
BELO MONTE, ITS DYSTOPIA, AND THE (IN) SOCIAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY OF BRAZILIAN ENERGY PLANNING

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ABSTRACT

The main goal of this paper is to show the dystopias of the Belo Monte Dam and the social-environmental (un) sustainability of Brazilian's energetic planning, through the assumption that the active presence of citizens in public management is fundamental to the fulfillment of social rights, especially regarding the solution of socio-environmental problems cast by the mega-investments in hydroelectric plants. To do so, this research faces the following problem: what is the importance of communitarian participation in the process of formulation and implementation of the Brazilian energetic policy, especially regarding the prevention and compensation of the social-environment impacts generated? To seek an answer to that question, we analyze the Brazilian emblematic case in terms of social-environment conflicts, embodied by the Hydroelectric Plant of Belo Monte. This analysis allows concluding that the current Brazilian strategies in the matter of energy are surrounded by challenges and opportunities of great impact for the present and the future. Methodologically, the work is based

on the dialectic method. This option is justified, as the energetic situation in Brazil is comprehended as a contradictory frame, in which a traditional paradigm of development (centered in the economy) is confronted by a new paradigm (un)sustainability).

Key-words: Belo Monte; Dystopias; Socio-Environmental (Un) Sustainability; Brazilian Energetic Planning.

BELO MONTE, SUAS DISTOPIAS E A (IN)SUSTENTABILIDADE SOCIOAMBIENTAL DO PLANEJAMENTO ENERGÉTICO BRASILEIRO

Resumo: *O objetivo central do presente trabalho é demonstrar as distopias de Belo Monte e a (in) sustentabilidade socioambiental do planejamento energético brasileiro, partindo da premissa de que a presença ativa dos cidadãos na gestão pública é fundamental para a realização dos direitos sociais, em especial quanto ao equacionamento dos problemas socioambientais advindos dos atuais megainvestimentos hidrelétricos. Para tanto, a pesquisa enfrenta o seguinte problema: qual a importância da participação comunitária no processo de formulação e de implementação da política energética brasileira, em especial no que diz respeito à prevenção e compensação dos impactos socioambientais gerados? Na busca de uma resposta, parte-se do estudo do caso emblemático no Brasil, em termos de conflitos socioambientais, representados no empreendimento da Usina Hidrelétrica de Belo Monte. A análise permite constatar que as atuais estratégias brasileiras em matéria de energia confrontam-se com desafios e oportunidades de largo impacto, presentes e futuros. Metodologicamente, o trabalho apoia-se no método dialético. Essa opção se justifica, na medida em que a situação energética brasileira é entendida como um quadro contraditório, em que um paradigma tradicional de desenvolvimento (centrado na economia) é confrontado por um novo paradigma (in)sustentável).*

Palavras-chave: *Belo Monte; Distopias; (In)Sustentabilidade Socioambiental; Planejamento Energético Brasileiro.*

INTRODUCTION

Brazil, both in environmental and energy matters, has a modern normative structure and is considered the world leader in the production of energy from renewable sources, which accounts for almost 50% (fifty percent) of all energy produced, given the richness of the country's natural resources, and may become self-sufficient in the area of energy in the medium term, according to forecasts by international organizations. Brazilian energy plans and programs foresee an increase in the percentage of renewable sources, with priority being given to the expansion of hydroelectric and biomass.

In this perspective, this work will seek to demonstrate the socioenvironmental (in) sustainability of Brazilian energy planning, in the same way, that the existing interrelations between the construction of the Belo Monte Hydroelectric Power Plant and its social and environmental implications for the riverine population of the Xingu River, to the municipality of Altamira, in Pará. The project, with final cost budgeted at more than 30 billion reais, was initially planned during the period of the Military Dictatorship, still in 1975, titled at the time, of Kararaô Complex, having its project of construction started in the early 2000s. When fully operational, Belo Monte will be one of the largest hydroelectric plants in the world, capable of supplying the energy demand of 60 million people in 17 Brazilian states. However, for the construction of the plant to be possible, a migratory exodus was created, as well as an unprecedented socio-environmental aggression for the region's environment, affecting the daily lives of thousands of people and the future of millions.

