Managing Borders, Nurturing Life

Managing Borders, Nurturing Life:

Existences, Resistances and Political Becoming in the Amazon Forest

By

MARCELA VECCHIONE GONÇALVES, B.A., M.A.

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AUTHOR: Marcela Vecchione Gonçalves, B.A., M.A. (Instituto de Relações Internacionais PUC-Rio)

SUPERVISOR: Professor J. Marshall Beier

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Abstract

This study is about how two different indigenous groups in two different places of the enormous border area of the Amazon forest in Brazil (approximately 12,000 km) have been resisting displacement and appropriation, prejudice and pre-conceptualizations, ever since Brazil became Brazil and even before. The ability of these groups to resist, entangled to their capacity to endure in face of the colonization of their ways of living, enacted them to becoming political (Viveiros de Castro 1998; Isin 2002; Starn, de la Cadena 2008; Blaser 2010; de la Cadena 2010) in distinct forms depending on the geographies of relationships, land use and various forms of mobility through border areas they have been living in and within. In looking at these "resistances" and "endurances" at different places, I argue that the fact that a group of Ashaninka people became political by moving to and throughout the border between Brazil and Peru and the many reinventions Macuxi and Wapishana people in the present day Raposa Serra do Sol Indigenous Territory went through for becoming Indigenous peoples at the Brazilian borders with Guyana and Venezuela have corroborated the role of their "existences" in delineating and re-inventing geographical borders by managing the meanings and effects of these very borders on their lives as integral (and integrated) part of the forest.

In a general way, it can be said that borders in Brazil came hand in hand with the appearance of the terminology "Indians" in this country, which prompted me to ask what politics emerged out of it. In a particular manner, by looking at how this politics was practiced through the articulation of the indigenous groups mentioned above allowed me to historicize their own stories about the articulation of their existence or permanence in places that coincided with the space of the border amidst the forest. As I begin this dissertation, I will show that the creation of such space meant no coincidence for governments and their legislative instruments, which equalized the space of the border with territories necessary for the expansion of economic frontiers since the 18th century. Also, and most importantly, it will be discussed that these spaces coincided with the spaces where some indigenous groups were living and moving through on a constant basis making the forest what it was but, especially, considering it the integrative space of their worlds of living and articulating relationships. The politics emerging out of the negotiation of this last world - beyond borders - with the world created and limited by the national borders, as according to the actual and contemporary political practices of the abovementioned indigenous groups, is an important part of this study. This politics will be contextualized vis-à-vis the politicization of the Amazon rainforest as a territory of dispute and a region of political possibilities (Escobar 2008) based on life projects (Blaser et al 2004) as opposed to governmental projects.

In this sense, while I present stories of resistance and contentious politics experimented through collaborative work and activist research with these groups, I will introduce different readings and perspectives to life while living life (*lifeways*), that challenge the idea of borders as spaces of exclusion, the Amazon rainforest as an empty space and the forest as a non-political place. As I intend to show with the contrasts and similarities between the two cases, when indigenous groups and persons shifted away from impositions on them to be at the margins, they became more effective in showing the centrality of border landscapes to the production and reproduction of other conceptualizations of humanity and politics. In taking landscape, mobility and political subjectivities seriously, this study followed and sought to locate indigenous politics through specific indigenous groups' (and persons') stories in order to balance place and territory and to articulate their political subjectivity beyond the latter. For coming to terms with what these articulations could offer, I had to be attentive to what groups and individuals in it were saying (and not saying) about borders, politics, international relations and the environment in the Amazon forest. For this reason, this study is highly influenced by critical studies on political ecology, citizenship, borders, political and feminist geography as well as by the so-called ontological turn in the social sciences.

Methodologically and epistemologically, it shares the idea of social movements as source of knowledge and the production of knowledge as an exercise beyond the borders of traditional ways of knowing in the university (Alvarez and Escobar 1992; Escobar 2008). Activist research methods as well as the contribution of Indigenous Studies and Indigenous Research Methods were as central in this dissertation as the attempt of thinking International Relations critically. The protocols and ways of building accountability coming from indigenous persons were also fundamental to the research practices in this study that brings in the contribution of Indigenous geographies in mapping knowledge and land to debate what are the territories of politics coming from beyond the state and Western politics.

Ultimately, this dissertation is an exercise in understanding how some indigenous groups kept on resisting by living in spaces constantly changed by the advances of economic frontiers that intersected with the production of borders and with the changing policies toward managing the landscapes cut across by these same borders. Opposing the idea of borders as the productive site of affirmation by negation, for the indigenous groups I engaged with in this dissertation borders are an integrated place of relationships to human beings, to other beings and to the forest within them; in other words, a landscape in constant change because of peoples' action. The mobility of some indigenous groups throughout the forest and their contribution to design landscapes on it as related to a cosmology not centered in the human [although relying on a particular conceptualization of the human] brought to the fore of this research the aspect that there are inter-relations between nature, culture and society that do not correspond to distinctive, visible and hierarchical separation, let alone to the limits of an Indigenous Territory. In this sense, approaching different borders to understanding different indigenous standpoints on them means also approaching new worlds of knowing and living to which all sorts of borders are also imposed, including within the very Indigenous Territory.

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List of Acronyms and abbreviations

ACTO – Amazon Cooperation Treaty Organization
CEDI – Centre for Documentation on Indigenous Peoples
CIMI - Indigenist Missionary Council
CIR – Indigenous Council of Roraima
CPI-AC – Pro-Indigenous Comission of Acre
CIPIACI – International Committee for the Protection of the Non-Contacted and Recently Contacted Peoples in the Amazon, Gran Chaco and Eastern Paraguay
CU – Conservation Unit
PPTAL – Integrated Protection Program to Indigenous Peoples and Indigenous Territories in the Legal Amazon
FIFAU - Acre-Ucayali Transborder Integration Forum
FPIC – Free, Prior, and Informed Consent
FSC – Forest Stewardship Council
FUNAI – National Indian Foundation
FUNASA – National Health Foundation
FUNBIO – Biodiversity Fund
GATI – Environmental and Territorial Management in Inigenous Territories
G7 – Group of 7
GEF – Global Environment Facility
GIZ – German International Technical Cooperation
GPS – Global Positioning System
GTT – Transborder Working Group of Upper Juruá
KRA IT – Kampa do Rio Amônia Indigenous Territory
IBAMA - Institute for the Environment and Renewable Resources
IIRSA - Initiative for the Integration of the Regional Infrastructure of South America
ISA – Socioenvironmental Institute
IT – Indigenous Territory
MMA – Brazilian Ministry of Environment
Norad - Norwegian Agency for International Cooperation
OAS – Organization of American States
OMIR – Indigenous Women's Organization of Roraima
PDPI - Demonstrative Projects for Indigenous Peoples
PPG7 - Pilot Program to Conserve the Brazilian Rainforest

PGTA - Indigenous Environmental and Territorial Management
RFTF – Rainf Forests Trust Fund
RSDS IT – Raposa Serra do Sol Indigenous Territory
SPI – Indian Protection Service
SPILTN – Identification of Laborers and Indian Protection Service
SODDIUR – Society for the Defense of United Indians of the North of Roraima
STD – Sexually Transmitted Disease
TNC – The Nature Conservancy
UNCED – United Nations Convention on Sustainable Development
UNDP – United Nations Development Program

"I am Ashaninka and I am Brazilian, but I also speak Spanish. I live at the border. There are many people here, you know, right?" - Benki Pyanko, Ashaninka leader, Personal Interview, August 2009

 "I am an indian. Macuxi, Wapishana, Taurepang, Patamono, we are all indians in this land. So we should fight for our territories as citizens. (…) and we have to protect our territorial limits." – Jose, Director of the Indigenous Council of Roraima, Personal Interview, October 2009

Introduction
Locating forest, peoples and politics through borders

This study is about how different indigenous groups in two different places of the enormous border area of the Amazon forest in Brazil (approximately 12,000 km[1]) have been engaging with resilience, ever since Brazil became Brazil and even before. This engagement related to a capacity to endure the colonization of their ways of living, enacted them to becoming political (Viveiros de Castro 1998; Isin 2002; Starn, de la Cadena 2008; Blaser 2009; de la Cadena 2010) in distinct forms. The process of *becoming in the world*, as the colonizers imagined it, opposed *to being in a specific part of the material world* happened vis-à-vis nation building. However, it also occurred in relation to different approaches, constructions and (re) imaginations of the rainforest as part of a *cosmology*. Cosmology corresponds to a broader perspective on how people relate to the inside (of one's own) and the outside world (to which one responds informed by collective experiences) by conjoining land to history, the spirituality to Earth and, contemporarily, territory to life.

Through this ongoing political becoming, the indigenous groups that I have been working with since 2009 are contributing to the emergence of places for politics within, across and, mainly, at the borders by questioning exclusion as the predicament of politics in these areas. They have been doing it through their very existence as the connections fuelling indigenous relationships continued happening despite borders. This continuation led to the emergence of an indigenous politics directly

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[1] This is information corresponds to official reports by the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Relations and the Amazon Cooperation Treaty Organization (ACTO) (Pinto Coelho 1992: 1-2). This extension includes both what is called dry and wet borders. The wet borders are those coinciding with rivers, as it is the case of the Brazilian border with Peru in one of the cases analysed in this dissertation.

related to the creation of 'Indians' as a political category that emerged along with the nation-state and its borders. It is also possible to say that indigenous groups have contributed to what borders became and are still becoming by incorporating or transposing limits through different ways of making and doing politics by means of making the border a liveable space. For them, borders are an integrated place of relationships to human beings, to other beings and to the forest within them; in other words, a landscape in constant change because of peoples' action. In this dissertation, narratives about constant political becoming of indigenous groups at specific border landscapes (Sturgeon 2005) will evince the latter as a possibility space (Escobar and Harcourt 2005, Escobar 2008) for politics and for locating resistance against determinations of what politics must be. There will be divergences and convergences about what these possible spaces are to become. The negotiations in approaching the possibility of politics by different indigenous readings on what borders mean in relation to their **perspectives on life imbued on their ways of living** - what I will call *lifeways* here - are precisely what moved me to engage with this research. Ultimately, this dissertation is an exercise in understanding how some indigenous groups kept on resisting by living in spaces constantly changed by the advances of economic frontiers that intersected with the production of borders and with the changing policies toward managing the landscapes cut across by these same borders.

There are two important points to follow up with this guideline for understanding the political landscape that indigenous groups contributed to building at different borders. One is to see, as Anna Tsing describes, nature as social landscape (2005: XI). The other is linked to what Maria Elena García poses as the challenge of recognizing that in absences and silences - not just in visible movements - there is much to grasp related to the manifestation of indigenous political subjectivities vis-à-vis different forms and moments of nation building (Garcia 2005).

In the first point, it is implied that the rainforest is a space full of political subjectivities and with many relationships in course that challenge the 'triadic' separation between nature/culture/society and some hierarchies in relationships imposed on Indigenous peoples accordingly. These hierarchies have been configuring what politics and the political are in the forest. The mobility of some Indigenous peoples throughout the forest and their contribution to design landscapes on it as related to a cosmology not centered in the human, although relying on a particular conceptualization of the human, brought to the fore of this research the following aspect: there are inter-relations between nature, culture and society that do not correspond to distinctive, visible and hierarchical separation. It is precisely in relation to the degree that these inter-relations are incorporated by indigenous groups in perspective to the borders and to (inter) national politics enacted by those that it is possible to work with the second point raised: the capacity of acting politically without necessarily being visible in an opposition to the state. By assuming the rainforest is a social landscape and that there are 'mobilities' within it that will allow for different degrees on embracing it as a political place per se, I had to be open to the fact that there were not failures in the various indigenous articulations I was working with. Oftentimes, silences and absences in movements that took the rainforest as a social landscape and political place opposing the effort of the Brazilian state in controlling and taming it were just different ways of articulating politics to places leading to different political subjectivities (Garcia 2005:176-178).

In taking landscape, mobility and political subjectivities seriously, this study followed and sought to locate the politics of some indigenous groups through their stories to balance place and territory and to articulate their political subjectivity beyond the latter. For coming to terms with what these articulations could offer me in my analysis, I had to be attentive to what groups and individuals in it were saying (and not saying) about borders, politics, international relations and the environment

in the Amazon forest. The more they challenged the separation between nature/culture/society reproduced by borders and state politics in general, the sharper was the edge for them to cut across borders that were cutting across their *lifeways*. To begin reflecting on this matter, it is also worth stressing that when indigenous groups and persons shifted away from impositions on them to be at the margins, which came along with the marginalization of the Amazon presented as a space to be under control, they became more effective in showing the centrality of border landscapes to the production and reproduction of other conceptualizations of humanity and politics, seen as collective and shared experience.

Managing borders/Approaching Worlds

Borders have been part of indigenous peoples' lives in Brazil since the 16th century, when the Portuguese conquistadores (*conquerors*) arrived on the coast. As I will discuss in chapter 1, the process of frontiers expansion for resource extraction was linked to how the colony was occupied inland and to how a system to govern people vis-à-vis land expropriation and posterior distribution as property served to construct what later became Brazilian borders. The 'emergence of Indigenous peoples' came hand in hand with this process and, following it, they became part of an attempt of the Portuguese Crown to govern the ungoverned and to domesticate the extended and diverse land (Brazil) for the purpose of nation-building in Europe. Later in time, what was the imperial territory slowly became part of the newly born Brazilian republic and with that new rules for the 'conduct of the conduct' (Foucault 1991) *with* and *for* Indigenous peoples came to the fore. Nevertheless, the idea of putting limits on the territory along with the establishment of modes of conducts to live in the territory associated with rules related to land ownership continued accompanying and determining the becoming of the 'indians of Brazil' inasmuch as another resource extraction cycle began to strengthen the building of the new nation.

In the Amazon forest the nativity and the alleged lack of orderly organization of Indigenous peoples led the Portuguese Empire and, later, the Brazilian Republic to govern the forest as territory and the people in it as Indigenous peoples. In this top-down unilateral political relationship, there was not any differentiation between the particularities involving the groups classified as 'indians' and the role their connections before the colonization process had in shaping local geographies and *in situ* relationships related to land use and the politics of the relationships emerging out of it[2]. Brazil and many other countries in South America defined their borders based on land use. Although it was for resource extraction, it added to the landscape one more layer of relationship related to very specific modes of occupation that I will discuss in the first chapter of this study. The problem is that this layer related to colonialism and, afterwards, internal colonialism (Cardoso de Oliveira 2005), became prominent and prevalent in a very violent way, inscribing ways of making life in the Amazon forest horizontally, but over and against other ways of living *in* and *through* this landscape. In this sense, colonialism superimposed its imperial way of building relationships over indigenous groups' perspectives to life imbued locally, departing from relationships in and through the forest; that is, colonialism superimposed indigenous groups' *lifeways*.

Since colonization, many changes, adaptations and disruptions occurred in the Brazilian Amazon responding to contact with the Brazilian nation-state and between other nation-states and non-state actors. Nevertheless, it is interesting to highlight that current developmental projects and policies towards the area still stick to superimposed political inscriptions that instead of cutting through the space via relationships based and stemming from the forest, took on a horizontal form to exercise power over projects and practices that reflected on indigenous groups' ways of occupying and caring for the forest.

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[2] The book *Etnicidade e Fronteiras* edited by Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira and Stephen Baines show how these relationships were shaped and shaped many places at the Brazilian borders (2005). The book does it by presenting and reflecting departing from cases that are exactly the grounded dynamics in those places.

These relationships following both the groups that I worked with in the south western and the north western Amazon in Brazil as well as Blaser, Feit and McRae insights in the book '*In the way to Development*' (2004) will be named in this study *life projects*. In this sense, *life projects* will be worked with here as the constant and renewed experiences of indigenous groups in their places of living that involve negotiation, survival, adaptation, engaged resilience and resistance that tackle these 'new terrains of struggle' (Blaser, Feit and McRae 2004: 1-4) related to development. The ways indigenous groups engage politically with these processes may change or contribute to the endurance of their *lifeways*. These responses are taken by this study as an important vehicle for political analysis as they represent the contextual framework and the political positioning and positionality in which indigenous groups get involved.

It is fundamental to make a note on terminology at this point precisely due to the active positioning and positionality indigenous groups take part in the political relationships that will be described in this study. As the political engagement is part of endurance and, simultaneously, of conscious, although pressured decisions, of how to become political in the world, the terminology used in this dissertation will attempt at coming to grips with this political complexity. The expression 'indians' will be used as historical reference to documents and discourses of the epoch analyzed exclusively to convey situations of definitions coming from outside indigenous groups that ended up defining racial and class relationships in politics and political relations. The terminology Indigenous peoples and indigenous groups are kind of new in use in the Brazilian context accompanying international debates on indigenous rights. For this reason, I will use Indigenous peoples when talking more generally about the groups I am working with; more specifically when debating the issues of politics related to international law, constitutional and land rights. The term indigenous groups will be more used in this sense when talking about the stories and the construction of a

politics for becoming political at the borders as the emergence of borders happened in a parallel movement between becoming indigenous, related to the bundle of norms and rules that will allow political recognition and participation, and reassuring the group identity as Ashaninka, Macuxi or Wapishana as self-determined peoples part of the broader category of Indigenous peoples. Consequently, along the text it will be noticed, as I introduce the particular stories, that I will use the indigenous groups' names as a form to narrating their particular ways of becoming political. By the same token, when telling these stories I will often use the terms indigenous persons in order to give credit to particular persons' stories about being in an indigenous group and becoming part of the category 'Indigenous peoples' by the way of going through different forms of experiencing resistance and endurance that will turn them into different groups of persons under collective forms of coercion. To use their group names and their particular stories as constant references throughout the text is a way of reassuring agency.

