

## "THIS ENERGY IS CLEAN, BUT HERE, ON THE DUNES, IT WILL BE DIRTY": RENEWABLE SOURCES OF ENERGY AND SOCIO-ENVIRONMENTAL CONFLICTS IN GALINHOS-RN

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*This study was conducted in the town of Galinhos, RN, Brazil, and aimed to analyze the opposition to the implementation of the Rei dos Ventos I wind farm in 2012, taking into account the meanings and attachment to place. Methodologically, an ethnographic approach was carried out, supported by historical-dialectic materialism, with records in diaries and field notes, in addition to 23 interviews with residents. The research found that the relationship with nature conforms a knowledge central to local life, promoting local ethics and three main local discourses that mediate people-place relationships. Besides, to understand the meanings and attachment to the place, significant historical moments that emerged from the analysis were crucial. Finally, four aspects were highlighted to explain the struggles: the mobilization of identities of the place, the conflict, the company, and its operators; the mobilization of a sense of community; the centrality of the land as an element of this dispute; conflict as a conflict between different ethics. The analysis showed the class and socio-spatial character of the struggle since local knowledge and experiences allowed the wind farm's contradictions to be unveiled, challenging its sustainable varnish, and that the energy transition must come accompanied by a broader social shift.*

**Keywords:** *renewable energy sources, place attachment, socio-environmental conflicts, ethnography, class struggles*

### 1. Introduction

This work presents a study carried out in the town of Galinhos, in the state of Rio Grande do Norte, Brazil, where, during the year 2012, a series of demonstrations by the local population against the implementation of the Rei dos Ventos I wind farm took place. It is part of broader doctoral research that analyzed conflicts concerning local socio-environmental transformations, with the disagreement surrounding the implementation of the wind farm being one of them. The ethnographic research carried out was based on two central questions: *why the conflicts? In what way do people's attachment to the place participate in the determination of such disputes?* Thus, this article aimed to analyze widespread opposition to the implementation of the wind farm, taking into account the place's meanings and the connection between residents and the place.

The generation of energy from renewable sources (RESs) in the direction of an energy transition has been one of the main bets for the fight against global climate change and the environmental

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and social consequences of this phenomenon. However, progress in this direction is not without conflicts, emphasizing communities' opposition to the implementation of technologies for energy production from the RESs.

This study is part of the effort to understand such conflicts. However, given the different ways the subject can be approached, we have placed ourselves with authors such as Manzo (2003) and Di Masso, Dixon, and Pol (2011), who consider that the research on people-environmental relationships has often neglected or diminished the political dimension of these relationships, including the dynamics of attachment to places in their ethical-political aspect.

From our point of view, in the field of the RESs debate, understanding such a political dimension present in relations with the place implies a) the analysis of the environmental issue and its relationship with the energy issue from the perspective of capitalist production and its self-expansive nature; b) the critique of ideological forms of interpretation and confrontation of the manifestations of the environmental issue; c) the analysis of the technologies for energy production from the RESs as a mercantiled response to the environmental issue; d) the study of conflicts related to RESs inserted in a broader framework of social conflicts, within specific historical-social formations; e) the incorporation of the class character of the production of spaces under the capitalist mode of production and, equally, the spatialization of social conflicts. In this sense, to analyze such conflicts, we start from the perspective of historical and dialectical materialism, developed by Marx and Engels (1932/2007), understanding reality as a historical totality and such conflict as inserted in the framework of class struggles.

## **2. Energy transition in class society**

Because of its inexorable expansionist character and other trends, capitalist production leads to a mismatch between the rhythms of social reproduction and the rhythms of nature, a metabolic rift (Foster, 2000; Marx, 1867/2013). The environmental issue refers to the concrete and historically determined manifestations of ecological problems, which have as their axis the capitalist production.

With the mercantilization of the environmental issue's effects, there is enormous confidence placed in individualistic ethics and technological development as the frontier to be overcome in the direction of a sustainable society (Silva, 2010), as is the example of technologies for energy generation from RESs. However, Marx (1867/2013) already warned about the contradictions inherent to the capitalist use of machinery, submitted to capital needs, and not to human needs.

Likewise, under capitalism, there is a contradiction between technological development from private property of the means of production and exploitation of the labor force. The machine ends up opposing the worker - either as a source of his exhaustion or of unemployment. Together with this, the class that directs the form, rhythm, and intensity of the exploitation of natural resources is the class that owns the means of production, the bourgeoisie, since this is a necessary function for increasing profit (Foladori, 2000).