In this context, the significant socio-environmental impacts of hydroelectric plants, the deficiency in the implementation of the National Environmental Policy instruments, in particular environmental licensing and prior study of environmental impacts, are highlighted, which has led to the occurrence of irreversible environmental damages and numerous socio-environmental conflicts, aggravated by the lack of access to information, lack of participation and public policies for the relocation of affected populations. Market pressure and the demands of the current economic development model strongly intend the sustainable dimension of energy policy.

Taken together, the approach seeks to create a framework that identifies advances and obstacles that impede the full realization of

Brazilian energy policy and suggests alternatives that are in line with the notion of participatory citizenship. The argument emphasizes that the participation of the community or civil society is a differentiating element of the old paradigm (economist) and new (in) sustainable paradigm.

While on the one hand this participation has not often avoided overlapping market interests with fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution, as in the case of the Belo Monte Hydroelectric Power Plant and the riverine population of the Xingu River, there is ample evidence that it has been softening the socio-environmental impacts, contributing significantly to the improvement of policies and to the environmental and economic sustainability of the Brazilian energy matrix.

1 BELO MONTE AND ITS DYSTOPIA

We will begin this work by presenting excerpts from a series of reports prepared by the writer and journalist Eliane Brum to the newspaper *El País*, where she reported with sensitivity and prudence the reality of families living in the Xingu River, in the State of Pará, which, as a result of the construction of the Belo Monte Hydroelectric Plant by Norte Energia¹, they were forced to leave their lands, where their houses were situated, where they lived for a lifetime. The report is disturbing and touching because, in the first lines of one of the reports, the journalist wrote about the questioning that a family of Riverside had done to her, in the first conversations that they maintained, asking then, what would be a house?

[...] the question that was not asked at the register or at any time. It's the question that says who that person is. And where she needs to live to be what she is. When is the entrepreneur, the new name of the colonizer in the Amazon, who determines what a house is, based on its world and its references, usually forged in the very different reality of south-central Brazil, violence sets in? And lives are annihilated. (BRUM, 2015).

[...] a house is where there is no hunger, they teach me. If you're hungry, it's just a roof. (BRUM, 2015) [...] To understand what a house is, in its entirety, it is necessary to listen to the riverine people with more attention, suggests the journalist, because for them, the house is not a

¹ Norte Energia S. A. composed of state and private electric sector companies, pension and investment funds and self-propelled companies. Available at: <http://norteenergiasa.com.br/site/portugues/norte-energia-s-a/>. Accessed on: July 20, 2016.

“structure” but something more extensive in which is encompassed all its surroundings, the trees, the country, the forest, the river. (BRUM, 2015) [...] the house is not just a “rudimentary structure of wood with straw cover”, as described by entrepreneur ethnocentrism. The concept of home is extended. Home is where there is no hunger, it is where ties are made that guarantee survival and also joy. (BRUM, 2015).

The reports here belong to the family of Otávio das Chagas. They lived for more than thirty years on Maria Island, one of many islands that existed on the Xingu River, before the construction of the hydroelectric plant. [...] lived may not be the exact word. They belonged to the Maria Island. This issue of ownership is reversed. And not just for the sake of the law. But because it is the island that takes possession of the people, which conforms the body and existence, which draws the architecture of the time. (BRUM, 2015) [...] in the island, Otávio, Maria, and their children knew. When they are expelled to the “street”, the name that the agroextractivist river dwellers of various Amazonian regions give “the city”, they are emptied of knowledge. (BRUM, 2015).

In situations such as these, emptied of knowledge, Leff teaches us that the environment emerges as a reintegrating knowledge of diversity, new ethical and aesthetic values and synergistic potentials generated by the articulation of ecological, technological and cultural processes. (LEFF, 2001, p. 17). For this family of riverine, [...] environmental knowledge occupies its place in the emptiness left by the progress of scientific rationality, as a symptom of its lack of knowledge and as a sign of an endless process of theoretical production and practical actions guided by a utopia: the construction of a sustainable, democratic, egalitarian and diverse world. (LEFF, 2001, p. 17). Thus, these houses, in the “street”, will in a sense always be “street”- not house. (BRUM, 2015).