This agency has been tamed and trimmed since colonialism and observing how it unfolded is a way of tracing directions and threads of power (Foucault 2009) as well as the flows of resistance to them. In terms of directions and ways of exercising power and managing borders through controlling access to land via colonialism earlier and, later, with developmental projects, the problem in the Brazilian Amazon has been that the grounded relationships to land - the vertical thread in building place, as Blaser notes (2004: 25-29) – that Portuguese and southern Brazilians had to their 'home places' were spread horizontally in the form of occupation and domination of nature. With that, just one experience of making place by recognizing some ways of living as political and, consequently, as politically enacted to work, possess and negotiate land (and nature) as well as the use of it became acceptable. Borders to a certain extent were built to contain the unacceptable possibilities of experiencing the land (becoming in land), bonding relationships to a specific national

territory by governing and managing places so that specific ways of possessing land, engendering very specific and authorized political subjectivities (vertically), could be spread nationwide (horizontally). The transformation of the forest in a vast periphery and the politics of locating it as natural resources for the colonists living in it will be explored in the first chapter of this dissertation. In this part of the study, I will also show how different persons were located as Indigenous peoples to a specific site following the process of defining how, where and to what extent natural resources must have been exploited.

However, as mentioned above, Indigenous peoples' *lifeways* and *life projects* were also part of the process of borders building in its beginning and, after, when they were reinvented through developmental projects. The fundamental difference between the perspective of the latter and indigenous peoples' perspectives, as Blaser stresses, is that the way of shaping place regarding the former, albeit grounded in specific stories and connections to land, equally brought on with this '*groundedness*' references to other places and stories that will make the vertical connection a result of a 'trans-place linkage in a spatial sense' (Blaser 2004: 29). Consequently, the horizontality is part of the verticality, resulting in a lack of hierarchy between those that puts relationships (*relationality*) at the center of life projects. As Blaser (2004: 29) remarks, the problem is precisely in the relative importance that is given to one or the other in the relationships established in the process of making and shaping a specific place. In the context of this study, the relevance placed on the verticality of building the nation and, lately, of constantly reinventing Brazil through resource development, shaped borders as lines of separation for indigenous groups such as the Ashaninka, the Macuxi and the Wapishana. Even so, there were relationships already shaping the place not as borders, but as their place of living. The way through which not only these groups became indigenous at the borders because of the borders, but by which they already arrived as Indigenous peoples at the

borders coming from other national contexts, determined how their life projects were built along space and time. Such processes have shaped the borders either as places of living politically and for becoming indigenous groups, or as places for a territorialized and vertical politics that determined them to be indigenous peoples in very generalized sense.

By recognizing the border as a process of place-building, as a landscape of many layers of interaction for making home - in other words of 'different ecologies' (Descola 2013; Escobar 2008) - I will discuss these differences in becoming and being indigenous in chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5 by looking at the different ways indigenous groups are exercising indigenous politics and carrying on their life projects. I argue that indigenous politics came hand in hand with the definition of Indigenous peoples as a category when national borders were established. Indigenous politics ended up being the indigenous foreign language to negotiate or to position their *lifeways* against state arrangements at the borders; a kind of indigenous diplomacy (Beier 2005, 2009).

Frequently, when Indigenous peoples negotiate the shaping of their place for living at borders, these places will also become an edge which is neither inside nor outside of the political possibilities imposed by borders. Therefore, indigenous diplomacies for becoming political will evince borders as a line for negotiating and approaching different worlds along with accessing different state polities. I specifically argue that the practice of managing borders for the indigenous groups I work with is one of managing their becoming political in tandem with what borders represented and still represent to their existence. Ultimately, this involves a negotiation between their dynamics of making home and shaping place in spaces that since the colonial moment coincided with the expansion of natural resources frontiers.

In the state of Roraima, in the northwestern Amazon basin, negotiations at the borders led to internal differences in exercising politics in the political space of the Indigenous Territory (IT,

hereafter). The IT is a political and legal territorial unit created by the 1988 Brazilian Constitution to guarantee land rights to Indigenous peoples associated to the recognition of their ways of occupying land as a collective group. The recognition of the Raposa Serra do Sol IT (hereafter RSDS) in Roraima as such, encompassing the lands of five different indigenous groups (Macuxi, Wapishana, Taurepang, Patamono and Yek'uana), with borders coinciding with the national borders, confined the exercise of the political within the IT boundaries. With this, most of the political negotiations made around place making ended up departing from this political unit and so did indigenous politics. In this sense, indigenous politics in responding to a violent resistance coming from factions in Brazilian politics to the IT - including those representing the powerful agribusiness sector - was strongly shaped by vertical relations to the IT, which were spread as the only possible relationship with land. The result of this has been a territorialisation of politics, eliminating a more fluid and plastic characteristic of the political landscape at the border (Sturgeon 2005), as lived by Indigenous peoples.

It is interesting to notice though that even in face of territorialisation, politics otherwise continued to be practiced at RSDS. This politics outside of the territorial realm has kept the plasticity of the borders (Sturgeon 2005) through familial ties and connections to non-indigenous actors involved with supporting women and environmental resistance outside the IT, although undertaken to strengthen the politics in the IT. Indigenous women were the actors developing these political relationships and, in departing from a critical perspective about the exercise of politics in RSDS, some of them challenged a stricter shape of politics. They have been doing it by highlighting the intersection of various layers of connections, but also of oppressions at the borders, particularly when they are perpetrated in the name of resistance.

In Acre, another border state of Brazil located in the lower southwestern Amazon basin, the shaping of the borders and of indigenous politics happened in a different way. In this state, which was the stage for the rubber boom in Brazil during the late 19th century, a dynamics involving different forest-based peoples' part in this economic cycle allowed for different experiences of making place and doing politics. There, one specific group, the Ashaninka people coming from the central rainforest in Peru, brought with them the experience of dealing with the nation-state and the rubber boom before borders with Brazil were defined. Ashaninka politics, in this sense, even if directed years later to the struggle for the territory, recognized in 1992, was very much based in moving their way of shaping place through several places, finally making home in Acre.

The specific group of Ashaninka people that I worked with in this area, on the Brazilian side, in Kampa do Rio Amônia Indigenous Territory (KRA IT, hereafter) chose not to confine their politics to the IT. By the time they had the IT recognized, they had already been shifted away from an indigenous politics focused on the nation-state. As with indigenous women in RSDS, the becoming political at the edge of the inside-outside dynamic of the borders allowed for a different perspective to be at play which evinced other worlds within borders. These worlds were of strong connections to a landscape related to mobility as a way of living; a mobility through which they articulated their staying in or the '*dwelling',* as Clifford would put (Clifford 2003; 2007), through the rainforest.

By bringing these two political articulations made by indigenous groups peoples at different borders, the idea was precisely to unveil different political practices of becoming political in dealing with political boundaries shaping and shaped by borders as symbolic practices (Balibar 2002) and as experiences of social and geopolitical mediations (Becker 2004) to affirm the presence of the nation-state. Indigenous peoples were as necessary in this process as borders were. Again, I should

emphasize that the aim here is not to reinforce dichotomies about the friend and the enemy as well as of the self or the other. The exercise here is one of engaging in the debate about the role of this supposed otherness, namely Indigenous peoples, in what borders became along with their (Indigenous peoples) very becoming.

My point of departure is their narratives: this (an)other point of view contributing to see borders as landscapes with indigenous lands articulated within it leading to varied threads of belonging and different relationships with the space of the border. Precisely because of these variations, there are no failures in these processes. What exists is a different management of the becoming and a higher or lower degree of acceptance of this continuous transformation to deal with other worlds, both coming from the indigenous groups I work with and the states that are enmeshed with their political becoming[3]. This process happens through the articulation of land beyond the Indigenous Territory (IT) at the border, which sometimes inscribed a contested political belonging of Indigenous peoples in relation to specific nation-states.

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[3] I am deeply in debt to Caitlin E. Craven for helping me thinking about my research and looking at its references to borders as different spaces for becoming political, depending on the context of their formation, as an attempt of approaching different worlds when approaching indigenous groups` participation in this process.

Approaching Worlds in Roraima

In the state of Roraima, a border state at the upper Brazilian Amazon forest, the contested political belonging of a group of Macuxi and Wapishana people exercised through contentious politics was what struck me the most about RSDS IT. I remember in 2008, throughout most of the year, the TV news and the newspapers reporting the contestation over the decision of demarcating this IT, with several previous indigenous lands inside it, as a continuous territory. Most of these media stories joined the well-known conservative chorus in Brazil, regularly echoing the sentence: "this is too much land for too few Indians". I also remember Romero Jucá, a former president of the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI, Brazilian acronym) in mid 1980s and, currently, a congress representative representing the mining industry interests, saying that indigenous groups in Roraima were jeopardizing both federalism and national sovereignty in Brazil. His justification was based on the fact that approximately 1,800,000 ha of land in RSDS, most of it within the 150 km of border area as predicted by the Brazilian Constitution (from the border line on), were giving too much power to a small parcel of the population that did not represent Roraima's interests, as it should be if following the federalist principle of state autonomy. Romero Jucá also alleged that the Supreme Court decision was not coming to terms to national interests. His last point is particularly relevant in the context of Indigenous peoples` position vis-à-vis the current expansion of economic frontiers in Brazil. Due to the Supreme Court decision to demarcate the territory continuously, rice growers occupying the indigenous lands were considered intruders and had to leave the area. They did so under the action of the Federal Police, but they alleged the process was unfair not just to them, but to all Brazilian families, because rice was staple food and with them leaving RSDS this product would have its price increased. In other words, rice growers said the Supreme Court decision was going against the national interest.

It was under this context of the media framing a supposed conflict between indigenous groups' interests and the national interest instead of looking at how the former were active part of the local politics in the border state of Roraima that I approached the indigenous movement in Roraima in the beginning of 2009. I thought this case was emblematic for understanding how the indigenous movement and indigenous persons were managing borders at this time and earlier, when the conflict was not yet public to the whole country and to international scrutiny. In a moment that indigenous persons and an IT were depicted as the number one obstacle to development and a threat to federalism (one of the pillars of re-democratization in Brazil), a conflict in an Amazonian border that has always been part of the periphery and peripheral debates on the rainforest seemed to be strategic and informative to engage with indigenous persons and their cosmological politics (and policies) to the situation.

Building the rapport was not easy though. The situation became particularly difficult when rice growers, in face of the judicial order for them to leave RSDS, articulated a violent action against indigenous students in residence at the *Centro de Formação Raposa Serra do Sol* (Raposa Serra do Sol Formation Centre). They invaded the school and set fire to it causing a mixture of anger - in the form of range against actors outside the IT in general - and engaged resilience - in the sense of searching for external partners that would contribute to their struggle for the territory not as sovereignty over the space enhancing limits of transit, but as sovereignty over their lives. This is was the scenario that I realized I would have to engage with to have access to different diplomacies to defend the territory, which stemmed from continuous and extremely violent relationships that helped in designing what is the border state of Roraima in the present day. This scenario is drawn conflictive by the heightening in the exploration of natural resources via land concentration allowed and legalized through public concessions to use space prior integrally protected. This movement of

the appropriation of collective spaces in the forest by the public apparatus has been leading to the creation of situations of extreme tension between the agricultural producers (small and big) and traditional populations, which include Indigenous peoples.

In being a border state, Roraima also brings a latent tension in the way it is constituted as political space which is connected to the production of borders coming hand in hand of natural resources extraction and the organization of the territory for it. The consequence of this combination dates back to the colonists and colonizers occupation, which have designed landscapes guided in consonance to the occupation of land, but also to different relationships to land proper of people inhabiting the northern Amazon Savannas before colonization. Following and recognizing this pattern to which I had contact in researching public archives from the colonial times – mostly travelogues – hosted by the Ministry of Foreign Relations in Brasilia as well as reading and systematizing old and contemporary anthropological writings on the area (Farage 1991; Koch-Grunberg 2005), I decided to approach people working with indigenous women in the region, who are mostly in charge of keeping cross-border familial ties. With that, I stumbled into a world inside the world of indigenous politics in RSDS, which showed me that inside the main resistance movement that I became acquainted with, there was another group, mainly of women, that was re-shaping how to disagree, beyond borders, with the national and local politics.

My relationship with a small number of indigenous women from communities at the border with Venezuela and Guyana was strengthened by a feeling, which grew slowly among them, that I was doing research that was important for them. In this sense, the main reason for the success in building rapport, according to them, was that I was nurturing relationships with them as much as they were nurturing relationships at the border. This provided me with the means (and reason) for engaging with a completely different diplomacy in RSDS. As my research was following the

assumption of the border as a social landscape, the effects of this competing diplomacy coming from some women were fundamental to build the dialogue I was interested in engaging with. This dialogue involved negotiations of my presence combined with my active participation in the women's movement so that the indigenous leaders in RSDS IT could allow the transit of women's family members living outside the territory throughout the IT. All these factors became layers of complicated negotiations for mobility so that I could approach different worlds of indigenous politics.

Approaching Worlds in Acre

The feeling that Indigenous peoples manage borders in order to build a dialogue between their cosmologies and the dynamics present at these borders that cut across their *lifeways* became stronger when I first approached Ashaninka people living at Kampa do Rio Amonia Indigenous Territory (IT). In this place, located right at a border area at the north western most part of the border state of Acre (Brazilian western Amazon), there are approximately 900 hundred Ashaninka people living there, although challenging limits between Brazil and Peru, a country where most of the Ashaninka live, especially at the surroundings of the Ene Valley, in the central Peruvian Amazon (Apiwtxa 2012). It was precisely the fact that Ashaninka people living in Brazil were making alliances with indigenous and non-indigenous peoples for the defense of their territory, and of the whole border region they are constantly moving through, that strengthened my impression of the existence of specific political actions to manage borders coming from indigenous groups. These political actions based on a) different conceptualizations of the human and of nature and b) on specific approaches to politics so that indigenous groups can come to terms to the defense of the subjects part of these different conceptualizations helped in shaping the construction and re-construction of

borders hand in hand with a continuous shaping of indigenous identities at the intersection of the local, the national and the global in the form of the border.

The way I approached Ashaninka people in the state of Acre reflected these differences in the shape of borders and, consequently, of the intersections (political articulations) promoted by different indigenous groups. Six years ago, in 2008, when I was defining the cases I would work with for this study, I became acquainted with the problems of Ashaninka people of Kampa do Rio Amônia Indigenous Territory (KRA IT, hereafter) through a documentary they produced in association with the Brazilian NGO *Video nas Aldeias*[4] (Video in the Villages). In the documentary, they showed the invasions of illegal loggers in KRA IT and how they were articulating themselves to defend their territory. In this video, at the same time elders and Ashaninka warriors were calling children and the youth to join the war against the intruders, images of their agroforestry systems[5] side by side with children eating native fruits and calling upon the relevance of knowing and eating these fruits to know well the territory at the border stressed a political management through which familial ties and daily resistance by cultural enhancement were part of the landscape drawn by them at the borders. Differently to what happened in RSDS IT in Roraima, at KRA IT there was not a division within the community to defend the territory. The absence of a so-called official indigenous politics allowed for everyday living to connect with resistance through a kind of resilience engaged with the landscape. This was only possible due to a profound knowledge of the area, where limits to political alliances were acceptable only if for the defense of life at the borders.

In this sense, the approach to the Ashaninka was since the beginning guided by this openness they have to alliances coming from different sectors, including the academia. Perhaps, this

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[4] The documentary is available for download at http://www.videonasaldeias.org.br/2009/video.php?c=13. The webpage is available in English.

[5] See Chapter 4 for a definition of agroforestry systems.

openness is part of an itinerant and, simultaneously, rooted relationship many Ashaninka people have with people and with places. This attitude and position that is also transplanted toward history and space offer an interesting insight for the study of borders and politics in the sense that allows to see it as part and result of the connections and stories that intersect sometimes with economic cycles and the building of nations at this complex space of the border. Due to this reason, when doing research at the Apiwtxa blog for preparing for my field research I realized that while they were mobilizing people in the community against illegal logging, an activity threatening their *lifeways* since the 1970s, they were also denouncing the case via community testimonials as well as via the publication of a well-documented follow up of the judicial case they initiated against the private actors that were sponsoring the illegal logging in their territory. With that information, I contacted them directly via their blog and described my research, explaining where I was coming from, including my disciplinary affiliation.

