



TIMELINE AND DRIVERS OF CHANGE



**Governance and Infrastructure in the Amazon - GIA
PROJECT**

Tropical Conservation and Development Program - TCD

University of Florida - UF

General Introduction

The University of Florida's Tropical Conservation and Development Program houses the Governance and Infrastructure in the Amazon (GIA) project, which is made possible with funding from the Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation. GIA seeks to work with conservation partner organizations in different regions of the Amazon with mosaics of protected areas and indigenous lands that are incurring infrastructure planning and investments. The goals of GIA are to foster knowledge and information exchanges among conservation partners and to evaluate conservation practice, in order to support creation of a community of practice about governance of infrastructure in the Amazon.

To that end, the GIA team has organized workshops and other activities with conservation partners to employ tools to compile knowledge and information about governance and infrastructure. One tool involves timelines of events and processes in each of the regions where GIA conservation partners work. Timelines are a way to visualize histories in specific regions. Compilation of events and processes allows for identification of sequences of events and historical contingencies to understand changes in governance of infrastructure over time. Construction of timelines across regions permits comparisons of different histories across the Amazon.

In 2019, GIA organized workshops with conservation partners in each of four regions of the Amazon: Loreto (Peru), the Upper Madeira (Bolivia and Brazil), southern Amazonas and northern Rondonia (Brazil), and Colombia. Each workshop included participants from governments, NGOs, universities, communities, and other social actors. In each workshop, participants collectively constructed timelines of events and processes that facilitated or impeded governance of infrastructure. Along the timeline, participants placed cards with comments indicating key events and processes, and discussed the importance of the comments as related to each other.

From the workshop timelines, the GIA team created analytical timeline figures in a common format. The analytical timelines focus on the time period from 2000 to 2019. These timelines differentiate between events and processes operating on different scales, from the local to the regional, the national and the international. The GIA team adopted a shared color scheme to differentiate among types of events and processes, including public policies, infrastructure projects, infrastructure impacts, environmental setbacks, and collective action. The design of the analytical timeline figures is intended to efficiently summarize the information from the many comments provided by workshop participants. The shared format of the timeline figures seeks to facilitate comparisons among the different regional histories of governance of infrastructure across the Amazon.

To complement the timeline figures, we also provide brief narratives to interpret the histories presented. In the descriptions, we note time periods when many events occurred, and

events especially important for subsequent years. We also note instances where events on one scale influenced processes on another. The GIA team also offers interpretive comments on key lessons from each timeline. Our intent is to call attention to patterns and sequences in events and processes for interpretive discussion with conservation partners and other stakeholders about prospects for governance of infrastructure.

This report thus uses timelines as a tool to stimulate reflection and discussion about governance of infrastructure in the Amazon. The timelines we report are not complete or definitive histories, but rather are selective of the experiences and priorities of workshop participants and the perspectives of the GIA team. We hope the timeline figures and narratives provoke further reflection and discussion that leads to new insights. These can serve the larger goal of improving the effectiveness of conservation strategies and practice with regard to governance of infrastructure in the Amazon.

Loreto, Peru

The region of Loreto, Peru has historically been somewhat isolated from the rest of the country due to the lack of a complete road from the regional capital of Iquitos to the national capital, Lima, and other cities. The GIA workshop in Iquitos brought together stakeholders from the local to the national level to reflect on changes in infrastructure and its governance in the region over time. Figure 1 shows the Loreto workshop timeline, which permits review of the distribution of cards over time. There are relatively few until 2007, and numerous cards from then up to 2016. We therefore note some key events outside of the 2007-2016 period, but focus on that period in our discussion.

Figure 1. Workshop Timeline from Participants in Loreto



For Loreto, a key national event occurred in 1992 that shaped the country’s subsequent development: the coup d’etat that concentrated power in the Fujimori administration. Under Fujimori, the Government of Peru did create the National Institute for Natural Resources (INRENA). But as Peru went through a political, social and economic crisis, governance and decentralization mechanisms were paralyzed. Although Congress approved the “Decentralization Law” in 1998, it was not effective until 2000, the year in which Fujimori’s authoritarian government ended. Afterward, decentralization and other processes were allowed to advance.

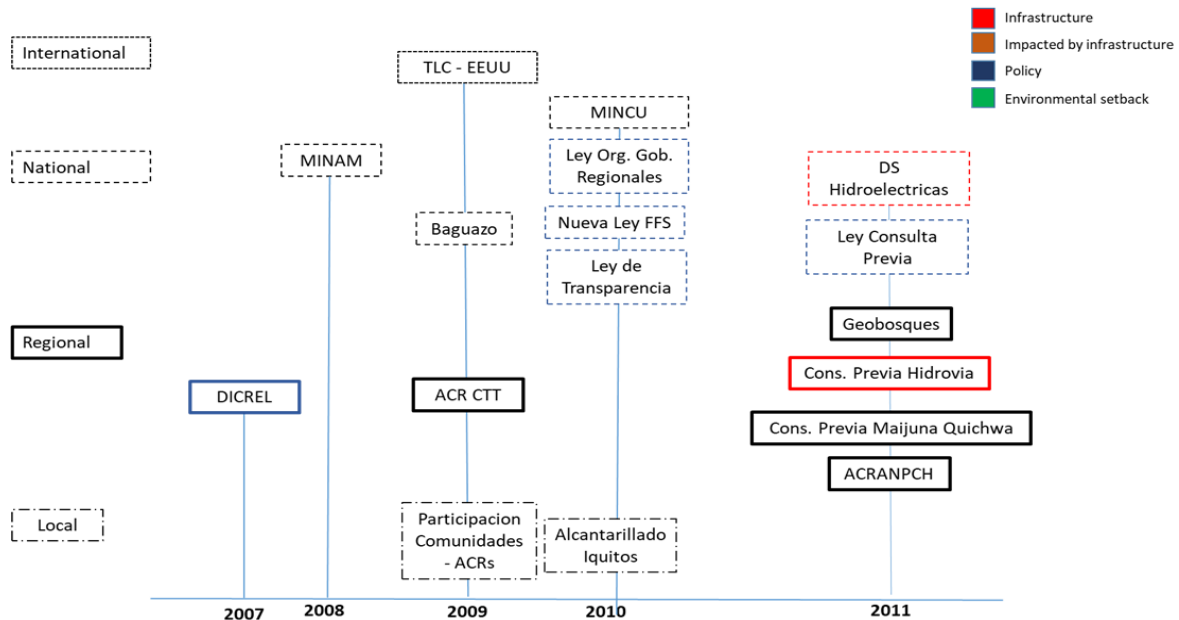
This was important for regional governments, including in Loreto. In 2001-2002, a regional transition government enacted a territorial management plan (C-TAR Loreto). Loreto had its first regional government from 2003 to 2006, but little of consequence occurred during this time in terms of governance and decentralization, as is evident in the workshop timeline. Later regional governments faced the challenge of assuming new responsibilities to manage the territory. They required great support from other stakeholders to implement decentralization for governance.

By 2007, diverse stakeholders were increasingly working together in Loreto. These stakeholders included NGOs (e.g., NCI, DAR, SPDA), state agencies (e.g., IIAP, INRENA, MINAM), universities and other scientific organizations (e.g., UNAP, IVITA, UNMSM, the Chicago Field Museum), and local populations (indigenous peoples and other rural community associations). Together, these stakeholders identified a common objective: improve regional governance capacity. Diverse stakeholders therefore began providing the Regional Government of Loreto (GOREL) with technical, legal, and operational support for more effective governance of natural resources in Loreto. Conservation NGOs working in Loreto stressed the need to protect the region’s biological diversity, and to promote sustainable development of local communities who depend on forest resources for their livelihoods. Active collaboration in sustained partnerships led to the identification and implementation of conservation and sustainability initiatives for Loreto. By 2016, GOREL exerted greater authority over Loreto than 10 years earlier. Because many other stakeholders provided valuable input and capacity to that end, workshop participants felt that this strengthened governance in Loreto.

