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Constituent aspects of riverside isomorphic governance on the Ilha do Careiro (Amazonas, Brazil)

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ABSTRACT. Understanding governance in rural communities in the state of Amazonas requires interdisciplinary knowledge, as understanding the network of political articulation involves a collection of knowledge. Despite the existence of numerous works related to this subject, an *a priori* state is presumed in the representation of the network of political articulation, which leads to an exacerbated role of the State, in the face of other forms of social organization. Hence, the objective of the article was to analyze the environmental governance in the São Francisco community, located on the Ilha do Careiro da Várzea, in the state of Amazonas. We built Venn diagrams of agriculture, fishing, and plant extractivism to achieve this. The evidence provided indicates that the existing governance in the studied community is an isomorphic governance, which is the materialization of organized molecular power, originating from the triumvirate correspondence between the activities developed on lands, in forests, and on waters.

Keywords: governance; territory; power; management; isomorphism.

Aspectos constituintes da governança isomórfica ribeirinha na Ilha do Careiro (Amazonas, Brasil)

RESUMO. Compreender a governança em comunidades rurais no estado do Amazonas requer conhecimentos interdisciplinares, visto que a compreensão da rede de articulação política envolve uma constelação de conhecimentos. Apesar da existência de inúmeros trabalhos relativos à essa temática, há um a priorismo estatal presumido na representação da rede de articulação política, o que leva à um exacerbado protagonismo do Estado, em face das demais formas de organização social. Nesse sentido, o objetivo do artigo foi analisar a governança ambiental na comunidade São Francisco, localizada na Ilha do Careiro da Várzea, no estado do Amazonas. Para atingi-lo foram construídos Diagramas de Venn da agricultura, da pesca e do extrativismo vegetal. Pode-se inferir que a governança existente na comunidade estudada é uma governança isomórfica, ou seja, é a materialização do poder molecular organizado, oriundo da correspondência triunívoca entre as atividades desenvolvidas nas terras, florestas e águas de trabalho.

Keywords: governança; território; poder; gestão; isomorfismo.

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Introduction

The narrative of this article will focus on establishing the web of environmental governance and shaping the political articulation network of the São Francisco Community, located in the municipality of Careiro da Várzea, in Amazonas, by focusing on the various forms of social organization. The contexture of the network will be presented, based on the identification of the forms of social organization and the different branches of the web of power. We will also explore elements shaping governance, interacting components, and the interactions resulting from the contact between the elements of the web.

Ilha do Careiro is formed by a floodplain ecosystem, which, according to Guerra (2008), are relatively low lands found on the banks of rivers, and are formed by a fluvial dynamic characterized, concomitantly, by erosion and sedimentation. Sternberg (1998) points out that water is an important dynamic, which considerably influences the human relationship with the environment. Cruz (2007) highlights that this fluvial dynamic and its social consequences end up forming numerous territorialities, with emphasis on fishing territorialities.

Power relations intrinsic to human relations and their consequences in the territorial organization of the Ilha do Careiro will be explained. For epistemological understanding, the role of social organizations in that governance, in all its spheres, must be understood closer to its totality; thus, we decided to divide the article into different items.

Thus, power relations are presented as basic characteristics that establish the forms of social organization. Symbolic systems, created by social imaginary, form sociopolitical systems, which are the material expression of governance. The distinct temporalities configure the territorialities, which are the social practices objectified in the territory, via subjectivity. All these elements generate and dialectically corroborate the isomorphic governance, which will be thoroughly detailed in the next sections.

Thus, a fruitful analysis of environmental governance must include, without fail, these complementary factors and conforming spouses of the environmental system and its political consequences. In this sense, through the inflection of thinking in relation to the political articulation network and its imbrication with the forms of social organization, this thesis elucidates the intrinsic complexity of environmental governance from the understanding of its materialization in the lands, forests and waters of work on the island of Careiro da Várzea (AM).

Environmental governance in the state of Amazonas has been worked from the perspective of the centrality of the State, depriving, in most cases, other important social subjects that constitute the network of political articulation, such as forms of social organization. In this sense, the research carried out in recent years was based on an aprioristic approach, in which the State appeared as a central element of the network. Furthermore, many authors claim that the absence of the state link means the absence of governance, as if the network of political articulation were restricted to the dimension of the state. From the identification of these epistemological gaps, this work aims to make visible another form of environmental governance existing in Amazonas, starting from the identification of different forms of materialization of power, without the assumption of the centrality of the State.

Methodological procedures

Study area

The São Francisco Community is located on the Ilha do Careiro. This island on the Amazon river lies in the state of Amazonas, within the municipality of Careiro da Várzea (Figure 1), which is located south of the city of Manaus. The peasants, inhabitants of the Island, have multiple economic activities, with emphasis on agriculture, fishing, livestock, and plant extractivism. The diverse income sources and strategies of social reproduction make the study area the good territory for an analytical discussion of work in the Amazonian floodplain, as it condenses conservation stratagems and engineering systems that involve generational knowledge, arising from interaction with the environment.

