

**DISAPPEARING CULTURES, CULTURAL IDENTITIES AND TRADITIONS:
CASE STUDY ABOUT THE LOSS OF TRADITIONAL COMMUNITIES OF
FISHERMEN ON THE NORTH-EAST COAST OF BRAZIL LEAVING THEIR
ISLANDS AN ARTISTIC APPROACH**

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ABSTRACT: *During visits to remote fishermen islands located on the coast of the state of Maranhão in the North-East of Brazil, we realized that a significant proportion of the traditional community left the islands. In this article we investigate the reason why those people left the islands where they lived for generations, to find out about their whereabouts and to answer the question why their culture, cultural identities and traditions are disappearing. And at last to answer the main question what is killing our natives. A special approach for the communities was taken through our ongoing artistic project SUI GENERIS that started in 2012 to produce portrait photography of the people living on the islands, with the aim to enhance the self-esteem of the local population through artwork¹. For the consecution of the aims of the research, we used series of interviews with the fishermen, which were realized in different periods during our frequent visits of the islands, in compilation with the data obtained from the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) and from the administrative organ of the reserve, the Institute Chico Mendes for the Conservation of the Biodiversity (ICMBIO), in completion or comparison with in loco observations undertaken by us while living with the traditional communities during periods of ten to fifteen days three or four times a year from 2012 to 2016. We concluded that the traditional communities had left the islands to move to the two main cities Cururupu and Apicum-Açu three and a half boat hours away for multiple reasons, varying from retirement of the elder, buying with the retirement money land and building houses, calling their daughters and sons to live with them, to the search for better educational opportunities for the children as on the islands teaching is only for elementary education and further attending of schools is only possible in the city. Non-reversible social and cultural modifications in the community are taking place, as children of fishermen do not anymore necessarily like to become fishermen themselves by persueing other professions. Traditional community knowledge about their former habitat, diversity of flora and fauna, areas of fish capturing and artisanal techniques are lost with their absence from the reserve area. By living in the city, former supportive and warm-hearted individuals helping each other out and gifted with their distinct hospitality and openness towards strangers become increasingly afraid of other individuals due to urban violence they are not used to and the fact that, on one hand, they are living in the urban environment, while, on the other hand, being mostly excluded from social*

¹ The locations of the portrait photography production between 2012 and 2016 were the studied fifteen remote islands where fishermen communities live and 20 Quilombola communities in the Baixada Maranhenses region of Maranhão, from Alcântara to Apicum-Açu. The related artwork of portrait photography resulted in a book release with its premier edition in 2016 under the title *SUI GENERIS – L'ESSENCE DE LA VIE :: People and Landscape*, accompanied by ongoing itinerate exhibition projects travelling throughout the country and abroad from 2012 to 2016.

live due to their low incomes and precarious living conditions. The former, economically stable low-income lives on the islands, based on sharing habitat and fishery and being supportive towards each other when necessary, changed by living in the city; consequently, their human characteristics and social behaviours with the involvement of money necessary for everything what is needed to buy in the city are ultimately and definitely changing, too. One scenario for the future is that the whole fishermen community will leave their islands and live in the city, coming back to the islands only periodically for the purpose of fishing, while they stay in their fishermen cottages (in Portuguese ranchos), this will result in the loss of cultural identities, ways of life, social organization and traditions which are not anymore continued in the urban environment, as well as change in behaviour to loose their singular solidarity, hospitality and openness towards strangers which were related to their former simplicity of life on the islands.

KEYWORDS: Photographic Portrait, Fine-Art Photography, Artisanal Fishermen, Marine Extractive Reserve of Cururupu, Maranhão, Traditional Communities

OVERVIEW

We are currently writing on three papers concerning our latest long-term art projects in Brazil: loss of cultural identities in Brazilians North-East, vertical growing of neighbourhoods along the Brazilian coast from South to North and the creation of an exceptional natural phenomenon of chains of dunes and lagoons through a rare balance of five key elements in the National Park Lençóis Maranhenses: sand, rain, wind, river and vegetation.

In this article, we discuss our research and in loco observations undertaken between 2012 and 2016 of traditional communities of fishermen living on fifteen remote islands in the North-East of Brazil, located inside an environmental protection area nominated Reentrâncias Maranhenses. During our frequent visits on the islands with the aim to strengthen the self-esteem of the local population through our portrait photography production and consecutive exhibitions at place, we realised that almost all islands had lost significant proportion of its population and houses. We searched to get answers of our questions: Why did those people leave the islands? Where are they now? Why are the people on the islands different? Why are their cultural identities disappearing? And at last reflecting on the main question what is killing our natives.

This work is part of a PHD thesis in Fine Arts to be concluded.

INTRODUCTION

The project activities of production of portrait photography was carried out on a series of islands situated in between two major protection unites: the larger Environmental Protection Area EPA (in Portuguese APA, Área de Proteção Ambiental), denominaded Reentrâncias Maranhenses and created in 1991 through the decree nº 11.901/1991, administrated by the State Secretary of Environment and Natural Resources with an area of 2.680.910 hectares, situated on the West coast of the state of Maranhão, extending from Alcântara, located opposite to the state capital São Luís, to the river Gurupi close to the state border to Pará

(Figure 1) , and the Marine Extractive Reserve of Cururupu, lying inside the first unite, created through the Decree s\n° from June 2, 2004, a federal conservation unite for sustainable exploration, administrated by the Chico Mendes Institute for Biodiversity Conservation (ICMBIO). It represents, with an area of 186.053, 87 hectares, the largest Extractive reserve (abbreviated in Portuguese Resex) in Brazil.²

Furthermore, the area of the Marine Extractive Reserve of Cururupu is integrated in the list of sites from the Ramsar Convention on Wetlands of International Importance in terms of ecology, botany, zoology, limnology and hydrology. It aims to promote the conversation and rational use of wetlands and their resources through national actions and international cooperation. Ramsar is the name of the city, in Iran, where the convention was signed in 1971. (Brasil, 2012, MMA)

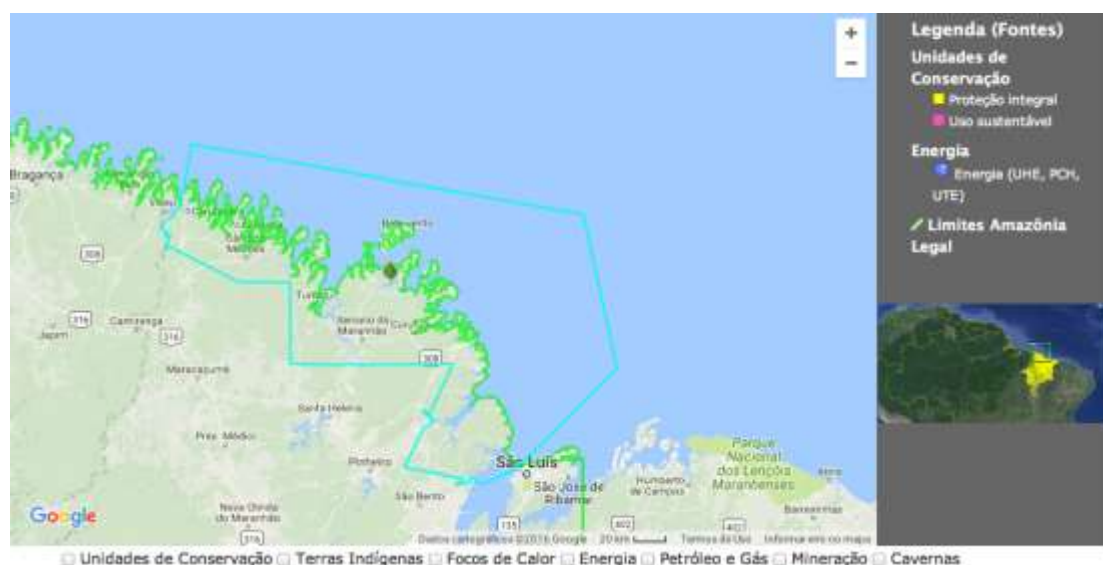


Figure 1: Conservation units on the coast of Maranhão state, from Alcântara, located opposite to São Luís in the North, to the river Gurupi on the division to Pará state.