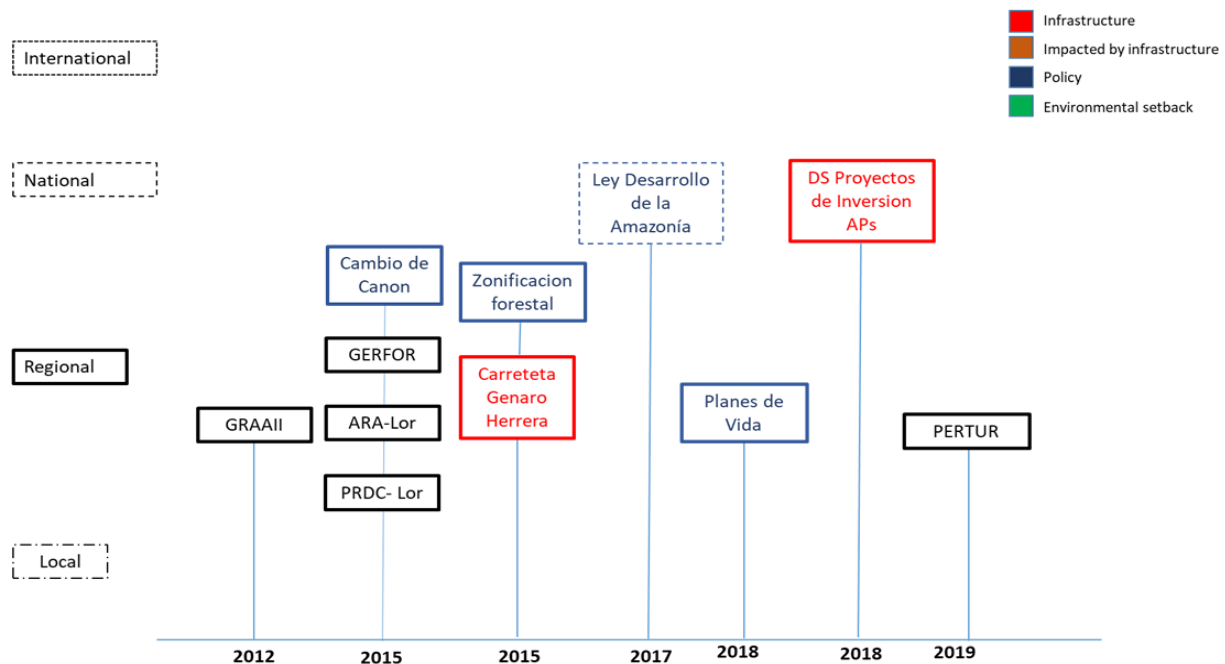
Figure 2 provides a reorganized summary of key events and processes in Loreto from 2007 to 2019, featuring the many events during 2007-2016. This figure organizes events and processes along a timeline (from left to right) and by scale (from local at the bottom to international at the top). Numerous institutional changes occurred during 2007-2016, especially at the regional and national levels. The GOREL administration from 2007-2014 was run by the same political party, which explicitly sought to reconcile conservation and development in its term “productive conservation” (*conservación productiva*). GOREL thus pursued a policy that promoted regional protected areas (RPAs) as development poles. In 2007, DICREL was established, a regional office to manage and protect the biological diversity of Loreto via RPAs and other planning mechanisms (Agrobiodiversity Areas, Climate Change Regional Plan, etc.). The creation of DICREL generated a cascade effect that has shaped the territorial management of Loreto ever since. Since 2007, four RPAs were established in Loreto: the Tamshiyacu Tahuayo Communal RPA (2009), the Alto Nanay Pintuyacu Chambira RPA (2010), the Ampiyacu Apayacu RPA (2011); Maijuna Kichwa (2016). A key step in the creation of RPAs were closely related regional changes to implement various examples of prior consultations (*consultas previas*) as part of the planning process, notably in the case of the Maijuna Kichwa RPA.

Figure 2. Timeline for Loreto, by Year (2007-2019) and Level of Scale

Panel a. Loreto Timeline, 2007-2011



Panel b. Loreto Timeline, 2012-2019



At the same time, there were numerous events and processes at the national level during 2007-2016. The Government of Peru created the Ministry of Environment (MINAM) in 2008 and the Ministry of Culture (MINCU) in 2010, to oversee agencies charged with resource management and indigenous rights, respectively. In 2010, the national government also approved laws clarifying mandates for Regional Governments, as well as management and protection of Wildlife and Native Plants, and requirements for state transparency. In 2011, the Government of Peru added proposals to revise environmental and social evaluations of hydroelectric projects and passed the prior consultation law.

By 2015, new changes began to push back against the advance of broad-based environmental governance in Loreto. At the regional level, elections changed parties in power in GOREL. The new GOREL administration, from 2015 to 2018, minimized funds and technical support for the regional conservation system. Rural communities found themselves demanding GOREL continue support for environmental governance and related priorities such as access rights to natural resources. NGOs similarly pushed GOREL to continue regional conservation planning as a means of enacting environmental governance. At the national level, the Government of Peru advanced major infrastructure projects in Loreto, including the Genaro-Herrera hydroelectric facility and the Iquitos-Saramiriza highway, as well as the Amazon waterway project (hidrovía). Each poses specific threats to environmental conservation and sustainable livelihoods in Loreto, as well as regional environmental governance.

The Loreto timeline, which reflects contributions from diverse participants in the GIA Loreto workshop, allows for the identification of some lessons learned. The period of authoritarian government from 1992 to 2000 constituted a period of pause for environmental governance in Loreto. While INRENA was created, decentralization was paralyzed. The period from 2000-2007

marked an important transition via decentralization to regional governments and the emergence of collaborations among stakeholders for conservation and sustainability initiatives. The period from 2007 to 2016 subsequently yielded numerous advances in environmental governance in Loreto. However, the period since has seen more worrisome changes, both in terms of a GOREL administration that was less sympathetic to broad-based environmental governance and in terms of national infrastructure projects planned for Loreto. We note however that the collaborative ties among various stakeholders in Loreto to support environmental governance continue to advocate for participatory planning processes.

Upper Madeira, Bolivia and Brazil

The upper Madeira mosaic encompasses a large and complex region. Participants in the upper Madeira GIA workshop delineated the region as spanning northern Bolivia (from the TIPNIS area to Pando and Beni) and portions of western Brazil (northern Rondonia). Key to this area is the Madeira River and its large tributaries, which are the sites of planned or implemented hydroelectric dams. The upper Madeira is the domain of the Madeira Hydroelectric Complex, which encompasses the Santo Antonio and Jirau dams, which have been constructed, as well as the Binacional, which is in the concluding stages of being inventoried, and Cachuela Esperanza, which is in the planning stage. The siting of dams on the Madeira River motivated the emergence of the Amazon Dams Network (ADN). Many ADN members participated in the upper Madeira GIA workshop. Consequently, the timeline for the upper Madeira region is highly focused on the planning and impacts of dams.

The timeframe for the upper Madeira timeline also reflected key events involving infrastructure planning. Workshop participants identified the timeline starting point as the beginning of the Initiative for the Integration of Regional Infrastructure of South America (IIRSA), now called COSIPLAN, in 2000. The ending point defined by workshop participants was the most recent flooding event in the lower Madeira in early 2019.

Figure 3 presents the workshop timeline with cards from participants in the upper Madeira region. What is immediately evident from the timeline is that infrastructure becomes a locus of regional change in 2007, after the auctioning of the Santo Antonio Dam in Brazil. Workshop participants placed most of their cards in the years since 2010, and most of those cards focus on infrastructure planning and construction and impacts.

Figure 3. Workshop Timeline from Participants in the Upper Madeira Region



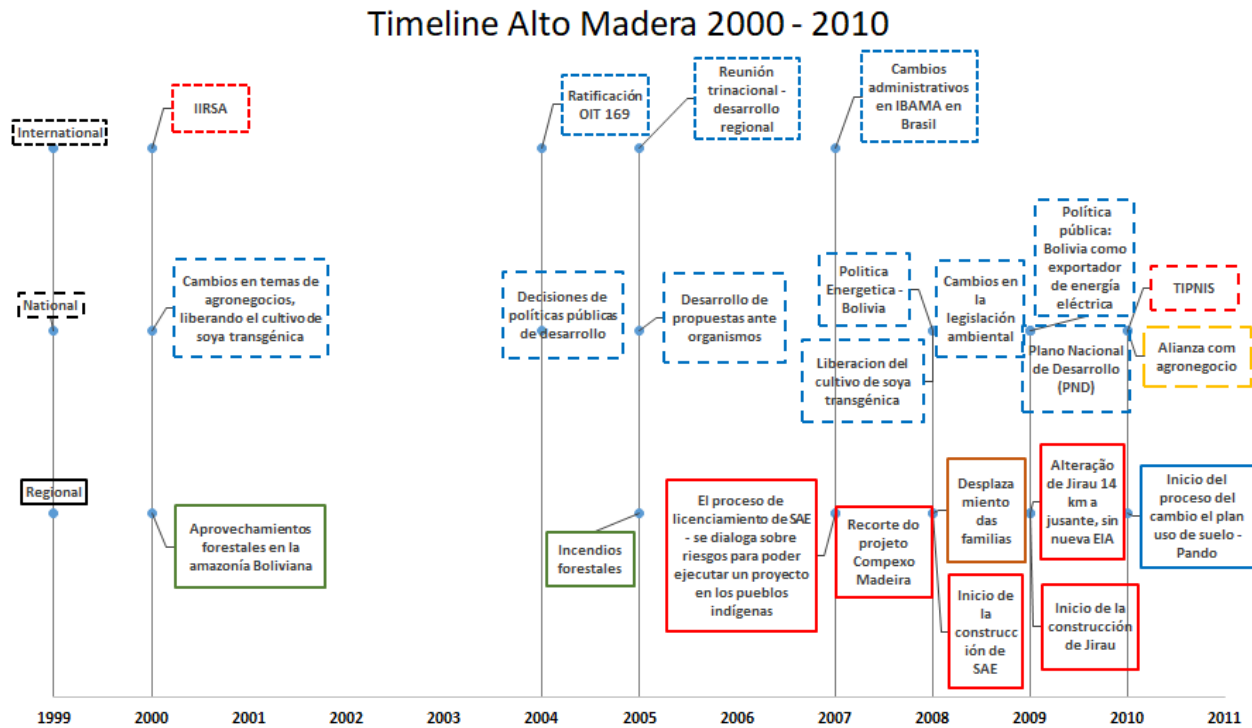
GRUPOS DE TRABAJO DEL PROYECTO GIA
 TEMA: FORTALECIMIENTO DE LA COMUNIDAD DE PRÁCTICA
 03. LÍNEA DEL TIEMPO INTERACTIVA

Many events in the workshop timeline are policy changes related to infrastructure in Bolivia and Brazil, many of which focus on energy. Closely related are many cards that focus on key moments in the planning process for specific infrastructure projects, notably the Santo Antonio and Jirau dams. Another important topic of many cards concerns the changing role of NGOs in the region, both as allies of local peoples and generators and disseminators of information and knowledge about dams and their impacts. The advance of projects alongside the work of NGOs thus led to another focus of many cards in the upper Madeira timeline, namely the publication or other dissemination of information critical of dams or contrary to official statements about their impacts. This focus on impacts reflects the participation of many civil society stakeholders in the upper Madeira GIA workshop who have been directly impacted by the infrastructure discussed, as well as researchers that analyze those impacts.

