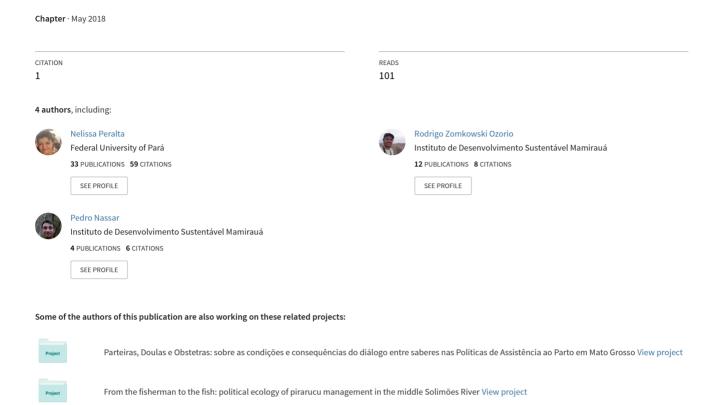
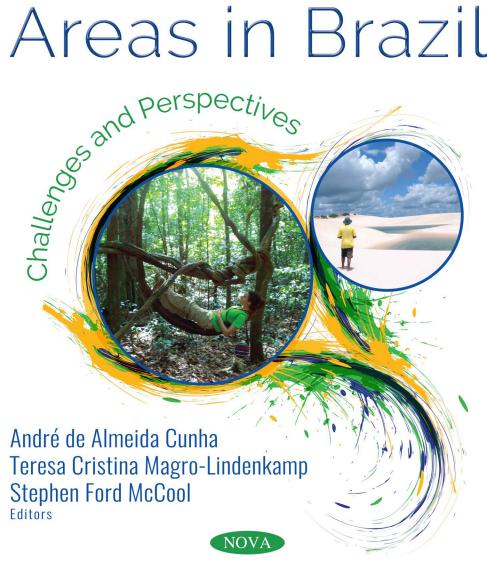
Community-Based Tourism in Protected Areas: A move beyond 'paper parks'



Tourism and Protected Areas in Brazil





TOURISM AND HOSPITALITY DEVELOPMENT AND MANAGEMENT

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CHALLENGES AND PERSPECTIVES

ANDRÉ DE ALMEIDA CUNHA TERESA CRISTINA MAGRO-LINDENKAMP AND STEPHEN FORD MCCOOL EDITORS



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COMMITTEE OF PUBLISHERS.

Additional color graphics may be available in the e-book version of this book.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

ISBN: ; 9: /3/75835/76; /9" gDqqm+

Published by Nova Science Publishers, Inc. † New York

In: Tourism and Protected Areas in Brazil ISBN: 978-1-53613-548-0 Editors: A. de Almeida Cunha et al. © 2018 Nova Science Publishers, Inc.

Chapter 14

COMMUNITY-BASED TOURISM IN PROTECTED AREAS: A MOVE BEYOND "PAPER PARKS"

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ABSTRACT

This paper argues that Community-Based Tourism (CBT) is a concrete alternative that may contribute to conservation in protected areas, not only by generating economic benefits and conservation strategies, but by being incorporated into people's territoriality, ways of living, life meaning, and identity. Using the case of the Mamirauá Reserve in Amazonas state, this chapter aims to describe the historical conditions where community-based tourism has contributed to the social and political viability of this specific reserve, but also of protected areas as a whole. This study also reflects on the larger role community-based tourism may play in influencing public policies on protected areas, conservation, and sustainable development. In times of downsizing and downgrading protected areas in Brazil, the more a protected area gains visibility, the more the political costs of changing their protective status. Among the diversity of sustainable practices that may be developed in Amazonia, community-based sustainable tourism must be included because it fosters links with the territory, creates productive arrangements that generate and distribute income, and provides experiences to visitors that may transform attitudes.

Keywords: community-based tourism, ecotourism, protected areas, Amazon, sustainable development, Mamiraua sustainable development reserve

Introduction

Protected areas have increased in number and area over the last decades in the Brazilian Amazon. At present there are 325 protected areas covering 128,060,617 hectares of forest (ISA 2017). Although some may argue that a large portion of them are merely "paper parks" - that is, existing in name only -, there is ample evidence showing that deforestation is much lower inside protected areas than in surrounding areas (Ricketts et al. 2010, 1) and since deforestation is responsible for up to 15% of all greenhouse gases emissions (IPCC 2007, 105), reducing deforestation is considered a cost-effective way to mitigate climate change (Van der Werf et al. 2009, 737).