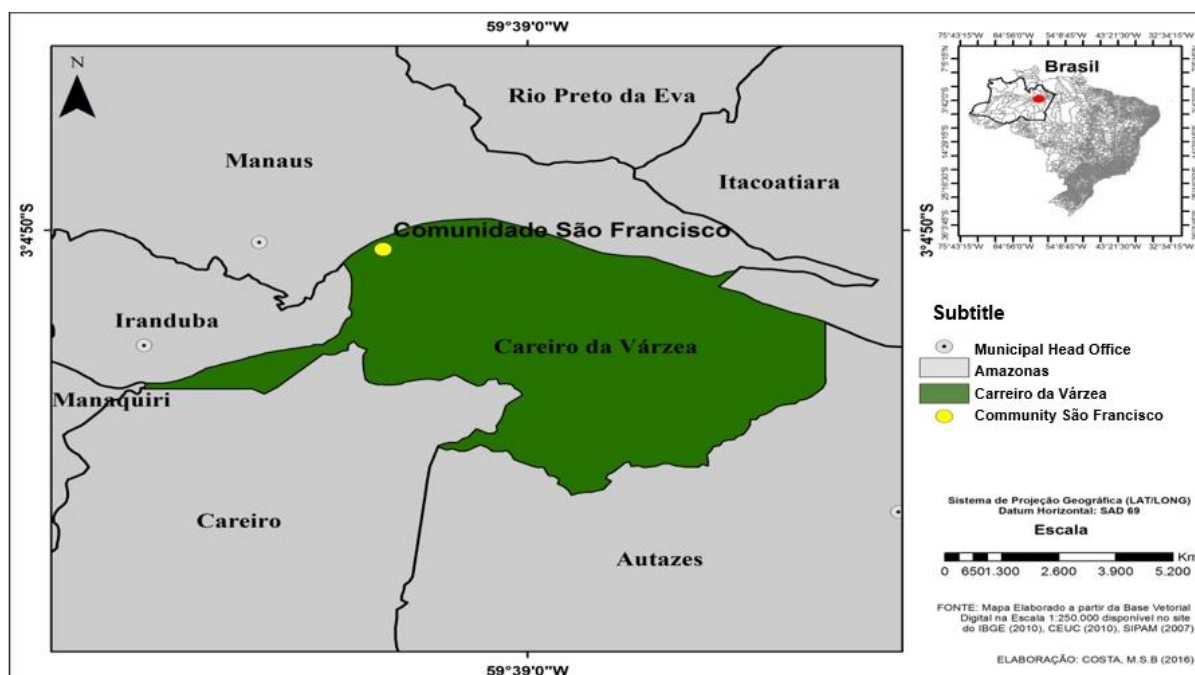


Figure 1. Location of the São Francisco Community (SIPAM, 2016).

The Varzean environmental system has vast area where productive activities are conducted, especially referring to land, forests, and waters. Due to its unique characteristics, the São Francisco Community was chosen for the development of this research. Access to the São Francisco Community communities can only be made by river, reached from the Port of CEASA, located in the city of Manaus, with a 20-minute trip by speedboat.

Methodological research path

The theoretical support used for the development of this article was based on a collaboration between researchers from different areas of knowledge, for an interdisciplinary approach, in the search for transdisciplinarity. To achieve the objective of the article, Venn Diagrams of activities related to agriculture, fishing, and plant extraction were constructed.

According to Vos (2007), the Venn Diagram highlights the systemic relationships and interactions in a chain of reciprocal relationships, and this instrument has been used extensively to analyze governance. Verdejo (2006) states that this graphic representation can be employed to identify the organized groups within a community and their relationships with other institutions.

Three processes were used to construct the diagram. The first is the presentation of the objective and the functioning of the methodology; the second is the distribution of the elements or social organizations in the circles; and the third is the discussion of the influence that each point listed exercises in the represented center. The closer to the center, the greater the influence, and the more distant, the less the intervention. Thus, this methodology increased the understand about the relationships and interactions existing in the political articulation network that shapes environmental governance in the community.

General aspects of territorial management in the deep Amazon

To understand the essence of the concept of territorial management, it is necessary to differentiate it from the concept of environmental management, as there is a profound mystique that significantly impedes the deepening of these terms and the conceptual updating that is essential for the development of science. Several authors work on this differentiation, with emphasis on Mafra and Silva (2004), Barretto-Filho and Correia (2009), and Ladwig and Schwalm, Cardoso, & Universidade do Extremo Sul Catarinense (2014).

The emerging debate on territorial management and environmental management has been widely reiterated within academia, due to the different conceptions about the subject and its consequences (Barretto-Filho & Correia, 2009). It can be understood that decision-making processes characterize territorial management, through planning and appropriation of different delimited spaces. Mafra and Silva (2004) introduce new elements in the understanding of territorial management, based on productive activities and their different forms of use by the social actors involved.

For Ladwig et al. (2014), territorial management is constituted by the planning strategies of decisions and the consequences of these deliberations in the organization of the territory. For Mafra and Silva (2004) this is a motto for the articulation of elements that aim at territorial protection, aiming at the physical, social and cultural reproduction of the people who inhabit these managed territories.