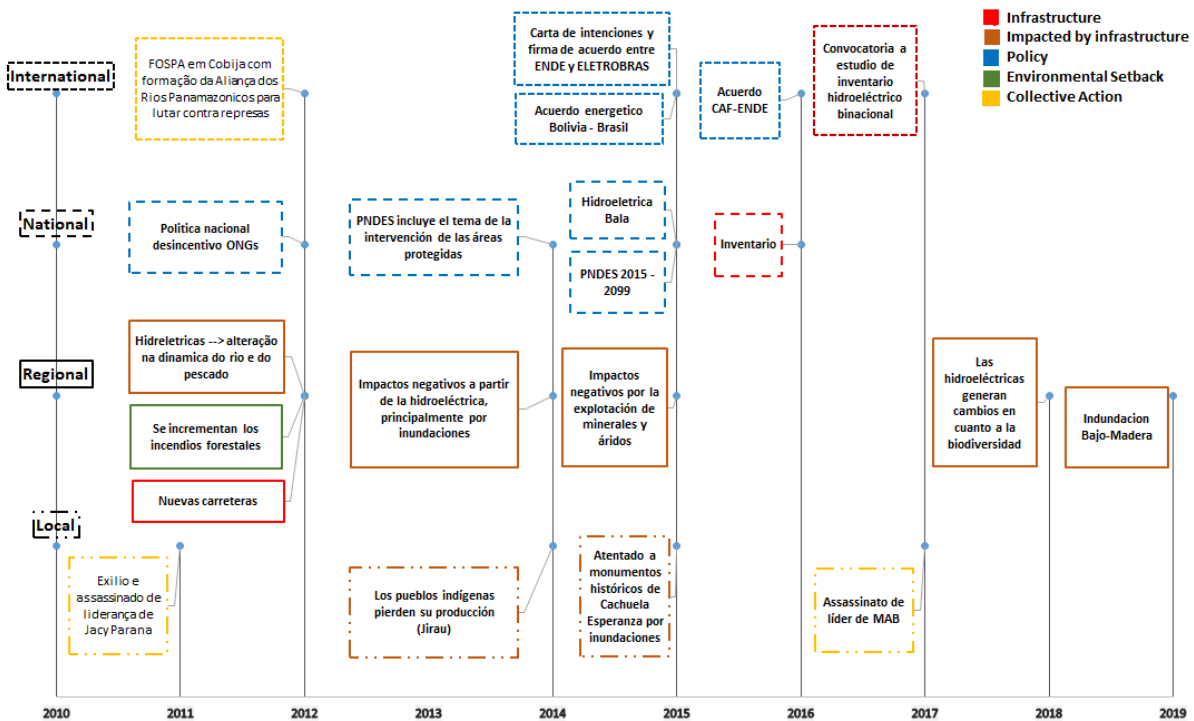
Figure 4 reorganizes the workshop timeline to present key events and processes by year of occurrence (from 2000 to 2019) and by level of scale (from local to international). Figure 4 is organized into two panels, with Figure 4a for 2000 to 2010 and Figure 4b for 2011 to 2019. A significant issue in the scaled timeline is that the upper Madeira is a binational region where national policies must often be coordinated via international agreements. Both panels show numerous policy decisions (blue) at the national and international levels, which often seek to advance infrastructure and/or undermine criticism and broad participation in planning. Examples in the 2000s (Figure 4a) include shifts in the Government of Bolivia's energy policy (2008) and Bolivia's strategy to become an energy exporter (2009). Examples in Figure 4b include the Government of Bolivia's policy to curtail NGO independence (2012) and top-down infrastructure plans (2014, 2015), and Brazil-Bolivia agreements and letters of intent. Those events tended to

transpire alongside infrastructure planning itself (red), occurring at the same high levels. Figure 4 shows various infrastructure events. While events related to the Santo Antonio and Jirau span the timeline (4a and 4b), events related to other dams (El Bala, Binacional, Cachuela Esperanza) emerge in Figure 4b. The only other international event involved grassroots collective action: the FOSPA event in Cobija, Bolivia to form the Pan-Amazonian Rivers Alliance which seeks to protect rivers from damming.

Figure 4. Timeline for the Upper Madeira, by Year (2011-2019) and Level of Scale



Timeline Alto Madeira 2011 - 2019



At the regional and local scales, workshop participants emphasized the implementation of dams, notably in Figure 4a, and their impacts, especially in Figure 4b. Examples of impacts include displacement of families, loss of agricultural production, and changes in fisheries on the Madeira River. Workshop participants pointed out negative impacts of dams on livelihoods rather than deeper socio-cultural impacts. Participants also noted multiple flooding events on the Madeira River. At the local level, workshop participants highlighted threats and assassinations of local activists, including a prominent leader of the Brazilian Movement of Dam Affected People (MAB) in 2017.

From the upper Madeira timeline, it is clear that energy infrastructure is of critical importance in the region, in terms of policy, infrastructure itself, its impacts, and collective action. Of the 49 events listed, 26 are related to energy development in general, of which 21 are directly related to specific dam projects. This likely reflects the discourse of the Government of Bolivia, which promotes the country's energy resources as the future "battery of South America". As the timeline made evident, beyond earlier projects like Santo Antonio and Jirau, more elements of the Madeira Hydroelectric Complex are moving forward. Northern Bolivia has many rivers that are slated to help the country advance its energy strategy.

Equally, the upper Madeira timeline made clear that workshop participants were well aware of the negative impacts of dams. The emphasis on negative social and environmental impacts reflects the lived experiences of many workshop participants, as well as the research by ADN members to document the kinds of impacts and their magnitude. The many top-down processes featuring agreements, policies and infrastructure, and the numerous observations of negative impacts, also

make evident the strong cross-scale processes operating in the upper Madeira. In particular, Brazil's demand for energy, and funding to make infrastructure happen, has motivated Bolivia to pursue its long-range hydroelectric energy strategy.

The imposition of dams, combined with the legislation against NGO independence and threats and violence against activists, show that there is not effective environmental governance in the upper Madeira. This is not for lack of strenuous mobilization by civil society and the formation of ADN, which has exerted a major organizational effort to form collaborative alliances that led to collection of data and publication of findings critical of major projects. Rather, ineffective governance would seem to stem from the strong international focus of policy making between national governments and their consequent lack of responsiveness to criticism from local and regional stakeholders.

Key to understanding the upper Madeira timeline is that the Santo Antonio and Jirau dams are not viewed negatively by their governmental advocates, who continue to pursue hydroelectric projects in the Madeira watershed. In stark contrast, the many negative impacts visited upon local communities and regional society, and the threats and violence against activists who speak out, suggest that there is a combination of pressure on local peoples and a need to find more effective avenues for bottom-up communication to reach national governments.

The links between high-level policies and agreements and plans on the one hand and local scale impacts and pressures on the other merit further attention. Policies to advance energy infrastructure as development are a constant throughout the 20 years of the upper Madeira workshop timeline. It would be useful to take a deeper look to more specifically evaluate the basis for new dam proposals. For example, the justification for a binational dam to make a navigable waterway seems obvious enough. That in turn likely reflects deeper reasons that are connected to other priorities, such as policies to foster more mining and agribusiness. This leads to another reflection on the upper Madeira timeline: most items listed by workshop participants took place in Bolivia, though many were driven by Brazil. Better understanding the international relations between the two governments seems crucial to grasping the lessons to be learned from the upper Madeira timeline. Finally, it would be useful to reflect further with workshop participants to better understand why certain events were emphasized in the upper Madeira timeline. For example, development plans are listed multiple times but it is not always clear why they are considered key events. One specifically mentions that protected areas are incorporated into the National Development Plan (PNDES) in 2014, demonstrating a changing relationship between development planning and conservation, but the reasons for pointing this out were not discussed.

Southern Amazonas-Northern Rondonia, Brazil

The third region encompasses the southern portion of the state of Amazonas and the northern part of the state of Rondonia, both in Brazil. This region encompasses a complex mosaic of numerous types of protected areas, as well as multiple indigenous lands. Multiple highways pass through this area: 1) the BR-319 from Manaus southward in parallel to the Madeira River to

Humaita and then Porto Velho; 2) the Transamazon (BR-230), which runs east-west through Humaita to Labrea and then Boca do Acre; and 3) the BR-364, that runs through Rondonia to Porto Velho and then west toward Acre. These highways cross or pass near to many protected and indigenous lands.

The southern Amazonas-northern Rondonia GIA workshop occurred in Candeias do Jamari, Rondonia, Brazil. There were 32 participants, with 16 from academic institutions, 11 from NGOs, 2 indigenous representatives, 1 labor union representative, one rubber tapper association representative, and one state-level government agency representative. Workshop participants contributed cards to the lower Madeira timeline on topics they viewed as relevant to governance and infrastructure.

