



Public policies and cartography of the traditional communities territory's on the coast of São Paulo and southern Rio de Janeiro

Políticas públicas e cartografia do território das comunidades tradicionais do litoral paulista e sul fluminense

Leonardo Esteves de FREITAS^{1,2,3*}, Davis Gruber SANSOLO¹, Giovana CIOFFI^{1,4}

¹ Universidade Estadual Paulista (UNESP), São Paulo, SP, Brasil.

² Fundação Oswaldo Cruz (Fiocruz), Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brasil.

³ Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ), Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brasil.

⁴ Universidade de Cádiz, Cádiz, Andaluzia, Espanha.

* Contact e-mail: leonardofreitas73@gmail.com

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ABSTRACT: Official maps play a relevant role as representations of reality with specific objectives and, generally, favor hegemonic social actors. In contrast, researchers and communities have mapped elements of community interests, supporting the fight for their socio-territorial rights, as occurs in territories of traditional communities on the coast of São Paulo and south of Rio de Janeiro. This paper compares processes of spatial representation of these communities in nine official instruments of public territorial management and in two databases of partners of traditional communities in order to analyze the relationship between the representation of these communities and the incidence of public policy. Analysis parameters were defined to identify convergences and divergences between the materials: presence and absence of information; level of detail; way of characterizing communities. In official mappings, these communities are made invisible. Map made by Laplan/Unesp shows 72 communities, against 23 of maps linked to public policies of the state of São Paulo, for the same territory. Map of Angra dos Reis and Paraty/RJ, prepared by Fiocruz/FCT, brings 82 communities, while official maps of the state of RJ present 42. Official maps highlight conservation units and urban and tourism activities and do not prioritize activities of traditional communities, subordinating traditional uses to the preservation of nature and the reproduction of capital. In practice, this leads to, the prohibition of activities that are essential for social reproduction, the criminalization of these communities and their disregard in the elaboration of public policies. Environmental policies and development vectors

associated with the reproduction of capital are defined without considering the rights of these communities, which leads to sociocultural mischaracterization and the expulsion of community members from their territories, generating a worsening of the socio-environmental situation.

Keywords: traditional communities; territorial conflicts; cartographic representations; public policy; coast.

RESUMO: Os mapas oficiais têm papel relevante como representações da realidade com objetivos específicos e, geralmente, favorecem atores sociais hegemônicos. Em contraponto, pesquisadores e comunidades têm mapeado elementos de interesses das comunidades, apoiando a luta por seus direitos socioterritoriais, como ocorre em territórios de comunidades tradicionais do litoral de São Paulo e sul do Rio de Janeiro. Este artigo compara processos cartográficos de representação espacial dessas comunidades em nove instrumentos oficiais de gestão territorial pública e em dois bancos de dados de parceiros de comunidades tradicionais visando analisar a relação entre a representação dessas comunidades e a incidência de políticas públicas. Foram definidos parâmetros de análise para identificar convergências e divergências entre os materiais: presença e ausência de informações; nível de detalhamento; modo de caracterização das comunidades. Nos mapeamentos oficiais, há invisibilização dessas comunidades. Mapa elaborado pelo Laplan/Unesp mostra 72 comunidades, contra 23 de mapas vinculados a políticas públicas do estado de São Paulo, para o mesmo território. Mapa de Angra dos Reis e Paraty/RJ, elaborado pela Fiocruz/FCT, traz 82 comunidades, enquanto mapas oficiais do estado do RJ apresentam 42. Mapeamentos oficiais destacam unidades de conservação e atividades urbanas e turísticas e não priorizam atividades das comunidades tradicionais, subalternizando os usos tradicionais à preservação da natureza e à reprodução do capital. Isso gera, na prática, a proibição de atividades essenciais à reprodução social, a criminalização dessas comunidades e a sua desconsideração na elaboração de políticas públicas. Políticas ambientais e vetores de desenvolvimento associados à reprodução do capital são definidos sem considerar os direitos dessas comunidades, o que acarreta descaracterização sociocultural e expulsão de comunitários de seus territórios, gerando agravamento da situação socioambiental.

Palavras-chave: comunidades tradicionais; conflitos territoriais; representações cartográficas; políticas públicas; litoral.

1. Introduction

The title of the famous book by French radical geographer Yves Lacoste (Lacoste, 2012), “Geography serves, first and foremost, to wage war”, expresses the idea that spatialization processes, including mapping, have always been primary instruments of struggle, designed with specific objectives, especially by the military and hegemonic organizations in capitalist society.

Maps are tools for legitimizing socio-spatial processes, and it is essential to demystify their supposed impartiality in order to equip those parts of society that have less power in relation to hege-

monic groups for the social justice struggle. As very well summarized by Harley (2009):

Maps will be regarded as part of the broader family of value-laden images. They will cease to be understood primarily as inert records of morphological landscapes or passive reflections of the world of objects (Harley, 2009, p. 2).

Maps become tools for the dispute between the different proposed development models and the existing asymmetry of power as they represent a territory affected by different rationalities, such as those brought by vectors of capital, public policies

and counter-hegemonic actions of social groups. That is, the territory is the locus of dispute for its reproduction and the representation of the territory is a central element of this dispute (Freitas *et al.*, 2016).

The development of Geographic Information Systems (GIS), instruments used for the creation of maps, must be understood in this context. GIS were developed from government geopolitical interests and strategic networks and are often used for military purposes and profit maximization. Therefore, they play a crucial role in territorial disputes, supporting the analysis and communication of information about the territory based on value judgments of those who manipulate these tools (Weiner *et al.*, 2002).

GIS were used almost strictly for planning and management by companies and government institutions and for research from the 1980s onwards. Only in the subsequent decade did researchers begin to develop a critique of power relations related to its use (Weiner *et al.*, 2002).

Researchers and political actors began to use this tool to support the struggle of vulnerable communities, either through direct mediation with these communities or through the spatial representation of elements of community interests that were (and still are) often neglected. These processes often encompass territories of traditional communities, as they are closely related to the social reproduction of these communities (Silva, 2016). The way family and production are organized is based on these processes, in addition to the forms of sociability and institutionality themselves. Therefore, the way in which the territory is represented cartographically correlates with central elements in the community political struggle: its guarantee. Thus, mapping

these territories in a counter-hegemonic manner, as many researchers do, is an increasingly common practice to strengthen the referred struggles.

1.1. The invisibilization of traditional communities in mapping

The communities' understanding that spatial representation is a strategic element in the struggle to guarantee their socio-territorial rights unfolds into a fundamental question: what should be represented on maps to strengthen the struggle? It is essential to represent the communities, as they often do not appear in many official mappings. IPAM & ISPN (2021), for example, identified a 3.5 times greater number of traditional communities in the Brazilian Cerrado in mapping carried out together with the communities, in the field, compared to official records from the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), National Indian Foundation (FUNAI) and Palmares Foundation combined.

However, it is not enough for communities to appear as a point or for only their areas of residence to be represented. For the social struggle, it is necessary to show the areas of symbolic importance, the areas of use on land, at sea, etc., demarcating the presence of these communities as central elements in the formation of the territory, demonstrating that the social reproduction of these communities depends on ensuring control of that territory. Thus, mappings of the social struggles of subordinated communities are not associated with cartographically exact territorial limits, but with the spatial representation of collective and multifaceted uses of the territory and the natural and sociocultural resources that make up this territory. Mappings

that recognize collective forms of appropriation of traditional territory, incorporating community infrastructure, religious, mythical, hunting, fishing, conservation, agricultural production spaces, etc. and also spaces of conflict (Acselrad & Viegas, 2022).

However, historically, traditional communities have been made invisible in several aspects, including official mapping carried out by the State and the processes of spatial representation conducted by capital. Therefore, this set of elements is not present in the spatial representations made by these social subjects.

This dynamic of invisibilization can trigger serious consequences, including the expulsion of such communities from their territories, a situation observed in different contexts.

Mascarello & Santos (2015), for example, demonstrated that the zoning of the Rio Grande Superport (RS/Brazil), updated in 2011, disregarded the existence of two out of three communities that lived in the area, formed largely by artisanal fishermen. These communities were not represented on official maps and their territorial rights were completely neglected. This prevented them from maintaining their ancestral traditional practices, which were dependent on their relationships with the territory.

Ferreira (2023) demonstrated how the Boto-cudo indigenous people are almost completely invisible in public policies implemented in the Rio Doce Basin, in Espírito Santo, not appearing in mappings and even in official documents (with the exception of the Krenak Indigenous Land). The author associates this with the historical process of extermination and invisibilization of these people by

the state and capital, which made their distribution dispersed and even more difficult to map.

This invisibilization and consequent deterritorialization impacts the social reproduction of traditional communities because there is an intrinsic relationship between them and the territory where they live, as attested by the legal definition of traditional peoples and communities: “culturally differentiated groups (...), which occupy and use territories and natural resources as a condition for their cultural, social, religious, ancestral and economic reproduction (...)” (Brasil, 2007, p. 316).

In this case, it is important to understand that the territory is not merely the place where people live, the physical basis of existence.

The territory has to be understood as used territory, not the territory itself. Used territory is the ground plus identity. Identity is the sense of belonging to what belongs to us. The territory is the foundation of work, the place of residence, material and spiritual exchanges and the exercise of life (Santos, 1999, p. 8).

This definition of territory by Milton Santos, although not specifically formulated for traditional communities, clearly shows how these communities relate to their territories. After all, because they are vulnerable communities that are part of the subordinate classes in the capitalist system, the territory is for them the “place of resistance”.

1.2. The traditional communities on the coast of SP and south of RJ and the fight for the protection of their territory

The guarantee of the socio-territorial rights of traditional communities is the basis of the most

important conflicts between them, official bodies and private capital in the region of the north coast of São Paulo and the south coast of Rio de Janeiro (Porto *et al.*, 2013).