The words borders, international relations and political action were fundamental to build the rapport with Ashaninka from KRA IT. As with women in RSDS IT, I was allowed to go to the territory just because my research was considered important to them and this was there in the initial conversations, still through email and phone, for them to decide. When it was time to go to the territory in 2009 two important facts happened: Ashaninka people faced another invasion in their territory some months before and a trans-border project between the German Technical Cooperation, the state of Acre, in Brazil, the department of Ucayali, in Peru, and non-governmental organizations in both countries was initiated. This project aimed at strengthening the sub-national relations between Acre and Ucayali was inspired by the work of the Trans-Border Working Group (GTT, Brazilian acronym), created in 2005. The GTT was born based on Ashaninka peoples' activism at the borders between Peru and Brazil, which at that time began to call attention to a

politics at the forest besides the **politics for the forest,** practiced and implemented by states and sub-national governments, as I will expand on Chapter 4 of this dissertation.

As another invasion had just happened and the project was approved, the Ashaninka at KRA IT started to organize a GTT meeting with an Acre based non-governmental organization, Pro Indigenous Commission (CPI-AC, Brazilian Acronym). With that, as I became closer to them in July 2009, they flagged they were interested that I could help in mobilizing people and in providing information about the politics for infrastructural integration for the Amazon, which was going through a boom since 2005 with the Initiative for the Integration *of the* Regional Infrastructure *of* South America (IIRSA). The research was since its very beginning an exercise of activist research (Hale 2001) with not only the return being immediately provided, but with the general research questions being adapted and thought as according to the management of borders by the Ashaninka.

Indigenous peoples and other (wise) diplomacies and politics

The interest of International Relations scholars and scholarship in Indigenous peoples has been increasing since the 1990s. One conspicuous reason for looking at problems and dynamics involving Indigenous peoples through an IR lens was the United Nations' declaration of the International Decade of World's Indigenous Peoples (1995-2004) "with the main objective of strengthening international cooperation for the solution of problems faced by indigenous people in such areas as human rights, the environment, development, education and health" (21st December 1993 General Assembly Resolution 48/163).

The UN resolution acknowledged publicly, although not explicitly and officially, the role Indigenous peoples were increasingly occupying in international cooperation budgets lines (mainly from states cooperation agencies such as those from the Germany, UK, US and Norway to

developing countries), but also aimed at buttressing the delivery of more financial aid to indigenous organizations. Simultaneously, the decade also brought to the fore the need, as according to those participating in the dialogues and fora at the UN, to improve the quality and quantity of partnerships between governments and international organizations for the delivery of social services and for the purpose of including Indigenous peoples in development plans and programs carried on by the former.

In the 1990s, the issue of environment became a transversal theme to debates on development following the emergence of the concept of sustainable development in international discourses and politics materialized as an international common objective, so to speak, with the 1987 Brundtland Commission Report. During this decade, Indigenous peoples turned into prominent actors ('stewards' and 'stakeholders') in supporting innovative policies stemming from the motto *"Our Common Future"*, which was also the title for the mentioned report. Considered as a group of people able to manage nature without leaving it damaged to future generations, the participation of Indigenous peoples became central in debates about sustainable development in the international arena. The rising role of Indigenous peoples in paper led some indigenous leaders to advocate to a permanent forum in the UN, which was composed in 2000 as the United Nations Forum on Indigenous Issues. The Forum became a permanent advisory board to the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). Nevertheless, the question for many of these peoples around the world – although not all of them - continued to be how to be at the international spotlight could turn out to be recognition of their *lifeways* and coexistence with a Western driven development. Such recognition should in a minimum level result in effective accordance with indigenous forms of governance and governments existing as part of this international scenario from which, since its very creation, came

the definition of limits to actors composing it (borders to nations) that limited and fitted so many peoples to the status of 'indians' (See Chapter 1).

The indigenous voice in world politics (Wilmer 1993) became particularly heard in the end of the 20th century, calling attention to their problems and to their very self as the 'unfinished issue of decolonization' (Martinez Cobo 1986). There were studies in international politics stressing the connection between traditional knowledge and property rights (Posey and Dutfield 1996), indigenous peoples' participation in the democratic building process and reconciliation commissions in Latin America as well as the role of Indigenous peoples in a new age of international cooperation stressing their fundamental role in new funds comprising 'environmental assets' as well as their key position all over the world to measure and observe the straight connection between the guarantee of human rights and the promotion of an equitable development (Oliva Martínez 2005; Puig and Sanahuja 2004). Nevertheless, none of these studies or area of studies, when connected to a certain extent to IR studies, debated the limits of the 'international' to discuss what the problems of the internationalization of politics and (why not) of life represented to indigenous groups. The borders of the discipline remained in attempts to transpose the very borders, but, still, referring to them and to their know meanings to depict the problems (or borders) to Indigenous peoples to be agents in global politics. Perhaps, the equivoque was in the point of departure; that is, international cooperation, sustainable development etc, when the focus should be on Indigenous peoples and their management not of environmental disasters or to solutions to international development, but their survival as coexistence to a terminology (to be Indigenous peoples) that established in various ways their forms of resisting through what had initially oppressed them. In this sense, Globalization Studies and IR studies dialoguing with a critical and engaged Anthropology of development and of territorial dynamics (Escobar 1995; 2008), activist research and ethnographies of global connections

(Hale 2001; Tsing 2005) as well as critical stances on diplomacies, relationships and agency in global politics (Beier 2005; 2009; Blaser, de Costa, McGregor and Coleman 2010), gave an edge to build an environment to look at indigenous groups and their relations as source of global politics.

For engaging critically to the contexts that will be analysed in this study, it is important to say that at same time the decolonization process was officially (and apparently) advancing in Africa and Asia in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, dictatorships were rising in Latin America. In this region, Indigenous peoples were not just the 'unfinished issue of decolonization', but they were being transformed again into the targets of a refurbished colonization process, or internal colonization (Cardoso de Oliveira 1968). Such processes concerned and reinforced the issue of modernisation of the state in Latin America (Mignolo 2005). Modernization brought in once more the doctrine of indigenism to Latin America through which Indigenous peoples emergent "with the issue of colonization" became part of the frontier to be integrated by state-driven development projects, either as citizens or as eclipsed memory by over violence spread throughout their living areas. In places such as the Amazon forest, rich in natural resources that functioned as raw material to the emergent self-declared self-sufficient economies, the obliviousness of Indigenous peoples conjoined with the utilitarianism of the space. This was the case in Brazil and the movement for assimilation and integration of Indigenous peoples in the forest, as well as in other areas, was part of the resource development politics sponsored by a state driven capitalism under an authoritarian regime during the 1960s and 1970s.

To say in another way, decolonization was more of a *de jure* official international endeavour or assistance to states torn by European territorial disputes, rather than a *de facto* accomplished attempt by those millions of peoples that were engaged in the struggle for independence. In Latin America, the fact that most of the countries were already considered to be out of a colonial process,

because they were already independent, put aside the debates in the international arena - at least officially - about the condition of Indigenous peoples and the conditions under which their sovereignty were exercised through self-determination vis-à-vis debates about underdevelopment and development. There, most of the debates related to politics and Indigenous peoples revolved around the dynamics of class struggles and how it was depicted and performed in the struggle for democracy allied to the strive to end dictatorship (Yashar 2005). Many indigenous movements became political parties or part of a political party on the way to a formal democracy (Van Cott 2005).

When the debate involving Indigenous peoples and sovereignty came to the fore under the umbrella of sustainable development, it was mixed and sometimes used interchangeably with the concept of political autonomy. Through these debates, the possibilities of a better future for the humanity, if Indigenous peoples had the space to have political autonomy, which also included debates about Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) in the sphere of property rights, international trade and biodiversity conservation (Posey and Dutfield 1996), also shed light on the relevance of Indigenous peoples as relevant global political actors. Culture also became an important theme under the thread of sustainability and TEK, and for some indigenous groups the international debate involving cultural rights turned out to be the set of political guarantees at the international level for some political precepts of self-governance contained in the 2007 UN Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. As Cynthia Holder puts in an issue of the critical International Relations Journal *Alternatives* in 2008, cultural rights are not just about having cultural objects such as the language, the land and rituals preserved and respected (Holder 2008). It is much more about indigenous groups having the right of carrying their *lifeways* under their auspices. It is a matter of having sovereignty over their lives, as it will be discussed in Chapter 3 of this dissertation; a debate

about autonomy, politics and the very bases of the political that gets momentum within the discipline of IR around 2005, when the UN declares the Second Decade of the Indigenous Peoples (2005-2015).

The second decade comes to prove that the first decade and the practices of international politics tangent to indigenous groups at that moment were still insufficient to promoting dialogue with them. Those practices seemed insufficient particularly because most of them were not played out under the terms of what most indigenous groups considered to be politics. Definitions and analysis were still coming from the outside even if culture was beginning to be looked at as a cultural politics proper to be in dialogue through their diplomacies (Beier 2005) otherwise. These diplomacies were not based or mediated by state interests, but they were emerging from those interests indigenous groups used to support their dialogue with states they lived within as well as with any other actor they have relations to. Usually, these diplomacies responded and included the landscape indigenous groups were living through which brought to debate the role of place and nature not only as part of relationship, but as integral part of the indigenous (political) subjectivity.

When related to the dynamic between rights and politics, especially human rights and international politics, the seminal Alyson Brysk´s book *"From Tribal Village to Global Village"* (2000) raised the discussion around how cultural politics, as shown by Cynthia Holder´s argument (2008), could pave the way for Indigenous peoples in Latin America to get closer to the international human rights movement, bringing back support to have their rights respected internally. At the same time, Brysk makes the point that indigenous movements, departing from apparently very local demands, can appeal to global struggles for rights by influencing the shape of international activism and international institutions (Brysk 2000). Their demands end up questioning the limits of international politics to come up with a system or a set of rights able to account for humanity in all its complexity

and diversity. Even though this diversity and the potential of global connections are presented as good assets the indigenous movement has, there seems to be a belief that 'from the tribal to the global village', human rights are the answer to Indigenous peoples to mark their position and, maybe, their way to become global.

Nevertheless, as others will stress, as much as sovereignty is debatable as appropriate to be the primary basis of indigenous peoples' politics (Alfred and Corntassel 2008) or pathways to freedom (Alfred 2005), human rights is also a disputable source for indigenous autonomy or politics. As to be human is a collective experience along with the experience of holding a collective life related to the common use of land and of all that lies in it, the structure of human rights or of citizenship rights, for example, can be restrictive of some indigenous groups *lifeways*. In the case of international institutions, conventions or agreements it is very difficult that a single expression of their institutionalization through the application of generalized rules as opposed to rules adapted and re-adapted to specific realities can account for this complexity, even when there is reliance that these structures can undergo restructuration to respond to pressures coming from global public scrutiny.

In this sense, the 'additionality' of departing from an indigenous perspective to analyze their politics at the borders and the borders of a discipline such as IR lies precisely in observing how some indigenous groups have been challenging concepts taken for granted both by mainstream and critical stands, such as sovereignty, territory, space, international law and human rights, as practices and principles still attached to colonialism (and decolonization) and development (Beier 2005; 2009; de la Cadena and Starn 2007; Corntassel 2008; Blaser, Coleman, de Costa and McGregor 2010). Important to note is that studies that engage in it challenge the usual theoretical critical (and oftentimes practical) apparatus because they stem from contemporary and everyday experiences carried out by indigenous groups. Due to this reason, the movement toward looking at initially

marginalized practices makes us think not just about the incompatibilities with canonical political concepts – specifically in IR theory – but about how there is actually a political arena coexisting with the practices entailed by these concepts and proving to be alternatively productive of political subjectivities.

Under this context, indigenous scholars such as Taiaiake Alfred (2005; 2008), Jeff Corntassel (2008) and Marieke Harawira (2005, 2009) brought a lot of inspiration for this study because they produced serious theoretical critiques pointing out to possible and critical stances for thinking about governance, self-determination and the challenges imposed by sovereignty when thinking about these. The issue of **indigeneity,** that I previously accessed through non-indigenous scholars as Beier (2005), had already given me interestingly points of departure to think about how current political and social studies, as well as cultural practices and studies on cultural practices, when looking at Indigenous peoples may be hiding colonial practices and leaving them to the past. This may happen when they trust too much in the post-colonial promise of inclusion and reconciliation through critique and uncovering of violent practices. Nevertheless, it was through the combination of what I read from indigenous scholars with what I observed in indigenous groups' on the ground, that I could sense that indigeneity was an expression of different forms of being political according to specific cultures and in response to what being indigenous became in relation to an overt and external structure which was the state (Alfred 2005).

In this sense, indigeneity is part of a movement to ensure indigenous groups' struggles and history of the present (Beier 2005) and, consequently, of the many contradictions, conflicts and possibilities present in relationships of governing and governance. This way of looking at indigeneity can also be a way of counter-posing indigenous governance to negative relations of governmentality (determinations of how people should conduct their lives according to specific threads of power

over lives and the space they are performed and practiced). Therefore, it can be a way of seeing indigenous politics as beyond attempts to accommodating indigenous persons and groups to what the embracing concept and practice of citizenship offered to Indigenous peoples by the states allows. It is precisely through the observation of indigeneity at borders or the participation of indigenous groups at the construction of specific borders that will open the possibility to see the conjuncture of forging identities simultaneously to making a place liveable. With that, the very concept of borders can go beyond defining and streaming what a citizen is to reach out possibilities of becoming political beyond the state at the very place that will define the former as such.

As Tania Murray Li affirms, it is necessary to look at how the conduct of the conduct (governmentality) can also be a movement that will be one related to the articulation of the indigenous groups themselves contributing to the construction of very specific landscapes in the context of state development (Li 2007). Departing from this idea, indigeneity is both what is going to unite indigenous groups in their ways of relating politically and resisting strategically to the state within their places of living and what is going to differentiate them as particular and unique in this attempt depending on their origins and connections (Vecchione-Gonçalves 2009). As Aikau and James Spencer stress, "indigeneity is used (*by Indigenous peoples*[6]) as a deliberate strategy to link local environment and concerns of global interest" (Aikau and Spencer 2007:2). Oftentimes it does not happen naturally, but indigenous groups frequently know they can use their way of becoming political strategically in order to guarantee their own survival. Exactly because this movement goes in stark contrast with what sovereignty and the kind of citizenship emerging from it means to Indigenous peoples; that is, integration to Western political societies where the cultural, the political, the economic and the social are compartmentalized, indigeneity is a means of transgressing political,

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[6] The insertion was made by me to make the quotation clearer.

social, cultural and economic boundaries (Aikau and Spencer 2007). Usually, Indigenous peoples do it by practicing indigeneity when they link politics to place, although not restricting the exercise of politics to the geographical limits of the place from where they are establishing links. Due to its transgressive character, indigeneity might be a way of approaching responses to governmentality beyond exceptionalism and oppression and the specific places for politics usually left to Indigenous peoples.

As shown in Chapters 3 and 4 of this dissertation, the contributions of indigeneity understood as a way of dealing with several political subjectivities when thinking of 'autonomies' – and not just one way of being autonomous – and self-governance also brings to the discussion different approaches on what territory and land mean for peoples' lives. Attempts at a decolonial thinking must look at this dynamics played out in place so that a decolonial politics can emerge not only from unexpected places, but also from places where they are already carried on and forward by framing relationships from a perspective of interaction that involves more than what is currently known as global politics. Also, due to these possibilities often ignored by most tendencies in global politics, a study involving Indigenous peoples and borders had to go beyond disciplinary borders as well as beyond disciplinary guidelines for conducting research. In order to understand the political becoming of indigenous groups beyond the territory of living, although based on these same territories, this study had to be interdisciplinary and follow with a perspective more related to activist research. In this vein, I had to look at the Indigenous Territory and what people make of it so that I could elaborate and begin answering the research questions.

A cosmopolitics, as suggested by de la Cadena (2010), and the striving to becoming political through citizenship as attaining it in different degrees show that processes and elements of alterity lead to varied possibilities of being and becoming political. They point to interesting and appealing

features to grasp with the complexities related to how political subjectivities emerge and re-emerge within indigenous political territories. These elements, in the case of de la Cadena, involve more than documents, voting and rights. They encompass also what is usually left aside of politics, because they are seem as a-political and a-historical (natural elements i.e.), and rejoin with them with the contemporary political debate that discuss how indigenous cosmologies can be translated in better ways of coexistence that challenge taken for granted possibilities of being political. The constant becoming and transformation of indigenous groups and their reverence of nature as something fundamental for their sociality (and their polity) coming from coexistence bring on possibilities that go beyond the constant integration of who is not part of politics and the struggle to be visible carried on by those to contest the political space (Rancière 1999). The visibility is a consequence of the constant movement to act within a political system through different means. Nevertheless, the struggle for visibility is a means and not the end for becoming political. For some of the indigenous groups that I worked with, becoming political or becoming recognized as a political reference amidst the group usually is a kind of natural movement that does not stem from a monolitic ontology. For them the imaginary and the bases for imagination may vary with the landscape and, consequently, with culture and stories as told in and for a specific place. The world is recognized by most of them as more complex than the state-society relationships and there will be more elements to relate in politics that vary from group to group, from landscape to landscape. Those elements may point to why their political answers to the borders, imposed on them and creating them as Indigenous peoples, are so different depending on the indigenous group and persons they became within and across states and stories part of these relations making borders.