Studies analyzing implementation costs of forest conservation policies in Brazil estimated that real expenditure costs of federal government from

2000 to 2014 amounted to US\$ 1 billion *per* year on average; with an increase of 44% after 2004, when deforestation actually started to drop (Cunha et al. 2016, 209). Although seemingly cost-effective, in the face of recent economic crisis and decrease in government expenditure in all sectors, conservation policies are more than ever facing critique and losing political viability.

The downsizing and downgrading of protected areas was a process that started in Dilma Roussef's administration, the former president – from 2008 onwards about 3 million hectares of forest lost their protected status or were downsized. Due to the change of government in Brazil in 2016, major setbacks in conservation policy have occurred and others may be underway. With a net increase of 29% of deforestation in the Amazon and 100% in the state of Amazonas, Temer's current administration is planning to reduce protected areas in the southern region of Amazonas state, one of the main protection belts that have in the past strategically hindered the expansion of land use change in this frontier. This shows just how fragile their protected area statuses really are. Thus, the urgent need to consolidate already existing protected areas in different scales - be it by means of broader social pressure or local demands.

The Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) has recognized the close dependency of indigenous and local communities on biological resources. But although local populations that inhabit those protected areas have historically engaged with their territory by means of ecological practices—which may be one of the reasons why those territories sustain high levels of biodiversity (Steward and Lima 2017) — granting protected area status to those areas will not guarantee conservation, since they will suffer market and political pressures all the same. There must be a political commitment to provide local populations with the means to continue with their conservation practices giving them institutional support for the sustainable use of biodiversity (Lima 2011, 124).

We argue that the social and political sustainability of protected areas is strengthened when local people recognize the importance of maintaining the status of the area, and engage in the protection of the territory, as well as its legal status. Community-based tourism is a concrete alternative that may contribute to "removing the protected area from paper," and to placing it in people's social reality. It may do so not only by generating an association between generation of economic benefits and conservation strategies, but most importantly, by being incorporated into people's territoriality, ways of living, life meaning, and identity. In short, tourism may change people's lives and how they see and engage with protected areas.

Using the case of the Mamirauá Reserve in Amazonas state, this chapter aims to describe the historical conditions where community-based tourism has contributed to the social and political viability of this specific reserve, but also of protected areas as a whole. The study was conducted by reviewing literature, historical documents, and quantitative data collected by the tourism enterprise. Open interviews were also conducted with local people who live in the protected area. The chapter is divided into three main sections. The first one is a brief historical account of community-based tourism in Mamirauá, describing the process of planning, development, and monitoring of the initiative over the years. The second part deals with the local outcomes and impacts of tourism, economic or otherwise. In the third part we try and analyze how tourism has been incorporated into people's modes of living and what this meant locally. Finally, we expand the scale of analysis to reflect on the larger role community-based tourism plays in influencing public policies on protected areas, conservation, and sustainable development (Buckley 2009).

BRIEF HISTORICAL REVIEW

Situated in the state of Amazonas, and some 500 kilometers from Manaus (Figure 1) the Mamirauá Sustainable Development Reserve (SDR) was created in 1990. Mamirauá was the first SDR in Brazil. Its creation was a historical landmark for conservation strategies in Brazilian protected areas, and one developed within the new paradigm on the presence of traditional populations in territories of great relevance for biodiversity (Queiroz 2005, 185).

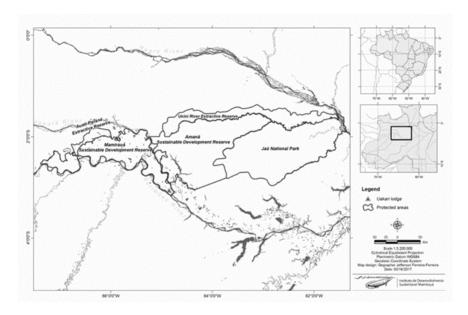


Figure 1. Mamirauá Sustainable Development Reserve and the Central Amazon Conservation Corridor.

