

**QUILOMBOLA ASSEMBLAGES AND DAILY RESISTANCE AGAINST CAPITALISM IN THE AMAZON OF PÉROLA DO MAICÁ** <https://doi.org/10.56238/sevened2025.021-003>

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**ABSTRACT**

The advance of megaprojects in the Amazon has reconfigured urban-riverine territories, intensifying conflicts between traditional communities and global capital. This study analyzes the resistance strategies of the quilombola community Pérola do Maicá, in Santarém (PA), against the installation of the EMBRAPAS Grain Port. Through an ethnographic approach, which included participant observation (2020-2021), semi-structured interviews (N=15), and document analysis, a triple matrix of resistance was identified: (1) organized collective actions (78% community participation); (2) everyday tactics, such as maintaining unofficial routes (87% of cases) and sharing fish (73% of families); and (3) symbolic disputes, with emphasis on the "knowledge of the lake" (92% of

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the narratives). The results show that the project restricted 68% of fishing areas and increased land values by 150% (2012-2022), straining territorial rights. It is concluded that the resistance in Pérola do Maicá configures a "quilombola urbanism" - a distinct form of space production that articulates kinship, solidarity economy and local epistemologies, demanding public policies that recognize such assemblages as axes of sustainability in the urban Amazon.

**Keywords:** Pearl of Maicá. Everyday resistance. Amazonian ways of life. Territoriality. Ethnography.



## INTRODUCTION

Entering into the dynamism of Amazonian biodiversity and sociodiversity opens up a horizon of immeasurable curiosity, enabling inexhaustible questions. For our research, this combination of a diverse field and curiosity resulted in an anthropological quest to understand how Amazonian ways of life resist the onslaughts of hegemonic capitalism. To do so, we delve into the daily life of the quilombola community Pérola do Maicá, in Santarém-Pará, in order to understand how its residents mediate resistance in their social life and in their links with the environment.

Our questions arose during the reflections provided by the discipline "Counterhegemonic Anthropologies", in the Bachelor's Degree in Anthropology, and were deepened from the concept of agency by Deleuze and Guattari. However, it was during the discipline of "Quantitative and Qualitative Methods" that we concretely approached the problem of this research, when we carried out a preliminary study with residents of Pérola do Maicá about the construction of a mega port project. This project, which is currently being implemented, threatens to drastically affect the local ecology and the community's ways of life, awakening in us the interest in investigating how residents mobilize daily resistance in the face of the advance of capitalist forces.

To capture these dynamics, we devised a research strategy that included ethnographic immersion in the community, where we live for a period and actively participate in its daily lives. Equipped with a cell phone for audiovisual recording and a field notebook, we follow the daily activities of the residents, establishing dialogues and observing their interactions with the environment. We formally presented ourselves to the community at a meeting of the Association of Residents of the Maicá Neighborhood (AMBAPEM), where we obtained their acceptance to conduct the study.

The survey was marked by challenges imposed by the COVID-19 pandemic, which limited face-to-face interactions, especially with older residents. However, these restrictions have led us to refine our ethnographic gaze, observing with greater attention the movements, spaces of coexistence and daily practices that constitute the Amazonian resistance. The fieldwork, which began in March 2020 and concluded in December 2021, revealed a scenario of human losses and fears, but also of resilience and adaptation.

In this article, we seek to expose the singular acts of resistance observed in the daily lives of the residents of Pérola do Maicá, who, even without necessarily identifying themselves as traditional peoples, manifest an Amazonian force capable of confronting capitalist logic. To this end, we adopted as analytical tools the concepts of place (Casey, 1996), agency and multiplicity (Deleuze and Guattari, 2000), which allow us to understand



how residents produce territorialities, socialities and modes of existence that resist the overcodifications of capital.

The resistance of these peoples not only preserves their ways of life, but also sustains the ecosystem of Lake Maicá, highlighting the importance of their struggles for the Amazon and the world. Throughout this work, we will demonstrate how everyday life, in its nuances and flows, is constituted as a political act of resistance.

## METHODOLOGY

This study adopted a qualitative ethnographic approach, aiming to capture the daily dynamics of resistance of quilombola residents of the Pérola do Maicá neighborhood, in Santarém-Pará, in the face of the advance of hegemonic capitalism. The research was developed in three main stages: (1) ethnographic immersion, (2) data collection and (3) interpretive analysis, as detailed below.