The advantage of looking at politics and to a political philosophy through the debate on indigeneity as well as on the responses following the supposedly inevitability of the nation-state

translated by the moment borders are created, that is per se an antithesis of the cosmological, is to assume that within a political ontology there are many other ontologies relating to it each other. To speak of indigeneity is not to speak of (an)other ontology to hold to, but of ontologies of radical difference that target and that are actually already practicing a politics otherwise (Alfred 2005; Blaser 2014).

To conclude, this dissertation does not follow the literature that looks at the contribution of Indigenous peoples' assemblages and assemblies for understanding contradictions and oppressions lying within sovereignty (Shaw 2009). The limits of political theory to discuss indigeneity and indigenous politics (Shaw 2009), as well as its contributions, will be debated in light of indigenous groups' and persons' stories about borders and the borders to their political becoming.

For this reason, this dissertation is more connected to studies emergent in the Second Decade of Indigenous Peoples attuned to critical development studies and the contribution of social movements, including indigenous movements, to produce knowledge and to envision realities beyond the internal critique of development. Some of these studies, although recognizing the efforts and accomplishment of theoretical and practical frameworks that promote indigenous rights, call attention to its insufficiency for enhancing and attesting another ways of becoming political as well as for allowing other practices and thoughts about development and well living to emerge (Lander 1993). As Blaser highlights:

> The ideas of development and indigenousness have a long time and intimate historical relation. It was the conceptual and legal-political problems that followed the discovery of hitherto non-known humans in the "New World" that helped set in motion the reconceptualization of Western Europeans of where and who they were and how they fit in time and history . (Blaser 2004: 27)

Nurturing life(ways) by methods of dialoguing

There are the 'whites'. There are the 'indians'. There are many people. Everybody is under the same sky and live on the same Earth. However, the 'whites' cannot see the sky is falling

into Earth. They just see things on Earth. So between the sky and the Earth there are sides; those of people who see the sky falling and those of people who see things on Earth. [Pause] On which side are you? – David Kopenawa Yanomami, Shaman and Political leader, Personal Interview, October 2009.

The question in the epigraph was posed to me when I was in the state of Roraima, some days before traveling to RSDS Indigenous Territory, put me to think deeply about the research and how it would affect people I was going to be with during my fieldwork. I particularly concentrate myself on thinking not just on the relevance and consequences of it in the moment it was happening – that would involve immediate ethical considerations and concerns on the methods used – but on how it would linger positively or negatively in the communities I would be staying with for approximately three months. Due to the conflicts that were happening in 2008 and 2009 and to the insistence of researchers in not assuming that many of them were related to incommensurable world views about nature and the collective and shared experience of nature through ways of living, I had to take a side. By taking a side in RSDS and in KRA IT, meant to tell the story of conflicts and possibilities of making place at the borders departing from their perspectives, listening attentively to them and to unsaid discourses present in the territory. It related, above all, to be flexible about the research questions and problems I was thinking to be central beforehand and that became a little bit different along the way as moved through the territory and as I was moved through territory and terrains of politics that they were creating in different places.

There is not exactly a script for conducting research like this in International Relations and there are not many examples of the nuts and bolts of doing research with Indigenous peoples in this discipline. In this sense, to follow with the theoretical commitments I have already described in the previous section that assume that there is not such a thing as a fixed ontology from where I can depart to analyse indigenous politics and indigeneity, I decided to use cross references one more

time to build the approach I would have to an indigenous storyline or research questions about borders in the Amazon forest. Once more, indigenous scholars' writings on relationality and reciprocity in research as well as the guidelines for reflecting upon the research practice as defended by Ashaninka people in the state of Acre greatly inspired me in accompanying women expeditions in RSDS (See Chapter 3) and the group expedition in throughout the Upper Juruá Extractivist Reserve, in Acre (See Chapters 4 and 5).

Conversations in movement during these trips were very different from the semi-structured interviews I was thinking of doing when I designed my proposal. However, to talk to indigenous persons that were referential people in the making of the places I was travelling through were fundamental to understanding their history and stories of border making which was so close to what they were politically and constantly becoming. Their conversations about place and the geographical approaches allied to their cosmologies were what called my attention to the contributions geography and the study of landscapes – particularly indigenous ways of observing and interpreting landscapes – would have in my own work. Research questions about the connection between cosmology, movement and the life at the borders were directly influenced by looking at landscapes as the visual and material result of a dialogue between the seen and the unseen, between history and memory, land use and mobility.

This take on landscapes was also useful to understand the transformation of their struggles into an indigenous territory that became sometimes an unfortunate political unit to cope with all these complexities in a life within borders. In order to fully understanding struggles and to engage with landscapes through indigenous persons' story, I had to take sides and to look at the research as part of this engagement. This demanded from me an openness to the problems I was encountering on my way to the borders of the Indigenous Territories and of Brazil. In RSDS, one of the problems

that I was not expecting to find was related to indigenous women and the difficulties they were facing in moving across borders, not exclusively due to limitations imposed by the Brazilian army or the Federal Police, but by restrictions thought as necessary by the RSDS indigenous movement and the Indigenous Council of Roraima (CIR, Brazilian acronym).

The same take on landscapes allied to the need of taking sides, as laid clearly by David Yanomami, was also very instructive to go back to the historical references about border making and border setting. It is important to say that all these references were checked after the many conversations about borders that I had both with people from RSDS and KRA IT. They set the tone, through their discourses, to what I should look at in December 2009 in the Joint Commissions Demarcation of Borders archives, at Fundação Alexandre de Gusmão (FUNAG), in Brasília. If I was making any ethnography of the border relations under indigenous persons' point of view, I should say their testimonials were fundamental to give me focus and the sense of what I should be looking at. The connections established with the history outside their own were their connections and their relationships. In this sense, the research became part of and the beginning of a relationship with the indigenous groups that unveiled their places and engaged with me in my work because they said it was important to them.

The contribution I could give them was my participation in their activities when they requested it by promoting debates about the advances of economic frontiers in the Amazon forest vis-à-vis the awakening of economic cycles, colonialism, imperialism, capitalism and, more recently, development. The truth is that I received much more contributions from them to understand these histories than I had contributed with my knowledge, still in construction. One clear example of it is that I understood that I could not have a complete sense of these histories if I did not have a sense of their elders' participation in them, even if these stories of participation were for contrasting with

the politics moulded by colonists and the Brazilian Republic to imprinting a particular picture of progress in the Amazon forest. Tensions between who were the authors and sources of knowledge were the first border to overcome in doing this research.

Perhaps, it can be said that I did ethnography though I am not sure about it. For if I were doing so, I would have had to spend much more time in the places I have been to. If the reason for assuming I did ethnography is that I was staying with the communities and taking into consideration their stories and world views about a specific aspect, I would say that the way I did my research is more attuned with what Anna Tsing calls ethnography of global connections in her book *Friction* (2005). For Tsing, it is worth observing how local people engage with international policies, terminologies and concepts by a way of friction. According to her, forest based peoples' *lifeways* will not necessarily respond passively to global trends; they can engage with it actively and translate it to their local realities in a way that resonates with their local struggles at the same time that can be productive readings and contributions to universal concepts and practices in the global level. This is what friction is like; it does not nullify the meaning of what collides with opposition binaries. Rather, it turns out in different and travelled concepts that may be useful not just to explain other realities, but to serve as an instrument to local struggled that will have global reverberations. By observing how the concept of the border attached to development and how land use connected to the very definition of Indigenous peoples and politics locally, it was possible to understand how Ashaninka people in the state of Acre and Macuxi and Wapishana people in the state of Roraima became 'indians' and Indigenous peoples while Brazil was becoming a state. This was only possible to do because to look at their lifeways at the borders was done simultaneously with their connections beyond borders and to the interpretations about where these connections featured in a global politics locally. The reverberations I talked about are both inside out and outside in and this is the

reason why talks, conversations and interviews with NGOs working with them was completely necessary. They say this was also why my research became important to them. I tried, in this sense, even recognizing the limits of IR, I believed I could contribute with the effort of making it a social science more committed to what international relations are to people at the edges of the world as we know it.

The global connections of Indigenous peoples in the Amazon in the last 20 years are assumed to have been increasing due to the presence of NGOs and international development agencies. However, it is also known that Indigenous peoples have long before these developments an understanding of the world as cosmos where people are integrated through relationships to each other and to nature (understood as cultural and social changing space). This notion of connection brings to the fore a commitment central to the methodology developed in this research which is in dialogue with research practices developed by indigenous scholars that defend that any research with Indigenous peoples must bring in itself the practice of *relational accountability* (Wilson 2008). Departing from a relational accountable methodology and epistemology, which are intrinsically tied to each other and to an ethical research, one's politics and ethos in doing research must be accountable to the relationships one creates while perpetrating and making this practice possible. Likewise, what makes your research possible and truthful, although not necessarily in agreement with, is the respect, reciprocity and relational ties you create with the cultural, political and natural environment where the research is carried on (Wilson 2008). This makes the knowledge real, respectful and productive in terms of what can be made for the community you are working with. At the same time, this makes possible a relationship between the researcher (myself) and the community in a kind of research that conjoins activism and participatory research (Hale 2001). Following this movement in this research, I attempt at drawing a combination of indigenous ethics

in doing research and methods on qualitative research by expecting to be more inclusive of Indigenous peoples approaches to interpret and define what relevant data is. In Shawn Wilson's words:

> An Indigenous paradigm comes from the foundational belief that knowledge is relational. Knowledge is shared with all creation. It is not just interpreted relationships, not just with research subjects I may be working with, but it is a relationship with all creation. It is with the cosmos, it is with the animals, with the plants, with the earth that we share this knowledge. It goes beyond this idea of individual knowledge. Who care about these ontologies? It's not the realities in and of themselves that are important; it is the relationship that I share with reality. (Wilson 2008:74).

Shawn Wilson says in the lines above that research is ceremony. Practically, it entails a strong connection to the group and events from where you are drawing your concepts, explanations and results (Wilson 2008). Epistemologically, methodologically and axiologically, it means that as if in a ceremony your research is a way of building and strengthening relationships with the group you are working with. For me, the research worked as a manner of bridging gaps and making spaces shorter between myself and the indigenous persons I was working with exactly to make a point about their capacity to move across borders theoretically and practically, opening up possibilities of politics firstly left to oblivion precisely due to these gaps. In order to come to terms with this proposal, I developed extreme respect and understanding of their required research protocols (even when I knew they were part of a power relation with other groups in the communities). Also, upon their request I became completely involved with some concepts cited in the research as part of their cosmologies by recognizing interconnections between them and the required protocols to develop the research as I will describe along this dissertation.

One important aspect I could realize upon my return to the territories in 2011, 2012 and 2013 was that by seeing the research as a ceremony, I could use the former as a way to make things understood, respected and worked through as one possible way of building belief in their life projects. The research to be continued as active, by the community itself, had at some point, even if

through critiques, to entail strengthening and encouraging despite the problems involved in their life projects. As I have already said in this introduction, I was not in the position to judge their accomplishments or failures. I was there to participate of their politics when they allowed me by acknowledging in my research the specific value of it for building their life projects as regional contributions beyond borders – not that they needed this recognition to keep on doing what they were already doing (See Chapter 5).

But what would be the connection of this Indigenous research method to 1) the ethnography of global connections as proposed by Anna Tsing and 2) the participatory/activist research through a community-based approach and placed research as practiced by Charles Hale (2001) and Arturo Escobar and Wendy Harcourt (2005; 2008)? More importantly, how would this connection be suitable to understand the reason that makes Indigenous communities more engaged with specific life projects that enhance mobility over stillness, connections across places as opposed to enclosing linkages in a specific place? To examine critically these questions by an engagement with community life may give hints on the global reach of indigenous life projects to current global events.

Maybe, an activist research cannot solve all the puzzles related to these questions, but it can certainly bring awareness about issues that were not even questions to begin with. Such issues can involve community-based problems, which deserve attention in the making of more inclusive and just social policies in face of the problems detected. As suggested by Charles Hale, an activist research:

> a) helps us better understand the root causes of inequality, oppression and related conditions of human suffering; b) is carried out, at each phase, from conception through dissemination, in direct cooperation with an organized collective of people who themselves are subject to these conditions; c) is used, together with the people in question, to formulate strategies for transforming these conditions and to achieve the power necessary to make these strategies effective. (Hale 2001:13)

Hale does not say that by doing it the researcher is assuming there are no internal divisions in the group you are analysing or that the researcher should be recruited or offer his or her work so

that he or she can be doing "real" activist research. What he is saying, conversely, is that what one is studying and one's research questions and objectives should be attuned with what the communities think is a problem to them and with the processes they believe are important to be known and understood given their own activities related to the research problem. In my own case, my research problem that revolved around the difficulties and accomplishments of indigenous life projects across borders followed their very questions about the possibilities of making them successful through different alliances and ways of articulating their indigeneity in site (Clifford 2001). Hale's proposal is very much related to what Escobar does in his book *Territories of Difference* (2008) and to what the same author produces in cooperation with Wendy Harcourt; that is, the framework known as *Women in Place Politics (WPP)* (2005). The later methodological effort, which looks at the local struggles of women to respond to the disconnections between their environment, their body and their economies by the ways they are forging to reconnect with them through their resistance, was an essential guidance to acknowledge that indigenous women's struggles in RSDS were actually an attempt at this reconnection by questioning ways of resistance in the area. Women there would say resistance was disconnected from these fundamental features before.

The search for this connection between the body, the environment and the economies of living at the borders conveyed by indigenous groups' politics of place was also what motivated to look at the forms Ashaninka people were approaching geography and recording land use and occupation through maps. These instruments called 'ethnomaps' (see Chapter 4) are examples of how to organize research in conjunction with the community following the relationships with the land that will encompass more than the territory per se, but its spiritual linkages, its borders relations, relationships with neighbour territories as well as the past activities and stories linked to sacred places that will also add to the landscape. The map making activity follows from

conversations, collective activities, ceremonies and practices with children, the youth, women and warriors about place making by moving from place to place and recovering stories of transformations in the space of the forest. An understanding of the territory as part of a region made of connections (See Chapter 5) is what is going to determine future actions and directions in life projects based on this extensive research about living in and through the land. Even if 'ethnomapping' is not an activity practiced in RSDS, this kind of approach for understanding the articulation of land beyond the territory and through an activist research was applied to all the chapters in this dissertation.

Overview of the Chapters

In *Taming the Indigenous and Expanding Frontiers of Nationhood,* I show through a historical overview, inspired by the conversations I have in Indigenous Territories that guided me through the reading of historical documents, how the groups I work with in this study became Indigenous peoples in tandem with the emergence of borders that drew the Brazilian nation state in the 19th century. I argue that these indigenous groups had a determinant role on the way these borders were shaped, at the same time that these borders led them to organize and to make place in ways that responded to the conjunction of social and political elements at stake, including their very ways of making and doing politics while making place. An important aspect of this chapter is the narrative on how the meaning of `to be indigenous' in the Amazon forest was built in association of an idea of emptiness and absence of subjectivity that allowed for the forest of so many identities and relationships to become a domesticated space. The management of ideas about this *a priori* deterministic space by specific indigenous groups brings to the fore the challenges mobility and the transformation of peoples along with the transformations of places can pose to the, oftentimes relentless, violent process of nation building.

The following chapter *Legal and Political at the Edge in Raposa Serra do Sol* will discuss the case of becoming indigenous peoples, as resisting as indigenous peoples with multiple and conflictive identities, through the process of creation of RSDS IT. This IT, recognized as a continuous area at the borders with Venezuela and Guyana in 2008, posed a challenge to groups of rice growers occupying parts of it before the 2008 judicial decision that determined they had to leave the territory. The IT also challenged sectors in the Brazilian government, including the army, who believed the IT would compromise state sovereignty. Last, but not the least, the creation of RSDS IT posed a challenge to what indigenous politics had become in Roraima since times of internal colonization in the first half of the 20th century. The proximity some indigenous groups, now living within the area, created with the concept of territory as linked to an idea of reinforcing borders and limits of politics by centralizing politics led to conflicts on how to exercise leadership throughout the IT. Tensions between how to be a citizen and to be an indigenous person within the IT borders coinciding with the state borders are central to the debate in this chapter. The use of **indigeneity** to contrast to **citizenship** as another political subjectivity will be particularly important in this discussion.

I will expand on these tensions in the third chapter "*Indigenous Women struggles at the edge of colonized patriarchy*", where I will describe through two different events – an official meeting of the Organization of Indigenous Women of Roraima (OMIR, Brazilian acronym) and a trip throughout the RSDS IT – problems faced by a group of indigenous women to overcome obstacles and prohibitions for them to circulate freely across the IT borders. As subjects that **move places through places** reaffirming a politics of connections as opposed to a territorialized politics, women suffer with the backlash both of state actors and of an official indigenous political unit; that is, the Indigenous Council of Roraima (CIR, Brazilian acronym). The debate about the politics of place

practiced by woman and the ownership of politics stemming from colonial and state patriarchy will be fundamental to reflect upon the multiple indigenous identities that may emerge within an IT.