(Source: <https://uc.socioambiental.org/uc/5154>. Google Map, adapted by Andreas Hornung, 2017)

The region where the Extractive Reserve of Cururupu is located is composed of estuaries, islands, mangroves, bays, salt marshes and dunes.

The natural conditions of this area are conducive to fishing and this is one of the economic activities most practiced by the residents of the conservation unit. (Barros, et al., 2002)³

Islands

²(<http://www.icmbio.gov.br/unidades-de-conservacao/biomas-brasileiros/marinho>. Access on December 6, 2016).

³ During our frequent visits we could observe that in some periods of the year, the artisanal fishermen on the islands catch only few fishes or even none. By interviewing the fishermen and questioning the facts, we listen to reports of former abundance fish catching conditions about three generations before, while our observation at present days more likely indicates difficulties in catching enough fish for subsistence of the fishermen families for the whole period of the year. During a couple of month, they are not aloud to fish and receive an indemnity from the government. Statements of the interviewed fishermen let to the conclusion that some of them received the first month their payments and did not so for the other consecutive months, therefore they are unsatisfied with the agreement because of lack of payments and uncertainties due to payment delays.

Three bays (Bay of Cabelo-de-Velha, Bay of Capim and Bay of Lençóis) separate four archipelagos of islands, where the traditional fishermen communities are living on fifteen, so called populated islands (Figure 2)⁴:

- - South Archipelago close to Cururupu: Island of Mangunça;
- - Centre-South Archipelago: Islands of Caçacueira, Peru and São Lucas;
- - Center-North Archipelago: Islands of Guajerutíua, Valha-me-Deus, Porto Alegre, and
- - North Archipelago (Maiaú): Island of Lençóis, Bate-Vento, Porto do Meio, Mirinzal, Retiro, Iguará, Beiradão⁵ and Urumarú⁵. (Brasil, 2012, MMA)

Other fishermen from the five municipalities (Porto Rico, Cururupu, Serrano do Maranhão, Bacuri and Apicum-Açu) surrounding the conservation unit are recognizably part of the local extractive population⁵, practicing the fishing craft in the conservation unit. (Brasil, 2012, MMA)

⁴ For the reserve administration ICMBIO, the two last islands on the North Archipelago, Beiradão and Urumará do not count as populated islands, because people are only staying there in their fishermen cottages (in Portuguese ranchos) during the fishing periods and they don't have any infrastructure like schools, health centers or energy generating units built by the Public Administration of the Municipality of Cururupu on their islands. (Brasil, 2012, MMA). Both communities applied for a chair in the Deliberative Council of the Reserve, as they argued that they are living on the islands even they have houses in the city, but they still do not participate in the decision making process during the council meetings. (Interview by phone with Laura Reis, ICMBIO São Luis, January 18, 2017). Other islands like Ponta-Seca and Marinheiro of the Centre-North archipelago and islands of lesser expression are likewise only periodically used for fishing purposes and do not count on fixed house installations, or infrastructure as schools, health centres and energy generating units, or any type of social and cultural community organization at place.

⁵ Municipality of Porto Rico do Maranhão: Communities/Settlements of Bacanga; Municipality of Cururupu: Communities/Settlements of Alegre, Monte Alegre, Mota, Baiano, Vinagreira, Prainha, Caoca, Liconde and Maracujatíua; Municipality of Serrano do Maranhão: Communities/Settlements of Arapiranga, Portinho and Pindobal; Municipality of Bacuri: Communities/Settlements of Cachoeirinha, São Paulo, Santa Rosa and Tapera dos Amados, and Municipality of Apicum-Açu: Communities/Settlements of Cabeceira and Turirana. (Brasil, 2012, MMA)

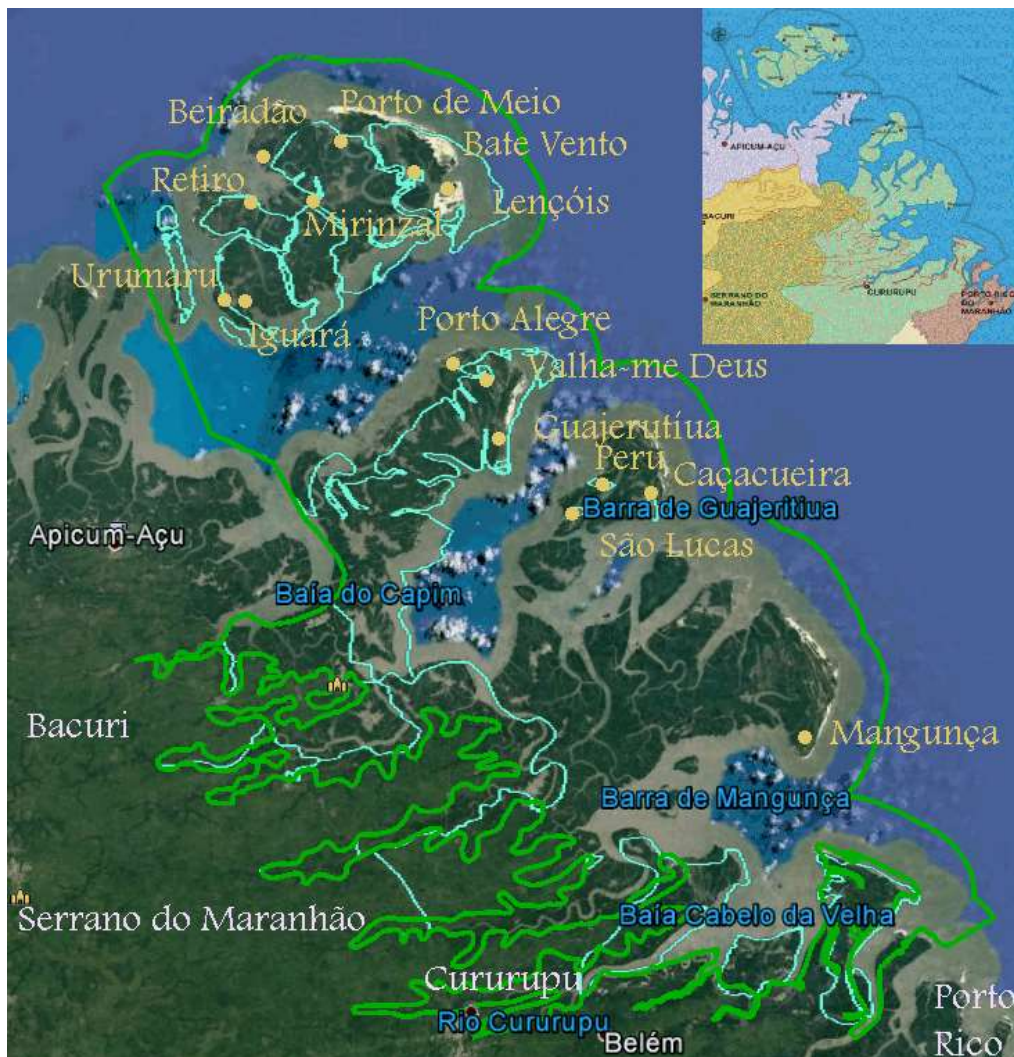


Figure 2: Geographic situation of the fifteen islands of the Marine Extractive Reserve of Cururupu and of the five municipalities surrounding the conversation unit.
(Source: IBGE 2016, adapted by Andreas Hornung, 2017)

Population of the islands

Ethnicity

The population of the islands or beaches⁶ of the coast of Cururupu is characterized predominately by the presence of light skinned people⁷, therefore indicating a weak penetration by dominant black rural population in the municipality of Cururupu, descendants of Africans brought principally from the Gold Coast and Dahomey (now Benin) to serve as slave labourer in the production of sugar and manioc flour in the mills of the region. (Cruz, 2009)

⁶ The population often refer to their islands as beaches, for instant, beach of Lençol or Lençóis, beach of Guajerutíua, beach of São Lucas etc.

⁷ Even they appear to have dark skin as sun and salted water is burning it during their work in the water or close to it continuously. See our portrait photography of fishermen communities from different islands of the reserve in the annex of this work.