## ETHNOGRAPHIC IMMERSION

To understand the dynamics of daily resistance of the residents of the Pérola do Maicá neighborhood in the face of the advance of capitalism, a qualitative ethnographic approach was adopted. Thus, the study was structured in three main methodological axes: ethnographic immersion, data collection and interpretative analysis, which will be detailed below.

Initially, an ethnographic immersion was carried out through participant ethnography, a strategy that allowed the researcher to reside in the community between February 2020 and December 2021. In this way, it was possible to integrate into the local daily life, observing and experiencing the Amazonian ways of life and their strategies of resistance. It is worth noting that the entry into the field was mediated by a formal presentation at the Association of Residents of the Maicá Neighborhood (AMBAPEM), where the project was collectively approved, thus ensuring the community's endorsement to carry out the research.

## DATA COLLECTION

Regarding data collection, a combination of complementary techniques was used. First, participant observation allowed the recording of daily activities, such as fishing practices, family farming, community meetings and social interactions. In addition, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 15 residents, including fishermen, farmers and local leaders, aged between 30 and 80 years. It should be noted that, due to the restrictions



imposed by the COVID-19 pandemic, part of the interviews were carried out only after the vaccination of the participants, thus ensuring health safety. At the same time, data were recorded through photographs, audio recordings and field diaries, which documented social practices, living spaces and local narratives. Finally, the investigation was complemented with documentary analysis, examining technical reports (such as the EIA/RIMA of the EMBRAPAS port project), municipal laws (Santarém Master Plan) and previous studies on the region.

## INTERPRETATIVE ANALYSIS

The data were examined in the light of theoretical references from anthropology and philosophy. In this sense, the notion of place (Casey, 1996) was fundamental to contrast the relationship of residents with the territory in the face of the capitalist logic of occupation. In the same way, the concepts of agency and multiplicity (Deleuze & Guattari, 2000) helped to understand how residents articulate daily resistances in the midst of structural transformations. Furthermore, the perspective of Amazonian sociality evidenced practices of sharing, kinship and exchange of knowledge as ways to dissolve the commodification of life.

## ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The study strictly followed the principles of anthropological research, ensuring the free and informed consent of the participants. It is important to note that some interlocutors chose to have their identities preserved, being identified only by initials, in order to protect their privacy in contexts of sensitive territorial conflicts.

As for the limitations of the study faced during the research, the COVID-19 pandemic not only restricted interactions with elderly residents, but also temporarily interrupted fieldwork. In addition, the complexity of territorial conflicts involved sensitive information, requiring additional caution in the dissemination of certain reports.

## RESULTS

### PEARL OF MAICÁ: CHARACTERIZATION

The Pérola do Maicá neighborhood, located in the eastern part of the municipality of Santarém, in the state of Pará, is currently home to about 1,638 residents. The demographic composition of the neighborhood is marked by an expressive social, cultural and ethnic diversity, reflecting the coexistence of different ways of life in the same territory. Among the inhabitants, traditional peoples stand out, such as quilombolas, riverside dwellers and artisanal fishermen, whose presence gives the neighborhood an identity

strongly rooted in community practices and in the bond with nature. At the same time, there is a significant portion of residents who do not formally identify with traditional collectives, but who also actively participate in the construction of local social life, contributing to the symbolic and cultural richness of the community.

Geographically, Pérola do Maicá is configured as a transition zone between the consolidated urban and the Amazonian riverside territories. This hybrid condition is reinforced by the forms of access to the neighborhood, which occur through two main routes: the land route, through the PA-370 highway (Santarém-Curuá-Una), and the river route, through the Amazon and Tapajós rivers, via Furo do Maicá. The presence of these circulation routes reveals not only the importance of mobility in local dynamics, but also the coexistence between urban practices and traditional knowledge. This overlapping of forms of occupation and use of the territory gives Pérola do Maicá a unique socio-spatial landscape, in which historical trajectories, daily resistances and contemporary disputes for the right to territory are intertwined.

Figure 1. Location map of the Pérola do Maicá neighborhood, Santarém-PA



Source: Adapted from *Google Maps* (2022). Elaborated by the author (2025).

With regard to its historical formation, the occupation of the neighborhood dates back to the late 1980s, when quilombola families from the Arapemã community settled in the region, fleeing the phenomenon of "fallen lands". Over the years, the migratory flow has been amplified with the arrival of riverside dwellers and artisanal fishermen from neighboring communities, thus creating a diverse social mosaic. Currently, the social composition of the neighborhood has three main groups: (1) traditional groups



(quilombolas and riverside dwellers) that maintain strong identity ties; (2) urban dwellers with no declared ethnic affiliation; and (3) new residents attracted by the recent real estate expansion. This diversity reflects the complexity of the social relations that characterize Pérola do Maicá.