The traditional peoples and communities of that area, which include Guarani indigenous people, quilombolas, caiçaras and artisanal fishermen, experience conflicts over the dispute over territory, whose most relevant time frame is the construction of the Rio-Santos highway (BR-101) in the Mangaratiba section (RJ) and São Sebastião (SP) (Siqueira, 1989; Sansolo, 2002). After the construction of this highway, several economic activities were developed, with emphasis on the installation of the oil terminal in Ilha Grande Bay, port terminals and the atomic power plant in Angra dos Reis/RJ (Siqueira, 1989). Access to the coastal region via BR-101 led to an increase in tourism (both mass and high-end tourism), real estate speculation, the intensification of urbanization and generated several environmental problems (Luchiari, 1999; Sansolo, 2002). Since then, disputes over land ownership have multiplied and hundreds of families belonging to traditional communities have been marginalized, threatened and displaced from their territories of origin (Siqueira, 1989; Paes, 1999; Diegues, 2007).

An important aspect of this conflict is the invisibility of communities and their territorial relations. Some authors have demonstrated that they are not adequately represented by official mappings, which has severe impacts for territorial policies (Freitas *et al.*, 2016; Cortines *et al.*, 2018).

The exception appears to be restricted to maps created by researchers, in partnership with communities, and/or by their institutional partners, which generally show a much broader group of communities, including untitled territories, and, often, also

territories of use, extractive activity, landmarks of cultural relevance, among others.

This paper compares the spatialization of traditional communities on the coast of São Paulo and southern Rio de Janeiro in the mapping of public territorial management and the one carried out by research institutions that work in partnership with these communities, seeking to understand the gaps in official mapping regarding the representation of communities and their territories and analyze how official spatial representations contribute to maintaining the hegemonic power of capital and the State to the detriment of the rights of traditional communities.

2. Methodology

The research was developed through comparative analysis between cartography derived from instruments linked to public policies applied to the coast and cartography developed by research institutions, in partnership with traditional communities. The spatial section extends from the southern coast of the state of São Paulo to the southern coast of the state of Rio de Janeiro. The municipalities in this area make up, partially or totally, four political-administrative regions: Vale do Ribeira (south coast), Baixada Santista, North Coast, in São Paulo, and Costa Verde, in Rio de Janeiro (Figure 1).

Data were collected in two stages, according to the divergence of technical research procedures adopted.

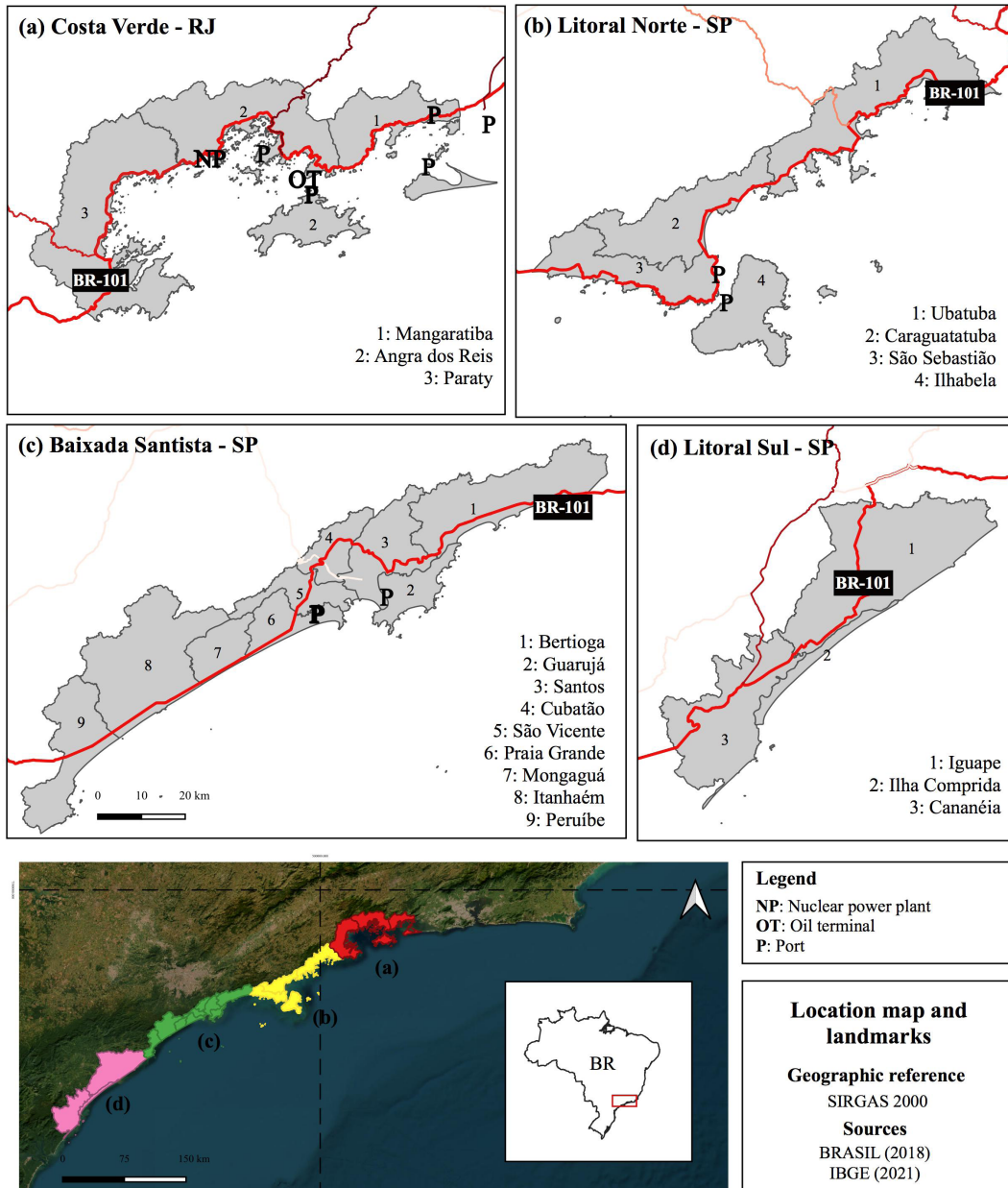


FIGURE 1 – Location map and points of interest in the study area. Costa Verde (meaning Green Coast) is a region in the state of Rio de Janeiro; Litoral Norte (meaning North Coast), Baixada Santista and Litoral Sul (meaning South Coast) are regions in the state of São Paulo
SOURCE: produced by the authors based on georeferenced data available in the Ministry of Infrastructure (2018) and IBGE (2021).

Stage I – Survey of official public maps

At this stage, the documentary research technique was used, according to the following criteria:

- (i) policies should have regional coverage and;
- (ii) they should be directly linked to the planning and ordering of the use and occupation of the study area. The documents consulted are listed in Table 1.

Some maps were collected directly from official websites of state environmental agencies, and there was no need to consult plans and reports. In these cases, the search was carried out by combining the following elements: “name” of the state or region, “name” of the instrument and “map” or “mapping”.

Stage II – Mapping based on location data from traditional communities

This stage is the result of the collaboration of researchers linked to the Environmental Planning and Coastal Management Laboratory (LAPLAN) of the Institute of Biosciences/Campus do Litoral Paulista of Unesp with partners, which aims to recognize and represent the ethnocultural diversity present in the coast of São Paulo and south of Rio de Janeiro. Thus, the products indicated in Figure 2 were analyzed.

The Map of the Traditional Communities of Baixada Santista, Vale do Ribeira and Litoral Sul (southern coast) was produced in the project to identify and analyze the social technologies of Sovereignty and Food and Nutritional Security (SSAN) of Baixada Santista, Litoral Sul and Vale do Ribeira, developed by LAPLAN together with the Center

for Science and Technology for Sovereignty and Food and Nutritional Security at Unesp (InterSSan), between 2018 and 2019. From this point onwards, this map will be referred to as the LAPLAN map.

This material was produced according to the following steps: collection of georeferenced data with the institutions Fundação Nacional do Índio (Funai), Fundação Instituto de Terras do Estado de São Paulo (Itesp), Instituto Socioambiental (ISA) and Instituto Pólis; dialogue with communities through workshops and interviews for their characterization; application of forms including projects of interest (14) of InterSSan to access the collected data; and creation of a spatial database in a GIS environment (ArcGIS) and production of maps in the same environment.

The mapping of the Traditional Communities of the North Coast of São Paulo and South Coast of Rio de Janeiro was carried out by the Observatory for Sustainable and Healthy Territories of Bocaina (OTSS), a partnership between the Oswaldo Cruz Foundation (Fiocruz) and the Traditional Communities Forum (FCT) of Angra dos Reis, Paraty and Ubatuba and its production was within the scope of the Povos Project and the Redes Project, conducted under the responsibility of OTSS and its partners, including LAPLAN.

The Povos Project, carried out from 2018 to 2023, mapped 100 communities (84 *caiaçaras*, 8 *quilombolas* and 8 indigenous people) in the regions of Angra dos Reis, Paraty and Ubatuba. As for the Redes Project, which began in 2020 and is expected to be completed in 2025, it expands the scope to 111 communities, also covering Caraguatatuba, São Sebastião and Ilhabela. Mapping follows three basic steps: collection of secondary spatial data; participatory characterization (fieldwork) of territories

TABLE 1 – List and detailing of the material analyzed in the documentary research stage.