Ethnologically, they are classified as *Caboclos*⁸, descend, in their vast majority, from Indians and white colonists from Portugal. They are populations of small producers that were formed during the colonial period, often in the interstices of monocultures and other economic cycles. (Queiroz, 1973)

Traditional Communities living in Extractive Reserves

Definitions

"An extractive reserve⁹ is defined as an area already occupied by population who live on natural forest resources, regularised by means of concession of use, transferred by the State to legally constituted associations, explored economically by the use of a management plan (in Portuguese Plano de Manejo) and oriented to the social benefit of the population through health and education projects." (IEA, Institute of Advanced Studies, University of São Paulo, 1989) (Diegues, 1993)

The fishermen families living in the extractive reserve on the islands belong to traditional communities which are defined by the Federal Constitution as groups of cultures that diverge from those predominated in society and which possesses their own social organization, using their territory and natural resources as conditions for their cultural, social, religious and economical reproduction. (IBAMA, 2012).

The artisanal fishermen, representing the traditional community on the islands, are characterized not only because of what they are doing for living, but as well because of their knowledge to execute the fishing craft, for example, to know the use of the different capturing instruments for different species of fishes and to know where to fish in an environment in continue transformation. (Diegues, 1994)

Manual Diegues Junior already observed in 1963 that anthropologists and ethnologists should study traditional communities; nevertheless the research in this field at this stage was focused on indigenous Indian populations¹⁰. (Manual Diegues Junior, 1963)

Singular ways of life¹¹

Due to relative isolation, these populations develop singular ways that involve a greater dependency of or even symbiosis with the natural cycles, deep knowledge of biological cycles and natural resources, artisanal technologies, symbologies and myths. (Diegues, 1993)

⁸ According to the Dictionary Aurélio, "caboclo" comes from tupi kari ' boka, which means "coming from the white". (Ferreira 1986)

⁹ It is also noted that, currently, there are two types of conservation unites in Brazil that covers and promotes the permanence of traditional communities, the extractive reserves and the reserve for sustainable development. The emergence of extractive reserves resulted from the fight of the rubber tappers in the Amazon for their rights. Moreover, inside the National Park of Lençóis Maranhenses, three families originally from the Ceará state with around 90 members can be found living in the middle of the park in kind of natural oasis areas with trees serving as protection from the sand blowing, lakes and a river going through.

¹⁰ He was one of the first to call attention to the need for the study of Brazilian non-indigenous cultures. (Diegues, 1993).

¹¹ Here we give an overall definition of what characterizes the singular ways of life of traditional communities, based on our biographical research, to compare these definitions later on in the result and discussion part of the work with our findings about the distinct social, economical and cultural identities of the artisanal fishermen communities living on the fifteen remote islands of the reserve of Cururupu.

Cândido (1964) emphasizes the livelihoods and the existing forms of solidarity of the traditional communities, understood as a territorial group, more or less dense, whose limits are set by residents participation in mutual help. In addition, the way of life is marked by the close connection of symbolic and religious representations with fishing and collecting.

Diegues (1993) underlines that their profound knowledge of the nature and its cycles is reflected in their elaboration of strategies of use and administration of natural resources. This knowledge is transferred orally from generation to generation.

Traditional communities developed a principle of sharing rather than individual accumulation of wealth. They accumulate little wealth through their activities¹².

They give great importance to family, domestic or community units and parental and godparent relationships for the economic, social and cultural exercise of their activities.

The used technology for artisanal fishing is relatively simple and the producer and his/her family dominates the work until the final product.

They possess only weak political power, which is normally in the hands of groups of people in the city.

Traditional communities self-define or identify themselves as belonging to a different cultural group.

Religious and cultural manifestations

Among the religious and cultural manifestations can be mention carnival, regional tales, Bumba-meu-Boi, drums and feast of saints. The carnival of Cururupu was once considered the best in the state of Maranhão, besides the carnival of São Luis. (Cruz, 2009)

Great loss of population and houses on the islands - in loco observations

During our frequent visits to the fifteen islands of the reserve, we realized that almost all of them had lost in great proportion their former population resident and houses, even after the creation of the extractive reserve. On the islands of São Lucas, for instant, only coconut trees indicate the former occupation in the part of the island close to the port. The former occupants did not leave the material of their houses, only some small pieces of bricks or other construction material in the soil give further evidence of the former occupation. Through interviews with the people living on the islands we could confirm our impression that about 20 to 30 % of the people or more had left their former habitats to live elsewhere.

Answers of the main questions posed by the research need to be given. Why did those people leave the islands? Where are they now? Why are the people living on the island different? And the main question, what is killing our natives.

We used data from the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) to proof what we found out through our study on the islands and interviews with the population while living with them.

¹² Due to their social, economical and cultural organization, accumulation of wealth was not much needed on the islands. This changes drastically with the migration to the cities.

In the following chapters we present the method used for this research, followed by the results and discussion part of the research work and conclusions and identification of perspectives for future research.

MATERIAL AND METHODS

Data collection

Bibliographical research

Included analysis of theses, dissertations, articles, documentaries, technical reports and legislation to support the issues and broaden the knowledge of the studied life of traditional fishermen communities and their environment on the islands;

Compatibility of data

from the 2000 and 2010 Censuses, provided by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), compared with more recent data elaborated by the administrative organ of the reserve, the institute ICMBIO that may reflect on the depopulation of the islands;

In loco activities

Interviews

The work is based on field studies on the islands during different periods from 2012 to 2016, while conducting interviews and realizing artistic production of portrait photography and exhibitions¹³ with the aim to strengthen the self-esteem of the local population.

Aesthetic approach

Through our aesthetic approach, we were able to gain knowledge of the environment and, at the same time, conquering the acceptance of the population to live with them, produce art and investigate them. Thus, we gained recognition of social, cultural and environmental dynamics on the islands, considering the traditional fishermen communities as the main element of these dynamics.

Presence at place

Our frequent local presence on the islands, as researcher, helped us to gain greater understanding and knowledge of the subject at this state of the research. Through our artistic production of portrait photography of the islanders and the consequent exhibitions at place, we gained access to the majority of the population and houses on the islands in the extractive reserve.

¹³ See the artwork of portrait photography of fishermen communities from different islands of the extractive reserve in the annex of this work, as well as photos of permanent exhibitions on the three islands Lençóis, Guajerutúua and Retiro and photos of openings and workshops of the itinerate exhibition SUI GENERIS, travelling throughout Brazil from 2012 to 2016.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Proofing the great loss of population and houses on the islands through data analysis

Visiting the island of Mangunça, we only found four or five houses permanently occupied by people, no infrastructure as school, health centre or energy generating unite. A small number of elder people didn't move away from the island because their retirement money is not enough to life in the city or due to other reasons they expressed in interviews. The fishermen come only for fishing purposes there; they all have houses in Cururupu, where they live. The small island of Porto Alegre (Carrapato) counts on only few houses and a couple of traditional fishermen families. The island of Retiro has lost in great proportion their former population due to the fact that the front of the island suffered from sever erosion¹⁴ caused by the tide. Consequently, people moved to the municipality of Apicum-Açu. The school and the health centre are vacant; there are no families with children occupying that island.

In comparison of data from the IBGE demographic censuses from 2010 and 2000, we try to undermine our in loco observations of the depopulation of the islands and to give answers to the research questions of our work.

Through analysis of the given data, we realized that the counts of number of residents and families of the extractive reserve vary depending on the organ that has been executing the survey as well as on their underlying methods. ICMBIO, for instant, is counting as local population people who moved from the island to live in the municipalities of Cururupu and Apicum-Açu as users of the conservation units who return periodically to the islands for the purpose of fishing. Therefore, we did not include these counts¹⁵ in our research, as they do not reflect on the real loss of inhabitants and houses on the islands and their move to the distant cities.

By comparing census sectors from the 2000 and 2010 IBGE surveys, in direct collaboration with the Institute IBGE¹⁶, we found that only eight of the islands¹⁷ can be identified by their own sectors by isolating their data and one sector combined data of the three islands Retiro, Urumaru and Iguará, therefore, we focused on these data to show evidence of significant depopulation of the islands, as our in loco observations confirmed. Among the data available for the islands of the reserve, we have chosen the islands of Guajerutúa, São Lucas, Peru, Caçacueira and Lençóis for comparison.

¹⁴ The erosion on the island of Retiro is continuously threatening the occupation by their inhabitants, as the water has been gaining its way to divide the island in two parts and, in a future scenario, will finally take the rest of the area, currently still occupied by houses, with it.