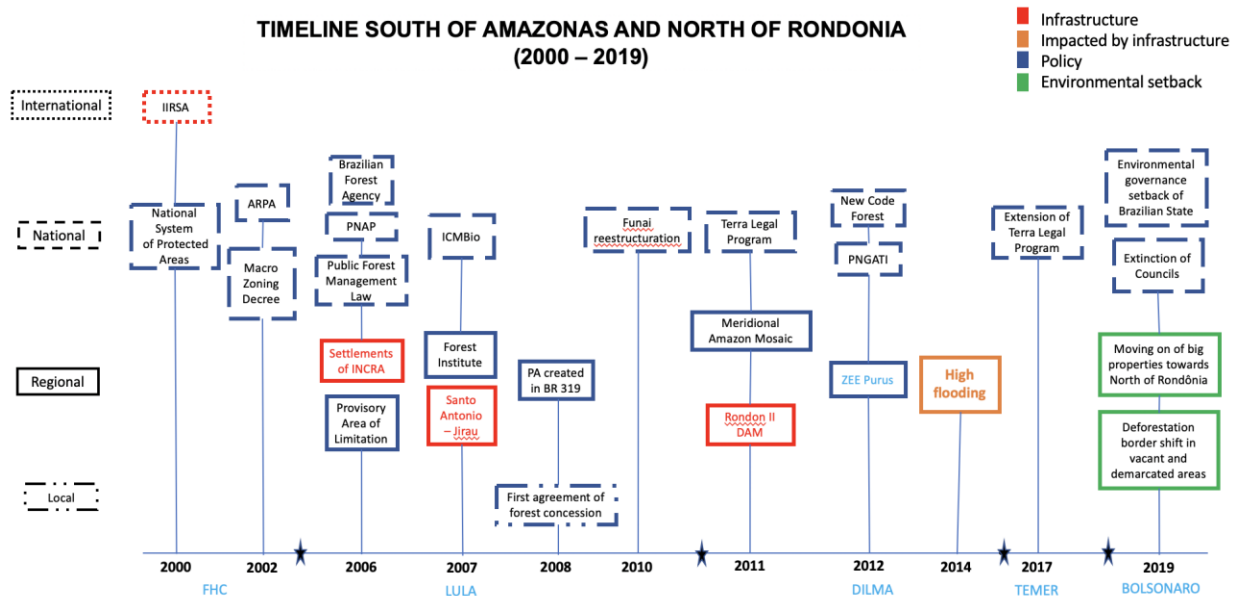
Figure 5 presents the workshop timeline for the southern Amazonas-northern Rondonia region. Workshop participants mentioned events related to infrastructure, public policies, collective action, and environmental changes in the region. The timeline begins with an event that occurred more than a century ago: the construction of the Madeira-Mamore Railroad, completed in 1912. Participants did not indicate additional events until the 1960s, which marked the opening of the BR-364. The majority of the events indicated by workshop participants took place during the military regime (1964-1988) or in the years since.

Figure 5. Workshop Timeline from Participants in the southern Amazonas-northern Rondonia Region



Figure 6 presents a reorganized timeline for the southern Amazonas-northern Rondonia region. We focus on the last 20 years and differentiate between events and processes occurring on different levels of scale (from the local to the international). Figure 6 also distinguishes between infrastructure events, infrastructure impacts, policy changes and environmental setbacks.

Figure 6. Timeline for the southern Amazonas-northern Rondonia Region, by Year (2000-2019) and Level of Scale



Note. Stars indicate changes in presidential administrations.

The reorganized timeline does not report many international or global events. The exception is the constitution of IIRSA, the Initiative for Integration of Regional Infrastructure in South America, under Brazilian governmental leadership in 2000. The federal government sought to promote cross-border infrastructure projects, including those that would increase commercial traffic across the southern Amazonas-northern Rondonia region.

Workshop participants indicated numerous policy-related events at the national scale that affected the southern Amazonas-northern Rondonia region, mostly during the Lula and Dilma administrations. Various agencies of the federal government enacted policy changes such as implementation of the National System of Protected Areas in 2000, which influenced various other related changes in the years that followed, such as the ecological-economic zoning decree, creation of co-management councils, and requirements of environmental impact assessments. The Chico Mendes Institute for Biodiversity (ICMBio) was separated from the environmental agency IBAMA in 2007, and the indigenous affairs agency FUNAI was restructured in 2010. Each of these policies and programs helped strengthen environmental governance in certain lands in the lower Madeira region. However, the election of Jair Bolsonaro in 2018 has led to changes that undermine governance of protected areas and indigenous lands. This is especially occurring in environmental agencies over which the Bolsonaro administration has control, such as the Ministry of Environment (MMA), IBAMA and ICMBio. Crucial to control of environmental agencies is Bolsonaro's appointments of military personnel to key positions. Other changes have transpired via presidential decrees, such as reduction of councils and the transfer of environmental affairs to the Ministry of Agriculture. Bolsonaro also routinely uses presidential speeches to menace

NGOs and to threaten to leave international treaties such as the Paris Agreement on climate change.

Participants also noted numerous events and changes at the regional level, many of which resulted from national policies and many of which involved infrastructure and its impacts. Before the period of this timeline, the federal government had advanced infrastructure projects in the southern Amazonas-northern Rondonia region, notably highways (BR-319, BR-364, BR-230, and BR-317) and some dams (Samuel). In the 2000s, the federal government approved construction of the Santo Antonio and Jirau dams on the Madeira River. The federal land agency INCRA created new agricultural settlements, while IBAMA helped create new protected areas in the southern Amazonas-northern Rondonia region. The year 2014 was significant due to a major flooding event as water was held behind the dams, which then flooded the BR-317 to the west. Other environmental problems ensued in 2019 when the Bolsonaro administration promoted occupation of state lands with little regard to their protected status, and then did little to prevent or fight fires in the southwestern Amazon.

The timeline in Figure 6 is important not only for the many events it records but also the many processes not noted by participants in the southern Amazonas-northern Rondonia GIA workshop. It is evident that change in the region was driven primarily, if not almost entirely, by the federal government, whether the processes are noted at the national or regional level. Very little is noted for the international or local levels.

It is worth noting that in the Brazilian context, there had been considerable frontier violence and community mobilization in many parts of the Amazon in the years leading up to 2000. The assassination of Chico Mendes in 1988 helped call attention to the link between human rights violations and environmental problems in the Amazon. At the Eco-92 summit in Rio, mobilization became more visible via networks such as the Forest People's Alliance (*Aliança dos Povos da Floresta*), which brought together indigenous peoples and other rural communities. At the regional level, socio-environmental organizations emerged by the 1990s, including the GTA, *Via Campesina*, MST, CPT, and labor unions. They increasingly confronted groups involved in illegal mining, illegal logging, land grabbing, narcotrafficking, as well as cattle ranching and mechanized agriculture. It is therefore remarkable that southern Amazonas-northern Rondonia GIA workshop participants emphasized top-down federal government actions rather than bottom-up community mobilization.

That said, some federal initiatives were also not indicated by workshop participants. The soy moratorium in 2006 was not mentioned. This act was important because it prohibits the agribusiness sector from buying soy produced on illegally deforested lands in the Amazon, and is credited with reducing deforestation in Brazil. Another missing process was the federal government's Growth Acceleration Program (Programa de Aceleração do Crescimento, PAC), which has had multiple 5-year planning periods. PACs indicated strategic infrastructure projects supported by the state. PACs were explicitly related to IIRSA (later named COSIPLAN), as both advanced the agenda of integrating infrastructure across South America, including the Amazon. If the soy moratorium impeded deforestation for agribusiness, PACs/COSIPLAN advanced

agribusiness interests by facilitating access to more lands for production. An important question then is how to balance up the advances in legislation for protected areas and environmental governance with promotion of infrastructure projects.

A key message from the southern Amazonas-northern Rondonia timeline is that Brazil's federal government has played an overwhelmingly important role, in terms of policy changes in multiple sectors and infrastructure promotion. This makes it important to recognize the shifts from one presidential administration to another. While many environmental laws were strengthened and agencies were divided or restructured under Lula and Dilma, the Bolsonaro administration has aggressively sought to roll back advances under the earlier administrations. In contrast, it is worth noting that all of these administrations sought to advance infrastructure projects, following on investments under the military regime from the 1960s to the 1980s as well as the Cardoso administration in the 1990s.

A major question now is whether and how the environmental leaders who engaged in mobilizations in the 1980s and 1990s, and who gained government positions under Lula and Dilma in the 2000s and 2010s, will respond to the Bolsonaro administration's work to roll back environmental governance, as well as proposed infrastructure projects. The same question applies to the many alliances and networks that emerged over many years from the 1980s forward. During the southern Amazonas-northern Rondonia GIA workshop, some participants argued for the reactivation of the *Aliança dos Povos da Floresta* to contest the Bolsonaro government, which has made itself an enemy of environmental NGOs and many allied social movements. Comparisons between the military regime of decades past and the Bolsonaro administration's appointments of military personnel are not hard to make. Repression of civil society, notably social-environmental concerns and the rights of indigenous and other traditional peoples, is a similarity noted in the two. Meanwhile, current government discourse proposes new infrastructure as a means to open the economy to new investment and market-based development, and the Brazilian Amazon is a central target. COSIPLAN is still responsible for implementing IIRSA projects. Key then is for non-governmental stakeholders to reflect on past strategies to promote environmental governance in order to identify effective means to counter the current administration's tactics and sustain the gains won while also addressing new infrastructure proposals early in the planning process.

Colombian Amazon

The Colombian Amazon covers the lowlands of Colombia to the south and east of the northern Andean cordillera. This encompasses the Colombian departments of Amazonas, Putumayo, Caquetá, Guainía, Guaviare and Vaupés, as well as parts of Cauca, Meta and Vichada. The history of the Colombian Amazon includes many important events over a long period of time. Key to understanding the region's recent history is to recognize that the armed insurgency against the Colombian state, which endured until the 2010s, hindered infrastructure projects and extractive activities. The cessation of the insurgency in the 2016 has led to a new context where the state

can promote infrastructure projects, while private interest groups enter the Colombian Amazon seeking to claim land, extract natural resources, and clear forests.