Document	Instrument	Public Policy	Year of publication	FU	Source
Technical Report	Ecological-Economic Zoning (EEZ) of Baixada Santista	State Coastal Management Plan – Law No. 10,019, of 07/03/1998	2013	SP	Department of Infrastructure and Environment (SIMA)
Technical Report	EEZ of the North Coast	State Coastal Management Plan – Law No. 10,019, of 07/03/1998	2005 (revised in 2017)	SP	SIMA
Diagnosis of the Coastal Sector of Ilha Grande Bay	EEZ of Ilha Grande Bay	State Coastal Management Plan – Law No. 10,019, of 07/03/1998	2015	RJ	State Environmental Institute (INEA)
	EEZ of Guandu	State Coastal Management Plan – Law No. 10,019, of 07/03/1998	2013 (revised in 2016)	RJ	State Environmental Institute (INEA)
Hydrographic Basin Plan 2016-2017	Hydrographic Basin Committee (CBH) of Baixada Santista	State Water Resources Policy – Law No. 7,663, of 12/30/1991	2016	SP	Integrated Water Resources Management System (SigRH)
Hydrographic Basin Plan 2016-2019	CBH of the North Coast	State Water Resources Policy – Law No. 7,663, of 12/30/1991	2016	SP	SigRH
Hydrographic Basin Plan	CBH of Rio Ribeira de Iguape e Litoral Sul	State Water Resources Policy – Law No. 7,663, of 12/30/1991	2016	SP	SigRH
Water Resources Plan	CBH of Baía de Ilha Grande	State Water Resources Policy – Law No. 3,239, of 08/02/1999	2020	RJ	CBH of Ilha Grande Bay
Strategic Water Resources Plan	CBH of Guandu	State Water Resources Policy – Law No. 3,239, of 08/02/1999	2017	RJ	CBH of Guandu
Metropolitan Strategic Development Plan 2014-2030			2014	SP	Metropolitan Agency (AGEM) of Baixada Santista
Management Plan	Marine Environmental Protection Area of the North Coast (APAMLN)	State Environmental Policy – Law No. 9,509, of 03/20/1997	2020	SP	Integrated Environmental Management System (SIGAM) SIMA)

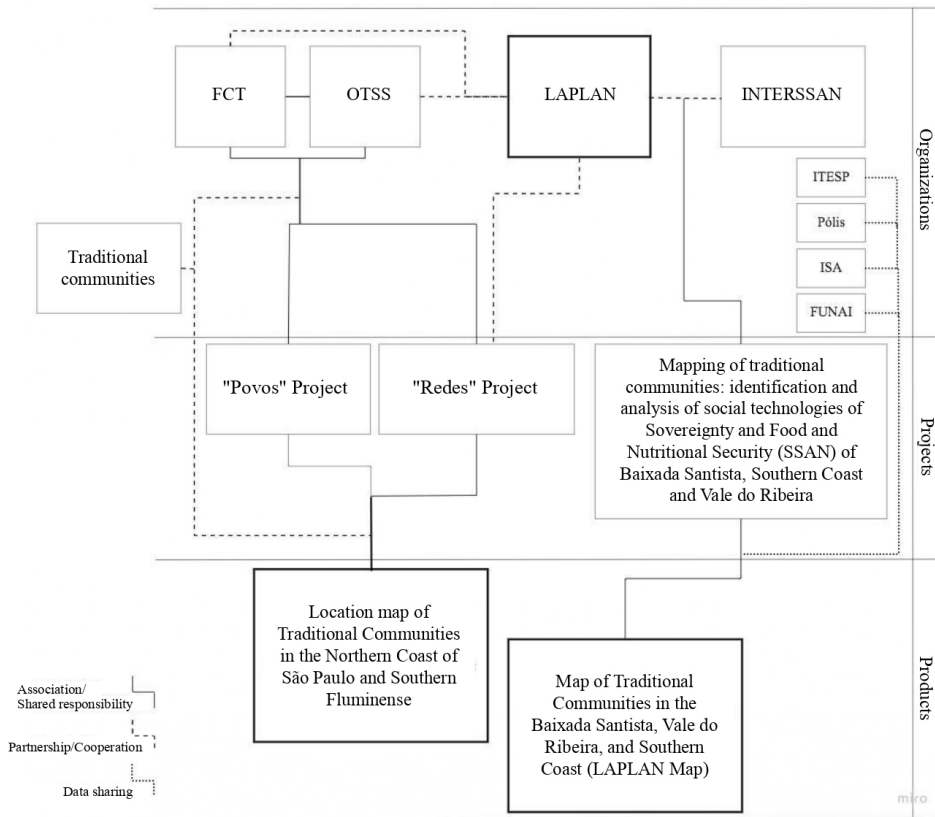


FIGURE 2 – Simplified exposition of the elements and relationships until the production of the maps shown in this paper.

through drawings, sketches and symbols compatible with community interpretation of their territories; and creation of a spatial database for producing maps and making geoinformation available.

Data analysis focused on the following questions:

i) Do environmental policies consider the various dimensions of territorial occupation of traditional communities in their mapping?

ii) How does the spatial representation of these communities occur and to what extent?

iii) Do maps linked to public policies offer elements that strengthen the fight for socio-territorial rights?

Analysis parameters were defined to evaluate convergences and divergences in the data, including the presence or absence of information (whether or not the mapping indicates the presence of traditional territories), level of detail (whether it covers details such as the social group and name of the community), and the mode of characterization (historical and cultural aspects are explored in order to understand

the importance of the territory beyond physical occupation).

3. Results and discussion

The comparison between mappings linked to public policies and those carried out by partners from traditional communities or by the communities themselves shows significant discrepancies in the present study, as well as in other papers (IPAM & ISPN, 2021; Mascarello & Santos, 2015). This is especially observed in the number of communities mapped, with regard to the areas of use of these communities and the relationship of relevance between these areas and territories characterized by public policies not directly related to the communities.

It is expected that many differences will be observed, as communities very much want to highlight the socio-spatial aspects that are of interest to them, while public policies have formal limits for the representation of socio-spatial processes. For example, maps included in public policies cannot contain territories used or occupied by indigenous people or quilombolas on non-titled land, but this can occur in mappings prepared by research institutions, without major consequences, as observed in mappings carried out by the OTSS (2021a; 2021b; 2021c), or on the maps created by the “Tô no mapa” application (IPAM & ISPN, 2021).

However, the absence of several communities on official maps and the almost entire absence of representation of the territories of these communities based on a multidimensional conception, which presents the territory as a political, legal and economic element, but also as the basis of pro-

duction of identity and symbolic relationships, as discussed by Haesbaert (2004) is surprising. In this regard, the spatial representation of the territories of traditional communities must include not only places of residence, but also areas of extractivism, of cultural and religious relevance, of agricultural production and nature preservation, for example. In some policies, it is also clear that traditional communities are subjected to subordination when compared to environmental policies that are reflected in the territory.

3.1. Spatial representation of traditional communities in public policies

As observed by Freitas *et al.* (2016) and Cortines *et al.* (2018) regarding specific areas of the southern coast of Rio de Janeiro, in maps linked to some public policies, the territories of traditional communities are spatialized only as their direct area of residence (when these appear) and the areas of use of these communities are not shown in the territory. In other words, ways of life are disregarded even when the location of communities is represented on the maps.

A significant example can be found in the maps presented in the Diagnosis of the Coastal Sector of Ilha Grande Bay – Grants for the Preparation of Coastal Ecological-Economic Zoning Volume I (Rio de Janeiro, 2015). All these maps, including the Distribution of Traditional Peoples and Communities (Figure 3), portray indigenous and quilombola communities only from their titled land and *caçara* communities as points. Obviously, due to an issue of scale of map representation, *caçara* communities had to be represented by points. However, this could

be solved cartographically with larger scale maps (even if only for some communities) and a textual approach that would indicate that communities do not just correspond to the areas where they live. However, the areas of use are not even mentioned.

This is reflected in the Grant Letter to Territorial Management of EEZ-RJ for Ilha Grande Bay (Figure 4), which has several zones with different management characteristics, but none of them is directly aimed at the use of traditional communities,

except for titled areas of indigenous lands and quilombo territories. In this letter, caçara communities are not even mentioned.

The map of traditional communities inserted in the Synthesis Diagnosis of the Water Resources Plan of the Ilha Grande Bay Hydrographic Region (Profill, 2020) (Figure 5) depicts the same situation, and only inserts another quilombo territory in the extreme northeast of the mapped region (Alto da Serra do Mar quilombo).

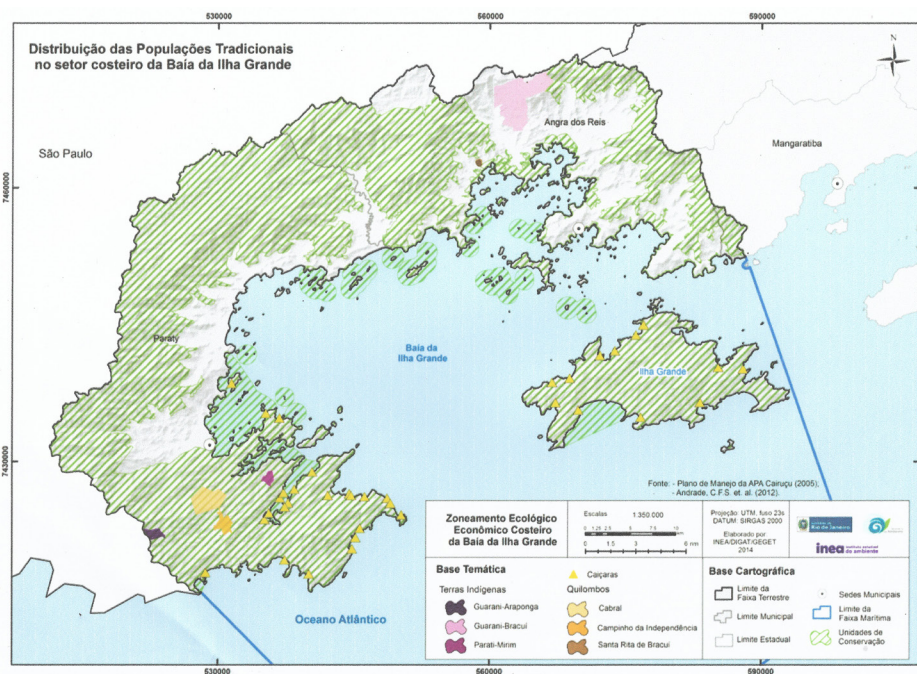


FIGURE 3 – Distribution map of traditional populations in Ilha Grande Bay, prepared within the scope of Coastal Ecological Economic Zoning of Ilha Grande Bay.