¹⁵ For instant, in 2012, the Institute ICMBIO informed, as result of their count of local population in the extractive reserve of Cururupu, the number of 3.688 inhabitants, belonging to traditional communities, whose main livelihoods for subsistence are fishing and extractivism. In Brasil, 2014, it says 1.300 families living on 13 islands and data given by ICMBIO in 2015 show that 1.500 families and more than 5.000 people living on 13 islands. The last two data let to the conclusion that the population on the islands increased by 200 families, a result that does not consist with our in loco observations on the islands from 2012 to 2016.

¹⁶ Frequent telephone interviews with Claudia Nascimento and Carlos Lessa from IBGE Rio de Janeiro in the period from January 6 to February 28, 2017.

¹⁷ Islands of Guajerutúa 1 e 2, São Lucas 1 e 2, Caçacueira, Peru, Lençóis, Bate-Vento, Valha-me Deus and Carrapato (Porto Alegre).

Island of Guajerutíua**Table 1– Island of Guajerutíua**

	Guajerutíua 1		Guajerutíua 2	
	2010 Census	2000 Census	2010 Census	2000 Census
This domicile is:				
Propriety of a resident – already paid	105	117	54	82
Propriety of a resident – still paying	0	5	1	2
Rented	0	0	1	0
Given by the employer	1	0	0	0
Given in another form	10	16	5	7
Other condition	1	0	0	0
Sanitary and bath sewage is drained into the:				
General sewage or rain distribution system	0	0	0	0
Septic tank	1	0	0	0
Rudimentary cesspits	50	107	15	59
Drainage ditch	52	0	32	0
River, lake, sea	3	1	2	0
Other	3	0	0	0
The mode of water supply in this domicile is:				
General distribution network	0	0	0	0
Well or spring on the property	82	109	36	46
Other	35	29	25	45
Hotsite				
Population				
Male residents	248	377	136	218
Female residents	214	296	117	190
Total	462	673	253	408
Permanent private domiciles				
Permanent occupied	117	138	61	91
Permanent non-occupied	2	0	4	0

Permanent non occupied				
Occasional use	1	0	2	0
Empty	1	0	2	0

Resource IBGE (2016), adapted by Andreas Hornung, 2017

This island is divided in two census sectors.

The comparison of 2010 and 2000 IBGE data shows a decrease of population in both census sectors of the island of Guajerutúia by a total of 33,97% and a decrease of permanent occupied houses by a total of 22,3% in the investigated period.

This means that one out of every three people left the island, which has also lost one out of every five houses.

The sanitary and bath sewages are drained mainly into the rudimentary cesspits on the islands. The water supply (mostly untreated and unfiltered, as observed in loco) is realized by the use of wells or springs on the properties.

Island of São Lucas

Table 2 – Island of São Lucas

	São Lucas 1		São Lucas 2	
	2010 Census	2000 Census	2010 Census	2000 Census
This domicile is:				
Propriety of a resident – already paid	31	116	90	55
Propriety of a resident – still paying	0	3	0	0
Rented	0	0	0	2
Given by the employer	0	0	9	0
Given in another form	1	4	1	3
Other condition	1	0	0	0
Sanitary and bath sewage is drained into the:				
General sewage or rain distribution system	0	0	0	0
Septic tank	1	3	26	1
Rudimentary cesspits	15	0	56	16
Drainage ditch	14	1	4	10
River, lake, sea	0	2	1	10
Other	0	16	0	21

The mode of water supply in this domicile is:				
General distribution network	0	0	2	0
Well or spring on the property	17	47	66	59
Other	16	76	32	1
Hotsite				
Population				
Male residents	73	292	213	147
Female residents	55	260	180	128
Total	128	552	393	275
Permanent private domiciles				
Permanent occupied	33	123	100	60
Permanent non-occupied	10	0	10	0
Permanent non occupied				
Occasional use	6	0	1	0
Empty	4	0	9	0

Resource IBGE (2016), adapted by Andreas Hornung, 2017

This island is divided in two census sectors.

The data shows a decrease of population in the first census sector of the island of São Lucas by 76,8% and a decrease of houses by 73,28%. In total, in both census sectors, the island lost 37% of its population and shows a decrease of permanent occupied houses by a total of 27,3%.

In 2000, the islands was occupied by 827 inhabitants and in 2010 by only 521 inhabitants, consequently it lost 306 inhabitants in 10 years, or in other words, more than one out of every three inhabitants left the island in the investigated decade.¹⁸

The sanitary and bath sewages are drained mainly into the rudimentary cesspits on the islands and the data shows an increase use of septic tanks in the second census sector of São Lucas. The water supply (mostly untreated and unfiltered as observed in loco) is realized by the use of wells or springs on the properties.

¹⁸ FUNASA (National Foundation of Health, in Portuguese Fundação Nacional de Saúde) counted in 2003 on the island of São Lucas 1.145 inhabitants and 375 houses (Cruz, 2009). Based on this data, the island lost in 7 years from 2003 to 2010 624 inhabitants or 45,5% of its population. Compared with the IBGE data, it is very likely that FUNASA, in its count, added the population and houses of São Lucas to the population and houses of Peru, as they are located on the same island. As shown by the analysis of data from IBGE, on both islands, in 2000, there lived together 1.157 people and the two islands together were occupied by 256 houses. Based on this assumption, the IBGE result on the count of population is very similar to the data of FUNASA in 2003, with an insignificant difference of 12 inhabitants or 0,01%, showing only in the FUNASA count of houses a greater difference of 119 houses more in 2003 or an increase of 31,73 % in houses in 3 years, compared to the IBGE data.

This community has the highest population density in the archipelago, which is formed by the islands of Caçacueira, Peru and São Lucas.

The island of São Lucas has a very evolved social organisation by the standards of the communities of the archipelago. It counts on a community delegation that has the power granted by the community to carry out arrests and resolve matters pertaining to the community administration.

Island of Caçacueira

Table 3 – Island of Caçacueira

	Caçacueira	
	2010 Census	2000 Census
This domicile is:		
Propriety of a resident – already paid	179	137
Propriety of a resident – still paying	0	0
Rented	2	0
Given by the employer	0	0
Given in another form	5	4
Other condition	0	1
Sanitary and bath sewage is drained into the:		
General sewage or rain distribution system	0	0
Septic tank	2	6
Rudimentary cesspits	64	57
Drainage ditch	71	0
River, lake, sea	7	15
Other	28	38
The mode of water supply in this domicile is:		
General distribution network	0	0
Well or spring on the property	93	142
Other	93	0
Hotsite		
Population		
Male residents	388	373
Female residents	303	321
Total	691	694
Permanent private domiciles		
Permanent occupied	186	142
Permanent non-occupied	12	0
Permanent non occupied		
Occasional use	12	0
Empty	0	0

Resource IBGE (2016), adapted by Andreas Hornung, 2017

The data shows almost the same percentage of population of the islands of Caçacueira in 2000 and 2010 censuses, with an insignificant loss of 0,004% in population and an increase in number of permanent occupied houses by 31%. In 2000, 4,89 people occupied one house on the island, whereas in 2010, there were only 3,71 people living together in one house. This means that the people living on the island organized themselves, by earning the necessary financial resources, to build their own houses.

The island of Caçacueira is worth for conducting further research on this topic, as its results show no difference in number of its population and a significant increase of houses. Therefore, it is the only island that has not lost its population and is growing in number of houses. In the means of our work, by undertaking further study, this island can be used as an example how it is possible to keep the traditional communities living full-time on the island. Further research is necessary to understand what factors had been responsible to avoid the loss of inhabitants in comparison with additional results concerning quality of live, health and educational conditions as well as in relation to other important indices.

The island is widely urbanized, with a mix of throw-roofed houses and residents made of brickwork. Fishing is the main income of the inhabitants on the island which posses natural beaches. When you arrive on the island, a battalion of boats is anchored in the port that gives you the impression of a professional and very good organized fishing colony.