The consequences of the different manifestations of the environmental issue are not suffered equally by the different classes and classes' fractions. There are different levels of conflicts related to the distinct class belonging and antagonistic interests, which includes environmental problems. Such conflicts exist to the extent that there are social classes, and there is no definite possibility of achieving the objectives of an energy transition without a broader social change.

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## 2.1 *Ress and local conflicts*

Studies that seek to analyze the acceptance or rejection of communities concerning energy generation infrastructures go mainly through three paths: (a) the concept of the "NIMBY effect" (*Not in my backyard*), a perspective criticized for the derogatory character with which it conceives local groups (Bell et al., 2005); (b) the Theory of Social Representations, analyzing the coexistence of conflicting ideas within the same individual, group, or society concerning such infrastructures (Batel & Devine-Wright, 2015) and; (c) the analysis of the meanings of the place as a relevant factor for the interpretation of the changes brought about by the implementation of these structures (Devine-Wright & Howes, 2010).

This study and the last two perspectives start from the conception that, in the analysis of such conflicts, it is central to investigate the meanings of the place incorporated by its residents. However, from the dialectic method, it is fundamental to insert such psychosocial processes into contradictory historical relations. RESs are in the spectrum of responses to the environmental issue and of capitalist production, with the contradictions proper to this sociability, and the conflicts that emerge from this do not escape this picture.

In this direction, Di Masso, Dixon, and Pol (2011) interpret conflicts as a necessary product of relations of domination existing in the social reality, which are reproduced in geographical spaces, and emphasize the territorial manifestations of conflicts (Di Masso et al., 2011). According to the authors, such relations of domination are expressed both in the earthly life and social production of the places and on the ideological level, in the form of conflicts between values and senses of domination and resistance. This definition has the merit of spatializing and giving a social organ-icity to the conflict. It also places ethical positions (the choice of what is good or bad for the place) as elements equally in dispute and linked to social classes.

## 2.2 *Conflicts over RESs as socio-environmental conflicts*

Given the above, conflict processes play an essential role in places' significance (Di Masso et al., 2011). They express contradictions proper to the place as a historical-social product, synthesizing contradictions on a more global level and local contextual elements. Thus, we must consider social structures of domination and the conflicts that unfold from there in the very production of places.

In this framework, conflicts that oppose community/place to the implementation of energy generation infrastructure can be seen as socio-environmental conflicts. These may concern the control and impacts on the territory, or on ways of life with the relationship with the territory as a central element (Little, 2001). Communities directly linked to specific territories, such as fishing communities, usually organize a set of knowledge that has a core of rationality of resource supply (Silva et al., 2009). In this sense, when they see themselves threatened, residents tend to mobilize elements that are proper to their local relations, such as knowledge, community organizations, and historical memory, as psychosocial resources to contest the threat.

These socio-environmental conflicts are thought of as part of class struggles (Marx & Engels, 1998). This means thinking about the conflict itself as the engine of the history of societies divided into classes and paying attention to the diverse forms that the struggles takes in each time and space, seeking its determinations.

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The presumed positive character of RESs does not deny the insertion of the conflicts dealt with in this type of analysis. When this broader and more historical conception of conflict is brought to the disputes in the production and defense of places concretely and symbolically, one must analyze the structures of social relations mobilized in such disputes as each structure is articulated to a historical totality and insert the conflict for place within the framework of the particular political and economic disputes at stake in the class struggles of the present historical moment.

### 3. Research context and method

Galinhos-RN stands out for the characteristics of its natural environment that make it attractive both for tourist visitation and for the implementation of wind farms. The local population is estimated at 2,786 residents (IBGE, 2010). Its main economic activities are the tourism, fishing, and salt industry sectors.

The state of Rio Grande do Norte is the largest producer of this type of energy in the country (ABEEólica, 2018). The protests analyzed here were against the construction of the Rei dos Ventos I wind farm on the dunes (See Figure 1), and mobilized various sectors of the local population: leaders linked to the tourism sector, such as *buggy* drivers and hotel owners, teachers, fishermen, students, public officials etc. They consisted of occupying the Dunes of the Capim extending banners against the implementation of the wind farm on the site and of “hugging the dunes” in which they formed a human barrier in front of the place. Another essential element was the presence of media vehicles of broad reach. The residents also used the petition to pressure the local government. As a result of the demonstrations, there was a decrease in the number of wind turbines. Also, the wind farm area was not surrounded, allowing people's traffic and *buggys*, something essential for tourist income.