Terras Indígenas – Indigenous lands; Quilombos – Maroons territories; Caçaras - People who live on the coast of the south and southeast regions of Brazil and have a strong relationship with the territory and artisanal fishing. Base cartográfica - Cartographic base. Limite de Faixa de Terra - Land Range Limit. Limite Municipal – Municipal Limit. Limite Estadual – State Limit. Sedes Municipais - Municipal Headquarters. Limite da Faixa Marítima - Limit of the Maritime Range. Unidades de Conservação – Protected Areas

SOURCE: Collected entirely from Rio de Janeiro, 2015.

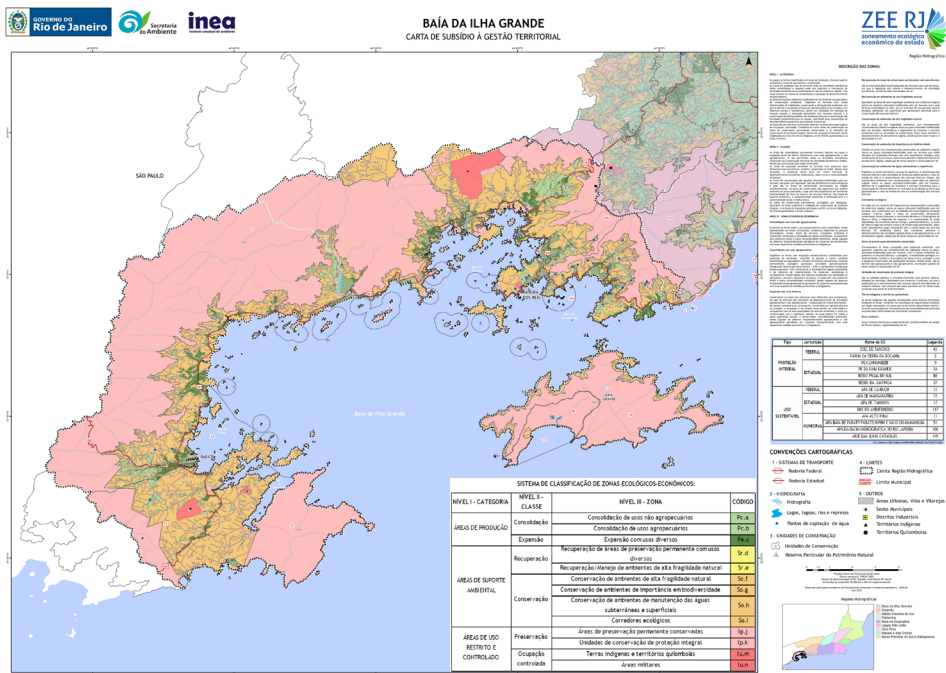


FIGURE 4 – Grant letter to the territorial management of Ilha Grande Bay, prepared within the scope of Coastal Ecological Economic Zoning of Ilha Grande Bay.

Nível I Categoria – Level I Category. Nível II Classe – Level II Class. Nível III Zona – Level III Zone. Código – Code. Área de Proteção – Protected Area. Área de Suporte Ambiental - Environmental Support Area. Área de Uso Restrito e Controlado - Restricted and Controlled Use Area. Consolidação – Consolidation. Expansão – Expansion. Recuperação – Recovery. Conservação – Conservation. Preservação – Preservation. Ocupação Controlada – Controlled Occupation.

Proteção Integral – Areas protected by Brazilian legislation with a high degree of use restrictions, equivalent to IUCN categories I, II and III. Uso Sustentável - Areas protected by Brazilian legislation with a lower degree of use restrictions, equivalent to IUCN categories IV and V.

Sistema de Transporte – Transport System. Rodovia Federal – Federal Road. Rodovia Estadual – State Road. Hidrografia – Hydrographic. Lagos, lagoas, rios e represas - Lakes, ponds, rivers and dams. Pontos de captação de água - Water collection points. Unidades de Conservação – Protected Areas. Reservas Particulares de Proteção da Natureza - Protected area of private domain, recorded in perpetuity on the property registration, with the aim of conserving biological diversity. Limite região hidrográfica - Limit of the hydrographic region. Limite Municipal – Municipal Limit. Áreas urbanas, vilas e vilarejos -

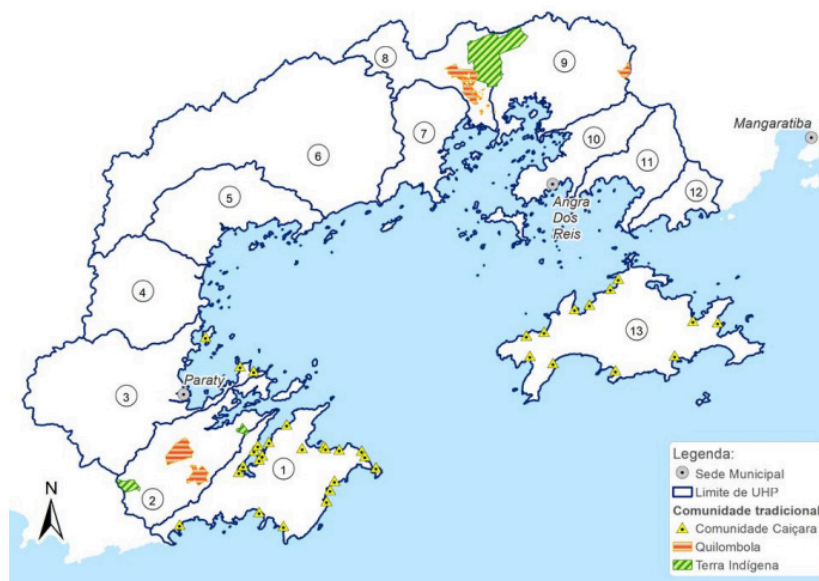
Urban areas, towns and villages. Sedes Municipais - Municipal Headquarters. Distritos Industriais - Industrial Districts. Territórios Indígenas – Indigenous Lands. Territórios Quilombolas - Maroons territories.

SOURCE: Collected entirely from Rio de Janeiro, 2015. The legend with the Zone classification system was removed from the map and inserted enlarged on the map, to facilitate visualization, and the list of UCs was removed from the map and inserted into the legend bar.

This also occurs with the Grant Letter to the Territorial Management from EEZ-RJ for Guandú River Basin (Rio de Janeiro, 2013), where there are also traditional quilombola and caiçara communities. The latter do not appear on the map, although there are some (OTSS, 2022), and are not even included in the legend. As for quilombos, the map only shows Alto da Serra do Mar, but the Marambaia quilombo (titled in 2015, after the map was drawn up) is not visible (Figure 6).

If we agree with Harley (2009) that maps are value-laden images, it is clear that public policies related to the EEZ-RJ do not deliberately incorporate a large part of the demands and even the legal

rights of traditional communities, guaranteed by the National Policy for the Sustainable Development of Traditional Peoples and Communities (Brazil, 2007) and by Convention No. 169 of the International Labor Organization on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples (ILO, 1989). Brazil is signatory of the referred convention. Considering that the social reproduction of these communities depends directly on their relationship with the territory, which is conceived as part of the identity of these peoples, by not representing the territory used by the communities on maps, public policies contribute to the process of expropriation of these territories.



Fonte: FUNAI (2018), INCRA (2018), INEA (2015).

FIGURE 5 – Map of traditional communities included in the synthesis diagnosis of the water resources plan for the Ilha Grande Bay Hydrographic Region.

Sedes Municipais - Municipal Headquarters. Limite UHP – Limit of the Ilha Grande Bay Hydrographic Region. Comunidade Caiçara – Caiçara Community, formed by people who live on the coast of the south and southeast regions of Brazil and have a strong relationship with the territory and artisanal fishing. Quilombolas - Maroons territories. Terras Indígenas – Indigenous Lands.

SOURCE: Collected entirely from Profill, 2020.

A similar situation can be observed in the analysis of the Marine Zoning linked to the Baixada Santista EEZ (Figure 7). The communities' marine use area is not represented. A generic action called “III improvement in the living conditions of traditional communities” is mentioned in two zones (Z1M and Z2M), along with four other equally imprecise actions: *I maintenance of ecosystem functionality to ensure the conservation of biological diversity, as well as historical, scenic, cultural and archaeological heritage; II encouragement of sustainable management of natural resources; IV promoting the use of landscape and cultural resources for ecotourism; and V promoting the maintenance and improvement of the quality of coastal waters.*

There is no prioritization of any of these actions in the zoning and the relationship between them is not even discussed. If we consider that improving the living conditions of traditional communities must be a fundamental element of the EEZ, as this instrument, according to legislation, “establishes measures and standards of environmental protection aimed at ensuring the quality of the environment, water resources and soil and the conservation of biodiversity, ensuring sustainable development and improving the population’s living conditions” (Brazil, 2002), defining this generic action in a marine zone does little to strengthen the ways of life of traditional communities related to the sea and to improve their living conditions.