In this way, it can be seen that there are several conceptions about territorial management, however, they are complementary conceptions, which now emphasize with emphasis the factors of protection of the territory, at other times the productive activities, the decision-making processes, among others factors. Thus, territorial management includes all these components, therefore, it permeates the theoretical field of all the aforementioned authors.

Environmental governance in the São Francisco community and the emergence of isomorphism in the political articulation network

Environmental governance in the state of Amazonas has been analyzed from the point of view of the centrality of the State, removing, in most cases, other important social subjects that constitute the network of political articulation, such as the forms of social organization. Thus, the research that was carried out in recent years started from an *a priori* approach, in which the State appeared as a central element of the network. In addition, many authors declare that the absence of the state connection means the absence of governance, as if the network of political articulation was restricted to the dimension of the state. With the identification of these epistemological gaps, this work aims to shine light on the environmental governance existing in

Amazonas, starting from the identification of the different forms for materialization of power, without the assumption of the centrality of the State.

The scientific works on the theme of governance, which have gained prominence in Brazil, derive from external research, revealing different realities from those of Brazil and Amazonia. The simple transposition of these theories has hindered the emergence of new epistemological views about the Amazon, due to the marked hegemony of the western paradigm that guides thinking in relation to environmental governance. Within on this context, this article is based on the dialectic of systemic complexity by Morin (2016) and on the ecology of knowledge by Santos (2017). The choice of these two epistemological pillars is justified by the need, identified in the research, to situate the theme of environmental governance in the complexity that permeates it, using the diversity of knowledge and existing understandings in the myriad of analytics.

In addition to a theoretical amalgamation, several methodological tools were used, aiming at an analysis closer to the reality. To understand the constitution of isomorphic governance, the multiple facets of the investigated triad must be revealed; therefore, diagrams of agriculture, fishing, and plant extractivism were collectively constructed. We decided to deepen the political articulation network based on these three activities, that represent the lands, forests, and waters.

Isomorphic governance, through the representation of the political articulation network of agriculture, fisheries, and plant extractivism, will be outlined and evidenced, through the methodological instruments used. The overlap between lands, forests, and waters will be substantially highlighted during the presentation of the systematized data and the inferred analyzes. First, we will highlight the elements that make up the Venn Diagram of agriculture (Figure 2) and their levels of influence on the configuration of governance in the community.

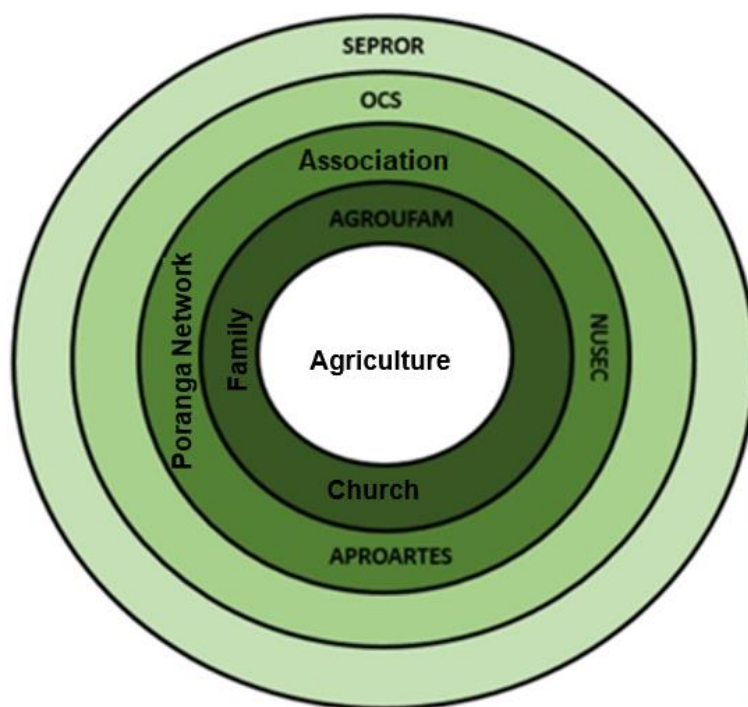


Figure 2. Venn diagram of agriculture in the São Francisco community (Rezende, 2018, p. 175). SEPROR = State Secretary for Rural Production; OCS = Social Control Organizations; NUSEC = Center for Socioeconomics; APROARTES = Central Association of Agroecological Producers of the State of Amazonas; AGROUFAM = Family Production Market).

The variation of colors in the Figure 2 is to facilitate the understanding of the performance levels of the identified elements. The closer they are to the agricultural circle, the darker the color and the stronger the performance in the network of political articulation. The groups represented more distant from the central circle exert less influence on the activity in question. However, all elements are relevant to the constitution of governance, as they were listed and evidenced collectively. The family, the church, and the Family Production Market (AGROUFAM- *Feira da Produção Familiar*) were identified by the peasants as the main organizations active in the São Francisco Community.