The Colombia GIA workshop, held in Guasca, Colombia, included a timeline activity in which participants contributed comments on events to theme-specific timelines. The Colombia GIA timeline exercise complemented a more general timeline that had already been prepared by the interministerial environmental technical group between the Ministerio de Ambiente and the Ministerio de Transporte, and complemented by Fundación para la Conservación y el Desarrollo Sostenible (FCDS) and other NGOs. The interministerial timeline featured important events related to governance and infrastructure in the Colombian Amazon, especially steps toward guidelines for green infrastructure in Colombia. For the Colombia GIA workshop, we therefore sought to complement the interministerial timeline. Workshop participants formed breakout groups based on territorial, regulatory (*normativo*), institutional and community themes related to environmental governance. Because of the insurgency and the Colombian Amazon's relative lack of recent infrastructure projects, the Colombia GIA workshop participants adopted a broader approach to conservation threats and environmental governance, featuring protected areas and indigenous lands. Breakout groups in the Colombia GIA workshop also recognized the deeper history of the Colombian Amazon, noting events before the 20th century.

Figure 7 presents the timeline from the Colombia GIA workshop. The items in this timeline stem from the Inter-Ministerial Timeline as well as key events identified by the breakout groups. The Colombia timeline encompasses events from the 19th century to 2019. One key feature of the timeline concerns the opening of key roads into the Amazon. One of the earliest events is the 1823 establishment of Colonial Roads such as the Andes-Magdalena route. Other significant years include 1902, which marked the beginning of construction of the trail from Florencia (in Caquetá) to Guadalupe (in Huila), along with 1906, the onset of construction of the Pasto to Mocoa road, and 1930, the opening of the Cattle Trail (*la Trocha Ganadera*) in the department of Meta. Another key process that marks the Colombia timeline involves extractive activities, such as oil drilling (as far back as the 1930s), rubber tapping, and the timber boom in the mid-20th century. Crucial later in the 20th century was the rise of armed insurgency alongside the coca economy. Both transpired alongside state-led colonization efforts, which largely occurred along roads. The result was the creation of very complicated spaces of occupation in the Colombian Amazon, where narcotrafficking and armed conflict undermined other activities.

Figure 7. Overall Workshop Timeline from Participants in the Colombian Amazon

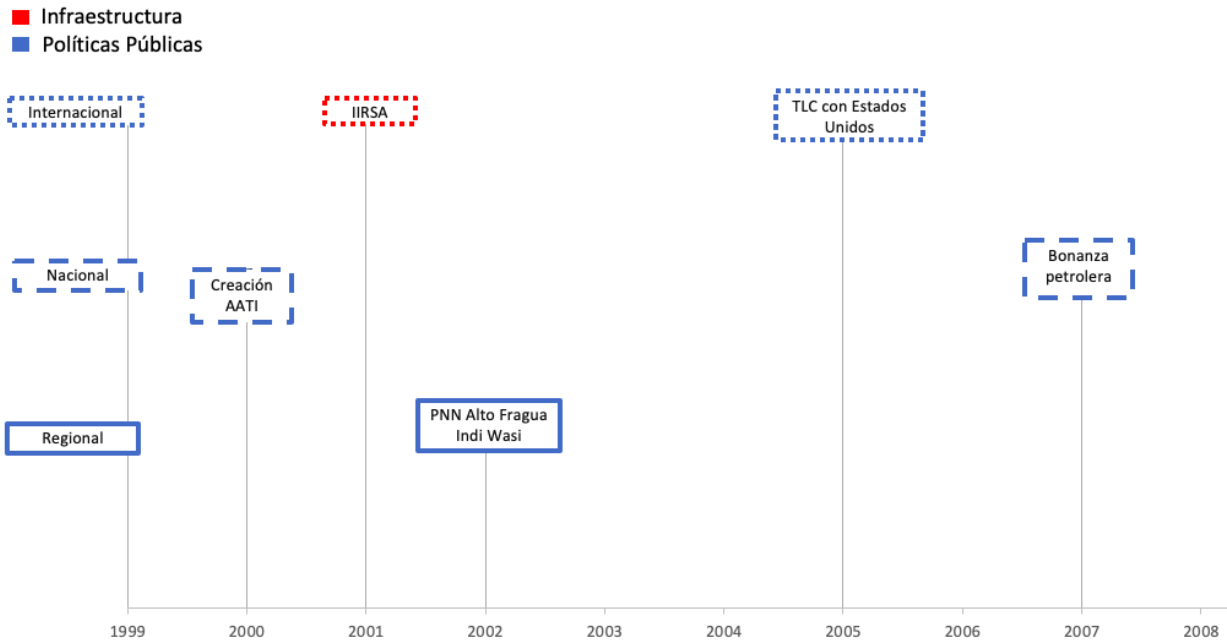


Colombia GIA workshop participants added many comments about State actions to support conservation and protection of indigenous rights. During the mid- and late 20th century, the Colombian State created various regulatory agencies and promulgated laws to govern access to land and use of natural resources. The State established protected areas beginning in 1960 with Cueva de los Guácharos National Natural Park. Colombian 91 Constitution recognized indigenous ancestral territorial rights and ratified ILO 169. Nonetheless, roads and the activities that followed presented major challenges to the cultures and territorial claims of indigenous peoples in the Colombian Amazon.

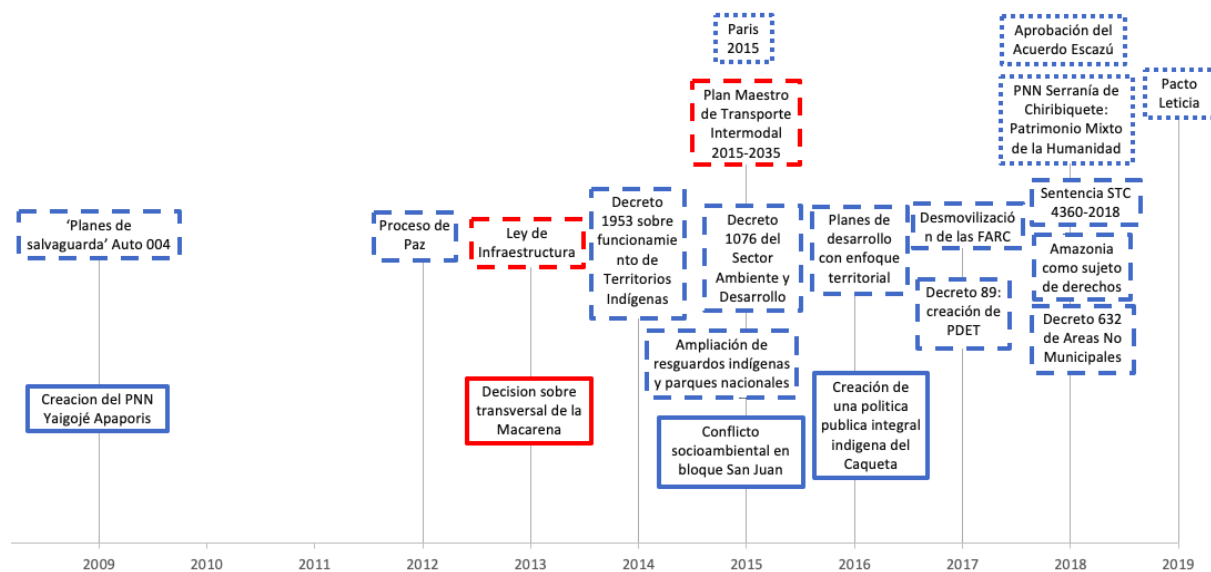
From the workshop timeline, the UF GIA team reorganized key events for the period 2000 to 2019 by level of scale, from the local to the international. Figure 8 presents the analytical timeline by year and level of scale in two panels, with Figure 8a for 2000-2008 and Figure 8b for 2009-2019.

Figure 8. Timeline for the Colombian Amazon, by Year (2000-2019) and Level of Scale

Panel 8a. Timeline for 2000-2008



Panel 8b. Timeline for 2009-2019



A visual review of Figure 8a makes evident that the insurgency defined the period of the 2000s. While IIRSA went forward in 2000 and while Colombia signed a trade agreement with the US in 2005, the impact of international processes was limited due to the persistence of armed conflict, which impeded extractive activities and deforestation. Figure 8b however shows a period of substantial State action at the national level. Notably, the State advanced a peace process in 2012 and an infrastructure law in 2013, followed in 2015 by the Intermodal Transportation Plan

for 2015-2035. The demobilization of the FARC in 2016 led to infrastructure planning and the advance of commercial interests in the Colombian Amazon. This period also witnessed creation of new protected areas, notably Serrania de Chiribiquete, and the expansion of State-recognized indigenous land claims. While it was not noted in the workshop, in January 2018, President Juan Manuel Santos declared that Colombia would not move forward with construction of the Marginal Highway. Nonetheless, pressure has risen on forests and traditional peoples in the Colombian Amazon, which drives interest in green infrastructure and concern about threats to protected areas and indigenous peoples. The present moment is a crucial one in the history of the Colombian Amazon for governance of infrastructure and the extractive activities it can facilitate.

Discussion and Conclusions

A review of the foregoing timelines permits reflections on lessons specific to one region or another as well as identification of broader conclusions. This section offers an interpretive discussion of contrasts and similarities among the timelines for the four regions reviewed. We emphasize that this discussion is merely an interpretation, intended to provoke further reflection and discussion about governance of infrastructure in the Amazon.