As artisanal fishing is a central activity in the ways of life of many traditional communities, not defining priority marine areas for the use of these communities is a problem, as it does not guarantee that they can be covered by specific public policies and also makes them vulnerable to economic ac-

tivities that could impact them, such as industrial fishing, oil exploration, etc.

This situation is even more problematic when the 20 maps related to the Baixada Santista Metropolitan Plan (São Paulo, 2014) are analyzed. None of them mention traditional communities. Another relevant issue, related to the previous one, is a certain level of dilution of the delimitation of the areas of use of traditional communities, which are represented spatially along with several other categories of use.

This can be seen, for example, in the Zoning map of the North Coastal Sector, prepared within the scope of São Paulo Coastal Management (Figure 8). The uses and activities permitted in Zone 1 are described as follows:

Scientific research; environmental education; sustainable management, including agroforestry systems, the processing and artisanal processing of their products, as well as activities related to the way of life and culture of traditional communities, as long as it does not harm the environmental function of the area; ecotourism enterprises with the necessary infrastructure for the activity; artisanal fishing; and human occupation with low impact effects with rural characteristics (Our emphasis).

It can be seen that the area where activities related to traditional communities take place is delimited and includes other activities. This is a reflection of a phenomenon currently observed, as there is an overlap of territorialities, and the same areas used by these communities for their social reproduction are also areas used by other social actors. However, this is also the result of a vision that does not prioritize the uses and activities of these communities in relation to activities directly associated with capital, as stipulated by the national

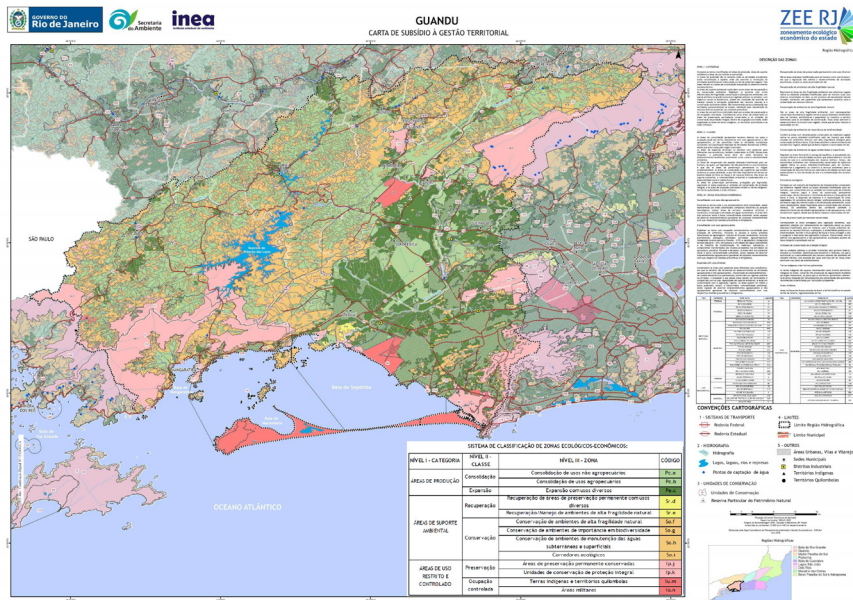


FIGURE 6 – Grant letter for territorial management of the Guandu River Basin, prepared within the scope of Coastal Ecological Economic Zoning of Ilha Grande Bay.

Nível I Categoria – Level I Category. Nível II Classe – Level II Class. Nível III Zona – Level III Zone. Código – Code. Área de Proteção – Protected Area. Área de Suporte Ambiental - Environmental Support Area. Área de Uso Restrito e Controlado - Restricted and Controlled Use Area. Consolidação – Consolidation. Expansão – Expansion. Recuperação – Recovery. Conservação – Conservation. Preservação – Preservation. Ocupação Controlada – Controlled Occupation.

Proteção Integral – Areas protected by Brazilian legislation with a high degree of use restrictions, equivalent to IUCN categories I, II and II. Uso Sustentável - Areas protected by Brazilian legislation with a lower degree of use restrictions, equivalent to IUCN categories IV and V.

Sistema de Transporte – Transpor Sistem. Rodovia Federal – Federal Road. Rodovia Estadual – State Road. Hidrografia – Hydrographic. Lagos, lagoas, rios e represas - Lakes, ponds, rivers and dams. Pontos de captação de água - Water collection points. Unidades de Conservação – Protected Areas. Reservas Particulares de Proteção da Natureza - Protected area of private domain, recorded in perpetuity on the property registration, with the aim of conserving biological diversity. Limite região hidrográfica - Limit of the hydrographic region. Limite Municipal – Municipal Limit. Áreas urbanas, vilas e vilarejos -

Urban areas, towns and villages. Sedes Municipais - Municipal Headquarters. Distritos Industriais - Industrial Districts. Territórios Indígenas – Indigenous Lands. Territórios Quilombolas - Maroons territories.

SOURCE: Collected entirely from Rio de Janeiro, 2015. The legend with the Zone classification system was removed from the bar and inserted, in an enlarged view, to facilitate visualization, and the list of UCs was removed from the map and inserted into the legend bar.

and international legislation mentioned above. A careful examination of the text in the map legend and shown above also reveals that some of the activities exposed are also associated with the way of life of traditional communities (such as artisanal fishing and sustainable management, for example),

but are addressed as if they were not related to the way of life of these communities. As almost all other activities are supposedly sustainable, this lack of direct relationship is an indication that whoever developed this public policy does not consider the

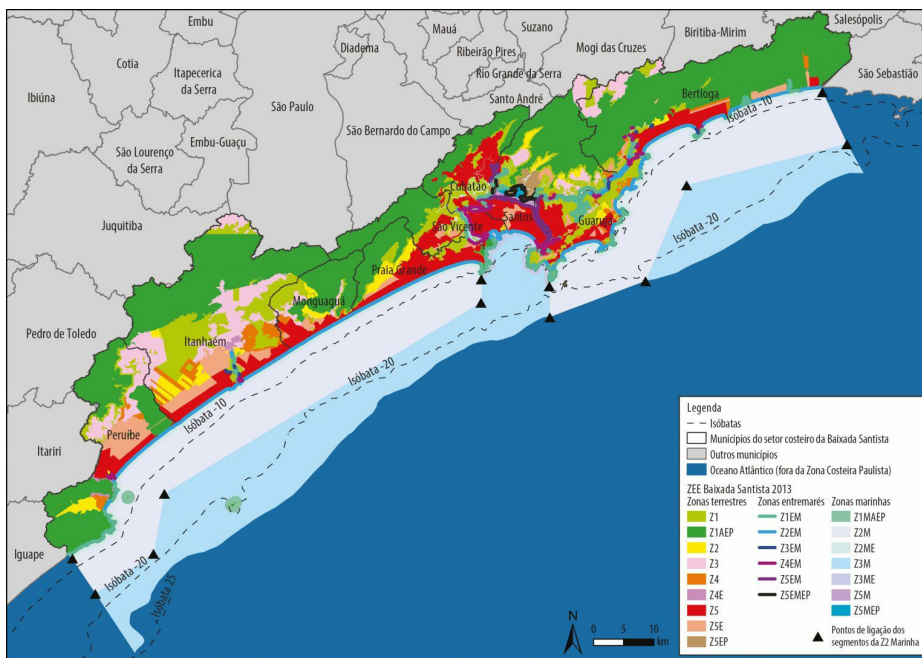


FIGURE 7 – Map of the ecological-economic zoning of the coastal sector of Baixada Santista de São Paulo (State Decree no 58,996/2013).

Legenda - Legend. Municípios do setor costeiro da Baixada Santista -

Municipalities in the coastal sector of Baixada Santista. Outros municípios – Other municipalities. Oceano Atlântico (fora da Zona Costeira Paulista) - Atlantic Ocean (outside the São Paulo Coastal Zone. ZEE Baixada Santista – Ecological-economic zoning of the coastal sector of Baixada Santista. Zonas terrestres - Terrestrial zones. Zonas entremarés – Intertidal zones. Zonas marinhas – Marine zones

SOURCE: Collected entirely from São Paulo, 2013.

activities carried out by traditional communities to be sustainable.

This analysis is correct when one realizes that, among all the uses and activities permitted in this zone, the only ones that appear to be clearly subordinate to the need to preserve nature are those related to the way of life of traditional communities (as seen in the highlighted section in paragraph taken from the map legend and presented above). Other activities, despite their potential to impact nature, do not appear with this reservation. An example are “eco-tourism ventures with the necessary infrastructure

for the activity” that have the potential for local (and even regional) impact and yet are not clearly subordinate to nature preservation. This finding shows a situation little explored in scientific literature, namely, that the spatial representation of traditional communities in public policies, even when pointing out their areas of use, places these communities in a subordinate position in relation to other policies, especially environmental ones. In other words, it highlights, even if indirectly, that the preservation of nature is more relevant than the reproduction of these communities and that both are incompatible.

Another eloquent example is in the Baixada Santista Metropolitan Strategic Development Plan, where none of the 20 maps shows any representation of traditional communities, while 12 of them include the represented Conservation Units. This has serious consequences, as it is often an action taken by public managers that undervalues policies that guarantee the reproduction of the ways of life of people and communities in comparison to other policies. Thus, this population is even criminalized and expelled from their territories, as shown by several studies, some of them covering the same territory as the present paper (Diegues, 2001; Freitas *et al.*, 2016; Versolato & Gomes, 2016; Cortines *et al.*, 2018).