Island of Peru

Table 4 – Island of Peru

	Peru	
	2010 Census	2000 Census
This domicile is:		
Propriety of a resident – already paid	46	63
Propriety of a resident – still paying	0	2
Rented	0	0
Given by the employer	0	0
Given in another form	5	8
Other condition	0	0
Sanitary and bath sewage is drained into the:		
General sewage or rain distribution system	0	0
Septic tank	1	2
Rudimentary cesspits	9	34
Drainage ditch	0	14
River, lake, sea	0	0
Other	41	0
The mode of water supply in this domicile is:		
General distribution	0	0

network		
Well or spring on the property	33	71
Other	18	2
Hotsite		
Population		
Male residents	83	188
Female residents	76	142
Total	159	330
Permanent private domiciles		
Permanent occupied	51	73
Permanent non-occupied	14	0
Permanent non occupied		
Occasional use	5	0
Empty	9	0

Resource IBGE (2016), adapted by Andreas Hornung, 2017

The comparison of the data of the 2000 and 2010 censuses shows a decrease of population on the island of Peru by 51,18% and a decrease of permanent occupied houses by 30,14%.

This means that one out of every two people has moved to the city, this is by far the greatest loss of population by an island in the reserve, as well as of houses, in a lesser proportion, as one out of every three houses have been lost on the island between 2000 and 2010.

On the island, the first public school has been built with own resources of the community, raised by the fishermen colony, while the people representing the colony in the community were in charge of the school administration.

Island of Lençóis

Table 5 – Island of Lençóis

	Lençóis	
	2010 Census	2000 Census
This domicile is:		
Propriety of a resident – already paid	66	84
Propriety of a resident – still paying	0	1
Rented	0	0
Given by the employer	0	0
Given in another form	4	1
Other condition	0	2
Sanitary and bath sewage is drained into the:		
General sewage or rain distribution system	0	0

Septic tank	1	1
Rudimentary cesspits	4	22
Drainage ditch	8	11
River, lake, sea	1	0
Other	43	0
The mode of water supply in this domicile is:		
General distribution network	0	0
Well or spring on the property	47	65
Other	23	23
Hotsite		
Population		
Male residents	195	246
Female residents	156	209
Total	351	455
Permanent private domiciles		
Permanent occupied	51	88
Permanent non-occupied	11	0
Permanent non occupied		
Occasional use	6	0
Empty	5	0

Resource IBGE (2016), adapted by Andreas Hornung, 2017

The IBGE data of the island of Lençóis, with base on the comparison of the 2000 and 2010 censuses shows a decrease of people by 22,9% and of houses by 42,04%.¹⁹

The first people occupying the island were originally from the neighbour island of Bate Vento. As people from this island reported in interviews conducted on the island, Lençóis has suffered since the beginning of its occupation from erosion due to the creation of new dunes, the growing of existing once and their movements. Based on in loco observations during the frequent visits on the island, it is very likely that the complete cut of the mangrove forest on the coast, which happened where the first occupation of the houses on the island took place, has played a major role in the destruction of the environment, resulting in a uncontrolled creation of new dunes on the coast and growth of existing dunes, which has been identified as the main cause for the permanent move of houses around the island. When we visited the island with a delay of six month in 2014, by wandering the island for the purpose of our portrait photography production, we faced three meter high dunes where before there had been none, which led to the disappearance of the former school debris under a new mountain of sand and the move of fences of some properties nearby.

¹⁹ In accordance to the reserve registry data, collected by ICMBIO in 2012, the island was occupied by 104 houses and 377 inhabitants. The count, included in the biological research in 2002 (Barros, Kátia et al.), indicated 412 inhabitants, which represents a decrease of population between 2002 and 2012 by 8,5%, based on the comparison of both counts. As mentioned before, it is very likely that in the ICMBIO registry of population of this island in 2012, former residents who left the island and now live in the two municipalities of Cururupu and Apicum-Açu are included in the count as users of the reserve, therefore, these counts do not reflect on the depopulation of the islands and consequently have not been included in the research.

Island of Retiro

According to the current residents, the former occupation on the coastline of the island of Retiro has been destroyed by the tide. The community of the island is in a state of desintegration, with a population density much inferior than a decade ago, as its former inhabitants migrated constantly to the municipal of Apicum-Açu (based on in loco observations).

Island of Urumaru

The island of Urumaru holds one of the oldest communities in the Maiaú archipelago and is currently in the process of desintegration, occupied only by fishermen cottages.

Island of Beiradão

The island of Beiradão is occupied by the most recent community of the archipelago of Maiaú.

Island of Iguará

On the island of Iguará, the community possesses 94 houses, with a population of 296 people, who live exclusively of artisanal fishing. Iguará is the largest center of shrimp fishing production of the archipelago of Maiaú. (Cruz, 2009).

Island of Bate Vento

The island of Bate Vento is occupied by the largest and oldest community of the archipelago of Maiaú.

RESULTS

Through comparison of the results from the 2000 and 2010 censuses, conducted by IBGE, a great loss of population and houses on the islands is confirmed by the available data.

The results from 2000 and 2010 censuses, by including five islands in the evaluation, shows a total loss of 950 inhabitants or 28% while 2.437 inhabitants or 72% continued to live on the islands.

During the period from 2000 to 2010, data from the investigated islands included in the evaluation shows a total loss of 116 houses or 38,2%, with a total of 599 houses occupying the five islands in 2010.

The island of Caçacueira is the only island that maintained its number of inhabitants with an insignificant loss of 0,004% and showed a significant increase of houses on the island by 31%, therefore, reducing the occupation rate per house from 4,89 people to only 3,71 people. The data shows that the situation on the island of Caçacueira is atypical compared with the rest of the islands and demands further research, as well as in terms of the search for solutions of the problems of depopulation and loss of culture, cultural identities and traditions caused by the migration of the populations to the city. Further research questions should be determined. Why are people from this island continued living on and investing in their island while all other islands suffered great loss of population and houses.

Based on in loco observations on the islands, none of the islands offer water or sewage treatment, except in the local schools where filters are installed; all have a restricted energy supply by diesel generators between reduced hours in the evening, usually from 6p.m. to 10 or 11 p.m.²⁰ Garbage is normally burned or buried, as the islands do not count on garbage collection; accumulation of garbage on the beaches and streets of the communities has been observed on almost all islands of the reserve. Even though all land on the islands is governmental (marine) property, occasionally (as observed in loco on the Island of Lençóis) it comes to illegal transactions by trying to sell land and houses to people from outside of the reserve.

The reality on the islands demands urgent action by the public administration to improve the quality of life of their population resident. This improvement is part of the mission of the extractive reserve administration ICMBIO, too and has not yet been fulfilled.

Answering the principle research questions of the work

Where are they now?

The traditional community members who left their island migrated to the two municipalities Cururupu and Apicum-Açu. There, you find streets occupied by population from the same island, for instance, streets in the neighbourhood of the former airport in Cururupu. New houses are being constructed at the moment in areas on the city borders. Rosinha²¹ is one of the new neighbourhoods where people from the islands are settling down or building a second house for future migration to be occupied by family members and relatives. The population, originally from the islands of the Maiaú archipelago (Islands of Lençóis, Bate Vento, Porto do Meio, Beiradão, Mirinzal, Retiro, Urumaru, Iguará), are more likely to find living in the city of Apicum-Açu, as it is easier to access, as well as for professional reasons when travel distances to the islands for fishing purposes have to be as direct and short as possible.

Why did those people leave the islands?

The reasons why the people are moving to the city are multiples. The possibility of retirement as fishermen allowed that the elder left the islands, bought land in the city, built houses and called their family to live with them in the urban zone. Another reason is the search for better education. On the islands, school offers only the first eight years of education, to complete high school education, children have to move to the city to stay with grandparents or relatives to attend school. Younger people are moving to the city in search for better work and living conditions, they do not necessarily following the path of the family tradition to become fishermen, but seek another profession with better income to guarantee a better life standard, which can compromise the preservation of the ways of life of the traditional communities on the islands.

²⁰ The island of Lençóis, with its three different sources of energy supply, eolic, solar and by diesel generator, is equipped to offer 24-hours continuous energy supply, unfortunately, during our frequent visits in 2014 and 2015, we just had not the luck to observe this in loco, as energy was only offered by the use of diesel generator and worked during the reduced evening hours from 6 p.m. to 10 p.m. due to organizational problems and damaged or over the edge equipment, as, for instance, at this occasions, the wind and solar storage plates were not functional anymore to keep the load.

²¹ Fishermen from the Island of Guajerutua are at the moment buying lodges in the neighbourhood of Cururupu, they do this in groups who will live there in the same streets, occupied with people from the same island.

Other reasons are insufficient medical and hospital care, precarious, only part-time electric power supply by generators, difficult living conditions in houses with extreme hot asbestos roofs, no access to water and sewage treatment and bath facilities, among others.