Its creation was the result of an association between leaders of a social movement (called Preservation Movement) and a group of researchers who, during the eighties, combined efforts toward the common goal of protecting the area from commercial predatory fishing and logging (Reis 2005, 131). The Preservation Movement was first promoted by the local Catholic Church, which had in the previous decade, been involved in organizing locals in politically independent communities. Prior to that, people were dependent on a debt-bondage system of patronage locally known as aviamento (Lima-Ayres 1992, 91). When rural commerce declined and patrons moved to urban towns, settlements were scattered along rivers and channels. During the seventies, due to a rise in productivity of the fisheries industry and decline of stocks near urban cities, like Manaus and Itacoatiara, large vessels navigated upriver to deplete stocks on which these communities' livelihoods depended on (Derickx 1992, 59). With the support of local Catholic Church, these communities created a management system, which divided lakes in different categories - preservation, subsistence and open-access lakes. The first two types were to be protected by members of

the communities from exploitation of outsiders; the latter was allocated to the commercial fishing sector. As the Movement lacked legal basis, all preservation efforts like the zoning system, apprehension of poachers' materials, etc. were challenged by local political elites (Reis 2005, 131). The partnership with researchers for the creation of the Reserve in 1990, gave the protection of the area an official, legal status.

During the early nineties researchers and local leaders set out to elaborate and agree upon a zoning system and set of norms for the use of natural resources. In 1996, they achieved this objective, publishing a management plan. The zoning system destined a core area as a totally protected zone, where human settlements and use of natural resources were prohibited. Surrounding this core area a sustainable use zone, where most of the settlements were located and economic productive activities could be carried out. The assignment of a protection zone with restrictions for productive use was regarded as a cost for local communities, which would bear economic losses resulting from the restrictions imposed by the management plan (SCM 1996). Thus, a set of income generating activities were also proposed in the management plan, among them, fisheries management, forest management and ecotourism.

In such context, the Mamirauá SDR established tourism as a strategy to ally conservation of biodiversity and environmental compensation for the imposed costs to the local population after the implementation of the conservation area in that territory (Peralta, Vieira and Ozorio 2017, 17).

With the release of the Mamirauá SDR Management Plan in 1996, ecotourism activities started in 1998, making use of the floating research basis set in the protected area to host visitors, as a testing period. This testing period was particularly important to guarantee the community engagement in the activity. The Mamiraua Institute and the Department for International Development (DFID) agreed to fund an ecotourism enterprise, following the premises set out by the business plan and feasibility study. As a result, the Uakari Floating Lodge was created. The experience promoted by Uakari Lodge was distinct from what the jungle lodges in the Brazilian Amazon offered by then. The interaction with local fauna follows the basic principles of ecotourism; the reality of the riverine community lifestyle is shown with

no social wash and is part of the activities; there is contact with researchers and the infrastructure is continuously redesigned so environmental impacts of the touristic activities are mitigated.

PARTICIPATION AND SHARED MANAGEMENT

The Mamirauá Institute is an organization that is supported and supervised by the Ministry of Science, Technology and Innovation in Brazil. The organization is responsible for providing technical assistance to local communities in order to develop sustainable management projects, like tourism, but its main mission is to conduct scientific research.

Tourism workers at the lodge are formally organized in an association (AAGEMAM): a juridical entity that represents the collectivity of people who work at the Uakari Lodge. The association holds exclusive rights to access work opportunities at the lodge, and it is responsible to normalize this access. Nowadays the organization has 60 associates.

AAGEMAM is responsible for selecting and training new workers, and it is also responsible for hiring services in a rotation system, so as to seek equitable sharing of work opportunities. The Association was also an important partner to improve services quality, and to enable local people to take leadership roles at the lodge. The first local manager was formally employed in 2004. This was considered an emblematic achievement toward strengthening communities' sense of ownership toward the lodge.

The association has suffered from discontinuity of its leaders, which impacted its political maturation. Having said that, due to its social legitimacy, the association has been able to take political stand toward advancing tourism agenda in the protected area in many occasions (Peralta and Lima 2015, 128).