To begin with specific lessons, each section included interpretive comments on the analytical timeline, and we build on those here. The case of Loreto showed that diverse stakeholders can identify shared goals to support an interested regional government in advancing governance. Indeed, under auspicious circumstances such as those in Loreto during 2007-2016, many positive things can happen to strengthen regional governance. Equally, changes in regional government can significantly slow or halt those improvements as via budget cuts by unsympathetic administrations. An important question in Loreto is whether the alliance of stakeholders who came together to support a sympathetic government for environmental governance can sustain their collaborative ties when circumstances change. This is especially important when an unsympathetic regional government enters power while the national government at the same time promotes new infrastructure projects in the region.

In the Upper Madeira, the ADN and its allies showed that diverse stakeholders can mobilize and coordinate action, even across national boundaries and languages, in response to the planning of large-scale infrastructure. A key strategy in resisting the planning of hydroelectric dams has been to produce and disseminate information from both local and scientific knowledge to contest official claims about infrastructure impacts. But even if mobilization cannot stop infrastructure plans from going forward to construction, sustained resistance can produce information documenting negative impacts, and that may be important in contesting future projects. The Upper Madeira case unfortunately shows that it is very difficult to contest top-down infrastructure planning processes conducted internationally between governments, which raises questions about how to increase the effectiveness of bottom-up communication strategies. One avenue noted by workshop participants involves critical analysis of the unstated interests behind infrastructure proposals, such as agribusiness behind proposed dams in the Madeira watershed.

The case of the southern Amazonas-northern Rondonia region in Brazil showed how strong development states can over time create very complicated landscapes by promoting numerous infrastructure projects while also establishing diverse protected areas and indigenous lands. The result is a highly fragmented spatial mosaic of lands with widespread potential conflicts among land uses. The southern Amazonas-northern Rondonia case also made plain that government policies matter for regional governance, and thus changes in government can imply significant improvements or worsening of support for governance. Crucially, the history of this region showed that despite other large policy shifts among presidential administrations, Brazil under the military, neoliberal, leftist and hard-right regimes has consistently promoted infrastructure in the Amazon. A key question stemming from the experience of the southern Amazonas-northern Rondonia region is whether former movement leaders who went into government and are now out can reorganize to contest a hostile new regime to somehow advance regional environmental governance.

Colombia proved something of a case apart. In contrast to Brazil and Peru, where authoritarian regimes repressed dissent and thereby stifled mobilization for governance in past years, armed conflict in Colombia hindered state-sponsored infrastructure projects as well as private interests in resource extraction for many years in the Amazon. As elsewhere, prior to the insurgency, the state had simultaneously advanced infrastructure and resource extraction alongside support for protected areas and indigenous land rights. Since the cessation of the insurgency, Colombia has entered a period of similarly mixed policy signals of promoting infrastructure and fostering economic activity in the Amazon while also seeking environmental conservation. That said, there are proposals for green infrastructure and bottom-up governance models available, though it remains to be seen whether and how much they might be implemented.

Despite their many contrasts, two or more of the four cases offer similarities in their histories concerning governance of infrastructure in the Amazon. The role of the state is generally central, but relying on state agencies faces the peril that elections change regimes and may thus lead to significant modifications in sympathy and thus policy agendas and fiscal support for governance. In contrast, governments tend to seek to advance infrastructure projects regardless of political ideology, though the stated and actual reasons may vary. Conservation strategies that lead to permanent or more durable outcomes, such as designation of protected areas and indigenous lands, thus constitute a crucial element in regional environmental governance.

That said, because of political changes stemming from elections, it becomes a big question whether diverse stakeholder coalitions that can be very effective in advancing governance can sustain themselves and reorient their tactics when the political context shifts. Here it is worth noting that periods of political authoritarianism can give rise to broad mobilization and significant improvements in environmental governance during redemocratization. A key question then is whether the alliances crucial to those gains can survive downstream changes if adversaries of inclusive governance take power. In a related point, it is also vital to ask about how alliances and networks can sustain themselves given the consistent support among different kinds of regimes for infrastructure over time. Whether to adapt when the political winds begin blowing in a negative direction, or to sustain contestation against poorly conceived infrastructure projects that may arise

repeatedly over time, the timelines from Loreto, the Upper Madeira, southern Amazonas-northern Rondonia, and Colombia all pose challenging questions to the sustainability of mobilization for governance of infrastructure.

Appendix: Complete Timeline Tables

Table 1. Timeline events in the South of Amazonas and North of Rondonia, during three days of workshop, in July of 2019, in Candeias do Jamari, RO, Brazil. Organized by the Presidential term.

Presidente	Year	Event	Comments
Hermes da Fonseca	1912	EFMM	Railway Madeira Mamore
Janio Quadros	1960	BR-364	National Road
Garrastazu Médici	1970	Projeto de Colonização	Turn these kind of projects centralized. On the hands of the military regime.
Ernesto Geisel	1976	BR-319	National Road
		BR-230	National Road
		PIN Plano de Integração Nacional*	National Strategy of Development - Governmental Program created in 1970, which objective was implemented construction - social and economical infrastructures to North and Northern regions of the country.
João Figueiredo	1981	Pavimentação BR-364	Road paving
		Resolução CONAMA 6938/81 EIA/RIMA	Resolution of the Environmental National Council about Environmental Impact Study and its reporting. It means (EIA/RIMA) the multidisciplinary and technical documenting aiming the wide and complete assessment of environmental impacts, and its mitigation actions.
	1981	Polonoroeste	Northwest Region Integrated Development Program - \$ 1.6 Bi project to pave 1500 km of roads and resettle migrants.
José Sarney	1988	Constituição Federal 1988	Brazilian Constitution
	1989	UHE Samuel	Samuel Dam

		Desterritorialização de Comunidades Ribeirinhas	Displacement of riverine communities
		Morte de Chico Mendes	Chico Mendes death
Fernando Collor / Itamar Franco	1990	Aliança dos Povos da Floresta	Alliance of Forest People
	1992	Planaflo	O Plano Agropecuário e Florestal de Rondônia (Agricultural and Forestry Plan of Rondônia), aprovado em 1992, objetivava aperfeiçoar o manejo, conservação e desenvolvimento de recursos naturais para RO, conforme Zoneamento Socioeconômico e Ecológico (Decreto Estadual 3.782 - 14/06/88).
		Eco-92	International Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992

Fernando Henrique Cardoso - FHC	1994	PPTAL	Projeto Integrado de Proteção às Populações e Terras Indígenas da Amazônia Legal .(Integrated Project of Protection of Indigenous People and Lands in the Legal Amazon).
		Grito da Terra	Cry of the Earth. Movimento de pequenos agricultores pela luta da agricultura familiar e reforma agraria
	1997	Soja	This time had boom in soybean commodity in the global market. Many incentives were made to agriculture sector towards corn and soybean production. My own notes
		Eixo de Integração Desenvolvimento / Agro	Integration and Development Program to promote logistical bases to agricultural products
	2000	SNUC	National System of Protected Areas
		IIRSA	Integration of the Regional Infrastructure of South America
Luis Inacio Lula da Silva	2002	ARPA	Amazon Protected Areas Program
		Decreto Macrozoneamento	Macro Zoning Decree
	2006	ALAP	Provisory Area of Limitation
		Assentamentos do INCRA	Settlements of National Institute of Land Tenure Regularization
		SFB	Brazilian Forest Service Agency
		Lei de Gestão de Florestas Públicas - Lei 11284/06	Public Forest Management Law.
		PNAP	National Strategic Plan of Protected Areas
	2007	ICMBIO	Chico Mendes Institute of Biodiversity - Brazilian Protected Areas Agencia
		Instituto Florestal	Forest Institute

		Santo Antonio e Jirau	Santo Antonio e Jirau DAMs
	2008	Criação de UCs da BR-319	Creation of Protected Areas around BR-319 road
		Primeiros contratos de concessão florestal - FLONA Jamari	First agreement of forest concession - Jamari National Forest (Rondonia)
	2010	Reestruturação da FUNAI	Funai restructuration
Dilma Rouseff	2011	MAM	Meridional Amazon Mosaic
		Programa Terra Legal	Terra Legal Program. It has aimed to regularize tenure land use in public land in Amazon
		UHE Rondon II	Rondon II DAM
	2012	Novo Codigo Florestal	st
			Politica Nacional de Gestão Territorial e Ambiental de Terras Indígenas
		ZEE Purus	Purus Economic Ecologic Zoning
	2014	Cheia	Floodplain full season due the Santo Antonio and Jirau Dams
Michel Temer	2017	Ampliação da área do programa Terra Legal	
Jair Bolsonaro	2019	Deslocamento da fronteira do desmatamento em áreas devolutas e demarcadas	
	2019	Retrocesso governança ambiental pelo estado Brasileiro	Environmental governance setback of Brazilian State
	2019	Transferência das grandes Propriedades para Norte	Moving on of big properties towards North of Rondonia
	2019	Extinção de conselhos	Federal decree extinguishing/revogating collegiates, changing their composition, norms etc

Table 2. Timeline events in the Cobija, Bolivia workshop.