Figure 1. Map of Galinnhos and Dunes of the Capim

To answer the questions pointed out at the beginning of this text, a research with an ethnographic approach was carried out (Peirano, 2014). The first author of this paper lived there between May and August 2015, and the data collection was carried out in 21 field diaries and a set of field

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notes. The diaries and notes included descriptive observations about the events and relationships of the day-to-day and theoretical and methodological reflections. This material helped to compose a picture of local social relations and the meanings connected to daily practices.

The process of insertion and understanding of the field also included two local insiders, who co-participated in the field's approximation and all the necessary information and directions. Throughout the period in the area, there was almost daily contact with these co-participants, either for occasional talks of elucidation or in moments of socialization with other local people, fishing activities, dinners, parties, among others.

The option for ethnography was due to the possibilities that this strategy offers to understand the local meanings in its use, in a dynamic relationship with the context of daily social relations. However, we realize that, even in its singularity, local ways of life express, dialectically, something of the broader dynamic of reproduction of material life within peripheral and dependent capitalism. The uniqueness of local relations, focus of ethnographic observations, was considered inserted in relationships within historical, complex, and dynamic totalities, and analyzed regarding the dialectical relations between uniqueness and universality.

There were also interviews with 23 residents, between 26 and 70, indicated because of their strong attachment to the place, focused on *life stories*. Only four were women due to the centrality of fishing in local history and the research's more general context. In Galinhos, this activity is quite masculinized. The interviews were carried out in different areas, such as the interviewee's house, the sidewalk, or some other combined place, varying between 30 and 90 minutes. Some interviews could be recorded, and others were recorded manually, all with the interviewee's authorization, transcribed later to a digital document.

The results presented below come from a contextualist thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) on field diaries and interviews. This analysis was supported by a critical realist onto-epistemological perspective (Bhaskar, 2008), which considers reality as something beyond phenomenal aspects and comprehending dynamic structures that, to be apprehended, demand an active role for the researcher that goes beyond immediate data. Thus, the themes were identified inductively, from the reading of interview transcripts, field diaries, and notes, looking for patterns in residents' statements and recorded observations linked to the research questions. Still, since it is a research that starts from Marx's ontology and a perspective of totality, the meanings identified and organized under the themes do not express only the local dynamics but are linked to the contradictions that dynamize the reproduction of the capitalist mode of production.

#### **4. Results and discussion**

To understand the relationship between conflicts and local reality, the results are organized into three themes: "Territory and local discourses", "Attachment and transformations in the way of life" and "Hugging the dunes".

In the first case, we highlight elements that organize the present local dynamics, expressed in the sub-themes "religiosity", "local knowledge", "local ethics" and "local discourses". The second theme is focused on local historical process, based on significant transformations in the place and in residents' place attachment, organized in the sub-themes "place attachment as the constitutive of the artisanal fishing way of life", "the enlargement of the salt industry and disarticulation of the way of life", "the constitution of a new way of life and new ethics", "a new threat of rupture". The

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third theme focuses on conflict and the elements that were mobilized by interviewees to explain what happened, organized in the subthemes “the mobilization of the identities of the place, the conflict, the enterprise, and its operators”, “the mobilization of a sense of community”, “the centrality of the land as an element of this dispute”, “the conflict as a conflict between different ethics”. We understand that these explanatory elements of the conflict can only be analyzed with the other two themes as starting points.

#### **4.1 Territory and local discourses**

In this subsection, we highlight elements that have emerged as fundamental in the organization of local life, notably the constitution of a set of meanings, knowledge, and a way of life closely linked to the relationship with fishing and local nature. These elements are organized here under the themes of “religiosity”, “local knowledge”, “local ethics” and “local discourses”.

“Religiosity” concerns an attribution of bliss, be it good or bad, to a power to which the residents are subject, sometimes appearing as a consequence of nature's designs and sometimes of God'. The religiosity is evident in the history of the “Capelinha da Rua da Frente”, the old church of the town, which was never invaded by sand, unlike the houses nearby. We highlight the verses of the local poet, Ivo Rodrigues Ribeiro (2015):

Get to know the little chapel / And the place where it is / Sees what the sand does/ Trying to bury it/ It's proof that God / Won't abandon it / The first houses / From the old front street/ The sand destroyed/ That ruthlessly/ But the Holy chapel/ Today it is still present.