When they are expelled from the island to which they belong, Otávio, Maria, and their children no longer recognize or recognize themselves, because the island was also a mirror. If one is obliged to leave his land because of a war, an earthquake or hunger, there will always be the land that has remained, there will be ruins, there will be the dead buried there to account for what they were, even if they can never return. (BRUM, 2015).

Otávio, Maria, and their children lost the materiality of what they lived, the physical memory of what they were, of what they are, reports

the journalist. Everything he said about them as washed away by the force of Belo Monte. (BRUM, 2015). Of the drowned island there is not even a picture. It was left to them to point out the scars that document a life in the only territory they have left: the body itself. (BRUM, 2015) [...] when he was expelled in 2012, Otávio signed with the finger papers that he could not read. His children signed for him papers they were not able to read. [...] his house was not considered a house. It did not fit into the entrepreneur's concept of home. (BRUM, 2015) [...] Otávio das Chagas tried, but, as has happened with so many others, he was not recognized as a riparian. [...] it is Norte Energia who states who he is, who they all are. (BRUM, 2015).

Not the life, not the history, not the memory, not the knowledge produced on the theme in the best universities of Brazil. But the entrepreneur. But who can say who he is? Otávio das Chagas is alive because he still has not given up on finding his way home. (BRUM, 2015).

Thus, after these reports, we need to make some considerations about Brazilian democratic citizenship in the last decades. Brazilian democracy, [...] in fact, has been a pioneer in innovations that put it at the forefront of the democratic development of the world. However, just as democracy took root, new types of violence, injustice, corruption, and impunity increased dramatically (HOLSTON, 2013, p. 349), affecting mainly the poor. [...] among the popular classes, therefore, the new foundation of rights in the text of the Constitution faces the old regime by introducing anonymity as a condition and equality as a result of citizenship practices. (HOLSTON, 2013, p. 345) In Holston's argument, [...] instead of the glories anticipated, Brazilians experience a democratic citizenship that seems at the same time to erode with its expansion, a sometimes capable democracy and at other times tragically incapable of protecting the body of its citizens and of producing a just society. (HOLSTON, 2013, p. 349-350)

[...] the law must promote these ideals, otherwise it's arbitrariness will compromise the possibility of justice. However, the understanding that multiple interests inform its application and elaboration avoids the assumption that the law is fair (or democratic) without investigating the ways in which a specific rule of law attaches itself to a regime of citizenship. (HOLSTON, 2013, p. 268-269)

In addition, although the law is expected to generate chaos, this is often done for strategic purposes that have little to do with justice. The rule of law has as much to do with these productions as with objectives of probity, clarity and resolution. (HOLSTON, 2013, p. 268-269) In this context, the protection of the environment and its knowledge is also an essential element for the protection of the citizenship and the rights of this riverine population, devastated by the construction of the Belo Monte Hydroelectric Plant Environmental degradation, the risk of ecological collapse and the spread of inequality and poverty are eloquent signs of the crisis in the globalized world. (LEFF, 2001, p. 09) Machado rightfully argues, when he says that: [...] it is not necessary to develop such an issue, because damage to the environment can jeopardize and undermine all human rights, as pointed out in the Universal Declaration and other acts enshrining such rights. (MACHADO, 2014, p. 15) [...] in this view, democracy is necessarily linked to a broader conception of citizenship, which goes beyond the political sphere, and its evaluation is linked to the complexities of the achievements of citizenship in specific historical contexts. (HOLSTON, 2013, p. 398).

[...] Thus, combined with new civic participation, these new understandings of rights support the growth of meaningful measures of egalitarian citizenship. The equality of inclusion that this growth demand is insurgent, even if it has to elbow its way into the existing system. (HOLSTON, 2013, p. 345) is insurgent because the claim to citizen's rights is not small; it already presupposes the full range of possible rights. (HOLSTON, 2013, p. 345).