As a consequence of the loss of inhabitants on the islands, for instant, on the islands of Mangunça and Retiro, school and health centres shut down, which, in turn, make it impossible for families to stay permanently on the islands. Ergo the last families left the islands and moved to Cururupu or Apicum-Açu.

Why are the people on the islands different?

As identified in the introduction part of the work, these traditional fishermen communities have developed singular ways of life due to their relative isolation and their dependency of or even symbiosis with biological cycles and natural resources. Life on the islands is profoundly influenced by counting and respecting the hours between tide differences in the exercise of their fishing activities.

The strong social bonds between the people on the islands are based on the fact that almost all people there are in some sort connected due to family, parental or godfather relationships and the importance they give to these relationships, which are essential for their economic, social and cultural exercise of their activities.

For generations, these communities developed a principle of sharing water, land and fish, when necessary, rather than individual accumulation of wealth. Due to their social, economic and cultural organization, accumulation of wealth did not made much difference and was not aimed in their ways of life on the islands, based on homogeneity, equality, solidarity, mutual help, simplicity and practicability, noticing that their artisanal fishing techniques did not change much either. In the past, fish guaranteed their economically stable low-income lives on the islands.

What changed?

Difficulties to improve quality of life observed in present days and confirmed by interviews conducted with the traditional fishermen communities on the islands

On the islands, fishermen are often not the owner of the boats they are using for fishing purposes and traveling to the port of the cities. They have to pay the owners, who mostly are from the cities, with part of the fish they catch, as confirmed by our in loco observations and through interviews with the fishermen, what consequently difficult their quality of life improvements.

In general, they sell the fish to middlemen on the islands for a much lower price than they would get through direct sell to the markets in the city.²² Moreover, the middlemen offer loan to the fishermen, the fishermen borrow money from them to buy everyday products they

²² As observed from us in loco, the price difference for the product (fish), or what the fishermen are receiving and what the markets in Cururupu are determining for sale, can be until 70%, or to say it differently, the product fish bought for 10 Reais (local currency, about 3 USD) per kilo from the fishermen goes through the hands of various intermediate buyers (the so called middlemen), until being sold to the markets to final consumers in the municipalities of Cururupu or Apicim-Açu for 17 Reais per kilo. Some products increase even more when they are sent to and sold in the state capital São Luis, or even shipped to the metropolitan cities like Rio de Janeiro or São Paulo. The price difference can reach, depending on the type of fish, to 200 or 300%.

need, consequently, they accumulate debts, by time owing a significant amount of money to the middlemen, this way establishing a kind of dependency they barely can get ride of.

Why are their culture, cultural identities and traditions disappearing?

By moving to the cities or even being in frequent contact with the city, therefore, not living anymore in relative isolation as before, changing dynamics gradually modify traditional practices and ways of life of the fishermen communities. Everything in the city involves money, without it, it is not possible to survive in the urban zone. On the island, for instant, with the established simple ways of life, (sea) food is always available. With time passing, the former cultural identities of these communities are at risk to disappear and to be lost.²³

Another factor that may threaten the cultural identity of the traditional communities is tourism, even the ecological, community based one, which has been already introduced, for instant, on the island of Lençóis. By arrival of the tourist flow and of developments linked to tourism, the already fragile environment might turn itself into a non-place and affect negatively the way of thinking and the ways of life of the communities.²⁴

And at last reflecting on the main question what is killing our natives?

It is easy to proof the disappearance of native populations in most countries of the world. The only possible answer is to assume that we together are responsible for it. Capitalism in some sort is, we will not investigate this further here. It is a topic that should be researched and discussed more deeply apart of this work.

Own experiences with the traditional communities living on the islands and in the cities of Cururupu and Amicum-Açu

When we arrived at the islands, we didn't know anybody and brought with us only some litres of water, fruits, vegetables and snacks, a hammock, a lamp, and the photo equipment. We would not have survived two days on the islands by ourselves. But, instead, we never slept in the streets, we always got a meal, a place to hang our hammock, a nice talk and have been easily been integrated in the communities. The people of the houses we stayed in were our reference for being accepted by the rest of the community. After two or three days, they

²³ An example of current cultural identity loss, focused on indigenous languages and based on the last IBGE census 2010 results, shows that Brazil is the third country with the highest number of languages at risk of extinction, according to the new edition of the interactive Atlas of Languages in Danger in the World, launched in March 2009 by the UNESCO in Paris. Among the 210 languages identified by linguists, around 180 are indigenous (the so-called autochthonous), what corresponded to 85.7%. It is important to note that, according to the survey conducted by 25 linguists, the vast majority of indigenous languages in Brazil are in danger of disappearing, with 45 of them classified in the highest risk category. IBGE, 2016

²⁴ An example where (sport) tourism went wrong – Atins, a secondary entrance location to the Lençóis Maranhenses besides Barreirinhas, is still being announced on the Internet as a little fishermen colony, whereas, in reality, it has nothing to do anymore with this image or practice. Heavy investments due to kite surf qualities of the location resulted in the construction of resorts all over the place, which posses their own infrastructure as restaurants, buggies and jeeps, this manner being independent from other service providers when, in the meanwhile, native inhabitants walk with difficulties the deep sand streets in front of their houses and might need to buy heavily overpriced beverage or domestic products in small local markets. Fishermen on the main street have long given up their lands and houses by selling them to national and international investors, located strategically in the heart of the village 20 minutes from the Canto de Atins where the Lençóis Maranhenses Park begins, to employ themselves, after the consumption of the gained money from the sell, as cleaners, cooks or drivers to the resort owners.

forgot our camera and finally we could start working taking portraits of the people. They never charged us for anything. This has been different to the experiences we had with people from the islands living part-time in their houses in the small cities of Cururupu and Apicum-Açu. After a while, they started asking us for retribution, and on the islands with only fishermen cottages (ranchos) present, where all people had houses in the village, they would not offer to take us to other places and ask for money for gasoline for their motors to drive the boats. One time on an island next to Cururupu, not belonging to the extractive reserve, we stuck three days to get somebody taking us to the next islands just opposite to the one we were on.

We have been disillusioned, too, after a while on the islands in our beliefs that all simple native people living there are ingenuous and good-hearted people. Injured, wounded and dead domestic animals as cats²⁵ and dogs, with blind eyes, which were cut out by knife, bloody wounds and burnings led us through investigation and help of school directors and teachers identify a group of five or six eight to eleven year old community boys (maybe girls, too) as actors of these crimes, committed with sever cruelty and enjoyment of the suffering until death of the animals, themselves victims of domestic violence (and/or supposedly sexual abuses) committed by their parents or relatives.

Other related problems are elevated alcoholism, increasing drug use (at least marijuana and suspected increased use of crack) under the younger generation of fishermen employed by the native fishermen on the islands to help the family business. With the drugs, criminality emerges on the islands, where, before, there has been (almost) non and no police is present. Based on our in loco observations, drug sellers, coming sometimes from other states (for instant, drug traffickers among fishermen from Pará, in the case of the island of Lençóis), incidences as breaking in tourist boats and catamarans, anchored in front of the island and stealing of gasoline or other things of value happened, in consequence, people on the islands start to lock up their simple houses to prevent burglary. Same situation occurred on other islands, as reported in the past on the island of Mangunça, among others.

Surprisingly, as a result of our interviews, fishermen expressed their fear of the open sea, whereas the majority of fisherwomen to whom we spoke to, interviewed or travelled with, expressed their fear of travelling on boats in general. Some accidents happened in the past, where the excess of people on boats resulted in turning over of the boats, which consequently sank, causing the death of, in particular, mothers and children, involving Valha-me Deus and Guajerutúia populations in the past.

Conclusions and identifying perspective for future research

What hamper the residence and the improvement of living conditions of the populations on the islands? How it is possible to get the population of traditional fishermen communities live on the islands in economical stable conditions with adequate health and education infrastructure?

The former warm-hearted, trusting and supportive people had something we have long lost living in urbanized areas: being human in contact with each other, helping each other, not creating social (classes and) differences, but treating people equally.