3.2. Spatial representation of traditional communities in mappings created by their partners

This discussion becomes clearer when the maps are compared to those produced by partner researchers from the communities. The first difference is in the number of communities represented. The map of traditional communities in Baixada Santista, Vale do Ribeira and the South Coast of São Paulo, prepared by Laplan researchers, includes 72 traditional communities, 21 of which are caiçaras (Figure 9).

This number is much larger than the 25 traditional communities represented in two important maps for the public policies of the state of São Paulo for this territory: the zoning map of the 2002 Metropolitan Plan for Integrated Development (Figure 10) and the quilombos on title land from the 2016 Ribeira de Iguape and South Coast Hydrographic

Basin Plan (Figure 11) - and on the official maps, only quilombola and indigenous communities are represented. There is no spatial representation of the caiçaras, despite there being 6 textual citations of them in the 172 pages (not counting annexes) of the Ribeira de Iguape and Litoral Sul Hydrographic Basin Plan (São Paulo, 2016).

Likewise, the map of traditional communities in the municipalities of Angra dos Reis and Paraty, made by Fiocruz, in partnership with the Traditional Communities Forum (Figure 12), shows 82 communities, of which 71 are caiçaras or artisanal fishermen, 6 indigenous and 5 quilombolas. In turn, the map of the Ilha Grande Hydrographic Bay Basin Plan, shown in figure 5, includes only 43 traditional communities in this same territory: 3 indigenous, 4 quilombos and 36 caiçaras.

Table 2 provides a summary of how each of the maps shown above represents traditional communities, indicating the number of communities represented, groups represented and, when relevant, providing observations on aspects that subordinate communities to other policies or vectors of capital. It allows for quick visualization and comparative understanding of what was discussed.

4. Final considerations

The disregard of territories of traditional communities by official mapping has consequences, as does the subordination of the territorialities of these communities to the territorialities associated with the reproduction of capital or the preservation of nature.

The subordination of these territories to environmental policies, which is supported and corrobora-

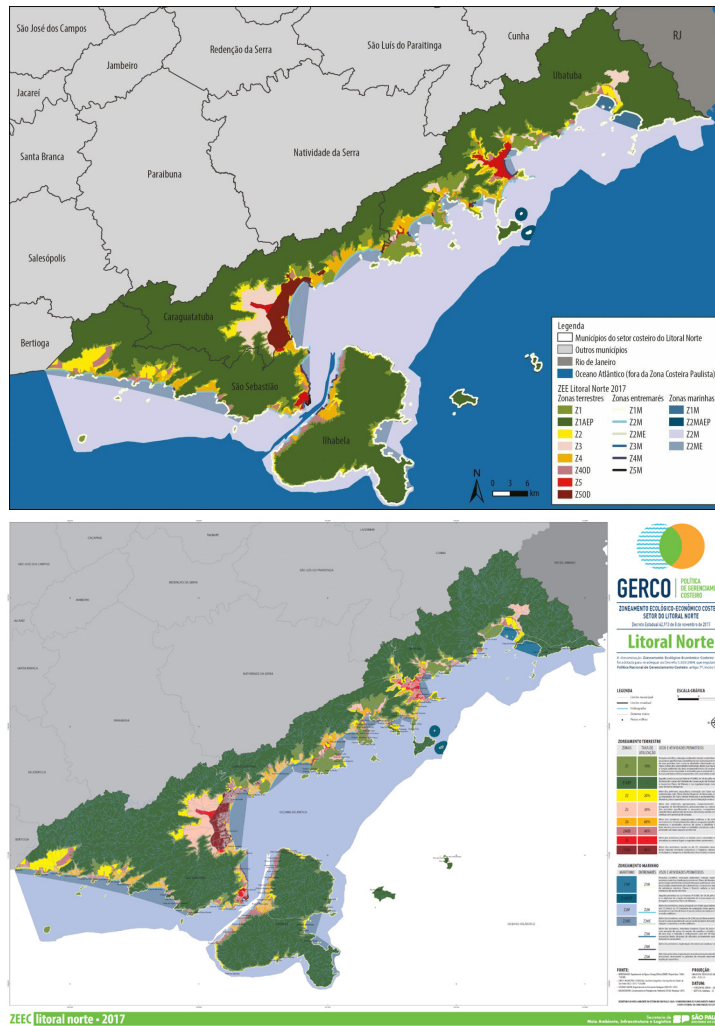


FIGURE 8 – Map of the ecological-economic zoning of the coastal sector of the North Coast of São Paulo (State Decree no 62,913/2017)

Legenda - Legend. Municípios do setor costeiro da Baixada Santista -

Municipalities in the coastal sector of Baixada Santista. Outros municípios – Other municipalities. Oceano Atlântico (fora da Zona Costeira Paulista) - Atlantic Ocean (outside the São Paulo Coastal Zone). ZEE Baixada Santista – Ecological-economic zoning of the coastal sector of Baixada Santista. Zonas terrestres - Terrestrial zones. Zonas entremarés – Intertidal zones. Zonas marinhas – Marine zones

Política de Gerenciamento Costeiro - Coastal Management Policy. Zoneamento Ecológico-econômico Setor do Litoral Norte - ecological-economic zoning of the coastal sector of the North Coast. Escala Gráfica – Graphic scale. Zoneamento terrestre – Terrestrial zoning. Zoneamento marinho – Marine zoning. Zonas – Zones. Taxa de Utilização – Usage fee. Usos e atividades permitidos - Permitted uses and activities. Marítimo – Maritime. Entremarés – Intertidal.

Fonte – Source. Projeção - Projection

SOURCE: Collected entirely from São Paulo, 2017.

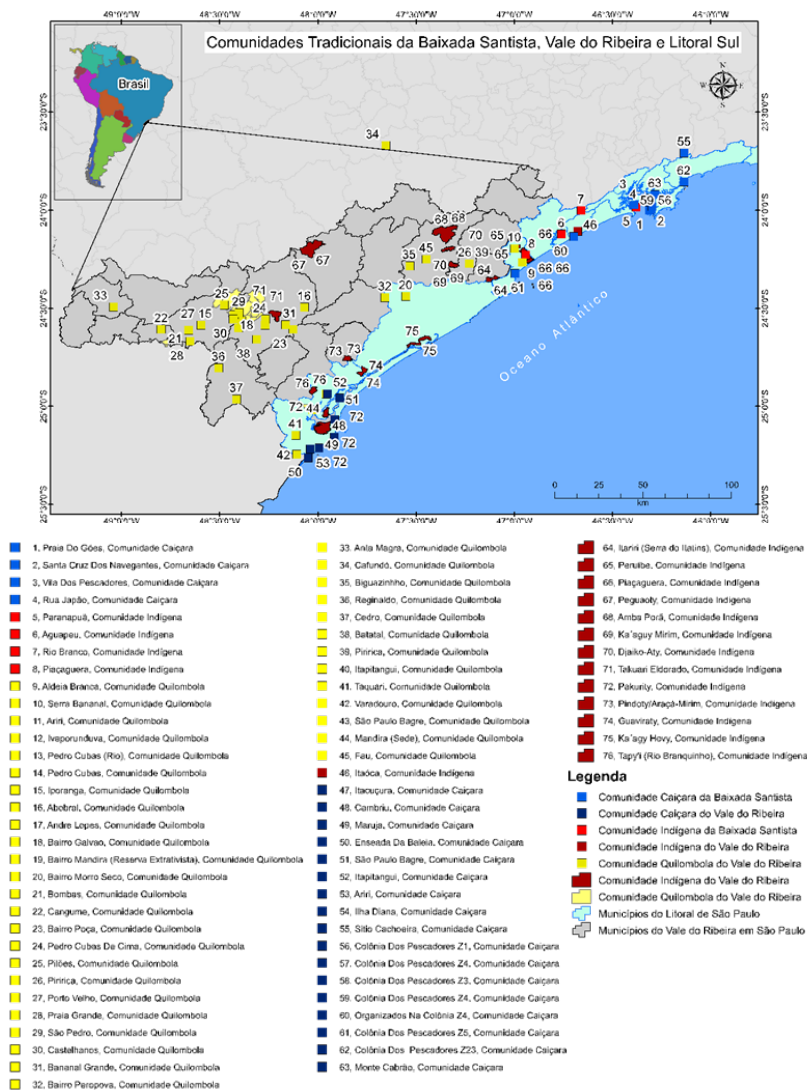


FIGURE 9 – Map of traditional communities in Baixada Santista, Vale do Ribeira and South Coast of São Paulo.

Comunidade Caiçara – Caiçara Community. Comunidade Indígena. Indigenous Community. Comunidade Quilombola – Maroon Community. Legenda – Legend. Comunidade Caiçara da Baixada Santista – Caiçara Community of Baixada Santista. Comunidade Caiçara do Vale do Ribeira – Caiçara Community of Vale do Ribeira. Comunidade Indígena da Baixada Santista – Indigenous Community of Baixada Santista. Comunidade Indígena do Vale do Ribeira – Indigenous Community of Vale do Ribeira. Comunidade Quilombola da Baixada Santista – Maroon Community of Baixada Santista. Comunidade Quilombola do Vale do Ribeira – Maroon Community of Vale do Ribeira.

Municípios do litoral de São Paulo - Municipalities on the São Paulo's coast. Municípios do Vale do Ribeira em São Paulo - Municipalities of Vale do Ribeira in São Paulo

SOURCE: made by Laplan.