There are eleven local communities that are direct stakeholders of Uakari Lodge. In these communities people's livelihoods are dependent on natural resources, especially fisheries, timber and high lands for agriculture. Income generation comes from sale of produce, salaries and government

cash transfers programs (Lima, and Peralta 2016, 49). Local communities have usufruct rights to the protected area, and to the benefits accruing from biodiversity use. They share collective economic benefits from tourism, investing them in community development projects. Each community elects a political representative every year or so.

This system of representation was already in place when a tourism forum was instituted. Popularly known as the "Presidents' Meeting." Firstly, the main objective of this forum was to perform the division of the lodge's profits among communities, but afterwards it became an occasion to discuss other strategic business issues, and to check accounting registers. These forum favored transparency and built social capital among stakeholders, as well increased local communities sense of belonging and ownership of the lodge (Peralta, Vieira and Ozorio 2015, 126).

Sharing benefits from the activity as widely as possible has always been a concern, since one of the main factors associated to the success of ecotourism is distribution of benefits. A study showed that increased involvement in decision-making processes and perceived benefits of tourism are fundamental to attain local support (Lee 2012, 44).

But when tourism generates important economic benefits, but access opportunities are restricted, the activity may exacerbate already existing resource conflicts due to a local perception that the costs of the protected area are collective, but benefits are concentrated (Peralta 2012, 91).

To ask local people to invest their time and work in the planning and development of tourism in the present with uncertain rewards in the future, probably would not encourage strong local support for the ecotourism venture (Harrison and Shankland, 1999). It was clear that local support could be gained only if local people developed a sense of ownership for the enterprise.

Local communities granted the use of their collective territory, and invested their time, and their work in the development of the lodge. Since they were the ones who shared risks and burdens of the venture, they should also share its profits. Thus, the benefit-sharing model proposed was a division of surpluses: 50% paid to communities in the sector where the lodge

was located, and 50% to pay for part of the protection (or surveillance) of the area.

However, due to the closing of local airport for a few months (in 2006-2007), and a world economic crisis (2008 onwards), number of arrivals at the lodge dropped sharply. After four years with no profits, and thus without dividing any collective benefits among local communities, this system was changed after local political controversies over maintaining the protected status of the area. Local leaders and Mamirauá Institute employees concluded that the collective sharing of benefits should be seen as part of the costs of the enterprise to maintain support from local communities toward tourism, and should not have been only associated to the profits, since profits shares are much riskier. From 2013 onwards, a "socio-environmental fee" was included in the price of the tours. Therefore, this benefit became guaranteed, with the total amount varying according to the number of visitors hosted at the lodge each year.

But the crisis led to a conflict - communities started to question the lodge's management decisions, and the formal juridical ownership of the lodge itself, which at the time was still held by the Mamiraua Institute. Conflict management and resolution is of paramount importance to participatory management of natural resources: "people bring varying perspectives, interests, and fundamental philosophies to problems of environmental governance, and their conflicts, if they do not escalate to the point of dysfunction, can spark learning and change" (Dietz, Ostrom and Stern 2003, 1909). Uakari Lodge stakeholders learnt that it was necessary to address some issues to advance in the transfer of management to local communities.

Mamirauá Institute decided to invest more heavily in the Tourism Program hiring new tourism analysts to intensify local training, and improve marketing strategies. Other actions taken were: organization of exchange field trips to other community-based tourism initiatives in South America, the organization of Seminars to discuss the process for transferring the Uakari Lodge to communities, hiring an English teacher, and hiring a consultancy to discuss and propose legal models for this type of social businesses.

Due to a more efficient marketing strategy, rise in international tourist arrivals in Brazil, and the depreciation of the Brazilian currency after 2012, tourism numbers recovered. In 2013, the enterprise was able to divide its profits, and stakeholders decided it was time communities assumed ownership and management of the lodge officially. In that occasion, a formal process of management transfer began, where communities are to become formal owners and the association of workers formal manager of the venture.

But research on this process showed communities were still insecure about the ownership and management of the lodge. Some interviewees stated that the association of workers lacked skills for some more strategic functions; and they were positive about the need to guarantee the Mamirauá Institute technical support and advice, even after ownership was officially transferred (Freire, Neiman and Freire 2015, 10). The results of the research made evident a sense of ownership among those directly involved in the activity, but not so much among those distant or peripherally participating.