²⁵ The portrait photography production includes one photo of a tortured cat until death on the Island of Lençóis, as it can be seen in the annex of this work under the reference: artwork 4: Island of Lençóis 5/2014

One way is to assist them and help them to organize themselves in a more efficient way to defend their rights against the multiplied interests of governmental entities, energy supplier and NGOs where each one put its own interest first, as our in loco observations confirmed, since each engaged entity shows specific characteristics and interests.

The political power is in the hands of groups in the city. There, the traditional communities are assisted by the Union of fisherman in Cururupu, the Colony of fishermen in Apicum-Açu and the Association of the Residents of the Marine Extractive Reserve of Cururupu (AMREMC). Moreover, each community has a councillor that represents the local population in the Deliberative Council in meetings, called by the administration of the reserve, the institute ICMBIO, with the participation of other governmental organs and private institutions.

By creating the conservation units, it has been guaranteed by law that the population located in the conservation unit should participate in the process of creation, implementation and management of the conservation units and that joined management decisions should be made between societies that traditionally uses the natural resources and the authorities of the conservation unions.²⁶

However, what we have observed in practice is that the decision-making is following a hierarchical order, from top to bottom, in which the management initiatives are predetermined by governmental entities and with political interference, to later hear the opinions, complaints and demands of the traditional communities in this process of management. In some occasions, opinions of councillors and members of the traditional communities, expressed in interviews, led to the conclusion that they seem sometimes not at all interested in and indifferent to participation policies in the decision-making process.

On the other hand, through in loco observations, we could identify an over-interpretation of rules and regulations being applied, leading to false sense of achievement of goals. It seems that it is easy to prohibit and to say no to every demand instead of creating options to solve the problems. What these communities need is support and examples how they could reach goals alternatively, as, for instance, new or modified artisanal techniques that do not threaten and destroy the biodiversity of the reserve.

In this context, the sustainable use and the persistence of long-term resources of the reserve can still not be proved due to lack of data. On one hand, the traditional fishermen communities generated and guaranteed the biodiversity in the reserve, while, on the other hand, due to some damaging and prohibit artisanal techniques of fish catching, it comes to uncontrolled exploitation of natural resources, this way threatening and destroying the biodiversity of the reserve.

The realities on the islands are similar, but not equal

Comparison of the islands

The islands are very different from each other, in means of size, number of inhabitants, infrastructure like schools, health centres, architecture of the houses, flora and fauna, as well as organization of the local community living on the islands. The island of Lençóis has been at times regarded as a role model for 24-hours of continuous energy supply, by wind, solar

²⁶ See Brasil, 2000.

and generator, but when we have been there in 2014 and in 2015, due to organisational problems regarding the supply of oil for the diesel motor, which should come in days from Belém, dysfunctional solar panels and over the edge storage, there have been applied the same rules offering energy supply only during the evening hours from 6 p.m. to 10 or 11 p.m., equal to the other islands of the reserve. We identified houses with their own energy supply by diesel generator; these were exceptions, as said initially, depending as well on the islands. Freezers and refrigerators, when present, are often stored in the houses without use due to lack of continuous energy supply. For the election in 2014, some islands received modern new digital generators (as we personally have witnessed in Guajerutúia and São Lucas, islands with higher number of inhabitants), donated by the prefecture of Cururupu. As the local network could not bear the increase of load, the old generators have been repaired and were reinstalled. Maybe next election someone offers to finance the adaptation of the local distribution network to support the increased load, with the aim of buying cheap votes. In Brazil, buying votes by donation of promised infrastructure just months and weeks before the election by the elected prefects is something we mention here but we are not going to discuss it further. It is just not at all an offer, it is a duty, an obligation from the municipal administration which is sometimes only fulfilled in gain of something, especially close to future elections. You can observe corruption and misuse of mandates and power in real time just standing on the corner of a sand street on the islands in question or in local schools where school lunch for the children are not anymore delivered because the necessary money has been stolen by corrupt politicians.

The populations on the islands have long been neglected and suffering from the lack of support from the prefecture administration of Cururupu. Among the responsible politicians, some islands have been favourites due to personal preferences. For instant, Jorge dos Santos Amado, called Zé Amado, former prefect of Cururupu until the end of 2003 when his mandate ended early because of corruption accusations, helped incentivizing the creation of the extractive reserve and the construction of a new school on the Island of Lençóis that disappeared in September 2014, covered by advancing dunes invading the corridor where the school was located ²⁷.

The island of Caçacueira should be researched in the future as the only island maintaining the number of its population and showing an increase in number of houses. This gives material to continue research on the island in the future in search for a solution, how to keep the traditional communities in economically stable and adequate health and educational conditions living full-time on their islands.

Our ongoing art project SUI GENERIS of portrait photography production on the islands, through organization of exhibitions at place and by showing the results to the communities and realizing itinerate exhibitions, traveling the country of Brazil and abroad, helped strengthen the self-esteem of the traditional fishermen communities.

We can still learn much from these people in terms of solidarity, hospitality, mutual help, openness and support of strangers, by creating more homogeneous and egalitarian societies. Low capacity of accumulation of capital has been difficult the formation of social (classes and) differences on the islands. Not that it is possible to go back to the past, but we still witness outstanding human qualities in the economical, social and cultural community

²⁷ See the photo of the school debris in the annex of this work under the reference: artwork 4: Island of Lençóis 5/2014

organizations that is worse to be highlighted and continued, and we have still the chance and should maintain and guaranty the balance and stability of traditional communities like the fishermen communities on the islands of the reserve of Cururupu, conquered by generations, by assisting them to live full-time on the island and let them live in their traditional fashion without putting our interests at the first place. This is valuable as well for the governmental entities responsible for the educational and health administration, conservation and administration of the reserve and energy supply by fulfilling their missions to improve the quality of live of the traditional fishermen community on the islands.

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ANNEX

Special Thanks

Thanks goes to all of the people who took place and have been involved in the art project of portrait photography of the communities of fishermen families on the islands of the Marine Extractive Reserve of Cururupu: Peru, São Lucas, Caçacueira, Mangunça, Guajerutíua, Valha-me Deus, Porto Alegre, Lençóis, Bate Vento, Porto do Meio, Mirinzal, Retiro, Beiradão, Iguará, Urumarú (people from São Paulo met on the islands and islands and beaches next to the reserve and Cururupu, for instant, Coroa, Prainha and Maracujatíua), neighbourhoods in urban areas as Fazenda in Apicum-Açu and others in Cururupu, where people from the same islands live together in the same streets and during the field work for research of this article as follows²⁸: Island of Lençóis: Balaso, Vinícius, Vanosa, Renan, Lucas, Micael, Momoça, Netinho, Gabadino, Jojó, Michel, Mariuim, Boi, Damiris, Rosa, Marcio, Luciene, Mané, Torro, Cabeça ou Mangueira, João Torres, Zé Kleber, Jubinha, Lucas, Claucio, Gilberto, Deca, Paulinho, Louro, Cabeça, Cleide, Najá (São Paulo), Marcia, Nazaré (Bragança), Ingrida, Cuia, Ribamar ou Xengo, Manequinho, Mazinho, Maria, Gilberto, Kayan, Rato, Luluca, Joni, Fernanda, Dandara, Nite, Nissinha, Jailton, Chico, Edinaldo, Dega, Estileto (Island of Bate Vento); Island of Guajerutíua: Valdinho, Boneca, Bolinha, Nini, Zidoro, Junio, Tiamar, Tatu, Zimico, Zé Diabo, Zialdo, Gélinho, Chupa peito, Pê de galo, Felipe, Samana, Boa, Niulse, Zildo, Aladio, Gabriel, Toquinho, Muara, Chiquinho, Valdo, Cachimbino, Marinha, Pê Queimado, Veraldo, Amanda, Ronaldo, Sequinha, Biel, Naiani, André, Bó, Cleia, Manoel, Menorquinha, Jucinaldo, Edinaldo, Zé, Veneno, Zelia, João de Lousa, Guilherme, Rosane, Cara Suja, Luiza, Rian, Macinho, Alise, Pedro Neto, Gabriele, Maiara, Senhorzinho, Vinícios, Siró (Island of Mangunça), Daís (Fazenda); Island of Retiro: Alan, Germano, Rey, Duca, Solhos azueis ou Zolio, Valdisira, Samarica, Filó, Lindo, Marizinha (Island of Porto do Meio), Big Big (Island of Bate-Vento), Perita, Vivico, Mocó, Patrícia, Beto Fedor; Island of Porto do Meio: Sió, Zinho, Jininho, Machinho, Tamires, Cocon, Pedra, Chupa Cabra, Keké, Edinilson, Lailson, Rafira, Gabriel, Faladoro, Zé Osmar, Dalora, Luciene, Lucinete, Camilly, Ziro, Guelo, Zé Gudo, Pioca, Sandila; Island of Beiradão: Adelino o cantor, Oswaldo, Nicolau, Riba (Island of Mirinzal), Vavarolo, Dian, Fafa, João (Cedral), Zé-Preto; Fazenda: Elenilda ou Moça, Caneli, Gabriel, Sofia, Railson, Valdineio.