In the socioeconomic sphere, the neighborhood presents a plural configuration that combines traditional and urban activities. On the one hand, ancestral economic practices such as artisanal fishing, family farming, and extractivism persist, which sustain traditional ways of life. On the other hand, there is a growing insertion in urban occupations, such as local commerce and civil construction, as well as salaried jobs outside the neighborhood. This economic duality not only highlights the adaptability of the residents, but also reflects the multiple strategies of social reproduction developed to face the ongoing transformations.

With regard to spatial organization, the neighborhood presents contrasting dynamics between its urbanized areas and the shores of the lake. In the urbanized zone, standardized lots (10x30m), expanding infrastructure and a growing real estate market predominate, evident signs of the urbanization process.

In contrast, on the lake shores there are houses on stilts, floodplain areas subject to seasonal cycles and the community port - the latter constituting a vital space for local sociability and the reproduction of traditional practices. This place where the street meets the lake, characteristically a floodplain environment, has a complex and diversified ecology where residents conduct their economic and leisure activities on a daily basis (Figure 2). This place is used by residents as a public space, being one of the main meeting points and serving for the most diverse activities of the community. One of the main activities that benefit from this place is fishing. In the daily flows of fishermen in this port, they anchor their canoes and sell their fishing production, which also occurs in the flows of departure and arrival to neighboring communities, via the lake.

Figure 2. Daily activities at the community port of Pérola do Maicá (2021)



Source: Survey data, Gomes et al., 2025

The main transformation vector identified in the territory was the EMBRAPs Grain Port project. According to the data collected, it appears that: 78% of respondents report restrictions on fishing due to the company's demarcations; 62% mention ruptures in community relations resulting from divisions over the enterprise; and 89% of artisanal fishermen say that the port threatens their traditional ways of life. These numbers show the profound impacts that the project has been causing in the community.

In the face of these pressures, resistance manifests itself at multiple levels. At the collective-organized level, the actions of AMBAPEM and the Z20 fishermen's colony stand out, in addition to the protocols for prior quilombola consultation. At the daily-individual level, the maintenance of traditional fishing practices, the use of unofficial paths and the community sharing of fish are observed. In the symbolic-discursive sphere, narratives that value the "knowledge of the lake" and cultural events that reinforce local identities are identified. These different forms of resistance demonstrate the community's capacity for adaptation and resilience in the face of the imposed transformations.

Finally, the study reveals how local communities develop creative mechanisms to preserve their ways of life in the face of the pressures of globalized capitalism, offering important lessons about resistance and adaptation in contexts of territorial transformation.



## THE RESISTANCE SCENARIO: CONFLICTS AND COPING STRATEGIES

The analysis of the socio-territorial context of the Pérola do Maicá neighborhood reveals a complex scenario, characterized by disputes between traditional ways of life and the intensification of capitalist enterprises. The data obtained show that the local community has responded to these pressures through different forms of resistance, organized on three main fronts: organized collective movements, individual daily strategies and symbolic resistance. Such fronts configure a mosaic of social practices of confrontation and territorial affirmation.

With regard to organized collective movements, the Association of Residents of the Maicá Neighborhood (AMBAPEM) and the Z20 Fishermen's Colony stand out, above all. These organizations play a central role in the structured resistance to the impacts of ongoing projects in the region. As Santos and Zhouri (2010, p. 45) point out, "community organizations in the Amazon function as privileged spaces for political articulation against megaprojects." The survey indicates that 78% of respondents declared that they had participated in at least one collective action of resistance, among which lawsuits, preparation of prior consultation protocols and public mobilizations stand out. In addition, 62% of respondents consider these organizations essential for the defense of their collective rights and traditional ways of life.

The port enterprise of the Brazilian Company of Ports of Santarém (EMBRAPS) is configured as the main vector of capitalist pressure on the territory. The analysis of the impacts was divided into three axes: territorial impacts, socioeconomic conflicts and procedural weaknesses.

In the territorial axis, the demarcation of an area of 279,340 m<sup>2</sup> for the construction of the port, the restriction of access to approximately 68% of the areas traditionally used for fishing and changes in the hydrological regime of Lake Maicá were identified. Such transformations have serious consequences for local livelihoods.

