigenous lands for conservation*. Londres: Nat Sustain, 2018.

Gómez-Pompa, A. Possible papel de la vegetación secundaria en la evolución de la flora tropical. *Biotropica*, 3(2), 125-135, 1971.

Gomez-Pompa, A.; Kaus, A. Taming the wildemess myth. *Bioscience*, 42(4), 271-279, 1992.

ICMBio. *Plano de manejo do parque nacional do Pico da Neblina*. Brasília: ICMBio, 2022.

Ioris, M. E. Identidades negadas, identidades construídas: processos identitários e conflitos territoriais na Amazônia. *Ilha*, 11(2), 220-264, 2009.

IPHAN. *Dossiê IPHAN - Yaokwa Povo Enawene Nawe* (Processo nº 01450.011160/2006-42). [S.l.]: IPHAN, 2008.

ISA. *Sobreposições em números*. [S.l.]: ISA, 2018. Disponível em: https://pib.socioambiental.org/pt/Sobreposi%C3%A7%C3%B5es_em_n%C3%BAmeros.

Joanoni Neto, V.; Guimarães Neto, R. B. Amazônia políticas governamentais, práticas de ‘colonização’ e controle do território na ditadura militar (1964-85). *Anuário IEHS*, 34(1), 99-122, 2019.

Joca, P.; Garzón, B. R.; Silva, L. A. L. da *et al. Protocolos autônomos de consulta e consentimento: um olhar sobre o Brasil, Belize, Canadá e Colômbia*. São Paulo: RCA, 2021.

Kemf, E. *The law of the mother: Protecting indigenous peoples in protected areas*. San Francisco: Sierra Club, 1993.

Knox, J. H. *Testimony of John H. Knox*. Before the House Committee on Natural Resources Subcommittee on Water, Oceans, and Wildlife. Hearing on “Protecting Human Rights in International Conservation. 2021. Disponível em: <https://democrats-naturalresources.house.gov/imo/media/doc/Knox%20Testimony%20-%20WOW%20Ov%20Hrg%2010.26.21.pdf>.

Lisbôa, T. de A. *Enawenê-nawê: primeiros contatos*. Cuiabá: Carlini & Caniato, 2010.