In sum, there are concrete challenges that need to be addressed: strengthening of associations and maturation of decision-making forums, transition to a new legal model (Peralta, Vieira and Ozorio 2015, 258), and marketing and managerial skills (Peralta and Cobra 2017, 241).

LOCAL OUTCOMES OF COMMUNITY-BASED TOURISM IN MAMIRAUA RESERVE

Economic Benefits

Community-based tourism in protected areas is a conservation strategy recognized by many multilateral organizations. It works under the assumption that when local communities benefit directly from biodiversity, they may have incentive to stop threats to it. The Convention on Biological Diversity establishes as one of its goals, the equitable benefit-sharing from the use of biodiversity as a strategy to strengthen indigenous and local

communities. A former UN Tourism and Environment Program coordinator stated that "under suitable conditions, ecotourism helps conserve biodiversity, helps alleviate poverty in rural areas and can benefit groups of stakeholders such as traditional communities living near or in officially protected areas, as well as indigenous people and women."

In Mamirauá economic benefits flowing from tourism have been very important, not only as compensation for economic losses, but also as incentives to the conservation of local biodiversity (Peralta 2012, 80). Since 1998 the Uakari Lodge has generated \$ 1,331,062 to local people through formal employment, payments for goods and services (individual benefits), division of profits, and fees paid to local communities and organizations (collective benefits).

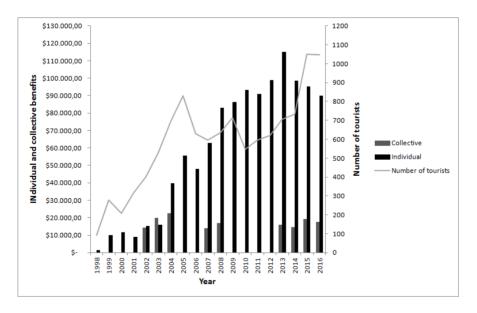


Figure 2. Individual and collective economic benefits generated by Uakari Lodge.

The most significant economic benefits generated by tourism in the area was through hiring of services (guides, cooks, maids) and formal employment (supervisors and local managers). These combined produced a little less than \$1 million in payments. Tourism is a highly labor demanding

activity, and due to the peculiarities of the area – during the flood there needs to be one guide per two guests -, it is even more so at Mamirauá. The number of service providers correlate to the number of guests, which have increased over the years, especially since 2012.

Hiring services at Uakari Lodge is different from a conventional business enterprise. Most of the staff works on a rotation system, in average 11 days per month. This strategy aims to distribute as much as possible direct benefits from tourism among local people, and to reduce the risk of total economic dependency on the activity, and abandonment of other traditional ones like agriculture and fishing.

Other characteristic of tourism is its synergistic potential in relation to other economic activities. In Mamirauá this has always been recognized, and whenever possible, the purchase of local produce (such as fish and fresh food) has been prioritized. This may increase local support and interest in the activity, vital for its sustainability. However, major challenges have emerged over the years: low local supply, lack of systematic availability of produce, little guarantee of produce delivery, difficulties in communication between buyer and producers, diversity of producers and product quality, and more recently, increase in internal purchase bureaucracy.

Economic benefits are rather significant to the budgets of some local families. Figure 3 shows the average annual income *per* household from wages, services and selling of produce. In 2011 a population census counted 134 households in the Mamirauá sector, that is, in that year almost 60% of households received payments.

Average annual household income in the eastern part of the Mamirauá Reserve (where the lodge is located) was \$4,045,37 in 2010 (Peralta and Lima 2013, 8). Payments from tourism contributed, in average, to 22% of households' total income (Figure 3). Another study showed that in 2010 in that region, there was a 34% difference in average income between communities with and without tourism involvement (Peralta 2012, 88). This means that income generated by tourism has been rather significant to local families involved.

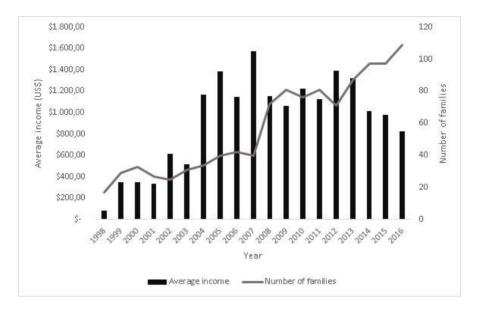


Figure 3. Average annual income received from provision of services and wages (black bars) and number of families (gray line).