With the insurgency, we have a dimension of openness, of breaking barriers, of overcoming interdicts, of going beyond all limits. This is what we call transcendence. This is a basic structure of the human being. (BOFF, 2000, p. 28) If this is so, we can say: all times are times of transcendence. (BOFF, 2000, p. 30) [...] in the insurgent formulation, the inhabitants of the peripheries imagine that their interests derive from their very existence, not from the state's plans, that they are well informed and competent to make decisions about these interests, and that their own organizations can articulate them. (HOLSTON, 2013, p. 322).

These insurgency processes enable social and cultural transformations that transcend classical formulations of democratic citizenship in Brazil. [...] although necessary, political democracy is

not enough to guarantee civil and social citizenship and to produce a democratic state of law. Without these two elements, the realization of democratic citizenship remains ineffective, and political democracy itself loses legitimacy as a form of government. (HOLSTON, 2013, p. 397-398).

From this, arises the need to recognize and protect the rights of citizenship of the population, specifically the riverine community of the Xingu River, affected by the construction of the Belo Monte Hydroelectric Plant. From this recognition and protection, we would create [...] a radical opportunity to remake Brazilian citizenship in the direction of a truly democratic society (HOLSTON, 2013, p. 345), granting all citizens rights and guarantees in the social, political and economic spheres.

2 THE SOCIO-ENVIRONMENTAL (UN)SUSTAINABILITY OF BRAZILIAN ENERGY PLANNING

In the direction of a truly democratic society, Brazil has been seen internationally as an emerging country that has sought to grow and develop economically in a more environmentally sustainable and fairer way from the social inclusion point of view. However, in the case of the energy sector, there is still a lack of effective long-term public policies that aim to ensure continued and more planned growth, as detailed in the above reports, making this development often unsustainable.

In the Brazilian scenario, any and all of the environmental policies, from the National Environmental Policy to the National Energy Policy, through the National Water Policy, are guided by the principles of sustainable development, prevention, precaution, information, participation and international cooperation. This regulatory framework also considers other public economic and social policies, such as the successive Growth Acceleration Programs, health, and sanitation policies and other actions aimed at social inclusion and the eradication of poverty.

The National Policy on Climate Change, instituted by Law 12.187/2009, besides offering general guidelines for the establishment of integrated strategies for mitigation and adaptation to climate change, selects as one of its main instruments the National Plan on Climate Change (PNMC), which constitutes a relevant framework for the integration and harmonization of public environmental policies.

The objectives set out in the Plan are audacious, with one of the greatest potentials for reducing greenhouse gas emissions. In order to

achieve these objectives, the Plan, besides representing a milestone in the qualification of the elaboration and implementation of public policies in the Country, represents a commitment to evaluate and improve it regularly, in an increasingly participatory way, by understanding that "the choices are made as society recognizes the problem, understands the dynamics of the multiple forces that provoke it, defines itself as part of the solution and sees itself as a beneficiary of the decisions taken." (BRASIL, 2009, p. 08) The basic premise on which the National Plan for Climate Change is based is the reduction of social inequality and the increase of income, with an economic dynamic different from the path of increasing emissions adopted as a standard by industrialized countries.

In terms of energy, Brazil has an electricity supply structure with very peculiar characteristics. The National Interconnected System (SIN) is fed in large part by the generation of energy from hydroelectric plants with large reservoirs located in different hydrographic basins, interconnected by extensive transmission lines, and the System is complemented by conventional and nuclear thermoelectric plants. (BRASIL, 2007A, p. 29)

This structure of the electric sector, based on the generation of energy from hydroelectric dams and burning of fossil fuels, tends to be maintained because, according to the PNMC, to reduce emissions of greenhouse gases (GHG) in the energy sector without sacrificing economic development, the main strategies outlined are: 1) gradual replacement of fossil fuels by other non-emitting sources, such as hydro, solar, wind and sustainable biomass; and 2) to conserve or use more efficiently all available forms of energy. In this second item, increased production and use of biofuels as well as the adoption of new technologies in the oil and gas sector to mitigate emissions are some of the initiatives to soften the impact of the energy sector on global warming. (BRASIL, 2007B, p. 30).