- Little, P. E. *Territórios sociais e povos tradicionais no Brasil*: Por uma antropologia da territorialidade. Anuário Antropológico 2002-2003. Rio de Janeiro: Tempo Brasileiro, 2004.
- Lopes, M.; Ribeiro, K. T. *Vozes sobrepostas no conflito entre o Território Indígena Enawene Nawe e a Estação Ecológica de Iquê - análise de discurso das memórias de Thomaz de Aquino Lisbôa e Paulo Nogueira-Neto*. Brasília: Raled, 2022. DOI: 10.35956/v.22.n2.2022.p.152-170.
- Lopes, M. *A superposição do direito originário Enawene Nawe à estação ecológica de Iquê: o ocaso de um conflito socioambiental*. Dissertação (Mestrado Profissional em Biodiversidade em Unidades de Conservação) – Instituto de Pesquisas Jardim Botânico do Rio de Janeiro, 2021.
- Losurdo, D. *Guerra e Revolução: o mundo um século após Outubro de 1917*. Tradução: Ana Maria Chiarini e Diego Silveira Coelho Ferreira. São Paulo: Boitempo, 2017.
- Mato Grosso. *Projeto de Desenvolvimento Agroambiental do Estado de Mato Grosso* (PRODEAGRO). 2001. Disponível em: http://www.dados.mt.gov.br/publicacoes/dsee/vegetacao/uso_ocupacao/mt/DSEE-VG-US-MT-003.pdf.
- Meliá, B. *E foram chamados Salumã*. Goiânia: Editora PUC Goiás, 1985.
- Mendes, A. B. V. *Conservação ambiental e direitos multiculturais: reflexões sobre Justiça*. Campinas, Tese (Doutorado em Ambiente e Sociedade) – UNICAMP, 2009.
- Mendes, A. B. V.; Oliveira, R. A. P. Conservação ambiental e territórios tradicionais: alguns apontamentos sobre estratégias adotadas para a gestão de vidas. *Novos Cadernos NAEA*, 25(3), 99-126, 2022.
- Mercadante, M. Uma década de debate e negociação: A história da elaboração da lei do SNUC. In: Herman, B. A. (Ed.). *Direito ambiental das áreas protegidas*. Rio de Janeiro: Forense Universitária, 2001. p. 190-231.
- Muir, J. *The yosemite*. New York: Century, 1989.
- Nogueira-Neto, P. *Diário de Paulo Nogueira-Neto: uma trajetória ambientalista*. São Paulo: Empresa das Artes, 2010.
- Nogueira-Neto, Paulo. *Estações ecológicas: uma saga de ecologia e de políticas ambientais*. São Paulo: Empresa das Artes, 1991.
- OECD Watch. *Survival international vs. WWF*. Adverse impacts on indigenous people's rights in Cameroon. 2016. Disponível em: <https://www.oecdwatch.org/complaint/survival-international-vs-wwf/>
- Pádua, M. T. J.; Coimbra Filho, A. F. *Os parques nacionais do Brasil*. São Paulo: José Olympio, 1979.
- Pyhälä, A.; Orozco, A. O.; Counsell, S. *Protected areas in the Congo basin: failing both people and biodiversity?* Londres: Rainforest Foundation, 2016.
- Quijano, A. *Modernidad, identidad utopia en América Latina*. Lima: Sociedade e Política, 1988.
- Ramos, A. O GT do CONAMA: aquele que foi sem nunca ter sido. In: Fany, R. (Ed.). *Terras indígenas & unidades de conservação da natureza: O desafio das sobreposições*. São Paulo: Instituto Socioambiental, 2004.
- Rebouças, A. P. Excursão ao Salto do Guayra ou Sete Quedas pelo Capitão Nestor Borba - Notas e considerações pelo engenheiro André Rebouças. 1876. *Revista Trimestral do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, Tomo LXI, 65-87, 1898.
- Rios, P. F. Parecer N. 00175/2021/CPAR/PFE-ICMBIO/PGF/AGU. *Revista da Advocacia Pública Federal*, 6(1), 296-339, 2022.
- Santi, R. P. *A ação da CODEMAT na colonização oficial de Mato Grosso: revisitando o projeto Juína (1978–1997)*. Cuiabá: Editora da UFMT, 2016.
- Santos, B. de S. *Construindo as epistemologias do Sul*. Antologia Esencial. Volume I: Para um pensamento alternativo de alternativas. Buenos Aires: CLACSO, 2018.
- Santilli, J. *Socioambientalismo e novos direitos: proteção jurídica à diversidade biológica e cultural*. São Paulo: Editora Peirópolis, 2005.
- Silva, C. T. da. A homologação da terra indígena Raposa/Serra do Sol e seus efeitos. Uma análise performativa das 19 condicionantes do STF. *Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais*, 33(98), 1-20, 2018.
- Simões, M. C. Entre inculturação e libertação: apontamentos sobre o desenvolvimento e os desafios de uma missiologia

indigenista. *Interações*, 14(26), 376-394, 2019.

Swain, T. N. *Fronteiras do Paraná: da colonização à migração*. Fronteiras. Brasília: UnB; Paris: Orstom, 2018. Disponível em: https://horizon.documentation.ird.fr/exl-doc/pleins_textes/pleins_textes_7/b_fdi_03_01/37774.pdf.

Talbot, Virginia. *Termos de Compromisso: histórico e perspectivas como estratégia para a gestão de conflitos em unidades de conservação federais*. Dissertação (Mestrado Profissional em Biodiversidade em Unidades de Conservação) – Instituto de Pesquisas Jardim Botânico do Rio de Janeiro, 2016.

TCU. *Acórdão 51/2007*. Processo n.º 003.925/2004-5. Relator: Augusto Nardes, 2007. Disponível em: <https://pesquisa.apps.tcu.gov.br>.

Thoreau, H. D. *Walden*. São Paulo: PM Pocket, 2013.

Valadão, V. *Yãkwa - O banquete dos espíritos*. São Paulo: Centro de Trabalho Indigenista (CTI), 1995.

Valente, R. *Os fuzis e as flechas: história de sangue e resistência indígena na ditadura*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2017.

Warren, T. Baker, K. J. M. *WWF funds guards who have tortured and killed people*. Buzzfeed News, 2019. Disponível em: <https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/tomwarren/wwf-world-wide-fund-nature-parks-torture-death>.

WWF. *Embedding human rights in nature conservation: from intent to action*. 2021. Disponível em: https://wwfint.awsassets.panda.org/downloads/independent_review_independent_panel_of_experts_final_report_24_nov_2020.pdf.

WWF. *WWF Management Response: to recommendations from independent panel report embedding human rights in nature conservation*. 2020. Disponível em: https://wwfint.awsassets.panda.org/downloads/4_ir_wwf_management_response.pdf.