Community-Based Tourism and Social Identity

The outcomes of tourism in the protected area are not only associated to economic benefits. A lot of them are non-economic, benefits that are also fundamental in promoting trust and cooperation between key stakeholders (important intangible assets). The Uakari lodge created an intense network of social relations among local people themselves, with guests, and with other tourism professionals from all over the country.

Social interactions among workers while at the lodge, allowed for an intensification of social bonds. This was especially the case among women. Analyzing the social effects of tourism on gender relations, (Peralta and Alencar 2008, 118) found that participation in tourism allowed women to have greater mobility and to establish their own networks of social relations, to exchange information and knowledge, and build networks of solidarity and security.

To their husbands, women were meant only to take care of housework. After starting working with tourism, women became more independent and started to value more their own lives. Women started to have power and voice. Tourism gave us liberty, not only jobs. (Deuzenir Martins, 22/Feb 2017)

The Uakari Lodge became a "community of practices" (Lave, and Wenger 1991, 29), and working at the lodge became part of people's identity. Participation in this community enabled not only learning new skills, but "the creation and transformation of new identities, which also implied, in the larger social context, to align oneself to the project's goals" (Peralta and Cobra 2017, 224).

Over the years, the activity has become more than a work opportunity, but a way of life shared among local people. Knowledge, information, experience not only from the work itself, but in large due to the social interactions with people from all over the world are often mentioned as positive outcomes of tourism. Intangible benefits that are fundamental to local people.

What I gained most from this experience [with tourism] was knowledge. It was all this knowledge, all this experience. (...) With the little schooling that I have, I have gained a lot of life experience for my family, for my personal life, for the organization of the community, for the organization of the group, for the improvement of everyone's lives. So I have gained a lot of experience in this mobilization, hosting tourists. (Ednelza Martins, former Uakari Lodge manager, in Peralta, Ozorio and Martins 2010, 6)

Tourism has definitely enhanced social capital – by which we mean "the connections between people and organizations or the social glue that make things happen" (Emery and Flora 2006, 21). A group with social capital has a collective identity, works together and has a shared vision of the future. This common identity has been built over a large period of time of intense sharing of experiences, learning and overcoming daily challenges.

Community-Based Tourism and Conservation

A clear association between the creation of the protected area and recovery of wildlife populations is readily made when people are asked "what if the Reserve status was not attained?" There is consensus that if it were not a protected area, "the region would have nothing left in terms of timber and fisheries" – for this was the case during the eighties when trees were felled by the hundreds, and commercial fishing vessels from urban centers harvested tons of fish. Depletion of stocks and famine was a reality to the older generation.

Security of land tenure was also another important outcome after the creation of the Reserve. Settlements that existed inside and around the protected area had their land claims officially recognized by the state with the publication of the Reserve's Management Plan. But attainment of protected area status is not enough. In order to promote the conservation of biodiversity sustainable management projects must be developed. As one of the Reserve's idealizers has put it:

The establishment of any strategy for the conservation of biodiversity has to take in consideration local social needs. In the coming years, the challenge will be the development of pilot programs that test and demonstrate effective approaches to participation, integrate the human needs and preservation of biodiversity. I believe that if those models succeed, they will spread throughout the Amazon basin without the constant need for law enforcement. The main question to be answered by these pilot programs will be: 'how local populations will receive enough economic incentives on a sustainable basis so that they will keep interested to heed the rules established by the management plans? (Ayres 2001)

There needs to be economic incentives to conservation, and institutional and technical support to implement them. According to local people, tourism and other sustainable management activities "place the area on the map," that is, they bring visibility to the protected area, further support and institutional security. Since sustainable management projects such as tourism entail market-integration of land, they make both land and their

claimants more visible to government agencies, and policy makers. So community-based tourism may be an important tool to 'reinforce land claims, acknowledge cultural identity and land ownership, and regain their rights to access or use tribal land and resources' (Zeppel 2007, 12). In times of downsizing and downgrading protected areas in Brazil, the more a protected area gains visibility, the more the political costs of changing their protective status.