The family plays a fundamental role in shaping the governance of agriculture. Within the family, that the socialization process of work occurs between children, teenagers, and adults. Carneiro (2000) states that the family cannot be understood only as a group that is established in certain cultural and historical conditions, but it is important to consider it as a group constituted by values that guide and provide meaning to social practices. Therefore, this social organization is a key element for perpetuation of agriculture in the Varzean environmental system. The family exercises control over the work process, significantly influencing the reproduction of techniques and technologies applied to agriculture.

The São Francisco Church has considerably influence in corroborating agriculture in the community, through the dissemination and guidance on environmental conservation and social reproduction. Moreira (2017) remarked that the Catholic Church has led citizens to perceive sustainability and has been more effective than school in forming a proactive environmental awareness. He highlights a relevant aspect for the understanding of power relations that constitute, *a posteriori*, the category coined in this article: isomorphic governance. The relationship between the family, the church, and the development of productive activities on lands, in forests, and on waters runs deep in the São Francisco community.

AGROUFAM was cited as the central base for marketing agricultural production in the community. This Farmer's Market is held at the Federal University of Amazonas (UFAM) and coordinated by the Center for Socioeconomics (NUSEC). Its objective is to involve the peasant families of 14 municipalities in the state of Amazonas in the commercialization of their products, aiming to eliminate the impediments arising from the absence of places to exhibit family farming. Hence, AGROUFAM was identified as a space for the valorization of agriculture in the São Francisco Community, because in addition to engaging peasant families in the fight for their commercial locus, it stimulates the development and perpetuation of generational knowledge about agricultural activity.

The workshops, offered by the university via AGROUFAM, aim to support the agroecological transition and young people in activities related to agriculture, so the market is located in the circular area that has the greatest influence on the central circle of the diagram. Therefore, the church acts in the promotion of environmental sustainability, the family in the socialization of work, and AGROUFAM in the agroecological transition and in the commercialization of peasant production. These three social organizations, in congruence, feature the central angles of agricultural governance in the São Francisco Community.

The second circle closest to the central element of the diagram consists of the Association of Producers, by the NUSEC (Núcleo de Socioeconomia), the Central Association of Agroecological Producers of the State of Amazonas (APROARTES- *Associação Central dos Produtores Agroecológicos do Estado do Amazonas*), and the Poranga Network. The NUSEC has developed research and extension projects in the community for decades and has the function of regulating governing processes related to the consolidation of associations and Social Control Organizations (OCS) focused on agriculture. In addition, this center promotes AGROUFAM and publishes booklets that facilitate the thoughtful understanding of the importance of agroecology in the Amazon context. This teaching material is used in schools and has a positive impact on the construction of agroecological knowledge in the community, especially among the youth, who begin to identify themselves as protagonists of this transitional process.

The Poranga Network was created with the aim of facilitating commercialization and advising solidarity-based and sustainable economic enterprises, and, together with AGROUFAM, acts to strengthen markets for peasant to sell their produce. APROARTES supports agroecological producers related to public policies and encourages conventional producers to transition to agroecological. These two organizations play a key role in the proliferation of family farming in the São Francisco Community, because, through their regulatory instruments, referring to access to public policies, they streamline the process of acquiring production incentives, especially for agroecological based farmers.

The creation of OCS is a community initiative, in line with UFAM and NUSEC, which aims to regulate organic production, of a participatory nature. The peasants indicated that this organization could materialize access to state incentives for family farming based on agroecology. This proposition is being developed gradually, but that will generate inestimable benefits for the São Francisco Community. Through a lengthy process, peasant families have, been transforming their production processes, in a transition that aims to prevent the widespread use of pesticides.

The State Secretary for Rural Production (SEPROR) emerged, in discussions about the construction of the diagram, as an institution that had been active, but which currently has no role in the community; thus, it

belongs to the last circle of the diagram. SEPROR is a state agency whose mission is to support the development of family farming in the state of Amazonas; however, in the São Francisco Community this support did not materialize, causing the peasants critique the inefficient work of this secretary.

The expression of the network of political articulation, configuring governance in community agriculture, involves a range of elements and social organizations. Those closest to the central circle act in the symbolic dimension, in the dimension of work and in commercialization. The other groups are active in regulatory issues, ranging from strengthening social organizations to supporting and encouraging agroecological agricultural production. Therefore, each element that constitutes governance is important in the web of socio-political relations and interactions, since they perform complementary functions, indispensable for the support of the power network.

After understanding the organization of governance in agriculture, the network of political articulation that constitutes governance in fisheries will be explored (Figure 3). The diagram shown above and that below have some intersections, in the formation of the circle closest to the central circularity. The family and the church were represented by the peasants as one of the main organizations active in the São Francisco community. These two groups have significant relevance in the governance that is established from the lands, forests, and waters, visualized in the conformation of the diagrams constructed by the peasant families.