In this long-term scenario, the hydraulic utilization of the North Region, especially the Amazon Basin, is considered necessary and strategic because it has the highest water potential, and the non-utilization of these resources would imply the need to develop an additional thermoelectric program, costs and environmental impacts. In analyzing the impacts of hydroelectric generation, taking into account indicators such as loss of native vegetation, transformation of the environment, interference in conservation unit, affected population, interference in indigenous lands, generation of jobs, among others, the study concludes that the plants that have the greatest environmental and socioeconomic impact, whether

positive or negative, are located in the Amazon, corresponding to the projects with higher potentials and reservoirs.

The greatest negative impacts on the environmental dimension are associated with losses of native vegetation, greater changes from the lotic environment to the lentic environment, or are located in protected areas. In the socioeconomic dimension, they stand out for the interference in the local infrastructure due to the attracted population contingent. On the other hand, it is the Amazon mills, in the great majority, those that present the greatest increases in municipal collections and generation of jobs, consequently, those that result in greater socioeconomic benefits. (BRASIL, 2013, p. 351-352)

Brazil, although in the global vanguard of large hydropower projects for energy generation, and despite the pressure of social movements, does not have a national regulation regarding the rights of those affected by dams. The State of Rio Grande do Sul, on June 23, 2014, celebrated the State Government's attitude in signing State Decree No. 51. 595, which instituted the Policy for the Development of Regions Affected by Hydroelectric Projects (PDRAEH), and the State Policy of Those Affected by Hydroelectric Projects in the State of Rio Grande do Sul (PEAEH). Guided by lines such as improving the quality of life of the population with sustainable social and economic development, PDRAEH has as its main objective the joint definition, government, entrepreneurs and affected communities of projects to reduce and/or mitigate social, economic, cultural and environmental impacts of hydroelectric projects. (BRASIL, 2014, p. 2-3)

To this end, one of the main instruments created by the Decree is the Permanent Participation Forum, foreseen in articles 27, VII and 28, a space for dialogue between the Executive Branch, public and private entities, entrepreneurs and civil society, with a view to transparency to the process and ensure social participation in all phases of the hydroelectric project. (BRASIL, 2014, p. 04-09)

However, the country lacks national legislation that defines public policies for the prevention and compensation of social and environmental impacts caused by new hydroelectric projects. What can be observed are some positive actions towards the adoption of new, less impacting technologies, such as the Central Hydropower Plants and the platform plants. Following the model of Petrobras' offshore oil platforms, the platform plants consist of a new hydroelectric concept for regions such as

the Amazon, highly automated, that will require little labor to keep them running and without alteration of hydrological courses in rivers. This new project model does not aim to promote local development disregarding the preservation of the environment, indigenous reserves and Environmental Protection Areas (APAs). (VENTURA FILHO, 2013, p. 17-19)

Another alternative to reduce socio-environmental impacts from energy generation, as well as dependence on non-renewable sources or hydroelectric dams, is to increase the share of non-conventional renewable sources. In this plan, there is a great expansion of wind energy, but very little of solar energy and other sources, despite the favorable profile of Brazil for the generation of cleaner energy in view of the diversity of available energy resources and the favorable climate factor.

The greater share of unconventional renewable energy will certainly not end environmental conflicts arising from the generation of energy, given that there is no known form of energy production that is totally free of impacts to the environment and society, significantly.