The intrinsic connections between the politics of place and mobility across borders, through the acknowledgement of it as a space within places of living, will be brought to discussion by presenting Ashaninka people's life projects at the border between Peru and Brazil in Chapter 4 *"Indigeneity at the Edges: Ashaninka resistance beyond borders".* In this moment, a very different way of becoming indigenous people by the process of becoming Ashaninka in Brazil vis-à-vis the emergence of south western borders between Brazil and Peru that followed the rubber boom in these countries will be presented. Also, at this moment the rise of the environmental movement in the Brazilian Amazon is going to be discussed as part of a global politics that have many local stories of alliances and unexpected readings of citizenship and territory that made possible the environmental debate at this time to become global and without borders.

In following the tendency of telling other stories about globalization and citizenship otherwise, next chapter *"Crossing Borders and Making a 'Working Region' in the Lower Amazon Basin"* will show how Ashaninka people departing from the recognition and demarcation of their territory in 1992 built a trans-border alliance with indigenous and non-indigenous people in Peru and Brazil. The Transborder Working Group (GTT, Brazilian acronym) was created amidst the advances of illegal loggers in the Ashaninka people territory and their leadership in the process of promoting resistance through alliances to make communitarian invigilation in the forest raises interesting departure points for thinking on the concept of region and regional integration through another point of view. These tendencies of an Ashaninka politics that was born out of the extremely detailed knowledge of the territory they are living in which articulate as condition for endurance the alliance with neighbours within and across borders challenge territorial limits and limits for becoming

political. By positioning myself in dialogue with the debates about contesting concepts of territory and region (Escobar 2008), I will explore the possibilities of conciliating places with networks through two events I attended with the Ashaninka: an invitation trip throughout the Juruá River basin to a GTT meeting, in 2009, and the actual GTT meeting, in November of the same year.

In the conclusion of this dissertation, I will explore the possibilities (and the impossibilities) of the politics presented by different indigenous groups in this study. The idea is to situate their struggles and attempts for keeping on becoming indigenous peoples when they kept on being the main adversaries and obstacles to the kind of development that the each day more internationalized Brazilian state is proposing to the country as a whole and, particularly, to the Amazon region. Borders to becoming are each day bolder in face of the contemporary will to improve (Li 2007).

Chapter 1
Taming the Indigenous and Expanding Frontiers of Nationhood

In looking at the situation of indigenous peoples in the Amazon basin, perhaps the most pervasive aspect of their political relationships with states is the unwillingness or inability of the latter to recognize their autonomy beyond the lexicon enacted by the rule of law in the form of legal pluralism. Beginning with its colonial shape, the Brazilian State has been resistant, in various ways, to acknowledging the politics emanating from inner relationships between humans and the rainforest. Such resistance, along with the search for natural resources and land, needed to accommodate a capitalism oriented to intensive resource extractive practices which created a necessary state of awkwardness (and backwardness), leading to the emergence of *natives* and *Indians*.[7] Ever since, Indigenous peoples and the meaning of the (nation) state have been dialectically intertwined in the Amazon rainforest, as have their transformations (Ramos 1992; Baines and Cardoso de Oliveira 2005).

These transformations have been extensively discussed mainly by anthropologists committed to understanding the politics directed toward indigenous peoples *(indigenist politics)*. These studies usually look at the linkages between indigenist policies and State interests in exploiting natural resources by establishing land and developmental politics and policies that have determined the national space, materially and symbolically speaking (Ramos 1992; Baines and Cardoso de Oliveira 2005). In this chapter, these discussions are as fundamental as recent studies made in Brazil on ethnicity and borders (Baines 2006; Sprandel 2006; Iglesias 2010; Pimenta 2013). Their importance

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[7]As mentioned in the introduction, I will use the term 'Indigenous peoples' when talking more generally about indigenous groups in the Amazon or elsewhere, especially when tackling legal and political issues related to their relationship with the State and their status within it. Aside from that, I will use the term 'indigenous persons' when speaking of more specific cases and situations and in trying to bring the political category closer to the location and village being examined. Finally, and most preferably, in discussing the stories I am most concerned with in this dissertation, I will be using the specific groups` names: the Ashaninka, Macuxi, Wapishana and whichever other indigenous groups` names are relevant to the topic at hand.

arises from the fact that the expansion of economic frontiers in the Amazon forest has been accompanied by the definition/creation of national borders and the assimilation or annihilation of previous inhabitants by different national policies at different moments in time.

Looking at two specific places along the Brazilian border at different moments of frontier expansion, I intend to discuss two aspects of the political place of indigenous peoples, in terms of action and of space. One aspect relates to the emergence of 'indigenous peoples' according to a classification imposed by the colonial State. Such classification, in turn, led to the articulation of an indigenous politics for responding to or contending with it. The other aspect involves the idea that the making of indigenous politics cannot be disconnected from the fact that prior to being classified as indigenous, these persons were already grounded in a politics based on their relationship with the forest. This relationship extended also to other indigenous peoples, which created specific articulations determining their survival at the frontier as well as the kind of articulation they were able to forge afterwards, at the borders. These relationships of survival entail, and at the same time, enact diplomacies amongst and within groups regarding the negotiation of past and present political experiences of their classification as indigenous (Beier 2005; 2009).

In this sense, the projection of nationhood and the accompanying occupation of the Amazon through border definition also meant the re-articulation of cosmologies. The languages and understandings of the forest and the relationship peoples living there had with nature and with their history and stories developed new dimensions with the arrival of State governance. Nevertheless, the State was not a monolithic experience in the forest. Differences at distinct parts of the Amazon entailed variations in the practices of coloniality from the Brazilian state and from its neighbouring states and, consequently, different political landscapes.

In order to understand two different political landscapes of the Amazon Forest, I will look at the shape and role of indigenous politics in the constitution of two different border areas, which emerged during the 18th and 19th century, in the Brazilian Amazon. To the end of observing how this connection unfolded, I will look at two different indigenous articulations vis-à-vis the expansion of the Brazilian Nation-State. These areas are the present day states of Acre and Roraima. The shaping of politics in both spaces was informed by the ways the process of economic frontier expansion played out there. For this reason, I will look at the nature or the characteristics of the frontier in these spaces by interrogating, firstly, the incommensurability of these same frontiers with the previously existing social space. Secondly, I will discuss the accommodation of frontiers in the Amazonian space in the form of the border. I will do this by highlighting juxtapositions between indigenous landscapes and national spaces, informed by distinct concepts of human beings/humanity, leading to different relationships with nature and to specific landscapes at the border. The national space created in relation to nature during the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries fuelled hierarchies and imbalances that helped to create the 'indian' as a constitutional subject and citizen in the 20th century. This juxtaposition also brought with it power relations that embraced indigenous peoples in the domestic arena along with the domestication of the forest.

At such moments of trimming and taming of subjecthood, the rainforest fell under the sphere of territorial control and management and so did Indigenous peoples. Precisely for this reason, in this chapter I will show how the Ashaninka, Macuxi and Wapixanas had articulated resilience, resistance and their cosmologies at the borders while the borders were under formation. By doing so, I expect to reveal how localized struggles and connections beyond borders contributed to forming nodes of action influencing the politics these groups were able to forge after borders were demarcated and nation-states intersected with their *lifeways*.

Finding an Indigenous Amazon

The official history of contact in Brazil goes back to the 16th century when the Portuguese arrived at the Northeast Coast of what would be their biggest colonial enterprise. By that time, thousands of Guarani people had gone inland, mostly westward, where other relatives were, in search of the *terra sem males* (land without maladies). Others stayed and perished due to the spread of diseases like influenza or because of chattel slavery. In both cases, the contact had cost them land and cultural annihilation in the wake of rare wood exploitation (Pau Brasil tree), monoculture agricultural expansion (sugar cane) and mining. Such a large land enclosure enterprise, accompanied by nature's depletion, supported the emergence of the Portuguese nation-state, strengthening its currency worldwide and helping to expand its colonial project in other parts of the globe.

For the purposes of contextualizing indigenous mobility, land use, and the expansion of economic frontiers in the Amazon from the perspective of such stories of nature depletion, I need to make a detour from the situated cases and groups I work with and look at the encounter between colonists and the Guarani people. Whereas for the latter – and other indigenous peoples – mobility is the search for a land without maladies, with no owners, for the former, mobility was linked to the need to enclose land for practicing intensive extractive activities. Even if also moved by the will for a better life, colonists were guided by the sign of the frontier, which brought in and of itself other ideas about what life and the relationship with the land should be.

Horizontality,[8] entailing non-hierarchical relationships with nature, for instance, was never a feature shared by the 'colonists' will and knowledge of the Amazon. Frontier expansion and colonial

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[8] Horizontality is a common feature to the cosmology of most indigenous groups. By cosmology, as explained in the introduction, is the manner in which indigenous peoples see and read the world and life within their space of living, which is taken as a reproduction of the space of creation encompassed by a mythology – the story of how a specific group appeared on 'Earth'. The understanding of the world and the language used to describe it is renewed and, nourished by the way the space is translated into a place of living where humans and non-human beings are in constant relation to one another and to the creational spirits. In this sense, cosmologies are the ways by which these connections

conquest were fuelled by pre-conceptualized knowledge and interests informed by a dichotomy between nature and culture/economy/society (Descola 1995, Mignolo 2000). The turning point for theorists writing both on colonialism and its consequences for dichotomies and hierarchies between nature and culture (Escobar 1999; Latour 1993; Dussel 2002; Viveiros de Castro 1998) was when this division was transformed into an ideology of delivering progress. In the Amazon, this thinking was naturalized in colonial policies that advanced violently into the forest, justifying any kind of action directed toward groups living there for the sake of occupation.

As for the local dwellers, horizontality seemed to be one of the guiding principles of their relationships. Land was one of the loci for this horizontality, but not in the sense of embedded and fixed localities for justifying the sufficiency of indigenous territories and reservations in the future. Much to the contrary, the breadth and depth of land encompassed spirituality, forms of life and the experience of being human in contact and as part of the land (Viveiros de Castro 1986; Merlan 2007). Land could be anywhere depending on these connections and on how they could generate well-being in and with nature. One's perspective on the forest could not be one forged or built outside of it and the very sense of belonging, becoming and recognizing oneself as a being could not be detached from nature (or the forest) (Viveiros de Castro 1998).

In this sense, the mobility proper of many groups in the Amazon was related to dislocation throughout the land, as described above, in an attempt by the group to better recognize itself collectively and, simultaneously, related to the perception of space as place and land. This perception usually allowed for collective decisions and debates about land use and occupation. For this reason, land use at a specific site would never be a motive for dislocating people. In many cases, for people living at the rainforest to 'dis-locate' was not necessarily a disruption, but to move the ways of living

are explained so that they can make sense of the spatial (material) and spiritual world they live in. What always varies is the way of telling this story – and consequently, of conceiving persons vis-à-vis nature by establishing specific relations to it.

through and to other places, creating an integrated region – a region territory, as Escobar would say (2008) – for living. This means it was part of their *lifeways* to move. With the Guarani or the Ashaninka, for example, it is as if they move places with them in order to maintain a relationship to land[9] in its broader and deeper sense.

Of course, this culture came to be at odds with the colonial enterprise that assumed the land was unoccupied and that there was no social and political life before its arrival – which in later 18th century international law would be coined as the *Terra Nullius* principle. Contradicting the cosmology related to land and social existence, people were taken as 'indigenous' because the non-indigenous came into contact. The nativity of the former was related to the action of the latter. As Pratt remarks, 'prior-ity' was something given by colonizers to indigenous peoples, which already makes the prior in the priority questionable (2007:368). The attribute of being prior is connected to the action of generating the indigenous, which Pratt called 'generativity'[10], and which gave room to others to decide what indigenous priority should entail (Pratt 2007: 369). At Amazonian frontiers, this ontology entailed a disavowal of previous connections to the land, even when making use of indigenous presence in a specific place. By doing so, Indigenous peoples could be recovered as a passive category, and another phase of occupation could begin.

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[9]An account on land, nature and cosmologies in South America can be found on Eduardo Viveiros de Castro "Cosmological Deixis and Amerindian Perspectivism" in *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol.4, N(3), pp. 469-488. As Viveiros de Castro remarks, "the classic distinction between Nature and Culture cannot be used to describe domains internal to non-Western cosmologies without first undergoing a rigorous ethnographic critique" (Viveiros de Castro 1998:496). However, elsewhere the same author highlights that an account of the consequences of this distinction must be made by anyone interested in how universal accounts of civilization interfered with particular cosmological standpoints about the world. For Viveiros de Castro, this is essential to challenge current development models based on a specific kind of humanity.

[10]'Prior-ity' and 'Generativity' are terms used by Mary Louise Pratt in the afterword of the book *Indigenous Experience Today* (2007) edited by Marisol de La Cadena and Orin Starn. The book accounts for the various forms indigeneity and indigenous identity take on in current political, ecological, social, economic, cultural and cosmological spheres. Mainly, reflections are based on experiences that situate indigenous peoples' resistances, practices and engagements in a history of the present.

When the colonists used overt power to impose a Western conception of a better life through the expansion of frontiers, the search for 'land without maladies' became displacement. 'Prior-ity' of indigenousness at the Coast ended up reproducing the hierarchy between nature and culture in the classification of other indigenous groups as the Portuguese colonists moved westwards and northwards. Disavowal of previous connections between peoples of the Coast and elsewhere, as well as the land forming a scape for living, fed into the depiction of the Amazon forest as pristine nature, leading to its a-politicization[11]. To tell this story, a broader picture of the contact zone is needed. Nevertheless, this contact zone must be thought of as an ongoing process in which and through which frictions among the agents involved led to the construction of the forest as a social space (Tsing 2005: 13-17).

By the end of the 16th century, *Pau Brasil (*Brazil tree or Brazil Wood) was becoming scarce in the Brazilian Atlantic rainforest. In the 17th century, as a substitute for wood, sugar cane plantations proliferated in the Northeast and so did accumulation of land as latifundia. These big plots of land authorized to colonists' use for implementing plantations were called *sesmarias*, which had a temporary ownership character as they were leased from the Portuguese Crown for specific economic activities, usually involving intensive extraction. The labour involved was also temporary, when not completely based in slavery and benefitting capital accumulation by land owners. At the same time, the Crown charged high taxes for production coming from the *sesmarias*, therefore creating an appetite for land in unoccupied places. A consequence was an increase in the number of structures for governing the situation.

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[11] There is a reason for the use of the term 'a-politicization' instead of 'de-politicization'. To be de-politicized could only occur if peoples were considered to be political agents in first place or acknowledged as political subjects to be dealt with through law. However, this was not the case, as the possibility of politics as imagined by the colonizers could never be applied to these peoples. Hence, the possibility of their becoming political or having politics was denied to begin with. The absence of politics was assumed to be their original condition, supposedly encountered by the colonial state.

Capitanias were outreach governing structures or branches for the colonial State. They were administrative units directly representing the Crown, spread throughout regions in Brazil with a strong presence at the frontiers, where the influx of revenue needed monitoring. In practice, the *capitanias* were very different in their ways of exercising power, even if it were mainly perpetrated with extreme political violence, particularly when it came to slaves and to *natives.*

By the time *capitanias* and *sesmarias* had spread throughout the Amazon, mainly during the 18th century, indigenous peoples' enslavement was illegal, even though, most land owners, especially at the Amazon frontiers, used indigenous persons as slaves. Practically, indigenous slavery became a reality in 1755 when the Crown approved a law emancipating indigenous persons from the missions. This approval was very much linked to the expansion of colonial rule and enterprise in the Amazon rainforest, as a work force was needed in light of the greater expense of bringing African slaves to the forest (Farage 1981; Tocantins 1983).

In this colonial context, the decrease in sugar cane export led to a demand for other natural resources based on intensive extraction and not requiring much investment, leading to the opening of frontiers at the northern limits of the colony. By this time, the Amazon was known geographically, but very superficially. It was mainly seen as unoccupied land with 'isolated' and non-contacted indigenous peoples. Such assumptions, linked to constant threats of occupation from Dutch traders, Spanish colonists and the British through British Guyana, situated the rainforest as a perfect site for frontier expansion (Farage 1991; Migliazza 1978). The alleged isolation of indigenous peoples was quickly linked to 'backwardness', leading to the interpretation that there was no social life in the area, because there was no civilization or society. Consequently, the space was assumed empty and its occupation could even be seen as morally justified[12]. Fitting well with the Portuguese

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[12] For the moral and philosophical justification of colonization in the Americas, see Las Casas 2004 and Vitoria 1991.

Crown's problems in finding new natural resources to boost the imperial economy, the empty geographical and human space of the Amazon forest also came to be a site for solving internal conflicts in the colony and, later, in the independent republic. By this time, the new local elite had been moved by a rush for land to compensate for economic and political losses in the South and Southeast. The forest almost became something of an outside space to soothe and solve tensions in Brazil. This outside yet still inside position attributed to it brought a node for colonial action that contributed to the reshaping of the forest space, and shaped indigenous politics by creating a complex political landscape. Herein emerged the frontier and its assumption that people in the rainforest had never had any contact with people in the Atlantic forest. Contact, in this sense, became a predicament of the colonial enterprise and the way territory and its subjects were classified as a guiding colonial policy in the Amazon.