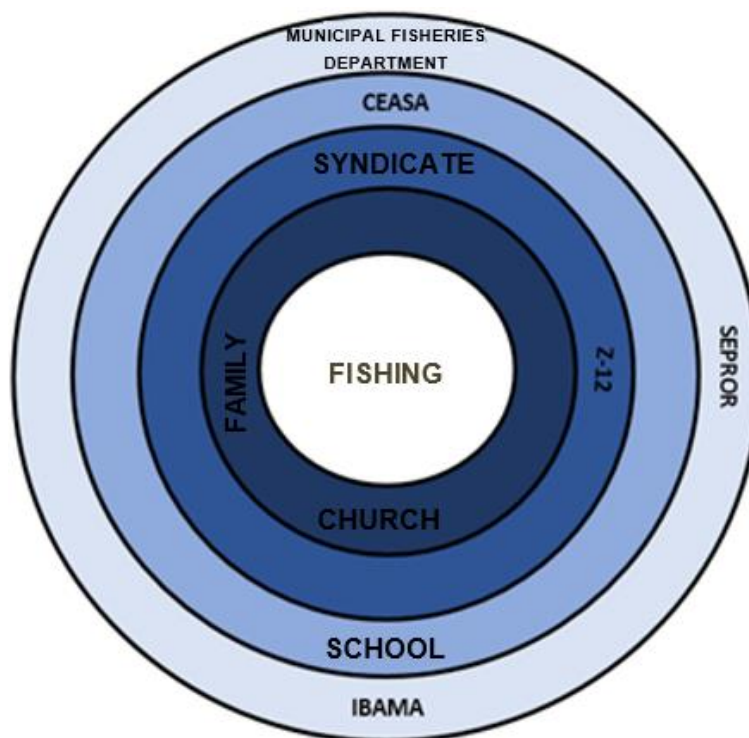


Figure 3. Venn diagram of fishing in the São Francisco community (Rezende, 2018, p. 179)

The family has considerable relevance in fishing, as it is important in the socialization process in the labor aimed at catching fish for food and/or commercialization. Children are initiated into this process, learn specific fishing techniques, and are introduced about how to read the ways of nature, based on the interpretation of the given signs. For this reason, the family is considered one of the main social organizations responsible for the perpetuation of understanding and knowledge about agriculture and fisheries.

The São Francisco Church plays the same role in fishing as it does agriculture, in the formation of citizens engaged in the search for environmental conservation and in respect for ecosystem resilience. Therefore, religion is a strong element present in governance that persuades farmers to develop socio-productive practices that take into account environmental variables, respect for fauna and flora, among other factors. Thus, this social organization was represented in the circle closest to the central element for governance of fishing in the community.

The Colony of Fishermen (Z-12), indicated in the second circle near the center, is essential for the support of the political articulation network, as it is the representative element responsible for guaranteeing the

closed period. It is an autonomous organization that aims to ensure the rights of the category and strengthen collective interests outside or within its jurisdiction. Lopes, Santos, Souza, and Piedade (2013) points out that the Colonies have stood out for reducing the bureaucracy of the rules that govern the closed period, in addition, they have provided access to the numerous benefits arising from the rights of fishermen in Amazonas. The Union of Fishermen was also indicated as an active organization in the community, in the dimensions also mentioned for the Colony of Fishermen: guarantee of rights, and support for fishermen.

The Wholesale Produce Market (CEASA – *Central de Abastecimento*) along with the school, occupies the third circle of the diagram. While the first acts as a point of commercialization of the fish, the latter element has other functions. Some teachers motivate students to participate in activities related to agriculture and fishing, while others develop a financial education (Moreira, 2017). This has been overcome over time by the work of good teachers in events focused on the environmental agenda, with emphasis on Environment Week, with ecological competitions and conservation activities.

The Municipal Secretary of Fisheries (SEPROR – *Secretaria Municipal de Pesca*) and the Brazilian Institute of the Environment and Renewable Natural Resources (IBAMA – *Instituto Brasileiro do Meio Ambiente e dos Recursos Naturais Renováveis*) constitute the most distant circle from the center for fishing. The peasants mentioned that these institutions were active in the past, but they currently have no role in the community. These elements constitute governance, as they were identified by peasants as key institutions that could strengthen the work in fishing and refer to aspects related to governance issues.

Understanding governance devoid of the nature of governance means building a simplistic analysis; thus, it was necessary to clarify and remove the opaque membrane that has guided political thinking in modern science. Governance, as explored here, is the network of political articulation that is established from the interaction between symbolic and socio-political systems, which originate government and conceive governance.

The three state agencies mentioned in the circle furthest from the center of fishing are essential for strengthening fishing activities and for improving the infrastructure conditions aimed at the development of fisheries. The current lack of action by these institutions weakens the existing governance and weakens the network of political articulation. Therefore, there is an overlap between the constituent elements of governance in fisheries, which shows a variety of angles that point to the configuration of a political articulation network constituted by multiple agents.

Some social organizations attribute meaning to land, water, and animals as well as to institutions that regulate fishing activities, with an emphasis on the colony of Fishermen, which provides safe closed seasons to peasants in the community. This myriad of governance involves symbolic and socio-political systems that shape the government, interfere with governance, and establish governance in the São Francisco community.

Based on the understanding of the constitution of the political articulation network in agriculture and fisheries, governance in plant extractivism will be presented (Figure 4), for the subsequent discussion about the web of power that surrounds the lands, forests, and waters. In the community, plant extractivism does not play a significant economic role, like agriculture and fishing; however, timber extraction is fundamental for the social reproduction of peasant families and for the perpetuation of agricultural and fishing activities.