The promotion of these and other alternatives to obtain energy from cleaner and safer sources, especially wind and solar, are part of the recommendations of the last report of the IPCC, which devoted a specific and detailed study of these sources from a bibliographical perspective, scientific, technological, environmental, economic and social. The study evaluated the contribution of six renewable energy sources (bioenergy, direct solar energy, geothermal, hydroelectric, oceanic and wind power), confirming the primary role renewable sources play, both for mitigating the negative effects of climate change and for social and economic development, security of energy supply and respect for the environment. (IPCC, 2014, p. 16-17)

Finally, a valuable tool to address the ever growing energy demand and social and environmental responsibilities is to reduce losses and increase energy efficiency. Law 10. 295, dated 10/17/2011, also known as the Energy Efficiency Law, regulated by Decree No. 4. 059 of December 19, 2001 and No. 4. 508 of December 11, 2002, provides for the National Policy on the Conservation and Rational Use of Energy, fixing the obligation of the Public Power, through INMETRO (National Institute of Metrology, Quality and Technology) to establish maximum levels of specific energy consumption or energy efficiency minimums of energy consuming machines and appliances manufactured or marketed in the

country². (BRASIL, Law 10. 295, 2001, article 2)

Notwithstanding these and other programs related to the theme, the Brazilian performance in terms of energy use is still incipient, being the field for relevant advances. According to the second report of the American Council for Energy Economics (ACEEE), which evaluated the energy efficiency performance of the 16 major world economies, Brazil appears in 15th place, along with nations such as Mexico, Russia and the US, while the European Union leads the *ranking*. Throughout the study, all the countries analyzed have room for improvement. In Brazil, known for its potential in renewable energy sources, in terms of energy efficiency, areas such as construction and industry were the ones that demanded the most improvements. As a positive aspect of Brazil, the survey highlighted the efficiency of the transportation sector, ranking fifth in this category, mainly due to fuel economy in collective transportation vehicles and recent investments in rail transportation, the largest of all other nations analyzed. (AMERICAN COUNCIL FOR AN ENERGY-EFFICIENT ECONOMY, 2014, p. 77)

Thus, it can be seen that the energy-development-environment equation has complex variables in the heterogeneous world, different socioeconomic realities, asymmetric power relations and differentiated access to natural resources, difficult to solve, which must be sought. The possible alternatives require a fundamental human action consisting of coordinated political action, involving the various governmental sectors, the market and society. Brazil has evolved in terms of legislation, knowledge, and awareness, but needs to broaden and improve the connection between existing policies in order to make them more effective. Also, greater participation of unconventional renewable energy sources, coupled with greater energy efficiency, can significantly contribute to Brazil's safer, cleaner and more sustainable energy matrix, reducing greenhouse gas emissions and other social and environmental impacts. If there is still uncertainty regarding the economic viability of some renewable sources, with some fears of the market, it is noticeable that this picture is changing due to the international community's interest, with Brazil, through public 2 In accordance with Law 10. 295, Inmetro (National Institute of Metrology, Quality and Technology), a federal authority, linked to the Ministry of Development, Industry and Foreign Trade, created by Law 5. 966, dated December 11, 1973, began to establish compulsory conformity assessment programs in the area of energy efficiency, including the Brazilian Labeling Program, which provides information on product performance, considering attributes such as energy efficiency, noise and other criteria to guide consumers in the purchase of products that consume less energy and stimulate the competitiveness of the industry in the manufacture of increasingly efficient products. Available at: http://www2.inmetro.gov.br/pbe/conheca_o_programa.php. Accessed on: August 08, 2014.

policies, encouraging the development of sector at the national level.

Public policies must be the north for the definition of a new world order, not only on the economic and environmental side but above all on global solidarity. However, history has shown that no policy, no civilizational change has been achieved, has succeeded without the support of individuals and societies. Experience has shown that people, when informed and aware, are more responsible and represent a valuable support to the marketing of products and resources characterized by energy efficiency and environmental commitment. (BRAVO, 2012, p. 25)

In environmental matters, and more specifically with regard to energy policy, there are important mechanisms of transparency and popular participation in Brazil, but they still lack effectiveness. Both general policies and the National Environmental Policy, as well as more specific policies, such as the National Water Policy and the National Energy Policy, have in their rules and programs the provision of broad access to information and citizen participation in their definition, aiming the implementation of other guiding principles of Environmental Law.