As for socioeconomic conflicts, the data show a noticeable division in the community: 45% of respondents were in favor of the project, while 55% were against it. In addition, the loss of 32% of the traditional access routes to the lake was found, a factor that directly affects the circulation and daily economic practices of the population. Added to this is the growing pressure from the real estate market, evidenced by a 150% increase in land values between 2012 and 2022, which threatens the right to housing of the most vulnerable families.



Table 1. Forms of Everyday Resistance in Pérola do Maicá

Strategy	Frequency	Example
Unofficial route maintenance	87% of cases	Alternative routes to the port
Community sharing of fish	73% of households	Donation system between neighbors
Use of traditional techniques	68% of fishermen	Fishing with reeds and spears
Narratives of resistance	92% of the interviews	"Knowing the lake" as a discourse

Source: Gomes et al, 2025.

Finally, the procedural weaknesses observed in the environmental licensing of the project also deserve to be highlighted. According to a technical report by the Federal University of Western Pará (UFOPA, 2018), inconsistencies were identified in the Environmental Impact Studies and Environmental Impact Reports (EIA/RIMA), such as: the non-consideration of the hydrographic basin as a unit of analysis and the omission of the history of traditional occupation of the area. Such omissions compromise the legitimacy of the licensing process and reveal the invisibility of the ways of life and rights of traditional populations.

In view of this scenario, it is observed that, although under strong pressure from external economic interests, the community of Pérola do Maicá resists in a creative, plural and organized way. The strategies adopted, both collective and individual, reaffirm the right to territory and demonstrate the resilience of sociocultural practices in the face of the dynamics imposed by the expansion of capital in the region.

## DISCUSSION

The results presented reveal the complex socio-spatial dynamics of the Pérola do Maicá neighborhood, which is configured as a frontier territory where traditional ways of life and capitalist urbanizing logics coexist in permanent tension. This singular configuration, marked by plural strategies of resistance, transforms the neighborhood into a true laboratory of the tensions between hegemonic development and sociocultural sustainability in the contemporary Amazon. In this sense, the analysis allows us to advance in three main axes of discussion: (1) the hybridization of space as a fundamental characteristic of the neighborhood; (2) territorial conflicts arising from the port project; and (3) the multidimensional strategies of resistance developed by the community.

First, the hybrid nature of the territory - evidenced by the dual terrestrial-river connectivity and the coexistence of urban and riverine patterns - challenges the conventional analytical categories that oppose rural and urban. As demonstrated, the



neighborhood does not fit into the model of an isolated traditional community, nor into that of a conventional urban periphery, but rather in a singular configuration that combines elements of both. This characteristic corroborates Little's (2002) propositions about "social territories" in the Amazon, which emphasize the need for analytical approaches capable of capturing these complex realities. It is worth noting that this hybridization does not represent a transitory stage, but rather a specific form of production of space that is maintained over time, as attested by the more than thirty years of the neighborhood's formation.

In history, as Sarmiento (2019, p. 54) points out, the Pérola do Maicá began to be constituted with the processes of displacement of quilombola families in the late 1980s, who came from their communities to live in Santarém. In the face of the phenomenon of fallen lands. At this event, families from the Arapemã community arrived in the neighborhood region and settled in. In her study, this author reports that these families founded the Association of Remaining Residents of Quilombo do Arapemã residing in Maicá (AMRQARM) so that they could fight in court against the company Granel Amazonas Ltda. in favor of territorial recognition of the neighborhood's lands for the remaining families of Arapemã (idem). To historically establish the formation of the neighborhood and its implications with traditional peoples, in relation to the remnants who came from Arapemã and settled in the neighborhood, the same author states:

The origin of these families is demonstrated by their birth in the community of Arapemã, initially, and the sharing of a common history linked to slavery is the criterion that respects their affirmation of quilombola identity. These families come from a colonial past formed by families of former slaves. In Arapemã, two families are mentioned as the main ones on the site: Rodrigues and Vasconcelos. These are the main family groups that make up the site. The first family to arrive was the Rodrigues family, who fled the Curuatinga River and are responsible for the acts of clearing the rivers, streams, springs and Paraná until they reached the island of the Amazon River. (Sarmiento, 2019, p. 55)

These historical elements indicate that, in addition to the neighborhood being marked in its origin by the presence of traditional populations integrated with Amazonian life, it also brings elements of struggles and resistance from the moment of its community formation.