The figure above illustrates that no significant range of organization and/or groups are involved in activities related to plant extractivism in the community. This is because harvested products are not commercialization, with the exception of animal extractivism, as evidenced in the previous diagram. However, the established governance in plant extractivism guarantees the development and perpetuation of these activities, which materialize in the construction of hanging gardens, marombas, bridges, etc. Without this extractivism, the execution of agricultural and fishing activities would be unfeasible.

The family occupies the circle closest to the center of plant extractivism, given that it highlights the importance of this social group in the configuration of governance. According to Beck-Gernsheim (2002), the family intermediates the interaction between the individual and the community, so that it presents itself as an interdependent organization, which affects and is affected by the community. In this sense, this social institution is indispensable in the continuation of activities related to extractivism, as there is an orientation, created within the family, which establishes specific forms of extraction and conservation of working forests.

The church emerges in the second circle of the diagram from the center for plant extractivism and plays an important role in this activity, based on the social corroboration in respect for the natural characteristics that make up the Varzean environmental system. Boff (2000) and Siqueira (2010) point out that the Catholic Church plays an essential role in ecosystem conservation, due to the treatment of nature as 'mother', and of the Earth as *oikos*, that is, home. An *oikos* is attained that goes beyond the borders of National States, so that

a fragmented and limited understanding of the organization of the environmental system becomes unthinkable. For this reason, the role of the church is relevant in the configuration of perennial social practices and feasible conservation strategies.

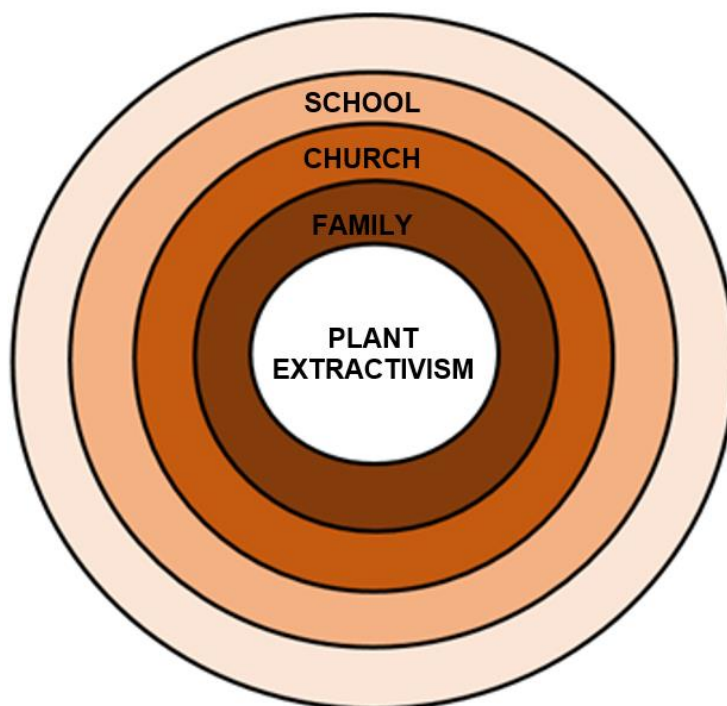


Figure 4. Venn diagram of plant extractivism in the São Francisco community (Rezende, 2018, p. 182).

The school was indicated by the peasants as the element most distant from the center of the plant extractivism, due to the minimal action of this organization in this extractive activity. However, the peasants pointed out that, in the past, the school developed realistic and outstanding works for training the youth as reproducers of actions aimed at sustainability. Some teachers still lead this training process and seek the materialization of critical citizens, bearers of values centered on ecosystem resilience and environmental sustainability.

Therefore, the family, the church, and the school were the main elements identified by the peasants in the construction of the diagram of plant extractivism. There is an evident overlap between work on land, in forests, and on water, and the organization of the constituent links of environmental governance in the São Francisco Community. The circles closest to the center of all the activities represented are formed by organizations that operate, almost entirely, in the symbolic aspects of peasant families, denoting the weight that these systems of representation have in the design of social practices and in the configuration of the political articulation network, configuring governance.

The constitution of isomorphic governance in the São Francisco community

During the presentation and discussion of the diagrams of agriculture, fishing, and plant extractivism, an amalgamation of elements is represented in the network of political organization. Each organization performs specific functions in the reproduction of work on lands, in forests, and on waters, so that the constitution of governance starts from the existing isomorphism in the aforementioned triad. Hence, there is the materialization of an isomorphic governance, that is, a triunivocal correspondence between lands, forests, and waters. In this way, isomorphic governance is about the condensation of powers that constitute a political web that sustains the perpetuation of agricultural, fishing, and extractive activities.

Based on this context, the governance established in the community reveals a strict relationship to the genealogy of power based on agriculture, fishing, and plant extractivism. The church, through the dissemination of communion among the peasants, acts in the formation of citizens who respect the organization of *oikos* and the limitations of 'mother earth'. The research subjects indicated that their caution about the use of fauna and flora arises from religion, as well as in the treatment given to animals before

slaughter for family consumption. During the fieldwork, a kind of ritual was observed in the slaughter of the hens, in twisting their neck, in the storage of meat, and in the way it is prepared for consumption, etc., evidencing these relationships.