Contradicting this ascription of isolation to the Amazon, long-term research carried on by and with indigenous communities in the area is showing that peoples on the Coast had contact with peoples in the rainforest (Heckenberger 2007; 2009; Alexiades 2009). Many elders describe the idea of both regions as a continuum, particularly given the mobility occurring from the Coast inward and vice-versa. This 'moving through aspect' became more intense with the expansion of the colonial enterprise, not just in what was Brazil, but also coming from the Caribbean toward the Amazonian Savannah as well as from the Eastern Andean slopes to the South Western basin. This expansion happened largely due to the increase in scale of natural resource extractive enterprises, which included rubber in the late 19th century, and gold and diamonds in the 19th and 20th centuries.

The combined result of these enterprises of previous mobility and encounters between groups in the Amazon on one hand, and governmental policies to manage the territory on the other, served to design the early Amazon frontiers. It is worth stressing that nodes for social interaction

already existed in the region, triggering both the construction of places in a continuous landscape and altering the forest space with the domestication of many forest species that would later be incorporated as colonial export products (i.e., peanuts) (Silva 2009). In this sense, the 'predicament' of the non-contacted in the Amazon was immersed in the ideology of progress necessary for the expansion of colonialism.

Particularly, by not recognizing these nodes – of which the very colonial enterprise was part – colonists were setting indigenous peoples in specific places and in a biased history of contact (Alexiades 2006). This practice limited the meanings and practices ascribed to indigenous peoples, which in the future were translated into their embeddedness in place and restricted their rights to one land only. The concept of land that would later be used for formulating Constitutional law related to Indigenous Territories (IT) was not related to the indigenous geography stemming from long time cycles of mobility and agriculture. Rather, it was one related to boundedness and to boundaries geared toward property, territorial control and the establishment of differences among regions so that the degree and type of governance could be defined according to the interest in both natural resources and the use of people's labour. The colonial rule that arose from the allegation of 'emptiness' in the forest established a difference between Indigenous peoples already contacted on the Coast and those in the Amazon, as much as they established a difference between southern and south eastern Brazil and the Amazon.

At that moment, the expansion of economic frontiers and indigenous groups' mobility, either for residing or for spatial rearranging, collided. Even with this collision, the multi-sited pattern of collective mobility of many indigenous peoples – based on an idea of region rather than moving from a particular locale to another (Alexiades 2009) – persisted. Some groups were able to contend within borders, continuing to stay and to move from place to place. Precisely due to this view of the

rainforest as a region, there was an assumption that groups could move within these different and open-ended homes, forging another dimension for politics through an ecology built according to indigenous practices. This can be gleaned from the very few reports made in the 18th and 19th centuries by priests, travellers and government representatives[13].

Recalling what Viveiros de Castro defines as the Amerindian perspectivism, one's sense of belonging to nature makes possible the very self-recognition as a human being. The space of nature is reproduced, in some sense, in one´s body, as a form in which to survive and deal with others in this space. In this ontological space for defining subjectivities, there are no boundaries between nature and society. For this reason, when borders and boundaries arrived, dividing and separating the space in the forest for the sake of expanding economic frontiers and erecting national borders, this creational movement for national politics in the Amazon came to be at odds with existent *lifeways* in the rainforest. The same was true for the administrative boundaries between the rainforest and the rest of the colony making settlement, the frontiers and the borders possible. The existence of society, as opposed to what was conceived by the colonial imagination, did not imply the elimination or subjugation of nature by indigenous groups. By the same token, it did not imply a view of the forest as an unfinished land in need of progress, as the first *capitania* administrators would say.

In the face of ways of conceiving nature and collective life that were diametrically opposed to the subjugation of nature promoted by colonialism, the challenge is precisely to understand how these groups survived and politically withstood annihilation (Wagley 1974). The first contact with the Guarani and the mythical stepping-stone for the beginning of colonization was not disconnected from the depletion imposed on to the Amazon afterwards. Although contact zones, as Mary Louise

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[13] These reports include the ensemble of travel diaries of the missionaries such as the French Tastevin Parisier. Added to this fundamental report are the diaries of former colonel and then missionary Felizardo Cerqueira and the Joint Commissions for Border Demarcation reports prepared by then the writer, Euclides da Cunha.

Pratt explains, are "social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination" (Pratt 1992:21), there is another dimension of this contact that is left aside precisely because of these asymmetries.

The other dimension involves strategies of dwelling and moving (Clifford 2007; 2001) which may point to articulations in a specific contact zone, though they are informed by practices or *lifeways* outside of the contact zone. This might occur either through relationships in another colonial contact zone in a different time and place or be informed by specific aspects existing before contact. This situation brings an idea of friction, denoting action, contradiction and movement. As Anna Tsing describes, friction can cause both contact and irritation (Tsing 2005; 2007). It is exactly this irritation "that pulls us from past feats toward emergent alliances and divisions." (2007:52)

It is through the irritations and the gaps left by contact that indigenous peoples in the Amazon found a place in the moment of friction brought about by the expansion of economic frontiers. The way they articulated this gap was very much in tandem with the irritation that had expelled them, which was the encounter with colonial rule. However, the relationship did not simply put an end to this irritation, as reformulations in indigenous *lifeways* became an answer, often a silent one, to official politics dominated by colonial rule. These silences are precisely the gaps that made colonialism an encounter, prompting indigenous peoples to rearticulate their positioning in a modified reality (Pratt 1992; Tsing 2005; 2007). There were also gaps owing to the silence of the official history about previous alliances Indigenous peoples had before and at the moment of contact, when they used to move *with* their places in moving through the forest, contrasting the way frontiers expanded *through* places.

As I do not want to restrict indigenous action to the contact zone, these gaps arising from this 'area' where indigenous subjectivity was created in the Brazilian Amazon are of great

importance. For these offer an edge for a politics of resilience, not just at the territorial edge of the state, but also within a cosmology that enables other kinds of political relationships, despite what we know as conventional political territories.

The nature of the frontier

The definition of the Amazon as an unoccupied place moved the frontiers inward to the rainforest and the savannas for more than 300 years. For this reason, it is important to unveil the meanings behind the frontier in policies and politics and to look at how these meanings played out in practice. These practices were what tamed or fostered the expansion of colonial politics throughout the forest, even after independence. Also, for the purpose of understanding the interplay between frontier expansion and border setting, the meanings attributed to the frontier were fundamental to defining border limits based on the necessity of improving land use and boosting the economy. Both trends led to changes in patterns of living in the Amazon region. Along with these changes came a governmental politics, first meeting the necessities of colonial sovereignty and then the emergence and accommodation of the nation-state. This governmental design shaped the terrain of political relationships with Indigenous peoples.

As previously discussed, there was no room for a politics of difference, as indigenous peoples were defined as the 'same not yet'[14] or simply the non-contacted by the colonists and colonizers. There was no space for different concepts of mobility and the kind of articulation these could generate. Nevertheless, the friction provoked by frontier expansion resulted in the social space permeating the newly set borders. The unintended consequences of these relations of friction,

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[14] According to Mary Louise Pratt, indigenous peoples and their political and social expression through their *lifeways* articulated historically have always been seen as a category or group in the necessity of catching up with others in the embracing society. In this sense, when the Nation-State gives rights to Indigenous peoples supposing their sameness to other citizens, there is an assumption that the rights-based approach to indigenous politics is the way to provide these people nationally and internationally with conditions to be as the average citizen. The idea of progress came as intrinsic to the delivery of indigenous rights, in this sense, as much as the condition of sameness came entangled with hierarchies in the human condition.

caused by the very nature of the frontier in the Amazon, were therefore captured by these borders and the political landscape encompassed by them.

Two important actors will be fundamental in delineating the nature of the frontiers in the Amazon as well as the clear connection to their relationship with indigenous peoples: the Joint Commissions for Border Demarcation and the Indian Protection Service (SPI, Brazilian acronym). Both institutions were in the service of the Brazilian Republic after independence in 1822 and their work reproduced the dual goal of advancing into inland Amazon and categorizing/classifying Indigenous peoples as such. Before looking at the work and connections between these two institutions, however, it will be necessary to go back in time and contrast mobility for the sake of political stability present at frontier expansion, and the indigenous "transient household" (Alexiades and Pelluso 2009) which pointed to a different basis for mobility.

As discussed, the frontiers expanded toward the Amazon at a moment when colonial sovereignty was under question and the political economy in the colony needed to reinvent places, actors, mechanisms and policies for justifying a raison d'être. Nevertheless, when Marques de Pombal emancipated indigenous peoples in 1755, he was not trying to reinvent them. Rather, he was trying to keep capital accumulation going and establish a system so that indigenous peoples could come to terms with economic cycles in the Amazon. His way of accomplishing this change was to turn them into colonial subjects like all others under colonial rule, attesting to their capacity to sell their work without the need of tutelage. Consequently, however, existent asymmetries (Pratt 1992) forming part of the context for this legislation turned the indigenous into an extremely low paid work force. The apparent progress of choice and freedom did not entail equality for them, and the harshness through which this law was applied in the forest permitted the first step toward legally enclosing the land. The approval of this policy in order to stimulate settlement and the economy in

the Amazon – a place that could not accommodate the slave trade coming from the Coast – came again to be at odds with patterns of Western life.

When the frontier first reached the forest during the first half of the 18th century, there were two policies in place to "assemble" indigenous peoples and take them to the few trade hubs existent in the rainforest (Manaus and Belém). At this time, a policy called *aldeamento* had begun with the Catholic missionaries, but was shared and supported by the Crown. Literally translated as 'villaging', through *aldeamento* Jesuits and Franciscans[15] contacted indigenous peoples and taught them religion and Portuguese. *Aldeamento* entailed the fixation of indigenous peoples to a specific physical place so that they could be counted and converted[16]. Theoretically, the policy would avoid wars amongst different groups and would establish that trailblazers could not shoot Indigenous peoples. In this view, moving from place to place was dangerous for indigenous peoples, so it was necessary to build a home within a community and in a place so that indigenous culture and survival could be guaranteed.

Pragmatically speaking, these practices tended to break up the routes and conversations existent among groups in the Amazon. As such conversations were based on kinship ties and relationships to specific places, but through mobility, placing them in villages would make control easier. In what came to be Roraima, *aldeamento* led to another policy called *descimento*, through which indigenous persons *aldeadas* (fixed within a group and in a territory) could be shipped to Manaus. Here they could be forced to become domestic workers or peons in the new plantations or even in

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[15] Depending on the region of the Amazon, one or the other was more common. In Roraima, for example, the presence of the Franciscans has always been significant, transporting its old way of dealing with and protecting Indigenous peoples to the way the Italian Cooperation Agency, along with the Consolatta order began operating – via a human rights approach – to guarantee the territory.

[16] The historical information was gathered at the Grão-Pará archives, covering the 18th and 19th century, in the city of Belém. Border related information was gathered at Fundação Alexandre Gusmão, situated at the Ministry of Foreign Relations, in Brasilia. All the official documents, declarations, legislation as well as the Joint Commissions reports are hosted by this foundation.

trade-related activities. With the 1755 emancipation, *aldeamento* became, at the very least, convenient for traders and land owners located at the Amazon's trade centres.

In actuality, the 1755 emancipation met the needs of those advancing up north or west in the forest, as cattle ranching and other large scale economic activities were imagined for these expanded frontiers. What is important here is the fact that such legislation and correlated policies, although directed to a certain area, represented a strategic plan for the colonial nation. The project for the Amazon and its utilitarian connection to general rule deemed that it was necessary for almost a century (1650-1750) so that the extraction of native seeds and plants could produce a profit (Farage 1991: 1-10; Macedo 2009) for colonists in the forest. Other kinds of policies and legislation were needed to bring the forest to the global scale.

They found a perfect space to occupy, enclose and scale up the frontier at the upper basin of the Amazon Savannas, in the Branco River, a tributary of the Negro River. Here the colonists found open land and not the closed and wild forest they imagined. They needed labour and, for this reason, *descimentos* would no longer be necessary. Nevertheless, by this time this politics had already created a whole bureaucracy in the form of the directories of Indian Villages, which ended up being sources of mobilization for indigenous groups.

With the difficulties colonists were facing in colonizing the Amazon, even with the facilities provided by the government, some upheavals occurred, particularly at the capitania of Grão-Pará, which was seen as a detached wing of the Brazilian colonial project. Many of the Indigenous peoples in *aldeamentos* along with the missionaries who joined forces in these upheavals started mobilizing against the Crown (Farage 1991:1-10). In response to this mobilization, directories were abolished in 1798.

By this time, many indigenous persons were already speaking Portuguese and understanding colonial politics, when they returned to previous routes (Clifford 2001; 2007) of itinerant dwelling. These routes encompassed colonial territorial limits and were the places that, at that specific moment, they could better articulate their survival. They were composed of itinerant dwelling because a sense of home was not strictly connected to a specific place. Rather, a home could be made in various places, and in seeing the rainforest as containing many living places. All these places were connected by routes which for many groups were an extended place for survival (Clifford 2001).

The expansion of frontiers pushed indigenous groups to where they could find their alleged indigenousness. The frontier became a fractious place as Indigenous peoples also were conscious of their former *lifeways*. The contrast did not end there, though. Other articulations arose from it, transforming the land in many areas of what the colonists called the Amazon.

Setting borders, settling indigenousness

Attempts of the Crown to retain colonial rule were not enough to keep the new elite in Brazil, including its emperor, from declaring independence. For the Amazon, as a territory with special legislation and different governing practices (Foucault 2009), independence represented the termination of the administrative division between the *capitania* of Grão-Pará and Brazil. This termination put the forest right in the center of national economic expansion; in short, the nation had come to the wilderness. In the 19th century, indigenous resistance or engagement with the frontiers at work determined the boundaries emerging from such expansion.

Natural resource frontier expansion had triggered new patterns of "dis-locating" indigenous peoples as other actors and activities, colonizers and colonization, foreigners and collaborators joined the process. However, when the extraction of natural resources became connected to

permanently securing land, thereby displacing indigenous communities, the situation changed once more. Indigenous peoples were reinvented either as workers and collaborators or as enemies.

The ironic part of the abovementioned dichotomy was that the Brazilian nation needed it to define land in the Amazon as property. Hence, the settlement and movement of indigenous persons and their definition as such were adjusted once again to meet the need of turning unoccupied land into property within national borders. The work of the Joint Commissions was also fundamental in this process.

In the 17th and 18th centuries in the Amazon, the shapes of frontiers were designed by the scheme of temporary land ownership of *sesmarias*. The high rotation in land use depending on the availability of natural resources combined with the cost of labour used brought simultaneous settling and unsettling to Amazon frontiers. At this moment, Tsing's definition of frontiers reflects well the juxtapositions between economic frontiers and indigenous groups` patterns of occupation in the Amazon:

> A frontier is an edge of space and time: a zone of not yet – not yet mapped, not yet regulated. It is a zone of unmapping: even in its planning, a frontier is imagined as unplanned. Frontiers aren`t just discovered at the edge; they are projects in making geographical and temporal experience. Frontiers make wildness, entangling visions, vines and violence; their wildness is both material and imaginative. (Tsing 2005: 29)

At the edge of the material and imaginative wildness, the 19th century brought to the Amazon novel acts of governing property and defining borders. These changes unsettled the region as previously designed, but also made use of such assumptions to define the national territory. The frontier as a process created and recreated wildness, giving room to legislation that for the most part eschewed patterns of occupation already in place in the Amazon. However, even if the way indigenous groups had occupied land was not acknowledged, it was their way of living in the forest that was used as justification for creating the national territory in the region through the (inter)national border setting.

Roraima and Acre were respectively at the North and West of what used to be the *capitania* of Grão-Pará. These places had fundamental roles in the process of frontier expansion because they were right at the limits with other colonies within slavery routes and mining fields, in the case of Roraima, and intense natural resource extraction enterprises, in the case of Acre. Both were the stage for numerous happenings and changes in legislation intended to fulfill the promise of progress in the Amazon and for use of the Amazon as a resource to meet the promise of progress in Brazil.

When capital accumulation was finally attained, the mode of production changed and frontiers consequently became less mobile, ushering private property into the rainforest. This fact, however, did not mean labour and natural resource exploitation had become less intense. What happened, especially during the 18th century, was that frontiers got more settled in a specific space. In so doing, frontiers ended up pushing the state toward the definition of borders, which were established through a violent occupation written in law. The first inter-colonial event to shape the national, which directly influenced the relationship with Indigenous peoples and evinced the relevance of their lived landscapes was the 1750 Madrid Treaty.

When *bandeirantes* (trailblazers) started moving inward to colonial Brazil and South America, the old Tordesilhas Treaty[17] between Spain and Portugal was renegotiated as the Treaty of Madrid. Three different aspects of the treaty are relevant for the way differences in indigenous articulation at border areas occurred at those times. First, according to the Treaty, the principle of *Uti Possidetis*, which means land ownership *de facto*, and geographical benchmarks influencing land use, such as river courses and mountains, became benchmarks for defining borders. Second, this approach brought forth a different understanding about borders, meeting the need for more space for

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[17]The Tordesilhas Treaty was signed in 1494 between Portugal and Spain to divide the colonial space in South America when this space was still initiating marine expansion. With this, both States began to build their empires in South America by drawing a line in the middle of the region, setting the limits of their occupation and establishing part of what is known as Latin America. Source: The Treaties Collection, Fundação Alexandre de Gusmão.

economic expansion and human occupation of extraction-oriented capitalism. Even if unintended, such an approach to border setting privileged social life at the border.