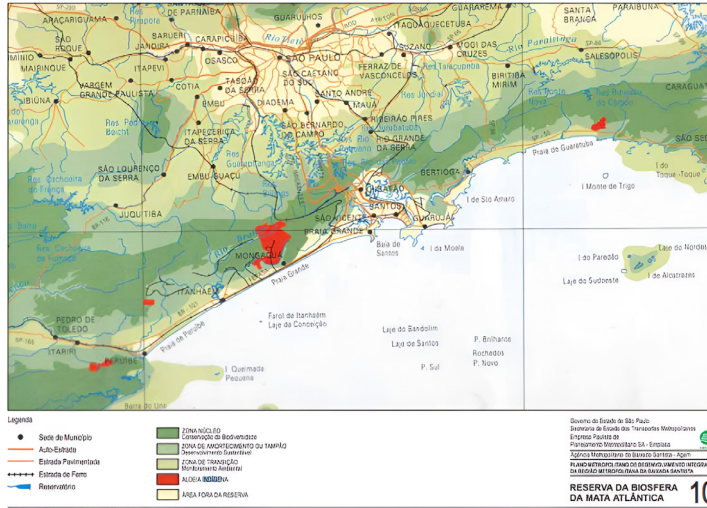


FIGURE 10 – Map of the zoning of the 2002 Baixada Santista Metropolitan Plan for Integrated Development.

Sede do Município – Municipal Headquarters. Auto-Estrada – Highway. Estrada Pavimentada – Paved Road. Estrada de Ferro – Railroad. Reservatório – Water Reservoir.

Zona Núcleo: Conservação da Biodiversidade. Core Zone: Biodiversity Conservation. Zona de Amortecimento ou Tampão: Desenvolvimento Sustentável - Buffer Zone: Sustainable Development. Zona de Transição: Monitoramento Ambiental - Transition Zone: Environmental Monitoring. Aldeia Indígena – Indigenous Village. Área Fora da Reserva - Area Outside the Reserve

SOURCE: Collected entirely from São Paulo, 2002.

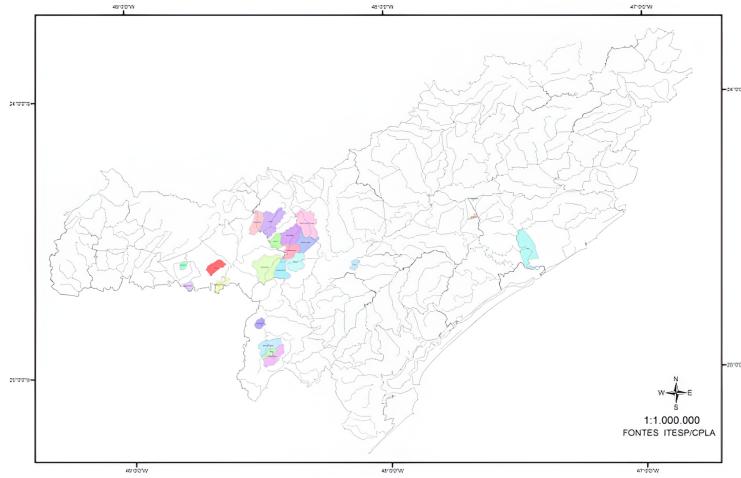


FIGURE 11 – Map of recognized or titled quilombola communities in Vale do Ribeira inserted in the Ribeira de Iguape and South Coast Hydrographic Basin plan – UGRHI 1.

SOURCE: Collected entirely from São Paulo, 2016.

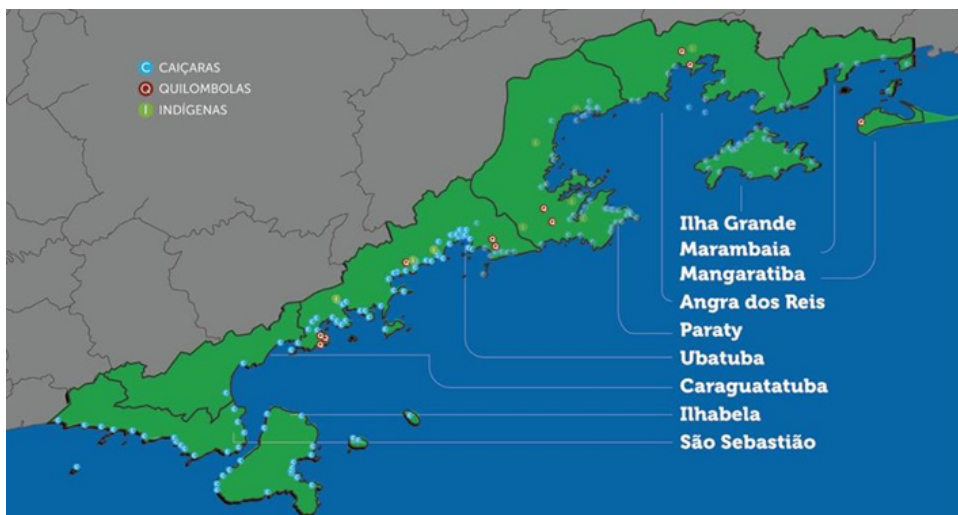


FIGURE 12 – Map of traditional communities.

Caiçara – Caiçara (see legend of figure 3). Quilombolas – Maroons. Indígenas - Indigenous

SOURCE: made by OTSS and made available to authors, 2023.

TABLE 2 – Summary of the representation of traditional communities on the maps shown in this article.

Map	Preparation	Year	Number of communities	Groups represented	Observations
Traditional communities in Baixada Santista, Vale do Ribeira and South Coast of São Paulo	Laplan and Interssan	2019	72	Indigenous people, quilombolas, caiçaras	
Traditional communities - Mangaratiba to São Sebastião	OTSS	2023	82	Indigenous people, quilombolas, caiçaras	
Distribution of Traditional Populations in Ilha Grande Bay	State Environmental Institute - RJ	2015	42	Indigenous people, quilombolas, caiçaras	
Subsídios à Gestão Territorial da Baía da Ilha Grande	State Environmental Institute - RJ	2015	6	Indigenous people, quilombolas	Caiçaras and their areas of use do not appear
Traditional communities - Summary Diagnosis of the Water Resources Plan for the Ilha Grande Bay Hydrographic Region.	Profill	2020	43	Indigenous people, quilombolas, caiçaras	

Grant to the Territorial Management from EEZ-RJ for the Guandú River Basin	State Environmental Institute - RJ	2013	1	Quilombola	
Ecological-Economic Zoning of the Coastal Sector of Baixada Santista	State Department of Environment of São Paulo	2013		Mentions traditional communities in a generic way	Marine zoning does not include zones focused on traditional communities
Ecological-Economic Zoning of the Coastal Sector of the North Coast of São Paulo	State Department of Environment of São Paulo	2017		Mentions traditional communities in a generic way a	Land zoning subordinates only traditional communities to environmental policies
Zoning of the Metropolitan Plan for Integrated Development of Baixada Santista	São Paulo Metropolitan Planning Company	2002	4	Indigenous people,	
Communities recognized or Titled in Vale do Ribeira	CBH Rio Ribeira de Iguape and Southern Coast	2016	25	Quilombolas	

rated by the maps, has the potential to generate, in practice, the ban of essential activities and the criminalization of community members, as occurred, for example, in Barra do Una, in the municipality of São Sebastião, north coast of São Paulo, or in Trindade, south coast of Rio de Janeiro, due to the practice of artisanal fishing at an Ecological Station (Versolato & Gomes, 2016) and in one National Park (Freitas *et al.*, 2016; Cortines *et al.*, 2018).

The non-representation of many communities on official policy maps results in their disregard and disregard for their rights in many public policies or even in plans drawn up and implemented by private institutions, favoring territorialities associated with

the reproduction of capital to the detriment of territorialities associated with development of activities of traditional peoples and communities.

A similar situation occurs when the land and marine areas used by traditional communities are not represented on maps. This favors that territorialities related to environmental policies and territorialities related to development vectors, which guarantee the reproduction of capital, are implemented in these territories without considering the rights of these communities.

Consequently, on the coast of São Paulo and south of Rio de Janeiro, there is a sociocultural decharacterization of these communities and the

expulsion of community members from their territories, generating the occupation of fragile areas, such as hillsides, mangroves and riverbanks and, often, the swelling of urban peripheries, with the worsening of the socio-environmental situation of slums and subnormal urban agglomerations, as Diegues (2007) describes

In many cases, Caiçara residents, after selling their beaches to vacationers, were forced to build their houses on the slopes of the mountains, in places subject to the danger of landslides where their presence is not legally authorized. After being considered “squatters” on their own lands, they are now considered illegal residents on the slopes of the mountains, in restinga and mangrove areas, considered permanent protection areas (APPs). The summer home construction industry attracted a large number of construction workers from other regions and states that expanded the suburban areas of coastal cities, building slums that were also inhabited by caiçaras who migrated from their original beaches. (Diegues, 2007, p. 27).

The author goes further, mentioning the specific case of the Caiçaras of Jureia and stating that countless families were expelled after the creation of the ecological station and went to live in the slums of Peruíbe and Iguape (Diegues, 2007). Other authors report similar cases on the coast of São Paulo and southern Rio de Janeiro, such as Vianna (2008), and Brazil (2021), and also in other areas of the country, such as Araújo *et al.* (2014) for the coast of Paraíba or Esteves (2011) for the coast of Paraná.

As can be seen, this process of expulsion of traditional communities from their original territories has quite drastic consequences in terms of people's lives. After being expelled from their territories, residents of traditional communities generally begin to occupy the outskirts of coastal cities in conditions

of extreme vulnerability and in places where there is great exposure to natural threats, such as mass movements and sudden floods. In these areas, they join other vulnerable populations (migrants, poor local population, etc.) forming pockets of impoverished populations exposed to very serious risks.

Therefore, drawing up maps of traditional communities (and other vulnerable communities) in which traditional communities are effectively represented and with their territorialities placed in a relevant position, without subordination to other territorialities, is essential to instrumentalizing these communities in their social struggles.