Hence, the configuration of isomorphic governance present in the São Francisco Community comes from a fruitful process of social organization, collective participation in productive activities, communion, symbolic coercion, among other factors. Religion, combined with school, are important instruments that guarantee the full development of work in the analyzed triad. Governance is consolidated based on the pressing need for certain organizations to act in the socio-productive process of the community (Figure 5), which ranges from the symbolic dimension to the concrete dimension of regulation and incentive for productive activities.

Power has an inevitable symbolic dimension (Bourdieu, 2005; Maquiavel, 2014). This dimension is inseparable from the concrete dimension and the intersection between them shapes the socio-productive process that is mediated by a governance – in the case of the São Francisco Community, the governance is of an isomorphic nature. However, governance can also be viewed from its materialization in the territory. Fígoli (2006) states that the territory refers to a sign that integrates a social imaginary and a sense of understanding of the human life. In this way, the territorial elements derive from the interaction between symbolic systems and the socio-political systems that comprise the web of power. There are aspects of governance in the territory, so understanding this concept is essential for elucidating the network and its materialized branches via the territory.

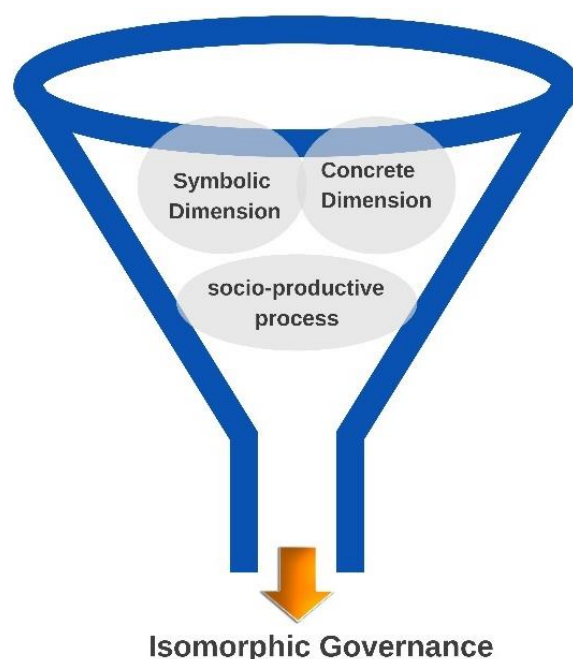


Figure 5. Constitution of isomorphic governance in the São Francisco community (Rezende, 2018, p. 185).

Iconic authors on the Amazon theme, such as Fraxe (2010), Witkoski (2010), and Brandão and Brandão (2009), indicate that the social subjects that inhabit the floodplains of Ilha do Careiro in Várzea have developed and are developing productive activities and conservation strategies that intertwine the lands, forests, and waters. This context and results found in the research reaffirm that the environmental governance of the São Francisco community is an isomorphic governance, that is, a power network that is formed from the triunivocal correspondence between the lands, forests, and waters.

While the church and the school are revealed as protagonists, the Colony of Fishermen, AGROUFAM, APROARTES, and other elements, emerge as organizations regulating activities related to agriculture and fishing. Thus, although plant extractivism does not present a wide range of institutions and/or organizations involved, it is of paramount importance for the development and perpetuation of the political articulation network for agricultural and fisheries. The isomorphic governance of the São Francisco community can only be understood, deeply, from the inseparable interaction of the web of power existing in plant extractivism, agriculture, and fishing.

Therefore, peasants have constituted and still constitute a political articulation network that aims for the full development of activities related to lands, forests, and waters. This web of power has the configuration of an isomorphic governance, that is, a range of organizations that corroborate and perpetuate socio-productive activities. Finally, we must reiterate the triunivocal correspondence of the network of political articulation is formed from socio-productive processes, composed of a symbolic dimension and a concrete dimension, interacting and inseparable.

The contexture of the isomorphic governance: general aspects and conceptual congruences

The first section of this article presented formation about governance about lands, forests, and waters. This topic will deepen the contexture of isomorphism in the network of political articulation, based on the interconnection established in the São Francisco Community between agriculture, fishing, and plant extractivism. In this context, the systemic organization of isomorphic governance and its consequences in the management of the territory will be presented. The peasants have established specific strategies for human adaptation and environmental conservation, which symbolically and concretely configure and are configured, legitimize and are legitimized.

Hence, there is a social engendering for the perpetuation of activities on lands, in forests, and on waters, and this congruence involves elements configured within and outside of the State. The school, the church, the colony of Fishermen, the Associations, among other elements, are examples of this articulation. The constant concern and search for the autopoiesis of the Varzean environmental system is justified not only by topophilia, but mainly by the indispensability of the fundamental basis of social reproduction by peasant families. Both the São Francisco Community and the São José do Botafogo community have established mechanisms of symbolic coercion, in well-founded territorial management and in an expressive isomorphic governance of an amalgamation of social interests (Figure 6).