Third, and perhaps most importantly, customary law embraced by inter-colonial law brought control over local ways of living, including moving from one place to another and ways of staying in place. These adaptations led to a sense of entitlement in dealing with indigenous peoples at the borders; they were seen as part of the landscape, but also as proxies for the new and emerging economy. The use of land and natural resources determined the macro and the micro-politics in the Amazon. The connection point for both types of politics were the borders and the Treaty of Madrid legally affirming them between colonies, giving them the right and the political power to define what indigenous was supposed to be one more time.

The combination of the *Terra Nulius* principle, alleging that empty land was to be occupied and worked, and the *Uti Possidetis principle* in the Treaty of Madrid brought the notion of private property to the forest in a uniquely mobile manner. Combined, the principles enforced the drive of the Nation-State to the rainforest through frontier expansion. The presence of Indigenous peoples ended up being part of the solution brought by the customary law. So, their presence was set as customary under a specific order of classification and law, which gave them a specific meaning under colonial rule and onward. In the same way some things became natural resources, allowing for the mobility of frontiers due to their "resourcefulness" (Tsing 2005:29). The Macuxi, Wapishanas and Ashaninka became indigenous "as part of the activity of the frontier of creating human subjects and natural objects" (Tsing 2005:30).

The borders were not yet defined by this time. Nevertheless, this political and cartographic arrangement already reflected linkages both to juxtapositions between landscapes and frontiers and their processes being incorporated into the ensemble of growing national legislation. Customary law

and previous mobility were recovered at the end of the 19th century to recuperate the limits of the Treaty of Madrid. This step permitted authorities to build benchmarks using indigenous knowledge about the territory, even if their contributions were just recognized as loyalty to the emerging nation and to the laws that could give them land they already had.

The Treaty of Madrid for Portuguese rule over Brazil encompassed indigenous *lifeways* as part of customary law, as the spaces of movement of the latter were defined as spaces of everyday colonial culture. With that legal arrangement, the forthcoming Brazilian nation-state established rules to deal with indigenous peoples, based precisely on the previous creation of indigenous peoples as colonial subjects, and therefore justifying the contested national borders with other European colonial states due to their presence. The approach the Joint Commissions took in the demarcation processes and their relationship with the knowledge and spatial relations already existent along the frontiers reflected the process of turning Indigenous peoples into colonial subjects.

In one of his reports about the Southern and South West Amazonian areas at the beginning of the 19th century, which happened to become borders with Bolivia and Peru, a member of the Joint Commission for Border Demarcation[18], Euclides da Cunha, wrote:

> It has everything and at the same time everything is missing because there is not a chain of phenomena organized and happening in vigorous pace from which the truths of arts and science emerge out and can be clearly seen. (Euclides da Cunha, 1902)[19]

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[18] The Joint Commissions were institutionalized by the Brazilian Republic during the 19th century and they were subordinated legally and politically to the Ministry of International Relations and Ministry of Interior. They were comprised of a multidisciplinary team in charge of verifying the territory and potentialities of inland Brazil and demarcating interesting spaces for the border to be. They looked at population, occupation patterns and also at how resources were used in relation to the use of territory. The Commissions were heavily inspired by evolutionist theories and philosophical theories of enlightenment wherein progress, peace and civilization occupied a great part of the imagination along with the idea of the birth of a nation. (Source: The Joint Commissions for the Demarcation of Border Archives, Fundação Alexandre de Gusmão, Brasilia.)

[19] These lines were excerpted from Euclides da Cunha's Joint Commission Border Demarcation report, available at the archives of the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in Brasilia. Research in the archives was conducted between 2nd and 13th January, 2010 and in November, 2011. I thank the library team who helped in my searches.

This aspect was linked to the idea that there was no assembled knowledge about the Amazon, although the diversity of natural resources was evident. Law, policies and action toward this space were needed if the government was to be in control of what was knowable there. Picturing the Amazon as an example of the Hobbesian state of nature, Euclides da Cunha and the Joint Commissions designated it as a space that had to be accounted for by a rational order. In this sense, not only governmental departments and activities had to be multiplied there, but the very Nation-State had to be involved there so as to determine the national borders needed to justify sovereignty in such an ungoverned space.

Toward the end of the 19th century, the Joint Commissions began exercising such functions in the Republic. It is interesting to note that Commissions used indigenous labour and advice during the missions. By this time, many contacted indigenous peoples along the Amazon were officially getting out of the cycle of hidden slavery that had spread after the 1755 emancipation. By the end of the 19th century, such practices had been prohibited by the central government, but many indigenous persons were already integrated into the 'frontier economy'. It was mostly these groups of indigenous peoples who accompanied the Joint Commissions to the as yet unmapped Amazon, establishing contact with other groups while intellectuals, botanists and the Army 'borrowed' their knowledge of the forest. The Macuxi in the incipient capitania of Rio Negro, part of which later became the state of Roraima, were an example of this.

The Joint Commissions mainly had the function of detecting empty land in the interest of the government. In these places studies would begin to demarcate borders and, once that happened, the empty land within could be seized as public land. Along with the 1850 Land Law in Brazil[20], the Joint Commissions inspired another round of occupation in the Amazon. In not recognizing the

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[20] According to this legislation, once land was determined to be public, previous possession would not be considered. When public land was specifically located at the emerging borders, it was classified as strategic and as State property, establishing a difference here between national (usually geostrategic) land and public land.

possession of land by indigenous peoples, Joint Commissions entitled by that law disregarded their right to have land without having to buy it. The same indigenous persons helping with the Commissions and serving as the human benchmark for what were to be defined as national lands were excluded by law from the public process for having them.

Once more, friction at the frontiers opened one more gap. However, with the articulations already in place in many borders to be, such a gap became a space for negotiation of later disputes and affirmations about land, environmental protection and the ability of the national government to deal with it. The Joint Commission in Purus River, in Acre and Amazonas and, later, at the Juruá River, led to an intersection between botanical sites and strategic places of territorial control in which Indigenous peoples were the hallmark of its success, although their role had never been recognized explicitly (Sprandel 2005). When frontiers started becoming borders at the end of the 19th century, both in Roraima and Acre, history did not acknowledge indigenous standpoints on how and why specific borders were settled. In fact, the social landscape in place and the modifications arriving with a new wave of migration from the Brazilian Northeast, in the case of Acre and Roraima, and Peru, in Acre, revealed much more complexity than the reports could account for.

The Joint Commissions, although militarized to a certain extent, had a more scientific and diplomatic character. In fact, various branches of the Commission in Amazonian territories were dedicated to detecting species, mapping, and negotiating limits with border countries. Hence, Commissions had to follow the process of the frontiers, their cycles and changes in land use according to the cycles of use of natural resources at the colonial and, later, national limits.

Of Indians and borders

With the augmenting of the governmental presence in the Amazon, the accelerated dynamics of the distribution of land and the inevitable contact with indigenous peoples and issues, the frontier

became the stage for the origins of indigenist politics *(indigenismo)*. As the official politics toward indigenous peoples in Brazil arose from the definition of borders and internal boundaries emerging with property and its consequential land rights, indigenist politics came to life. It also came about when the nation-state needed workers to help in building the borders it was creating.

The Indian Protection Service (SPI) was created in this context, seeking to include indigenous peoples in a productive manner on the economic frontiers. First named Identification of Laborers and Indian Protection Service (SPILTN) when it was created in 1910, the SPI was associated with the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of the Interior (Projeto Memória 2011). In its early years, it was dedicated mainly to identifying indigenous peoples, establishing contact, and incorporating them into the work of clearing and delimiting plots in the Amazon. At the time, indigenous peoples were also lending their knowledge about the soils in the region so that engineers could determine its possible use. With this assistance, SPI could affirm that they were helping indigenous persons to integrate into society.

However, with all of the changes related to land, many conflicts started to arise, especially after the Presidential Decrees 1432 and 1584 were both implemented in 1914. The first, in trying to attract more entrepreneurs to the Amazon, guaranteed a lease concession of up to 100 ha free of charge anywhere in the Amazon. The second established that at the end of the second year of lease, the certificate for using the land would be turned into definitive land title. Of course, many Indigenous peoples were displaced by these policies, even the ones integrated by the SPILTN. On the verge of social upheaval in the forest, the SPI became strongly associated with the Ministry of Interior in 1918 under the coordination of Marshal Candido Rondon.

Rondon coined the statement *Die if you must, but never kill*[21], which became the symbol of indigenist politics during the twentieth century. To a great extent, such politics were informed by border setting in the Amazon and the occupation of inland areas and how indigenous peoples came to live under and contribute to border setting for the sake of affirming the aggrandized nation-state. Amongst other directives the tutelage and the protection of Indians arrived once again on the political stage, but this time through integration to the nation by way of protection and the provision of special education. The history, though, was much more complicated than earlier times. The SPI was fundamental to opening the way for big properties and development in the Amazon and in the Brazilian Central Savannas. The indigenous became the workers of the frontiers at the borders, which would become the boundaries used to separate and govern them at different levels, depending on governmental needs and the various translations of national interest at those times.

With the SPI – a more organized and bureaucratized scheme than were the Joint Commissions – Indigenous peoples were forced to engage in the dialogue about sovereignty. From this time onward their situation became issues of national security and strategy. So that this could be possible, the SPI would:

> (…) establish pacific living with Indians, work to guarantee their survival, make the Indians adopt 'civilized' habits, influence following a friendly approach to indigenous ways of living, fix indigenous to land, contribute to inhabiting Brazilian inlands, allow the access or the production of economic goods in lands owned by Indians, use the indigenous work force to heighten agriculture production and strengthen the feeling of belonging to a nation amongst Indians. (Decree n 8.072, June 20th 1910)

The context for territorial expansion and land management in the Amazon, in this sense, connected the delivery of government to indigenous peoples to the activity of border setting.

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[21] John Hemming's book *Die if you Must:* Brazilian Indians in the Twentieth Century (2003) is an interesting non-academic, but meticulously researched account of indigenous peoples in Brazil during the end of the twentieth century – when economic frontiers expanded in the forest, followed by national politics for territorial occupation and an emergent 'indigenist politics'. The chapters on the missionaries and on Rondon's missions with specific groups and their correlated impacts are very informative and critical for those not familiar with the Brazilian story and indigenism in Brazil.

Informing the integration of Indigenous peoples was the belief that their lives should be managed just as the rainforest should be demarcated and controlled. The problem that intensified was that indigenous groups were managing the land in a different manner. Accordingly, the shocking and violent encounter with laws in Brazil led both to adherence, denial, isolation and articulation in different ways, throughout different 'belongings' to the nation. This 'belonging' was strengthened or simply appropriated through the ways indigenous groups mediated colonial and national politics during the expansion of frontiers. By doing this and articulating their own experience of being and becoming indigenous, their relational knowledge about this very condition became a site of articulation for other projects (Escobar 2008: 12), which were not the national project.

Policies at the borders and toward indigenous peoples in various parts of the Amazon were determined by the distance from the center and the diversity of population and natural resources, and also by who the neighboring countries were. Therefore, the nature of frontier expansion varied from place to place, although sharing the background ideas of progress, national belonging and improvement. Forms through which the expansion was carried out to a great extent determined the social and political complexities of specific Amazonian border sites. Relationships established with indigenous peoples during colonialism and border setting were definitive in shaping local geography and the nation-state juxtaposing the landscape constructed by indigenous living. The way indigenous persons became subjected to the law is important to be able to see the manner in which colonial differences were used as strategy by them to manage their life projects in the future.

Becoming Indigenous Within Borders in Roraima

In what today is Roraima, the definition of indigenous peoples as such and their location within the emerging nation state in the 19th century was an example of the association between being indigenous and being in Brazil. Policies and laws related to *aldeamentos* and, later, the emergence of

private cattle properties with the intense use of indigenous labour emerged in this way. Also, from the outside in and at the edge of the territory predicted and guaranteed by the Treaty of Madrid, in a still-invisible border with what would be the British Guyana, the Brazilian republic coined the sentence "they are our Indians" in official reports, in order to claim the *'Indians'* "original sites" as Brazilian territory[22].

After the Treaty of Madrid, it was not the case that the Portuguese – and, later, the Brazilian – government became instantly vigilant over the territory. As discussed, it was an area where the colonial influx of goods and peoples was starting to be juxtaposed by new ways of managing the territory and people, including indigenous persons. However, also as discussed, colonial and republican politics provoked adaptation amongst groups in diverse forms. In Roraima, they became active parts of territorial disputes and trade influxes. One of the reasons they were *"their indians"* is because their presence was strategic.

When military outposts were built after the Treaty, as was the case of Fort São Joaquim, where "Indians" were put into villages around the unit to permanently inhabit the territory, it represented a guarantee that the English and Dutch would respect upper Basin borders. In seeking out goods and slaves, it was mainly English traders and merchants who kept infringing on the allegedly Portuguese territory. In the context of these moments of friction in the late 18th century, the Macuxi people who lived in this place became closer to traders upon fleeing the villages. Some of them worked for the slave traders, because they were very familiar with routes connecting the Caribbean to the Amazon Savannas (Frank 2002: 2-6).

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[22] This sentence can be found in the documents and the treaties made with England in the second half of the 19th century. Also, this story has been continuously told by elders in Raposa Serra do Sol Indigenous Territory while I was crossing the borders to Guyana in October 2009.

Another change in the Macuxi patterns of occupation was that when they were placed (*aldeias*), they ended up working in cattle ranching along riverbanks of the Branco River. At the same time, the Macuxi took advantage of the structures provided by the missionaries and adhered to cattle ranching, although departing from a standpoint of movement, rather than fixity and enclosure. They used to raise cattle freely following routes that stretched from the Branco River banks to the mountain areas of Guyana and Venezuela. As an indigenous informant told me: "cattle has always been a strategy for us to occupy land." (Personal Interview October 2009). In occupying land and making home[23], they developed relationships with the Macuxi who were working as traders (Personal Interview October 2009).

Differently from the Macuxi, the Wapishana moved closer to the mountains, toward what is now Guyana, where they had familial ties. With the enclosing of land and the assembling of groups in *aldeias*, the Wapishana – who were more used to travelling to inland Amazon to visit other Arawak[24] families – decided to flee the Portuguese colony. The creation of the indigenous communities alongside territories and borders ended up establishing different relationships among different groups and with the space.

The connections of the Macuxi and the movement of the Wapishana were not a problem to the colony. However, given the necessity of capital accumulation within a defined territory for the

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[23] Many Macuxi established themselves definitively in 1799 at Fazenda São Marcos, a previous colonial and Jesuit settlement for indigenous to live and work the land separately from settlers. Nowadays, Sao Marcos is an Indigenous Territory, neighboring Raposa Serra do Sol. It is mainly a Macuxi area. The Macuxi people are the predominant group in RSS both politically and in number. At that time, they numbered around 100,000 people (Farage 1991; Consollata Mission Archives "Os Macuxi", accessed in October 2009).

[24] There is also information of the Wapishana people coming from the Southwestern Amazon basin. In this area, there were many Arawak linguistic family groups that faced extreme violence during the rubber boom, including the Manchineri in Brazil. The Ashaninka are also part of this linguistic family and like the Wapishana move along and through places. The Wapishana came West from the upper Basin (probably Guyana), about 1,500 years ago. They apparently traveled along the Tacutu River up to the Uaricoera River. Nowadays, they border Macuxi territories along their Southern extremes. The Macuxi and Wapishana are part of a complex economic and goods exchange system (FUNAI, PPTAL, GTZ 2008).

emergence of the kind of Brazilian nation-state the new Republican elite desired, the peripheral area of the Amazon became a focus. The dispute with the English in the northwestern part of the Amazon reached the point of diplomatic intervention, which went on throughout the first half of the 19th century. The Macuxi and Wapishana were central in the dispute, though they had no apparent voice.

According to English officers who were arriving at the as yet unmapped Guyana, the supposedly Portuguese territory had no oversight and the area was occupied by "independent tribes" which were not held accountable by the State (Migliazza 1978: 7-13). The "independent tribes" were mainly Macuxi and Wapishana who had either escaped the *aldeamento* system or were pushed after the 1755 emancipation out of most populated areas.

In 1840, an international plea placed by the Brazilian Republic against the English Crown defined the national limits to be placed between the regions of Tacutu, Mau and Surumu rivers, at the Rio Branco basin. Two years later the area called *Rupununi* – what Roraima was called by the Wapishanas – was neutralized. It was only in 1904 that the impasse concluded, with Brazil giving Great Britain 19,630 square kilometers of its national land – what is today Guyana. This is how the Brazilian borders were defined in the area.

With Venezuela, the story was a bit different. The borders with this country were defined in 1823. In that area, most of the border was inhabited by the Yanomami, although at its most eastern edge many Macuxi would be living east of Mount Roraima. The mobility of indigenous peoples was more of an issue closer to Mount Roraima, where many cattle ranching properties were located. In the West, the government and property owners were less aware of mobility, because the frontier arrived there later, at the end of the century during the diamond and gold rush.