Like God, for the residents, nature as an entity is responsible for both providing and taking. The will of nature was often mobilized to explain, for example, a good or bad harvest of fish, but also the loss of people. It is also possible to notice a notion of dispute, of forces often placed in an antagonistic relationship, whose result is unpredictable.

With the elements of provision, challenge, and loss, this dynamic relationship with nature involves the shape of “local knowledge”, a set of knowledge and representations that arise fundamentally from fishing, but whose content refers to the more general dynamics of local nature, which applies to local daily life at various levels. This knowledge emerges from the need to know and master nature's dynamics, from the interaction with the cycles of fish species, the climate, the wind regime, tides, to organize the reproduction of life and social relations.

Together, these elements give life to “local ethics”. It is a way of life immanent to people-place dynamics. This ethics is linked to “local knowledge” itself. It incorporates values unfolded from the dynamics already reported with nature, from the knowledge necessary to the organization of these relationships and assumptions for the action and evaluation of these actions in daily life. Some central values in the constitution of this way of life and ethics form a respect-dispute dialectics with nature, expressed, for example, in stories about Marlim, called by a resident “king of the sea”, according to the record in a field diary below:

Francisco had already referred several times to a lobster that today grabbed his arm, and, when he let go, it captured the other. The speech that caught the most attention was the one about the fish Agulhão [Marlim], in which the fish, when pulled from the sea, crossed the head of a fisherman by the mouth. In another case, according to Francisco, a Marlim

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pierced the side of a boat. Francisco, at that moment, stopped and said, “it is the king of the sea. Puts Shark to run!” (Field diary, June 22/15).

While showing great respect for the fish, these stories dealt with disputes between anglers and fish that lasted for hours and from where the fisherman took pleasure and lessons about nature.

There are also “local discourses” mediators and symbolic organizers of the relations between population and place, which give meaning to local history and the lives that remain there, sets of recurring meanings in the narratives of the residents during the research. Three were highlighted: “This is Galinhos!”, the “Sons of Galinhos” and “The politics of others.”

The expression “This is Galinhos!” used to be used as a synthesis to explain what the researcher should understand from the local reality, comprising two meanings. In the first meaning, the expression indicated the idea of tranquility, of a pleasant and beautiful place, where there was trust among its residents. In a second meaning, it sometimes brought the concept of a local potential that was not developed, as in the following speech: *“Because since I got here, they say ‘Galinhos will get better, Galinhos will stay ... it will burst ... Galinhos will get good, Galinhos will not know what’*. Many times the reference to such possibilities was linked to the local tourist potential.

“Sons of Galinhos” is an expression that emerged as a synthesis of a bond between residents and the place, sometimes suggesting embracing all the natives and, other times, in a more restricted sense to fishermen. Thus, it was an expression mobilized as a counterpoint to actions harmful to the place and, above all, creating an identity between the life of the place and the life of its inhabitants and fishermen: *“Because fishermen founded this here, right? (...) Some came, they made a tent, they stayed, then others started to come, then came the (...) Then, little by little, they began to live here, right?”*

The third local discourse, “The politics of others”, appeared recurrently, indicating an understanding that the political field was outside the place and harming local development and its population, especially the “Sons of Galinhos”, acting from inside. In the following speech, the political field appears as antagonistic to the residents: *“The politics mess up. And it wasn't supposed to be like that. Because before the time that Galinhos had politics, the main one (...) helped. Each one helped a little”*.

Thus, politics can cause a fracture in the identity between the place and the “Sons of Galinhos”. The explanation for what happens in the place is usually also linked to land tenure, which appears with its owners favored by the “The politics of others” instead of the “Son of Galinhos”, particularly the fishermen.

#### **4.2 Attachment and transformations in the way of life**

Another fundamental aspect of Galinhos' context to understand the demonstrations is the attachment between residents and place. The literature on attachment and affective relationships between people and environments has skewed to two conceptions: “place as a locus of attachment”, more associated with an interactionist reading of the person-environmental relationships, very present in works that analyze the relationship between social opposition to the RESs and local bonds, and; “place as center of meaning”, under the influence of phenomenology and humanist geography (Williams, 2014). In the present work, we analyze the attachment to the place in the process and the senses and meanings that give substance to such bonds embedded in the historical-social process. In other words, singular, but determined by social mediations.