Special thanks goes to all people involved who have not mentioned here by name, thank you all so much for your support, love and affection.

BODY OF WORK

Permanent exhibitions on the islands and abroad

SUI GENERIS – art exhibition in movement, extended with new work of art

Maranhão, Ilha de Lençóis, Escola da ilha e Memorial da ilha, permanent

September 2, 2014 – September 30, 2014, permanent, from mon to fri, from 10 AM - 5 PM
Maranhão, Ilha de Guajerutíua, Escola da Ilha e Posto de Saúde da ilha, permanent

²⁸ We called most of the people by their nicknames as they are usually employed on and off the islands; few people know and use their names of baptism.

May 20, 2015 – June 30, 2015 permanent, from mon to fri, from 10 AM - 5 PM

Maranhão, Baixada Maranhense, Ilha de Retiro, Conselho da Ilha, permanent

Opening March 11, 2016 - permanent, from 10 AM - 10 PM

Rio de Janeiro, Centro, Restaurante Crystal, downstairs, Rua Assembleia 11, permanent

29 July, 2015 – permanent, from mon to fri, from 11 AM - 4 PM

Rio de Janeiro, Ladeira dos Guararapes, Soccerfield, permanent

October 5, 2016 – November 30, 2016, permanent, from mon to fri, from 10 AM - 5 PM

Itinerate exhibitions throughout Brazil

SUI GENERIS – art exhibition in movement, extended with new work of art

Rio de Janeiro, Centro, Centro Cultural Cândido Mendes, downstairs, Rua da Assembleia 10

March 20 – April 30, 2013, from mon to fri, from 11 AM - 4 PM

Rio de Janeiro, Aterro do Flamengo, Espaço Cultural Monumento Estácio de Sá,

May 5, 2014 – June 30, 2014, from tue to sun, from 10 AM - 5 PM

Maranhão, Ilha de Lençóis, Escola da ilha e Memorial da ilha, permanent

September 2, 2014 – September 30, 2014, permanent, from mon to fri, from 10 AM - 5 PM

Rio de Janeiro, Jardim Botânico, Museu do Meio Ambiente, Rua Jardim Botânico, 1008

22 September 2014 – 11 January 2015, from tue to sun, from 10 AM - 5 PM

May 20, 2015 – June 30, 2015 permanent, from mon to fri, from 10 AM - 5 PM

Maranhão, Ilha de Guajerutíua, Escola da Ilha e Posto de Saúde da ilha, permanent

Rio de Janeiro, Leblon, Clube Monte Líbano, Av. Borges de Medeiros, 701

July 2, 2015 – July 20, 2015, from mon to sun, from 10 AM - 5 PM

Rio de Janeiro, Centro, Restaurante Crystal, downstairs, Rua Assembleia 11, permanent

29 July – permanent, from mon to fri, from 11 AM - 4 PM

Rio de Janeiro, Alto Gávea, Sociedade Germania, Rua Antenor Rangel, 210

August 9, 2015 – August 11, 2015, from tue to sun, from 10 AM - 5 PM

Janeiro, Rio de Janeiro, Centro, Colégio Cruzeiro, Rua Carlos de Carvalho, 76

August 29, 2015,- September 30, 2015, from mon to fri, from 11 AM - 4 PM Rio de

Três Rios, Centro, Estado de Rio de Janeiro, Gallery Sesc Três Rios, Rua Nelson Viana, 327

September 3, 2015- October 31, 2015, from tue to sun, from 9 AM -9 PM, Sat/Sun until 6 PM

Maranhão, Centro, Museu Histórico e Artístico do Maranhão, Rua do Sol, 202

September 18, 2015 - October 31, 2015, from tue to sun, from 9 AM - 9 PM,

Rio de Janeiro, Centro, Centro Cultural Light, Av. Marechal Floriano, 168

December 1, 2015 - January 15, 2016, from mon to fri, from 10 AM - 5 PM,
Maranhão, Ilha de Retiro, Escola da Ilha e Posto de Saúde da ilha, permanent

March 5, 2016 – March 31, 2016, permanent, from mon to fri, from 10 AM - 5 PM
Rio de Janeiro, Ladeira dos Guararapes, Soccerfield, permanent

October 5, 2016 – November 30, 2016, permanent, from mon to fri, from 10 AM - 5 PM

**BIBLIOGRAPHY LAUNCHED DURING OPENINGS OF THE ITINERATE
EXHIBITIONS SUI GENERIS DURING 2012 AND 2016**

BOOK *SUI GENERIS – L'ESSENCE DE LA VIE* :: people and landscape, published by
Galerie Art in Rio, Andreas Hornung in 2016, premier edition, Rio de Janeiro. 152 pgs. ISBN
978-85-67475-00-4

**BOOK *LE PETIT PRINCE IN THE DESERT OF MARANHÃO STATE* – five days on the way
to art** published by Galerie Art in Rio, Andraes Hornung in 2013, second edition, Rio de
Janeiro. 148 pgs. ISBN 978-85-67475-00-5

Portrait photography

Portrait photography of the traditional fishermen community, photos of the visitation of the
exhibition on the islands, during the ongoing itinerate exhibitions from 2012 to 2016 moving
throughout the country of Brazil and from workshops held in galleries, museums and schools
from 2012 to 2016.

(See portfolio exhibition SUI GENERIS using this link: <http://www.artinrioandreasornung>)



artwork 1: Island of Lençóis, 5/2014



artwork 2: Island of Lençóis 5/2014



artwork 3: Island of Lençóis 5/2014



artwork 4: Island of Lençóis 5/2014



artwork 5: Island of Bate-Vento 9/2014



artwork 6: Island of Guajerutíua 9/2014



artwork 7: Island of Guajerutíua 9/2014



artwork 8: Island of Peru 9/2014



artwork 9: Island of Porto Alegre 6/2015
(know as Carrapatos among the fishermen communities)



photo 1: Exhibition on the island of Lençóis 9/2014



photo 2: Exhibition on the island of Guajerutíua 6/2015



photo 3: Exhibition on the island of Retiro 3/2016



photo 4: Exhibition material shown in the Fazenda neighbourhood of Apicum-Açu
3/2016



photo5: Exhibition material shown on the island of Urumarú 3/2016



photo 6: Exhibition in Gallery Aterro, Rio de Janeiro, 5/2014



photo 7: Exhibition in Museum Jardim Botânico, Rio de Janeiro, 9/2014-1/2015



photo 8: Exhibition in Museum Jardim Botânico, Rio de Janeiro, 9/2014 -1/2015



photo 9: Exhibition in Leblon, Rio de Janeiro, 6/2015



photo 10: Exhibition in Museum MHAM São Luís, 9/2015



photo 11: Exhibition in Museum MHAM São Luís, 9/2015



photo 12: Exhibition in Museum MHAM São Luís 9/2015



photo 13: Exhibition in Gallery Três Rios, RJ, 9/2015 -10/2015



photo 14: Exhibition in Gallery Light 11/2015-1/2016



photo 15: Workshop in Gallery Três Rios, RJ, 10/2015



photo 16: Workshop in Gallery Três Rios, RJ, 10/2015



photo 17: Workshop in Gallery Três Rios, RJ, 10/2015



photo 18: Workshop in Gallery Light, Rio de Janeiro, 1/2016



photo 19: Workshop in Gallery Light, Rio de Janeiro, 1/2016



photo 20: Workshop Olympic Games, Rio de Janeiro, 8/2016



photo 21: Workshop Olympic Games, Rio de Janeiro, 8/2016



photo 22: Workshop Olympic Games, Rio de Janeiro, 8/2016



photo 23: Workshop Olympic Games, Rio de Janeiro, 8/2016