Year	Event	Effect / Consequence
	Aprovechamientos forestales en la amazonía boliviana.	
2000	IIRSA	
2004	Decisiones de políticas públicas de desarrollo.	
	Ratificación OIT 169	

2005	Reuniones sobre temática del Fuego: Incendios forestales y desarrollo de propuestas ante organismos Nacionales de Bolivia.	
	Incendios forestales en la amazonia boliviana.	
	Reunión trinacional (Bolivia, Brasil y Perú) debate de legislación para desarrollo regional.	
2006-2007	Cambios administrativos en el Instituto Brasileño del Medio Ambiente y de los Recursos Naturales (IBAMA) en Brasil --> ICMBIO	
2007	Recorte do projeto Complexo Hidrelétrico de Madeira	
2007-2008	En la hidroeléctrica de San Antonio (río Madera) se efectúa el proceso de licenciamiento ambiental y se dialoga sobre riesgos para poder ejecutar un proyecto en los pueblos indígenas	Restrita atividade pesqueira, alagamento das várzeas, desaparecimento da agricultura no Baixo Madeira, comprometimento de modo e qualidade de vida dos ribeirinhos, tristeza e conflitos sociais
2008	Desplazamiento das familias	alteração nos modos de vida locais em função dos deslocamentos forçados e dos assentamentos
	Politica Energetica - Bolivia	
2000-2010	Intento de aproximación del gobierno de turno con las organizaciones sociales para alianzas vinculadas a la capacidad de uso mayor de los suelos. Gobierno propone cambios en temas de agronegocios, liberando el cultivo de soya transgénica.	
	Gobierno propone cambios en temas de agronegocios, liberando el cultivo de soya transgénica.	
2008-2009	Início da construção de Jirau e Santo Antônio	altera a composição de peixes, diminuiu a abundância de peixes, altera o acesso ao pescado, afeta renda dos pescadores

2009	Alteração da barragem de Jirau 14 km a jusante, com impacto não avaliados nos Estudos Ambientais	
2009-2010	Inicio de la construcción de la represa Jirau, teniéndose como efecto inundaciones en poblaciones y parques nacionales.	El modelo economico, agricultura mal planificado, introducción de especies; perde de produtividade
	Cambios en la legislación ambiental y políticas públicas en Bolivia.	
2009-2014	Plano Nacional de Desarrollo (PND)	
2009-2015	Como política pública se quiere a Bolivia como el centro sudamericano exportador de energía eléctrica.	
	Identificación de las represas del bala y rio madera.	
2010	Inicio del proceso del cambio el plan uso de suelo del departamento de Pando.	
	Alianza com agronegocio	discurso --> cambio uso suelo
	Processo de cambio - Bolivia	
2010-2011	TIPNIS - infraestructura de transporte	
2011	Exílio e assassinato de liderança de Jacy Paraná	
2012	Se incrementan los incendios forestales.	
		hidroeléctricas --> alteração na dinâmica do rio e do pescado
	Foro Social Panamazonico em Cobija com formação da Aliança dos Rios Pan Amazônicos para lutar contra represas	
	Política nacional desincentiva ONGs	
	Nuevas carreteras	
2014	Inundacion	Afectan la producción de la región; perdidos de cultivos, alteración en la economía por la falta de acceso
	Como consecuencia de la construcción de la hidroeléctrica Jirau, los pueblos indígenas pierden su producción.	

2014	Impactos negativos a partir de la hidroeléctrica, principalmente por inundaciones en las comunidades.	
2014-2019	Plan de Desarrollo Económico y Social de Bolivia incluye el tema de la intervención de las áreas protegidas.	
2015 2015	Impactos negativos por la explotación de minerales (oro) y áridos (arena, grava y gravilla).	
	Atentado a monumentos históricos de Cachuela Esperanza por inundaciones.	
	hidroeletrica Bala	
	Acuerdo energetico Bolivia - Brasil	
	Acuerdo Bionacional	
	PNDES	
	Plan Desarrollo 2015 - 2099	
2015-2016	Carta de intenciones y firma de acuerdo binacional entre Empresa Nacional de Electricidad (ENDE) de Bolivia y ELETROBRAS de Brasil para inicio de estudio de prefactibilidad de la construcción de una central hidroeléctrica binacional sobre el río Madera.	
2016	Inventario	
	Acuerdo CAF-ENDE	
2017	Convocatoria a estudio de inventario hidroeléctrico binacional en parte de la cuenca del Río Madera y afluentes ubicados en territorio boliviano y brasileño (CAF, ENDE y ELETROBRAS).	
	Assassinato de líder de MAB	
2018	Las hidroeléctricas generan cambios en cuanto a la biodiversidad.	
2019	Inundación Bajo-Madera	

Table 3. Timeline Loreto Mosaic Workshop - from 1992 - 2019

Year	Event	Comments	Links
1992	Golpe de Estado	El Presidente Alberto Fujimori dio un autogolpe y cerró y el congreso.	
1992	CTAR	Los Consejos Transitorios de Administración Regional - CTAR, fueron las figuras que más adelante serían los Gobiernos Regionales	
1992	INRENA	Instituto Nacional de Recursos Naturales - (INRENA), dependencia del Ministerio de Agricultura, encargado del aprovechamiento sostenible de los recursos naturales renovables, conservación de la biodiversidad silvestre y la gestión sostenible del medio ambiente natural.	
1998	Reactivación del proceso de Descentralización	Le La Ley Marco de Descentralización ordenó los procesos de descentralización que se venían desarrollando.	Link a un informa de la Contraloría General de la Republica - Introduccion se detalla la reactivación
2005	Ley General del Ambiente		
2007	DICREL (actualmente DEDB)	Primero fue llamado PROCREL, luego DICREL, actualmente es el DEDB (Dirección Ejecutiva de Diversidad Biológica). Inicialmente fue el Proyecto Apoyo al PROCREL (Programa de Conservación, Gestión y Usos Sostenible de la Diversidad Biológica de la Región Loreto), en colaboración con Naturaleza y Cultura Internacional (NCI) y el Instituto de Investigaciones de la Amazonía Peruana (IIAP).	
2008	MINAM	Creada con el Decreto Legislativo 1013.	
2009	ACR Comunal Tamshiyacu Tahuayo	Fue la primera ACR de Loreto, además que se institucionalizó el co-manejo de las ACRs para Loreto.	

2009	Participación de comunidades locales - ACRs	Se promovió y dio espacios de participación a las comunidades locales en la propuesta, establecimiento y manejo de las ACRs en Loreto.		
2009	Implementación del TLC con Estados Unidos	Este tratado condujo a multitudinarias protestas en todo el país, en especial por comunidades indígenas, debido a que se vulneraba el derecho originario sobre sus territorios.	Resumen del proceso del TLC o TPA	
2009	Baguazo	"El 5 de junio de 2009 se produjo un violento desalojo de comuneros amazónicos como protesta por la violación de sus derechos históricos u originarios. El desalojo, ordenado por el gobierno central del Perú, produjo una batalla entre policías y comuneros que devino en decenas de muertos, cientos de heridos y el desprestigio de las autoridades del Estado"	Link a un artículo de un profesor de Derecho de la PUCP sobre la baguazo	Link sobre un documental sobre el Baguazo
2010	Ley Organica de Gobiernos Regionales			
2010	Nueva Ley Forestal y de Fauna Silvestre			
2010	MINCULey	Creación del Ministerio de Cultura		
2010	Ley de Transparencia y Acceso al información pública			

2010	Obra de alcantarillado de Iquitos	Se menciona este proyecto porque afecto la repartición del canon petrolero para las provincias de la Región Loreto	
2010	Hidroeléctrica de Mazan	Proyecto	
2011	Creación del ACR Alto Nanay Pintuyacu Chambira	Se menciona porque es el ACR más grande que tiene Loreto, de las cabeceras de cuenca provee agua a Iquitos, y en un inicio el ACR se superponía con lotes petroleros.	
2011	Decreto 020 - Reactivación de proyectos de hidroeléctricas	El Decreto Supremo declara "Declaran de interés nacional y social la construcción de veinte (20) centrales hidroeléctricas en la Cuenca del Río Marañón.	Link al Decreto Supremo

2011	Ley de Consulta Previa	"Ley del derecho a la consulta previa a los pueblos indígenas u originarios, reconocido en el convenio 169 de la Organización Internacional del Trabajo (OIT)"	Link a la Ley de Consulta Previa
2011	Proceso de Consulta Previa ACR Maijuna Kichwa	Primer proceso de consulta previa en Loreto	Nota de prensa sobre el establecimiento del ACR
2011	GEOBOSQUES	Plataforma de monitoreo de los cambios sobre la cobertura de los bosques	Link a Geobosques
2011	Proceso de Consulta Previa de la Hidrovía Amazónica	Se realizó el proceso de consulta previa para el proyecto de infraestructura de la Hidrovía Amazonica	
2012	Gerencia Regional de Asuntos Indígenas en el Gobierno Regional	Se creó dentro de la estructura del Gobierno Regional de Loreto una Gerencia Regional responsable de las poblaciones indígenas.	Link a la Ordenanza Regional de la creación de la Gerencia Regional de Asuntos Indígenas
2015	Plan de Desarrollo Regional Concertado - Actualización		Link al PDRC
2015	Proceso de consulta previa del Lote 192		

2015	Autoridad Ambiental Regional. - ARA	Primera Oficina regional que centralizaba la administración ambiental de la region en un solo lugar.	Link a la Ordenanza Regional de la creación de la ARA Loreto	
2015	Gerencia Regional Forestal y de Fauna Silvestre de Loreto - GERFOR	Se crea dentro de la estructura del Gobierno Regional la GERFOR, dependiendo directamente de la Gerencia General, solía estar dentro del ARA-Loreto.		
2015	Cambio en la distribución del canon petrolero			
2016	Ordenanza de proyectos de conservación			
2016	Carretera Genaro Herrera			
2016	Carretera Iquitos Saramiriza			

2016	GORE - Proceso de Zonificación Forestal	Se aprueba la ordenanza que inicia el proceso de zonificación forestal de la Region	Link a la ordenanza	
2017?	Ley de Promoción y Desarrollo de la Amazonía			
2018	Planes de Vida	Se aprueba la Ordenanza Regional que reconoce el carácter colectivo, diferencial e integral de las comunidades nativas que, como parte de un proceso de reflexión sobre su cosmovisión e historia, plantean su visión de futuro en los planes de vida.	Link a la Ordenanza Regional que declara de interés regional los Planes de Vida	
2018	Decreto Supremo sobre Protectos de Inversión	Este Decreto Supremo (Decreto Supremo 005-2018-MTC,) es importante porque aquí se indica que los proyectos inversión no podrán pasar por Areas Protegidas.		
2019	Plan Regional de Turismo - PERTUR	Se elabora el PERTUR de manera participativa, con apoyo del MINCETUR.		