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In this sense, the process of attachment to the place is constituted, dynamized, and transformed, dialectically, together with the way of life. This process and the bonds' immanence have made it possible to analyze the local transformations and analyze the struggles in question.

Four themes emerged from the analysis. These themes are organized within a time frame, as significant moments in local history, and it is presented as follows: (a) *place attachment as the constitutive of the artisanal fishing way of life*; (b) *the enlargement of the salt industry and disarticulation of the way of life*; (c) *the constitution of a new way of life and new ethics*; (d) *a new threat of rupture*.

The development of Galinhos as a place has taken place around artisanal fishing, so the moment (a) means that the same characteristics of this way of life presuppose a constitutive form of attachment, linked primarily to the dynamics with nature analyzed in item 4.1. The most substantial element of this form of bond is identifying life itself with the place and the fishing context. Likewise, this context leads to an identification of the place as the matrix from which life emerges: *"Fishing, just my father, who raised us from fishing. He battled inside the river, taking mullets, in the day-to-day mission, he managed to bring us up"*. This bond also appears strongly connected to the "local knowledge" and "local ethics" analyzed previously. It implies understanding what affects them positively or negatively and articulating life from these references linked to nature.

However, the enlargement of the salt industry, closing several arms of the river near the sea (*gamboas*), for the production of salt, in the 1980s, caused a fracture in this way of life and attachment, damaging the basis of local social reproduction and, consequently, disarticulating the economic, social, cultural, ethical elements connected to it. The moment (b) refers to this process in which the impact of salt industry expansion on the place is understood as impacting the inhabitants' lives. The following speech by an interviewed fisherman illustrates this process: *"it has changed too much (...) Holy Mary mother of God! It is death, man (...) The time that was for today is over. Hey, this was a mother full of fish"*. In this quote, one sees the opposition between the life-giving aspect, the river as "mother", which gives the exact dimension of the attachment, in opposition to the idea of "death" brought by the salt industry.

This rupture also affects the system of knowledge proper to the local way of life, since it is the traditional fishing system itself that usually safeguards this knowledge and historical traditions. The rationality of the supply of resources (Silva, Medeiros & Silva, 2009) that constituted local knowledge was no longer able to act on the affected place, which has lost its regularity.

From this rupture, a new way of life begins to be organized, and that later will have the pre-dominance of tourism as the central articulator of life. The moment (c), with this element of the reorganization of social life is the entrance and/or expansion of capitalist social relations. These relations have been a functionality of tourism in the neoliberal stage, guaranteeing new capital accumulation processes (Ouriques, 2012). It can be said that these elements have come to coexist and blend with those of the artisanal fishing way of life.

Tourism in Galinhos include inns, restaurants, boat, *buggy*, and chariot trips. Besides incorporating a significant portion of the local workers, local tourism is an essential feature because many activities are carried out and controlled by residents, without mediation from large companies. Also, some adverse effects on local life of this tourism-oriented economy profile, such as high land valuation, increased exodus to urban centers, pauperization of other sectors not linked to tourism, and destruction of cultures (Diegues, 1988), still did not appear with intensity in the speech of the residents at the time of the research.

The previous way of life disruption and associated processes lay on the horizon an uncertainty about the possibilities of survival and, at the same time, a threat to those who may have an impact



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on that survival. Residents remain attached to the place, but the bond's determinations change the very forms of perception and action that this bond fosters.

The distrust, or even the positive evaluation, of any new element in local reality, has on the impact on tourism, employment, and income, an essential reference. These are explicit in the speech of one resident: “*they did a survey here, saying they were going to have courses, and more, they did a questionnaire, they spent a lot of money. I only see spending a lot of money and, in reality, until now nothing*”.

This is fundamental to understand the moment (d), when an external enterprise is perceived as a threat to the place and the residents' affections connected to it. It is possible to perceive an ethics that keeps the natural environment as a central element, but connected to the mercantilization of the local aesthetics proper to tourism, linked to the tourist activity's determinations. The issue of employment and income related to tourism activities also stands out, as seen in the speech below:

Because if they [*buggy* drivers] lose, we do too. That's it. I picked up the guys there at the Pratagil and took them there. I somehow, like you're saying, it wasn't going to be (...) basically, nothing. But what? Our economy was going to stop. Why would it? There are twenty *buggy* drivers. It's twenty families. If these twenty families stop making money, the town also stops collecting.