However, even with visibility and institutional support, local people need incentives to develop sustainable practices, and actively engage in protective measures regulating their own behavior and acting to exclude external threats. A study has shown that in Mamirauá there has been a linkage between tourism and the preservation of the area. Local people who are involved in tourism have positioned themselves for the maintenance of protective status of the region (Peralta and Lima 2015, 128).

But those not directly involved in the activity may perceive the costs of protection as higher than benefits. Linkages between conservation and tourism have to be forged. In fact, collective participation in benefits should be seen as part of the costs of the enterprise to gain support from local communities since its very beginning (Peralta 2012, 85). In Mamirauá, in order to be entitled to receive collective benefits, local communities have to observe norms, such as: observe fishing rules, participate in surveillance expeditions, etc.

CONCLUSION

Despite different rhetoric, development policies for Amazonia have changed little since the military period – infrastructure development, hydropower stations, roads, ranching and monocultures. The country has surprisingly learned little from its recent history, and there are few moves toward less destructive and more sustainable models (Fearnside 2016, 28).

There is only one development model established by the State, one that separates Amazonia into two areas: one destined to be 'developed' and other to be 'conserved'. Protected areas are designed as territories of conservation.

But they could also become laboratories for sustainable development practices to be diffused among the remaining Amazonian territory. Having good practical and applicable examples of sustainable practices is vitally important. Demonstrative models may serve as ammunition in the dispute over development strategies for the Amazon region.

Apart from local outcomes, successful community-based tourism ventures may have impacts beyond the protected area's borders. Over the years, Uakari lodge has hosted a president, ministers, ambassadors, and other decision-makers from the third sector and the corporate world. This has had an impact on the support gained by Mamirauá and Amanã Reserves, and by Mamirauá Institute, which to a certain extent, reverberated in strengthening the socioenvironmental movement inclusive of forest peoples.

Concrete examples are not only important to policy makers, but also to the regular citizens that may be opinion leaders in the region where they come from. Having an authentic Amazon experience, may bring closer to their heart relevant themes related to the conservation of the biome, the livelihoods of traditional populations, and the challenges inherent to development in Amazonia.

There is evidence that the initiative has to some extent contributed to the dissemination of a culture of sustainability. An example of this was a spontaneous article¹ produced by the respected journalist, Eliane Brum, where the author mentions the case of a friend who, when traveling to the Amazon (Mamirauá Reserve) returned "transformed and disturbed" by the experience, which served to create a sentimental bond with the biome: "my friend is now a Brazilian with an Amazonian memory within him, one which startles him with every (bad) news announced by the newspapers of São Paulo, where he lives."

Uakari Lodge's media visibility worldwide is also relevant to the dissemination of a vision of the future for Amazonia that is socio-environmentally responsible and economically inclusive.

http://revistaepoca.globo.com/Revista/Epoca/0,,EMI238946-15230,00-SE+A+AMAZONIA+E +NOSSA+POR+QUE+NAO+CUIDAMOS+DELA.html.

I can say without a shadow of a doubt that Uakari Lodge is one of the most astonishing eco-ventures I've ever come across, not just minimising traveller-footprint but actively contributing to conservation of the area. For the serious ecotourist, who believes that there must be a way to behold the world's greatest natural ecosystem without contributing to its destruction, this is the only viable option. (The Guardian, 28th of March, 20092)

The Uakari Lodge has been a laboratory for techniques, methodologies and research in the area of ecotourism and conservation (Ozorio, and Pinto 2017, 64). As one of the pioneering initiatives in the country, generating this type of information is of great value to subsidize actions in other sites. The Mamiraua Institute offers a course for community-based tourism *multipliers* trained to disseminate such practices.

In the aforementioned article, Eliane Brum asks an important question: "if the Amazon is ours, why we do not take care of it?" According to her, the forest is only an abstraction for most Brazilian people, and there is no real, concrete appropriation, that may turn into concern and care for what one loves

The Amazon needs to be read, felt and lived by us as a society, so that we exercise our duty to act toward its sustainability. Otherwise, the businessas-usual economic model will continue to be thoughtlessly replicated in the biome.

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