Table 4. Timeline in the Colombia Amazon Mosaic Workshop

Time	Event	Comments
Gobernanza Comunitaria		
1542	Manumisión de indígenas e intervención de Bartolomé de las Casas.	Asignación de ciertos derechos indígenas
1600-1700	Cédulas reales reconocen tierras indígenas	Fue la base para la creación de los resguardos indígenas
1823	Caminos reales (Andes-Magdalena)	Primeras vías oficiales en Colombia
1887	Concordato Vaticano' que establece que misiones católicas gobiernan sobre los grupos indígenas.	Establecido entre el presidente y el vaticano. La Amazonia colombiana como una zona donde las 'misiones católicas' puedan gobernar sobre los grupos indígenas.

1902	Inicio de la construcción de la trocha Florencia (Caqueta) - Guadalupe (Huila).	Acaparamiento de tierras por los caucheros
1900-1910	Creación de intendencias y comisarías a cambio de los territorios nacionales.	Creación de territorios con legislación especial
1904	Ley 28 establece la Provincia Alto Caquetá como territorio de explotación del caucho y quinina.	Que establece que la Provincia Alto Caquetá como territorio político administrativo para la explotación del caucho y quinina
1906	Carretera Pasto - Mocoa	Colonización continua y numerosa a la Amazonía
1930	Inicio de la exploración petrolera Shell y Roosevelt - Apertura de la Trocha Ganadera.	
1930	Bonanza del caucho	Generó una completa reestructuración de las instituciones: transformación en la gobernación de los pueblos indígenas amazónicos, desplazamiento y desaparición total de varios pueblos indígenas. Hasta ahora son visibles los efectos a nivel del uso del territorio.
Institucionales		
1932	Conflicto Colombo Peruano - Construcción de infraestructura básica para la guerra	
1940-1960	Auge de la explotación maderera 'desflore del cedro'	
1930	Inicio de la colonización en el Caquetá	Se crearon comunidades campesinas que empezaron la gobernabilidad frente a titulación, infraestructura, mercadeo.
1942	Inicio exploracion Texas Petroleum Company	
1950	Explotacion Rubber Company	
Normativa		

1959	Creación de primeras Reservas Forestales	Declaratoria de bosques de la nación
1960	Parque Nacional Natural Cueva de los Guácharos como primera área protegida	Decreto 2631, Primera área protegida de Colombia
1964	Creación de las FARC	Las FARC incide en la gobernanza comunitaria pues ellos regulan la caza, pesca y tala de bosque, fortaleciendo a veces de forma positiva el manejo de los recursos a nivel local.
1968	Creación del Inderena	Instituto Nacional de los Recursos Naturales Renovables y del Ambiente: Primera institución ambiental del país, cuyas funciones el MinAmbiente recoge actualmente.
1970-1980	Programa Desarrollo Rural Integrado (DRI) como programa de colonización dirigida	Mercados Campesinos y Juntas de Acción Comunal
1974	Decreto 2811: Creación del Código Nacional de Recursos Naturales Renovables y de Protección al Medio Ambiente	Importante hito pues estructuralmente es una norma comparable a la internacional. Se establecen como sujetos de derecho a la fauna y flora.
1978	Decreto 1608: Código Nacional de los Recursos Naturales Renovables y de Protección al Medio Ambiente y la Ley 23 de 1973 en materia de fauna silvestre.	Reglamentación de fauna silvestre
1980	Inicio de la Bonanza Cocalera armada	
1979	Tratado de Cooperación Amazónica (TCA)	Instrumento jurídico que reconoce la naturaleza transfronteriza de la Amazonía.
1980	Llegada de la guerrilla/colonización armada en Amazonía, se acentúa en los 90s.	Recrudescimiento del conflicto y control del territorio a manos de narcotraficantes
1982	Creación de grandes resguardos indígenas en el Amazonas	Reconocimiento de los derechos indígenas y el su desarrollo cultural dentro de sus territorios.
1989	Convenio 169 de la Organización Internacional del Trabajo	Derechos de pueblos indígenas y tribales, aprobado en la Ley 21 de la Constitución 1991.

1991	Constitución del 1991: Creación de organizaciones indígenas regionales y resguardos indígenas	
1993	Ley General Ambiental de Colombia (Ley 99)	Se crea el Ministerio del Medio Ambiente, se reordena el Sector Público encargado de la gestión y conservación del medio ambiente y los recursos naturales renovables, se organiza el Sistema Nacional Ambiental, SINA y se dictan otras disposiciones.
1993	Ley 70 de 1993, se crea el Ministerio del Medio Ambiente	Reconocer a las comunidades negras que han venido ocupando tierras baldías en las zonas rurales ribereñas de los ríos de la Cuenca del Pacífico, de acuerdo con sus prácticas tradicionales de producción, el derecho a la propiedad colectiva.
1996, 97, 98	Marchas cocaleras	Se empieza a reconocer que el cultivo ilegal de coca es un fenómeno social importante.
1998	Toma de Mitú y Toma de Miraflores	Pérdida de la gobernabilidad
1998	Plan Colombia	Acuerdo bilateral constituido entre los gobiernos de Colombia y Estados Unidos.
1999	Creación de la unión de médicos indígenas en la Amazonía	Es una organización no jurídica que fortalecer el uso y valoración de la medicina tradicional.
2000	Creación de las AATI (Asociaciones de Autoridades Tradicionales Indígenas)	
2001	Se crea IIRSA (ahora COSIPLAN)	Portafolio de proyectos de infraestructura
2002	Creación del Parque Nacional Natural Alto Fragua Indi Wasi, ejemplo de co-manejo con grupos indígenas.	Ejemplo de co-manejo entre el servicio nacional de áreas protegidas y los grupos indígenas.
Territorio		
2005	Firma de TLC con Estados Unidos	Definición de normas ambientales

2007-2015	Bonanza petrolera	Reconfiguración del relacionamiento con las comunidades y afectación de los procesos de ordenamiento territorial. Se debilitan los procesos de organización comunitaria.
2009	Creación del Parque Nacional Yaigojé Apaporis	Otro ejemplo de co-manejo de áreas naturales protegidas con grupos indígenas
2009	'Planes de salvaguarda' Auto 004	Para comunidades y pueblos indígenas de Colombia
2012	Proceso de Paz	Trajo efectos negativos en el sentido que generó una reestructuración de la gobernanza del territorio que promueve la deforestación. Como aspectos positivos se encuentran el acceso institucional, la creación de mesas de articulación, acceso a lugares para promoción de turismo, entre otros.
2013	Ley de Infraestructura (1682)	Por la cual se adoptan medidas y disposiciones para los proyectos de infraestructura de transporte y se conceden facultades extraordinarias.
2013	Decisión sobre la transversal de la Macarena	
2014	Decreto 1953 que rige el funcionamiento de los Territorios Indígenas	Rige el funcionamiento de los Territorios Indígenas y fortalece la gobernanza indígena
2015	Plan Maestro de Transporte Intermodal 2015-2035	
2015	Conflicto socioambiental en el bloque San Juan	Determinante ambiental como buen ejemplo de gobernanza territorial.
2015	Decreto 1076, Decreto Único Reglamentario del Sector Ambiente y Desarrollo Sostenible	
2015-2019	Ampliación de resguardos indígenas y parques nacionales en la Amazonía	Consolidación del mosaico de TI y ANP para detener la colonización y reconocimiento de los territorios indígenas.
2016	Creación de una política pública integral indígena del Caquetá	

2016	Planes de desarrollo con enfoque territorial	Todavía en proceso de implementación en muchos municipios. Según acuerdo en La Habana, se sabe que los planes de desarrollo territorial deben ser concertados con actores locales.
2017	Desmovilización de las FARC	El vacío que genera la salida de este actor, crea nuevas dinámicas en el uso del territorio.
2017	Decreto 89, creación de los Programas de Desarrollo con Enfoque Territorial (PDET)	Con prioridad en territorios más afectados por el conflicto armado, la pobreza, las economías ilícitas y la debilidad institucional.
2018	Amazonia como sujeto de derechos	
2018	Aprobación del Acuerdo Escazú	Acuerdo Regional sobre el Acceso a la Información, la Participación Pública y el Acceso a la Justicia en Asuntos Ambientales en América Latina y el Caribe
2018	PNN Serranía de Chiribiquete declarado Patrimonio Mixto de la Humanidad por la Unesco	
2018	Sentencia de la Corte Suprema de Justicia de Colombia (STC 4360-2018)	Citación a más de 90 entidades del Gobierno y de la sociedad civil para hacerle seguimiento a la implementación de la sentencia que declaró a la Amazonía colombiana sujeto de derechos y ordenó crear mecanismos para frenar la deforestación.
2018	Decreto 632 de Areas No Municipales	Se dictan las normas fiscales para poner en funcionamiento los territorios indígenas ubicados en áreas no municipalizadas de los departamentos de Amazonas, Guainía y Vaupés.
2019	Pacto Leticia	Pacto para proteger la Amazonía firmado por Colombia, Perú, Bolivia, Ecuador, Brasil, Surinam y Guyana. Pretende ser más eficiente que el Tratado de Cooperación Amazónica de 1978.