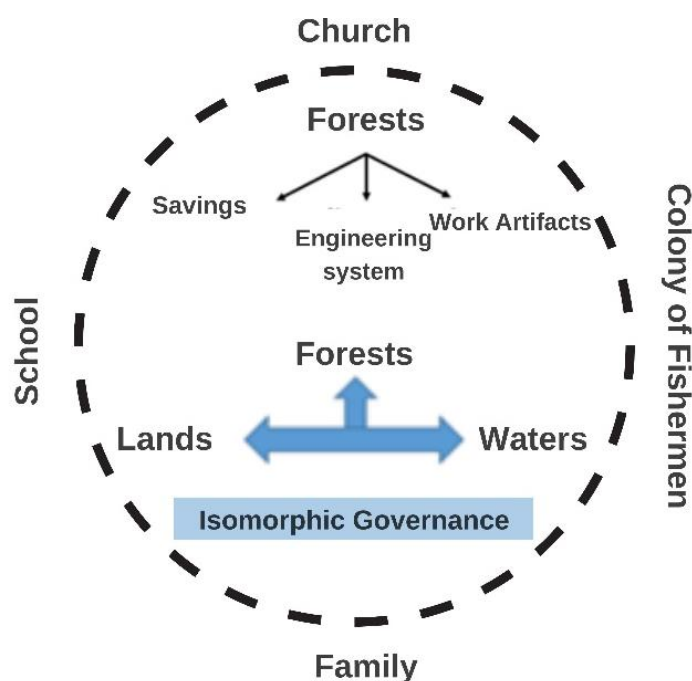


Figure 6. Systemic organization of isomorphic governance (Rezende, 2018, p. 223).

Four elements coincided in the network of political articulation of the communities: the church, the school, the family, and the colony of Fishermen. To deepen the notion of isomorphic governance, we graphically represent the organization of territorial management and the political articulation network. The flowchart above explains the conceptual construction of the concept coined in this article, and highlights the overlap between work on lands, in forests, and on waters. Empirically, plant extractivism, from forests, generates the necessary basis for the construction of engineering systems, of work tools, and of savings, to face specific obstacles. Without the existence of these elements, social reproduction in the Varzean

environmental system becomes impossible, as they are part of an indispensable dimension for the materialization of life, which are the stratagems of human adaptation.

Isomorphic governance emerges in these circumstances as the vital political articulation network that ensures the realization of work on lands, in forests, and on waters. Without the fabric of this web of power, the environmental problems would be worse, arising from the loosening of the symbolic order that governs the management of natural resources in the community. The church and the school play an important role in the formation of environmental praxis, based on respect for the resilience of agroecosystems and on the autopoiesis of the Varzean environmental system. Without this symbolic mediation in governance, it would be unthinkable to elucidate the concrete dimension, hence the angular congruence in the analysis.

To affirm that the São Francisco community has an isomorphic governance is to say that the peasants weaved and were woven, dialectically, by a network of political articulation created with the intention of perpetuating the work on lands, in forests, and on waters in the Amazonian floodplains. There are countless demands for governance in activities related to agriculture, fishing, and plant extractivism. Only the expansion of this governability will allow contemplation of a set of new strategies emerging to overcome the obstacles present in agricultural and fishery production.

Finally, it can be said that there is no governance in the two communities investigated, because there is the presence of a clear and cohesive network of political articulation. However, it can be said that governability is almost non-existent, as it does not measure impacts on the web of power. Therefore, isomorphic governance dispenses with governability; however, both are influenced, in an incessant interactional flow, shaping the web of power.

Conclusion

The attentive look, involved in the web of knowledge generated and in the process of intellectual craftsmanship of the article, provided the scientific and non-scientific community with a study that starts from the abstract reality, to the lived reality, to the real fabric through various perspectives, building and weaving the web of peasant isomorphic governance.

It is not necessary to reiterate, a neophilic theoretical proposition, established *a priori*, but an empirical reflection involved in a different theoretical framework. It is not a new view, but an inflection of the existing views. Therefore, this the presentation of new conceptual frameworks is based on the transformation of an empirical concrete into a concrete thought. In this sense, isomorphic governance emerges as a reconversion of the view of the web of power, which ignores the galactic approaches constituted by an *a priori* state, and highlights new interactive flows, which come together from a genealogy of power.

In this way, the construction of the central concept of this article was permeated by multiple lived horizons and theoretical angles, so that it becomes unrealistic to think about this concept without this theoretical-methodological conjunction. It is possible to infer that the constituted isomorphic governance changes with the alterations that occur and that may occur in governance. Understanding environmental governance and territorial management without governability, means mutilating members of the same body, that is, annihilating what is univocal.

Therefore, governance constitutes and is constituted by management and governability, in an incessant movement of continuous formation of a genealogy of power, expressed in the transversality between the symbolic dimension and the concrete dimension. In this sense, the epistemological reconstruction of governance was the major challenge of this article, so that the challenge achieved required a deep theoretical and methodological maturation during the process of intellectual craftsmanship.

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