With regard to territorial conflicts, the case of the EMBRAPAS Grain Port clearly illustrates the mechanisms of capitalist appropriation of the Amazon space. As the data reveal, the enterprise acts as a true "vector of deterritorialization" (Deleuze & Guattari, 2000), imposing new logics of land use that clash with traditional ways of life. Particularly significant is the fact that 89% of artisanal fishermen perceive the project as a direct threat to their practices - a fact that finds resonance in Sarmiento's (2019) studies on quilombola



communities in the same region. It should be noted that these conflicts are not limited to the material sphere, but also affect social relations, as evidenced by the fact that 62% of the interviewees reported ruptures in the community fabric.

With regard to resistance strategies, the results demonstrate that they are developed at multiple levels, forming a true "arsenal" of counter-hegemonic tactics. In the collective sphere, the actions of AMBAPEM and the Z20 fishermen's colony exemplify what Barth (2000) called "instrumental and expressive acts" - actions that combine political efficacy with identity affirmation. On the individual level, practices such as the maintenance of unofficial routes and the communal sharing of fish configure what Casey (1996) called "incorporated local knowledge" - ways of inhabiting space that resist capitalist standardization. Finally, in the symbolic sphere, the narratives about the "knowledge of the lake" and cultural events function as devices of "cosmopolitical re-involvement" (Viveiros de Castro, 2011), reaffirming values and epistemologies that are alternatives to hegemonic development.

A crucial aspect that emerges from the analysis is the interdependence between these different forms of resistance. As noted, the effectiveness of organized collective actions depends to a large extent on the persistence of everyday practices that keep traditional ways of life alive. On the other hand, these individual practices gain political strength when articulated with organized movements. This synergy challenges simplistic views that oppose "institutional" and "spontaneous" resistance, suggesting the need for more integrated approaches to understanding the processes of territorial struggle in the contemporary Amazon.

Another relevant point concerns the contradictions within the community. Although the study emphasized resistance strategies, it is important to recognize that the neighborhood does not constitute a homogeneous block. As mentioned, the arrival of new residents attracted by real estate expansion has introduced divergent interests and views on local development. This complexity requires analytical caution so as not to romanticize resistance, recognizing that the processes of socio-spatial transformation are always marked by ambiguities and negotiations.

From a comparative perspective, the case of the Pérola do Maicá offers relevant contributions to the debates on territoriality in the Amazon. Unlike isolated communities or consolidated urban peripheries, the neighborhood represents a "third space" where the dynamics of resistance take on peculiar characteristics. This specificity reinforces the importance of localized studies that capture the diversity of Amazonian realities, avoiding simplistic generalizations.



Finally, the results suggest that resistance in Pérola do Maicá is not guided by the simple rejection of transformations, but by the creative negotiation between tradition and modernity. As demonstrated by residents who combine urban work with traditional practices, the survival of Amazonian ways of life in contemporary times seems to depend precisely on this capacity for selective adaptation. In this sense, the neighborhood offers a rich laboratory to rethink the very concepts of development and sustainability in the region.

## FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The study of the Pérola do Maicá neighborhood shows that quilombola resistance in the urban Amazon is not limited to the defense of threatened territories, but constitutes an active process of political, epistemological and spatial reinvention in the face of capitalist expansion. Far from fitting into the classic dichotomies between rural and urban, tradition and modernity, or conservation and development, Maicá emerges as a social laboratory in which new forms of existence and belonging are continuously (re)produced through multiple assemblages.

The collective, everyday and symbolic practices identified throughout the research not only denounce the structural violence of extractive capitalism, but articulate against strategies that challenge hegemonic ways of planning, legislating and occupying the Amazon. In this sense, the "quilombola urbanism" revealed in Maicá is not a metaphor, but a concrete social technology, forged at the intersection between ancestry and adaptation, local knowledge and legal articulation, corporeality and territory.

From a theoretical point of view, the findings tension disciplinary boundaries and broaden the horizons of Urban Anthropology, Decolonial Studies and Political Ecology, by proposing that resistance, in addition to a reaction, constitutes a creative and situated way of producing the world. Methodologically, the importance of ethnographic listening and epistemological co-authorship with community subjects is reaffirmed, especially in contexts of high territorial complexity such as the Amazon.

Finally, the experience of the Pérola do Maicá imposes an unavoidable ethical and political challenge on the field of public policies: to recognize that territorial justice in the Amazon will not be achieved through developmental models imposed from outside, but by valuing local architectures of resistance and by actively listening to the knowledge that emanates from the forest. of the waters and the communities that live from them. Maicá does not just resist – he proposes. And in doing so, it forces us to rethink what we mean by development, citizenship and the future.



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