It is also possible to see similarities between this way of approaching the *buggy* drivers' situation and that fishermen talked about as “Sons of Galinhos” linking their lives to that of the place itself but with different socioeconomic content. This dynamic of relating is mobilized in the questioning of the wind farm and understanding the significant and potential impacts mediated by tourism as an activity that organizes the way of life.

It is essential to point out one of the conflict elements that stand out from there, which concerns an ethical and epistemic confrontation. The wind farm is confronted by the features that are part of the dynamic of linking residents to the place. Besides, “local knowledge”, emerging from the relationships already analyzed, is a central element in understanding the impacts that will be brought and serve to unveil hidden aspects under the banner of sustainability.

And this is not any irrationalist denial of the sustainable character of energy from renewable sources, but precisely to show what the uncritically presupposed positive value conceals, that is, its ideological character. In this sense, “local knowledge” and “local ethics” allow us to question the neutrality of the ideas associated with the RESs, since they carry capitalist social relations and, therefore, have a class character. Accordingly, local knowledge and ethics act upon placing ecological expertise in terms of class struggles (Foladori, 2000), that is, in the impact of local life and the confrontation between the company and the residents' interests. Conflicting interests that now appear as a moment of consciousness of the residents. The speech below exemplifies it:

Because the day you had an audience there, you said it was just landscaping. I say, “Miss, for God's sake! Oh! This energy is clean, but here, on the dunes, it will be dirty” (...) Because there are people who just say “oh! Clean energy, that these people go against!” No, right? Nobody is against clean energy, but the way it's done.

There is a conflict in the ethical field that is expressed as two distinct bits of knowledge: one that emerges from singular relationships with place and that expresses the determinations of a specific way of life, and the other that imposes itself as a universal ethic and that does so by hiding

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its historical-social determinations and being mobilized for the advance of capitalist relations. This conclusion puts two "versions" of the "green" in opposition: a "local green", which has environmental values linked to the local way of life, knowledge, and ethics; and an "official green", which, even though it has sustainable potential, such as the RESs, acts by denying this potential and local relations, bringing a series of negative impacts to the place. This issue will be taken up again in the next subsection.

### 4.3 *Hugging the dunes*

The demonstrations against the Rei dos Ventos I wind farm's implementation over the Dunes of the Capim became known as "hugging the dunes". We now present how residents' place attachment, place meanings, and what the wind farm represents within the history of transformations in the place and the way of life of its population, were mobilized in the quotes about the manifestations.

Throughout the interviews and the elements discussed in topics 4.1 and 4.2, it is possible to see the construction of a "voice of the place" which seeks to express the interests of the place itself and its population. The content of this "voice of the place" lies in the dynamics of attachment to it and in the local knowledge that acts as an immanent ethical body. This voice is opposed to the meanings carried by those considered invaders. In this sense, it is possible to see content in the residents' speech to point out ethical, class, and place identities. To situate these identities appears as a fundamental resource of the manifestations, opposing the "Sons of Galinhos" to the "invaders".

Thus, four themes were highlighted in the interviews regarding the meanings mobilized to explain the manifestations: *the mobilization of the identities of the place, the conflict, the enterprise, and its operators; the mobilization of a sense of community; the centrality of the land as an element of this dispute; the conflict as a conflict between different ethics.*

We can see these aspects from the extracts below:

Then they began to offer employment to the people, employ them. They got ten guys here, "You're employed" (...) The guys would come to work (...) the boys said they would come, and they would say, "sit there!" "No, we won't. we came to work." "No. But sit there." Then they asked us to sit down. Every month they'd pay the guys to say "They were working, you know? For a community that needs a job, my brother, there's no one there".

My brother, by the time we got there, the machines were already 'going in there, bringing down the whole dune, brother! Taking everything, bending the woods, nature (...) Who sold it and who signed it, this time he's on a high, enjoying it, waiting for the people to be dredged. (...) The sea came and washed away, only that white, clean sand, you see here today, the tide advancing and the people putting stone so as not to lose their right, the little piece of land. (...) And, then, after they took the dune, the mangroves are being buried.

It wasn't made here on Galinhos because we didn't let it. (...) It was a massive fight, you know why? Because there is a source of tourism. They came more to see that beauty from there, people. Oh! They tampered with nature. If you see it (...) you've already been there. Look, it wasn't like that, no. (...) They wanted to do it near Galos. I don't know how many masts we managed to get away from the masts (...) "Oh! Wind energy" I don't know that, so

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I said, “that one that's on television, that a city destroyed? They invaded” (...) Because we didn't do anything big, we were there defending what was ours. They who invaded.