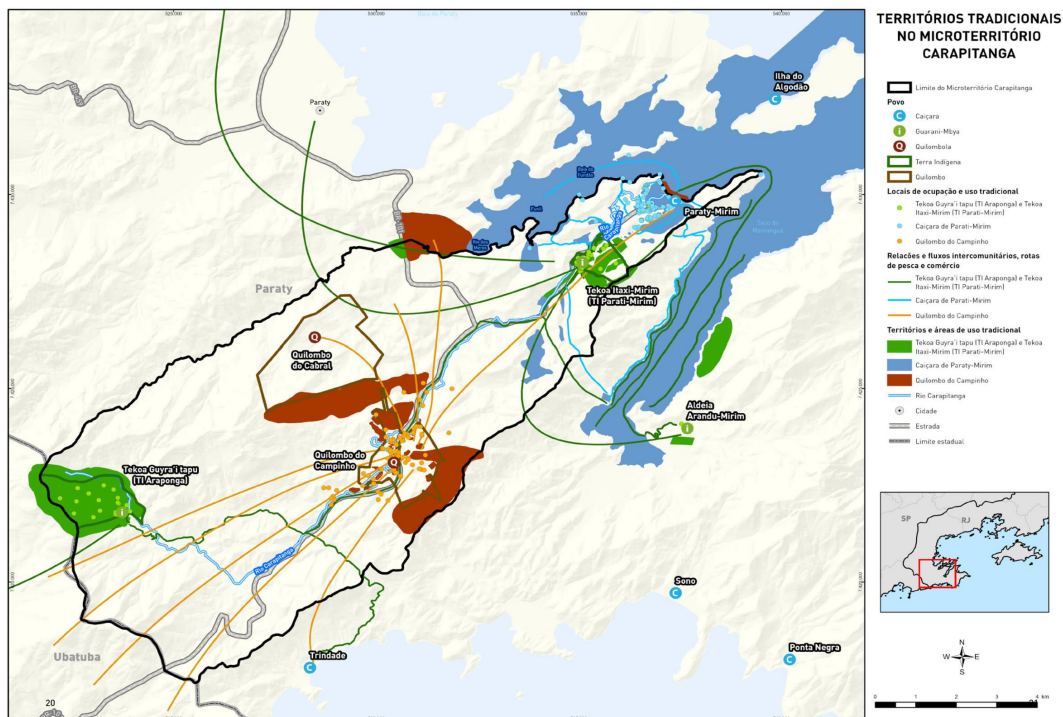
In this regard, public policies aimed at mapping traditional communities from the perspective of these communities are essential. An eloquent example are the maps made by community members and researchers (OTSS 2021a, OTSS 2021b and OTSS 2021c) for areas of traditional communities in Angra dos Reis, Paraty and Ubatuba (Figure 13). These are the only maps that represent areas of use in the forests and at sea, in addition to symbolically relevant areas, which is not seen in the official maps and in the texts of the official instruments to which these maps are linked. In the case of the example shown in the upper part of Figure 13, it is clear that community members consider areas of use outside their titled territories as part of their territory, and therefore the maps have two legends with the same name: one for the titled area (Quilombo do Campinho, for example) and another for the area of use (Quilombo do Campinho, again).

At the bottom of Figure 13, attention is drawn to an element that appears on the maps made by the caiçaras and which they call “maritório”, the expression of the marine territory used by the communities. This figure indicates the types of use of this

“maritório”, as established by the communities that use it. No official map contained in public policies incorporates this dimension, which is essential for preserving the ways of life of these communities.

However, representing elements on maps based on the interests of traditional communities, with the direct participation of these communities in their preparation or not, is still insufficient. Public policies should provide spaces where these maps can be presented to public authorities, showing not only that these communities exist and use these terrestrial and marine territories, but that they know their rights and, based on these maps, are willing to fight for them. A successful example of this process is observed in the caiçara community of Trindade, in Paraty, Rio de Janeiro, which has a history of crimi-

nization for artisanal fishing on Cachadaço beach, overlapping the Serra da Bocaina National Park (PNSB). The associations of boatmen and residents of this community used maps made in partnership between the community and researchers as the basis for the agreement made with the Park that allowed both artisanal fishing and community-led tourism on Cachadaço beach, as shown in an excerpt from the minutes meeting held at PNSB headquarters: (...), Together with the forum, we worked on the Social Cartography of Trindade, which supported the Recommendation of the Brazilian Government Agency for Law Enforcement in 2017, so that the ICMBio could guarantee the permanence of caiçara families and artisanal fishing in Cachadaço” (PNSB, 2022, p. 2).



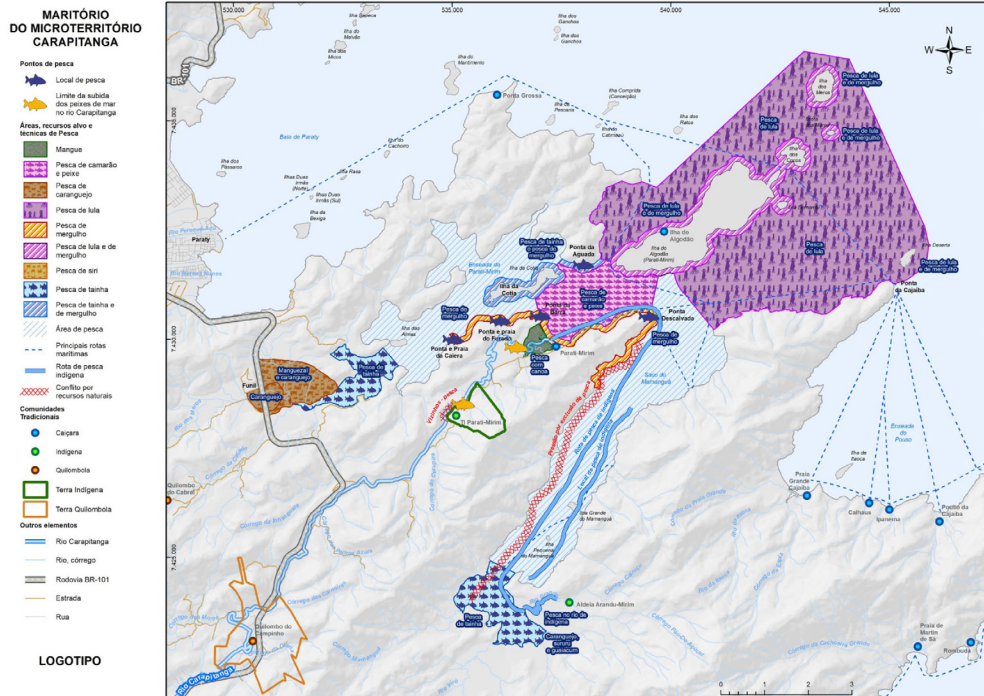


FIGURE 13 – Maps of the Carapitanga River basin, in Paraty, RJ, made by Traditional Communities, in partnership with researchers. In the top figure, the entire basin, with the representation of two quilombos, two indigenous villages and a caiçara community, their areas of use and main exchange flows. Below, marine area (“maritório”) used by Traditional Communities that live in the Carapitanga River basin.

Territórios Tradicionais do Microterritório do Carapitanga - Traditional Territories of the Carapitanga Microterritory. Maritório do Microterritório do Carapitanga - Marine Area of the Carapitanga Microterritory. Limite do Microterritório do Carapitanga – Limit of the Carapitanga Microterritory. Povo – People. Caiçara – Caiçara (see legend of figure 3). Guarany-Mbya – Ethnic group formed by indigenous people. Quilombola – Marrons. Terra Indígena – Indigenous Land. Quilombo – Maroons Territory. Locais de Ocupação e Uso Tradicional – Places of Occupation and Traditional Use. Relações e Fluxos intercomunitários, rotas de pesca e comércio - Intercommunity relations and flows, fishing and trade routes. Territórios e áreas de uso tradicional - Territories and areas of traditional use. Rio Carapitanga – Carapitanga River. Estrada – Road. Limite Estadual – State Limit. Pontos de pesca – Fishing spots. Local de pesca – Fishing Spot. Limite de subida dos peixes do mar no rio Carapitanga - Rising limit of sea fish in the Carapitanga River. Áreas, recursos alvo e técnicas de pesca - Target areas, resources and fishing techniques. Mangue – Mangrove. Pesca de camarão e peixe - Shrimp and fish fishing. Pesca de caranguejo e Pesca de Siri – Cramb fishing. Pesca de lula - Squid fishing. Pesca de mergulho – Dive fishing. Pesca de lula e mergulho - Squid and dive fishing. Pesca de tainha – Mullet fishing. Pesca de tainha e de mergulho – Mullet and dive fishing. Área de pesca – Fishing área. Principais rotas marítimas - Main sea routes. Rota de pesca indígena - Indigenous fishing route. Conflitos por recursos naturais - Conflicts over natural resources. Comunidades Tradicionais – Traditional Communities. Rio Córrego – Córrego River. Rodovia BR-101 – BR 101 Highway. Rua - Street

SOURCE: Collected entirely from OTSS, 2021a.

Other outstanding examples are the processes currently underway to develop the Territorial and Environmental Management Plan for the Bracuy Indigenous Land and the Territorial Management Plans for Vilas Caiçaras, which are being constructed by the Ilha Grande Bay Hydrographic Basin Committee, based on maps produced in partnership with the OTSS and traditional communities (OTSS, 2021a; OTSS, 2021b; OTSS, 2021c) that include the mapped elements as a basis for territorial management.

These examples show that a spatial representation of traditional communities that takes into account the territorialities of these communities can favor low-impact lifestyles of these communities and their permanence in their territories, with direct positive effects for rural and urban areas and for overcoming many current socio-environmental challenges.

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