Information serves the process of educating each person and community. But the information is also intended to give the informed person a chance to take a stand or pronounce on the matter informed. (...) Popular participation, aiming at the conservation of the environment, is part of a wider framework of participation in the diffuse and collective interests of society. It is one of the characteristic notes of the second half of the twentieth century. (MACHADO, 2014, p. 123-126)

In the vast majority of situations, official participation spaces, regulated by state rules, such as the National Energy Council (created by Law 9. 478/97, article 2 and regulated by Decree 3520/00), are massively dominated by representatives of the Government and citizen participation is used as a way of legitimizing the interests of the State, which do not always reflect the popular will. On the other hand, forums and meetings organized by civil society, such as the World Social Forum, although criticized as often reflecting the ideology of left-wing parties, consist of democratic events that debate the main ideological aspects and economic interests that affect human rights, in particular, the right to a balanced environment. In addition, although without a deliberative character and any power of state submission, events of this nature have the virtue to radiate to the world society a reinforcement of environmental civic consciousness. (BRASIL,

1997, p. 02-03)

Finally, for the correct conduct of environmental issues, especially with regard to national energy policy, Brazil needs some changes in the legal framework and public policies that encourage the consolidation of the industry and the market of non-conventional renewable energies such as wind and solar. This initiative should aim to increase the participation of cleaner energy, without this representing the abandonment of other energy sources, because, for the complex and risky society, a strategy for Brazil to become the world leader in really clean, safe, renewable and accessible energy, should involve a greater diversification of its energy matrix, utilizing the full range of natural resources available, in a sustainable and broadly democratic way.

In order for Brazilian energy policy to be developed and implemented within the framework of security, accessibility, socio-environmental sustainability, economic viability and efficiency, community participation and dialogue are indispensable. It is the participation that through the open debate of the different interests and points of view in play can provide an environment of convergence and cooperation between State, market and community, not of divergence, as in the case of Belo Monte Hydroelectric and the riverside population of the Xingu River.

CONCLUSION

The socio-environmental conflicts generated by the most recent hydroelectric projects show that traditional means of discussion, such as the public hearings held during the environmental licensing phase, are not sufficient to reconcile the various interests. Brazil needs to improve its system of access to information and community participation in the definitions of energy policy, not only in specific projects but also to consult the population about the decisions to be made. As a suggestion, the alternative found by the Rio Grande do Sul legislation to protect those affected by dams, by holding permanent forums, can be a viable solution. In addition, the need to address community opinion in public decisions, even without a binding nature, is also a proposal that merits evaluation. Measures such as these are certainly justified in the name of the relevance of common convictions and values for the construction of effective legislation, fairer solutions, and the necessary state-market-community balance.

The sustainability of the Brazilian energy matrix demands a process of change that must be led by the State. The definition of attributions and responsibilities, the establishment of fiscal and economic incentives for the migration of the sector to cleaner sources, direct action in the solution of environmental conflicts, the diffusion of the importance of energy efficiency and control over the market are some of the actions of the Brazilian State, for the definition of a development strategy that takes into account the socioenvironmental sustainability of energy planning.

In environmental terms, and more specifically in terms of energy, in Brazil, it is not possible to say with certainty whether the public policies and norms of State action reflect the desire of society. The lack of dialogue and debate over people's convictions, coupled with low popular participation in the existing spheres, and the lack of trust, raise deep questions about the representativeness of the people's representatives. Considering that Brazilian environmental legislation can be looked upon from the technical point of view as one of the most modern in the world, possible dissonances between this formal quality and its low effectiveness or popular acceptance may indicate the lack of public policies to demonstrate its value, as well as policies that encourage participation and popular deliberation in their implementation. With regard to energy, today, in Brazil, public norms and policies lack greater social legitimacy.

It is known that much has already been achieved, however, it is necessary to advance to the evolution of Brazilian energy policy, in the sense of making it more legitimate, sustainable, accessible and inclusive. With the growth of the participation of cleaner energies, without abandoning other energy sources, Brazil is able to become a world leader in clean, safe, renewable and accessible energy in a sustainable and truly democratic way.

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