The narratives presented place themselves as narratives of resistance organizing locally available resources that are proper to a way of life that, in a context of the conflict in which force relations are organized around the destructive expansion of capital, becomes a counter-hegemonic way of life. In this direction, it is possible to verify an identity of the place already with an aesthetic meaning in the passage “*it was a massive fight, do you know why? Because there it is the source of tourism. They came more to see that beauty from there*”. Besides, this passage brings tourism as part of the place in a more obvious way. The wind farm doesn't have an independent meaning from the meaning of place itself for the residents at the moment in question. One sees, then, the emotional relationship with the place itself as dynamic. And the identity of the transformation appears here in a little personalistic way. The focus is on the “*wind farm*” or as “*the one that's on television, that a city destroyed?*”

In this direction of defining identities in the construction of the meanings of the transformation undertaken by the implementation of the wind farm, we see the statement that “*Who sold it and who signed it, this time he's on a high, enjoying it, waiting for the people to be dredged*”. The responsibility is identified as an opposition between classes: those who are “on a high” (referring to the high rises in the big cities) and those who will perhaps be dredged by the river and sand resulted from the transformations. One problem that presents itself in this passage is that nature has turned against the place because of human intervention. In terms of class, it can be said that capital (personified in those who are “on high”) has set nature against the place.

Nature against the place poses a new problem for the affective dynamics concerning the area, which has been reorganized around tourism. The elements of the local environment that are important in the dynamics of attachment, such as the regularity of nature, have come to articulate this activity. Along with this, the local knowledge itself has incorporated new elements that concern tourist activities' development. If before, place, nature, and personal lives, presented themselves as one thing, representing the sense of the attachment, now is no longer possible. It is a process of alienation from the place, in the antagonistic sense to appropriation, based on the construction of meanings over physical spaces (Vidal & Pol, 2005). Some place elements begin to appear as strangers to the residents, no longer determined by the relationships they established, but by forces, they do not know. Place is less and less product of the interaction between its residents and it, but appropriated and transformed by agents that oppose it.

On the other hand, the identity associated with the class condition of residents, increasingly proletarianized, also appears in the narratives, as we see in the passages “*They got ten guys here, 'You're employed' (...) The guys would come to work*” and “*for a community that needs a job, my brother, there's no one there*”. What appears as new content is the salaried work and the use of workers' condition to diminish the demonstrations' force. The transformation in the local way of life organizes a centrality of wage-earning work that did not exist to the same extent when it was a place that survived nearly from fishing.

It is visible, in the intervention of the salt industry, the character of capitalist expropriation (Fontes, 2010), typical of the way Marx (1867/2013) understood the so-called primitive accumulation, which, by removing from people the social means of production, leaves no other alternative than to sell the labor force and be submitted to the relations of the labor market. Another dimension of this expropriation process is transforming the means of life into capital, in what subordinates the worker (Fontes, 2010). The example patent, in this case, is the land/river. It is no wonder that

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the protests' fundamental claim was not to surround the land where the *buggy* rides are made. If once the river had been expropriated in this sense, the wind farm meant a new expropriation, now linked to work in tourism.

The second aspect highlighted, *the mobilization of a sense of community*, is seen in the idea of collectivity to refer to the residents, which emerges as essential to talk about what was conquered, as in the passage “*it wasn't made here on Galinhos because we didn't let it*”. In opposition to the characterization of the act of invasion of the wind farm, there is the organization of the community “we” around rights that emerge from the place. In the passage, “*because we didn't do anything big, we were there defending what was ours. They who invaded*” he evokes, from local attachment, who the place belongs to and who belongs to it, rescuing the idea of “Sons of Galinhos,” already more widespread than the fishermen.

This aspect also appears in the statement “*we are not against wind energy, but we don't want to be on top of our dunes either*”. At the time of the manifestation, the local dunes had the meaning of something that belongs to the community because the relationship was one of belonging, just as the river.

The third element of emphasis is the *centrality of land in conflict*. The dispute under analysis has the socio-spatial features as the basis on which it unfolds. In this sense, it is a spatialized class struggle. At stake is the dispute over land, between expropriation and correlated private appropriation of space, which was “*taking everything, bending the woods, nature*” which “*after they took the dune, the mangroves are being buried*”, and collective control of space. And, in this sense, the residents mobilize the meaning it has for them and tries to show that those who come from outside affect precisely the dynamics of this nature, this place, which has material and symbolic value.

Another aspect that appears as the orientation of the lines in question is the *conflict between different ethics*. Using the elements of nature and its impact as content in the statements, they are contesting the hegemonic narrative of wind energy itself as environmentally ethical. This relates to what was discussed earlier about an epistemic conflict dimension, which is part of the fourth aspect of the conflict, which is the ethical dispute. As it is seen in the interview passage quoted on that occasion, “*this energy is clean, but here, on the dunes, it will be dirty*” and in the speech “*you see here today, the tide advancing and the people putting stone so as not to lose their right, the little piece of land*”, for example. The “local knowledge” and the fact of being constituted by the dynamics with nature, which in the tourist phase of the city gains reinforcement of the aesthetic element, are fundamental to this challenge to the implementation of the wind farm, which has at its disposal the ideology of sustainability in the context of mercantilization of the environmental issue.

This dispute's weight reinforces the character of class struggle and the profile of the transformations undertaken by the wind farm - and the previous ones - as typical capitalist expropriations. The domination of the order of capital is the imposition of specific social relations whose core is the guarantee of private appropriation of a surplus-value. One of its mechanisms for this is the destruction of traditional ways of life and knowledge and the impound of workers' experience (Marx, 1867/2013), often turning this knowledge into merchandise. However, we can see a confrontation precisely seeking to avoid such the destruction of knowledge and new expropriations.

The “local knowledge” appears as a resource in the conflict between elements from the dynamics of artisanal fishing and others related to tourism. It is, however, the land as a mediator of the confrontation. On the side of the enterprise of the wind farm, considered as an invader, is the private appropriation of that resource for the function of capital accumulation and, on the other hand, the very place with its dynamics where the land is the source of survival and organization of

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the local way of life, be it the way of life of artisanal fishing or that oriented by tourism. In this sense, one can affirm, as the protest strips indicated, that there was no opposition between residents and wind energy in itself, but a socio-environmental expression of class struggles, in the form of a struggle between capital and place.

## 5. Final considerations

In this work, we analyzed the widespread opposition to the Rei dos Ventos I wind farm implementation, which occurred in the town of Galinhos during 2012. We started from the dynamics of people's attachment to the place and the transformations in the meanings of the place because of the transformations in the local way of life, having as an essential landmark the expansion of a salt industry and the growth of tourism as an activity that organizes local life.

Some contributions of the study deserve to be highlighted. First, the research shows that studies on RESs leave out of consideration understand local relations and attachment to place when they seek to understand the local population's opposition to such enterprises and that ethnography is a useful tool in this regard. Secondly, it shows that meanings, acceptance or resistance, related to this type of enterprise, besides emerging from individual local relationships, also presuppose broader social structures of the very historical-social landscape in which such social relationships are inserted. In this sense, processes of expropriation and private appropriation of land, the community's proletarianization, conflicts between capital and labor, the valorization of capital through new technological niches related to the conception of sustainable development provide the framework within which such conflicts unfold, and senses emerge. Third, these aspects deserve much attention when dealing with countries on the periphery of capitalism, because in the name of "modernization", "development" and "sustainability", relations of overexploitation of the labor force, destruction of traditional ways of life and knowledge, are implemented, deepening both the inequality within these countries and the unequal relationship in the international division of labor. The RESs, within the logic of capitalist expansion, end up serving as a lever for this. Fourthly, local resistance has a broader character of the opposition to a force of capital. On a more concrete level, it mobilizes heterogeneous elements and social groups that depend on the context under analysis. In Galinhos' scenario, the memory of the destruction caused by the salt industry and the destructuring of the artisanal fishing way of life, the need to preserve the local environment for tourism, the issues of land and employment, and the construction of a sense of collectivity linked to the defense of the place, which allows them to see the enterprise as an "invader" and a "threat," also seeking to unveil the contradictions it brings, are highlighted. This analysis results for the study of this type of conflict in psychology and person-environment relations the need to analyze the political-economic dimension of what appears as a psychosocial element at an immediate level.

However, the research occurred at a time when contestations to this type of enterprise were still rare in Brazil, making broader and comparative studies impossible, and in a place quite mobilized around tourism. Future research may contribute to understanding disputes regarding the implementation of wind farms in other socio-spatial contexts, analyzing similarities and differences that allow for understanding other contradictions present in such initiatives, especially in the contexts of peripheral capitalist countries.

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