Before 1823, though, there was also an intense influx of Macuxi people across Brazil and Venezuela. The concerns of the Brazilian Republic at that time were the more progressive ideas about popular sovereignty coming from the Venezuelan side of the border (*bolivarismo*), and not so much about defining the territory using indigenous groups. The isolation of the emerging border with Venezuela made this specific spot even more peripheral than other areas in Roraima. The place was not yet a frontier, so the movement to define the border was much less in dispute than it was with Guyana.

In the face of escalating disputes in some places and the non-existence of those in others, some groups in the upper basin absorbed the idea of *aldeamento* to survive, and they began to make their own villages. This was largely not overseen by the Portuguese because the area was considered peripheral to the politics and economics of the Amazon, serving as a land and natural resources reserve. With that, it was possible for the groups living there to make a social and cultural region – a landscape – based on their patterns of occupation related to transiting between the dense rainforest to the Savannas and vice versa. In this situation, indigenous practices mixed with the peripheral condition of the area contributed to a specific colonial difference in the region and to a shared used of space by at least five different indigenous groups.

The military presence – due to a strategic positioning toward the Caribbean and, afterwards, to set the balance of immigration and the integration of the country – exerted a considerable influence on what the indigenous became vis-à-vis the imagined national sovereignty though. This relationship became particularly clear when SPI arrived with the army, thereby augmenting outposts and the military presence governing the territory and affecting the way they used to live throughout the Amazon Savannas.

In 1920, Marshal Rondon was in the present-day state of Roraima to establish benchmarks at the borders and reinforce the connection the state should have with indigenous peoples. At the same time, ranchers from the South and many settlers from the Northeast began arriving in Roraima. During this epoch, indigenous were called upon to work with the service and these ranchers were introduced to alcohol. According to elders:

> whites invited them to parties to work the land, which is very common in both Macuxi and Wapishana cultures. However, at the parties there was alcohol and many people got drunk. Whenever they woke up the next day, what used to be their land had wires around it and, because of it, the whites would say was theirs. (Round Circle Practice October 2009)

The new settlers used this scheme to enclose Macuxi cattle ranching areas and to include them in labour relations. It was in the transition – either to escape or to adhere to this new subjectivity – that the landscape now encompassing Raposa Serra do Sol and Roraima was formed. It is interesting how strategic geopolitics took precedence over the cosmology in place and the idea of the rainforest as a region held by the peoples inhabiting this area (Alexiades 2009; Hvalkof 2006) in this case. However, this overarching geopolitics also brought to the fore a juxtaposition of various relationships, which included the idea of extended places cutting through indigenous lives, and borders and treaties as instruments of international politics. This juxtaposition turned places inhabited by indigenous groups into borderlands. Every indigenous land became, then, a borderland with the advent of the nation. Nevertheless, this borderland, when at national borders, also brought more complex and extended relationships in itself which evinced a landscape cutting across borders and through the indigenous land.

As an elder told me in Roraima, at the beginning the whole Savannah was *Rupununi*. There were no villages and nobody traveled down the river. Much to the contrary, people used to go up river to visit family and save seeds, taking good care of the Savannas, moving with places to places. According to the *Rupununi* people, which included the Macuxi, Wapishana, Taurepang, Ingariko, and

Ye'kuana, Mount Roraima was not part of the tri-border with Guyana and Venezuela. Rather, it was the base of the Wazaka'ye sacred tree that was cut by the Inxikirang and Ani'ke, both spirits of the forest. When they cut the tree, it gave birth to the rivers, fruits and vegetables found in the region as well as to people (Farage 1991; Campos 2011). For them, this mountain and the waterfalls coming from it tell humanity the story of how the world and its inhabiting societies emerged. The borders came to juxtapose and, in a sense, cut across this story, re-creating the landscape, although not subsuming it for most of the indigenous persons there inhabiting had previous relationships and connections already in place.

The sui generis landscape of previous migration and occupation in Roraima along with frontier expansion and legislation change in a changing territory introduced hidden geographies and stories that became part of the border as constructed territory (Rajaram and Grundy-Warr 2007; Soguk 2007; 2009). The fact is that these stories, shadowed by the national territory, came to be in a position of asymmetry (not subsumption), even when indigenous persons embraced and were enmeshed in the national spatiality.

In this sense, the Macuxi and Wapishana along the tributaries of the Branco River were becoming second-class political subjects immersed in a new economic, agrarian and spatial order that needed their abjection as well as their presence. The articulation of these acts, with their cosmologies and the newly acquired understanding of having and being in a territory – as a politically restricted space under specific rules of authorization (Agnew 2012) – were determinant for indigenous groups in Roraima. They had to construct their position against the State schema and to contend within the borders they could not eliminate. Particularly, they had to do it to get out of the spectrum of the abject and contend within an ascribed political subjectivity.

Toward the end of the 1940s, Roraima became a Federal Territory[25], and with that came another border policy that also affected indigenous groups, which was the agricultural colonies to attract settlers and small producers from Southern Brazil. According to Sr. Orlando, an indigenous leader who worked for the SPI in the past, the articulation of the struggle that came later in time in the 1970s for the demarcation of an Indigenous Territories for the five indigenous groups living in this area began at the moment these settlers arrived and started occupying the villages and cattle ranching areas indigenous persons were living in.

The agricultural colonies were incorporated as part of the National Integration Plan during the dictatorship (1964 to 1982). They became part of the infamous military motto *integrar para não entregar* (integrate not to forfeit) and when coupled with the expansion of the infrastructure with roads connecting Manaus to the Amazon Savannas and to Venezuela – Road 174 (BR 174) and Road 210 (BR 210) – maintaining kinship relations for indigenous persons became a national security issue.

It was precisely within this context – wherein the Macuxi and Wapishana were fleeing to the newly formed state capital Roraima in the face of impoverishment and the constant loss of their culture – that the indigenous movement was born in Roraima. At the same time, the idea of Raposa Serra do Sol (RSDS hereafter) emerged. The movement had to contend with the loss of land and identity due to the way subjectivities had emerged with colonization. The aggressive presence of the military allied with the strong will of occupation of the settlers had to be confronted by the indigenous groups, who now found themselves attached to land based on conceptions of much

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[25] Territories were political units in Brazil which entered the political and constitutional shape of the country at the end of the nineteenth century when the country became a Federative Republic. As they were usually seen as strategic, especially during the twentieth century, it was decided constitutionally that they had to be administered directly by the Federal Government. In this sense they were not independent states and they often had a huge influence of the military. In terms of possible political action, these places were under tutelage.

limited space. The boundaries imposed upon them began to be rethought in terms of enclosing a territory and reinforcing boundaries so that populations from other states could no longer advance.

The territorial resistance had consequences for the movement. When indigenous groups organized the Indigenous Council of Roraima (CIR, Brazilian acronym) and decided the best strategy for the movement would be a continuous, reserved area from the village of Raposa, in the lowlands, to Serra do Sol, at the bottom village of Mount Roraima (see Map 1), this territorial resistance acquired a goal. This format was always in dialogue with strategies to deal with the military and with political groups linked with the agricultural sector. At the centre of discussions was land for cattle ranching and harvesting and, mainly, protection of the territory so as not to lose those lands that had already been worked. The indigenous politics for dealing with it is at the heart of the debate for the continuous demarcation of RSDS during the 1990s and 2000s. Other borders came with the transformation of the political landscape at Roraima. The capacity the Macuxi and the Wapishana had for endure was enhanced - or not - depending on how groups creatively reinvented politics at the edges of these borders[26].

Becoming indigenous in Peru, Arriving with borders in Acre

Borders between Brazil and Peru at the Upper Juruá Valley (See Map 2) do not just cut across Ashaninka peoples' stories (De Certeau 1984). They are part of their story of mediating the expansion of economic frontiers that arrived and stayed in their lived places. Such mediation made it possible for them to move their places through Andean and Amazonian spaces and expand the meaning of being and becoming indigenous along with a different way of becoming Ashaninka.

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[26] This politics at the edge and the concept of being at the edges while transiting through borders will be discussed in terms of specific groups in the RSS Indigenous Territory.

Unlike what happened in Roraima with the Macuxi and Wapishana, by the time the Ashaninka arrived on the Brazilian side, the rubber economy was already reaching its peak. With that development, the previous territory of Acre became pivotal to the national economy. The initial isolation of the territory served well the rubber patrons and the national government, which was profiting from taxes and revenues from international trade in rubber coming from *seringa trees* in Acre, beginning at the end of the 19th century.

Such connection between a very specific place in the Amazon, which I will call a *region*, and global trade points to two important aspects for the politics that will be discussed in this study as whole. First, the Amazon forest is not a homogenous place. Its heterogeneity entails not just different economic activities and political plans, but a precedence in occupation that has probably – when allied to geographic, geological and archaeological conditions – contributed to the kind of natural resource and demographic distribution building in specific ecologies in place. Second, such precedence attests to the previous connections between peoples. With the case of the Ashaninka people in Acre, the connections started in another national territory under different ecological pressures, which led them to the territory of Acre. They sought this place precisely because of the heterogeneity in space and of the ways they believed it could be used to move their connections to land (their place) to resist and endure in the lower Amazon basin. This movement was entangled with a broader economic and political system involving the enclosure of national resources and their scaling up into a global economy in clear connection to a system for governing the forest.

Arriving at the Upper Juruá Valley when it was becoming part of Brazil, the already-indigenous Ashaninka, coming from Peru, encountered a different meaning for being indigenous. At that time, around the 1850s, the Brazilian state was interested in creating legislation to have more access to indigenous land and labour, as described, when creating the category into which various

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groups would fit. The Ashaninka arrival and permanence in Brazil, coming from Peru, already dominated by mining and caucho[27] extractive industries, added another layer to the manifold constructions of frontier expansion in the rainforest. Their ability to move around within diverse interfaces in order to preserve a designated indigenous area[28] without really being indigenous in Brazil served the purpose of keeping the Ashaninka in place and, in dialogue with other people, even if the place was not their *original* one. This movement of becoming challenged the *'prior-ity'* given to indigenous peoples and the very borders that were being put in place. The mediation of these spaces as landscapes and regions beyond and despite the national puts the Ashaninka case in stark opposition to what happened to the Macuxi and the Wapishana in Roraima.

Border setting involving the recognition of extended landscapes as national territory was a fundamental move for expanding nationhood politically and geographically during the end of the 19th century. The Upper Juruá Valley was somewhat peripheral to this wave both at the end of the 19th century and during the first 70 years of rubber extraction in the present-day state of Acre. This peripheral condition was not solely due to the high cost of investment owing to its geographical isolation. It also involved the fact that another area in the previous territory of Acre, the Upper Acre

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[27]Caucho was the material tapped from trees on the Peruvian side of the Southwestern Amazon. Its extraction got more intense at the end of the 19th century when the Peruvian government adopted a policy of military settlements in the forest in order to both demarcate and patrol the territory for posterior colonist settlements. As there was a huge contingent of indigenous peoples in the area and the use of their work was not prohibited, let alone regulated in the Peruvian rainforest, the tendency was to incorporate them as chattel slaves in the caucho enterprise or decimate them.

[28]At that time, there was not yet a guarantee for indigenous territories in Brazil, but there were areas where groups were living with a sense of territorial separation particularly related to the way they used land for hunting, fishing and harvesting. This separation was to a great extent stimulated by the *aldeamento* politics described in the last section. It is important to know that there was no sense of territorial possession according to ethnologies of the Amazon peoples, though, and the separation per specific groups in specific territories was not clear cut. However, there are studies that point to conflict over areas and natural resources among groups. At the Upper Jurua Valley, because there was no settler occupation, nor strong settler migration waves until the end of the 19th century, indigenous peoples could be more mobile and have extended use of the land (Iglesias 2010; Almeida and Cunha 2002). Mobility, in this sense, when occurring after and during national border emergence captured what the settlers would call autonomy later, as 'indigenous' would not be restricted to national politics and allowances to use and inhabit land as they see fit.

River Valley region, was the one mostly exploited economically during the end of 19th and beginning of the 20th century.

This area would be the future tri-border with Bolivia and Peru, where most of the rubber state owners were. At a certain point, it became the productive rubber and migratory center of the lower Amazon basin. This observation underscores that even in a very specific area of the 'borders to be', the dynamics in place allied with a broader scenario can make these very borders an extended and diverse geopolitical place. As such, borders can be home to different articulations captured at the territorial edge of becoming (exclusively) a nation (Rajaram and Grundy-Warr 2007). The territorial edge – which can be read as the geographical edge of the nation – actually corresponds to social sites where the borders were mapped. Such processes attest to the social and political relationships going on before and during the emergence of borders, making them a space of political possibility and a space departing from the landscapes previously informing those same political relationships, namely, a borderscape.

Presenting the borderscape as the result of both state management and historical construction in combination with these previous relationships makes it possible to frame them as political places. Such places are not restricted to national geography or to exclusionary relations proper to such geography. In looking at these emerging borders as landscapes, as the Ashaninka were doing, there was a sense that albeit horizontal in the possibility of enacting different connections, with no steady hierarchy, there were many nodes representing convergences between these connections in the form of alliances or coexistences within the space of these borders.

The fact that the rainforest political economy was very much concentrated in the Acre Valley during the end of the 19th century with the rubber boom in Brazil and Bolivia, allowed an influx of peoples coming from the Peruvian rainforest to Upper Juruá. This location had neither state

management nor contested borders at that time. Later, in the mid-20th century, came another influx of migrants from the Acre Valley to Upper Juruá. As borders came simultaneously to these human movements and to the combination of their patterns of occupation, I argue that a designing of the Juruá as a region took place. It was an area of multiple references and meeting nodes, fuelled by different routes flowing between Peru and Brazil and encompassing the expanded frontiers of the two nations.

The story of the Ashaninka in Upper Juruá is a story of convergence between their arrival due to high territorial and labour pressure in Peru and the rubber cycle migrants coming from the Acre River Valley for similar reasons. The nature of the frontier took a toll on both groups and the combination resulted in a particular region being built by the very encounter[29]. The convergence provoked an encounter that would determine the Ashaninka's becoming indigenous and political in the region. The crisscrossing of the two stories is fundamental to grasp both the differences at colonial borders and differences in becoming indigenous that not just contested, but disrupted ascribed indigenous political subjectivities.

Articulations arising from these crossroads, right at the emerging borders with Peru, allowed for a politics of engagement (Escobar 2008; Clifford 2001) with the Juruá region. They gave life to the idea that connections to place are not just about a politics of location, or of creating home in a specific geographical place. Engagement entails a connection that is deeper and networked, broadening the geography and the meaning of place and evincing a deep linkage with subjectivities which were not necessarily built in the specific place one is looking at. Although not entailing nativity, engagement to place requires a strict linkage between the place of birth (A) and the place of arrival (B). In B, permanence through relationships will endure and the connection between A and B

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[29]The political possibilities coming from the encounter will be discussed in Chapter 5.

will lead to an understanding of community land as region and, later, of region as part of a broader political ecological territory (Escobar 2008).

In the case of the Ashaninka in the Juruá region – more specifically the Pyanko family descending the Juruá River from Peru – their dislocation responded to displacement resulting from the expansion of economic frontiers. Such displacement, although a sign of expropriation, was taken up by the Ashaninka as resilience with the affirmation of the rainforest as their spiritual and political place (B), even if it was not their original place (A). Moving was a matter of survival as individuals and as a group. Sometimes, it led to separation between Ashaninka people and to differences in how place was used and rights taken up in the face of expanding economic frontiers during different waves of colonization in Peru and Brazil. By moving within and along these differences, the Pyanko family arrived and stayed in Brazil.

Ashaninka dislocation due to nature's degradation began with intensive metal exploitation in the Andean region. Along with mining, intense agricultural use had impoverished the soil, leading some Andean groups to the Central Jungle area of Peru. Here they sought better places to live. In his seminal work about the Ashaninka and their political culture moulded and remodelled by colonial encounters, Stefano Varese points out that this group has been in constant contact with both settlers and other indigenous groups, negotiating its existence and ways of living[30] (Varese 1977)

When inhabiting rivers in the Central Jungle (*Selva Central)* of Peru, specifically in the region of the Gran Pajonal basin, at the Rivers Ene and Perene (See Map 3), the Ashaninka began to encounter the colonial military advancing into places through which they traditionally moved back and forth. As the advances had already occurred in the High Jungle region (*Selva Alta)* even before

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[30] This is precisely what I called convergence in previous paragraphs.

they impacted Ashaninka lives, other ethnicities had arrived at Ene Valley during the 18th century, pushed by the expansion of the mineral and agricultural frontier in the Andes.

The Ene Valley was a region of salt extraction and trade. Salt mines represented the first natural resource frontier to the Ashaninka and its expansion brought them and other groups into contact and even to engaging in relationships. The Ashaninka used to work in the salt mines and there became some of the main actors in a frontier full of displaced indigenous groups who were making their home in the Central Jungle[31]. Intense exchanges had sparked amongst indigenous peoples (in Peru) (Ayaipoma 2006), establishing a kind of alternative economy in using the managed territory in solidarity. This pattern reaffirmed the idea of the forest as a contiguous space for convergent stories.

During that time, as the Ashaninka began to negotiate their presence at frontiers in a strategic location between highlands (the Andean region) and the Central Jungle, the home of the Aruak and Pano linguistic families[32], they started to develop a kind of leadership, which was transported with them to the Amazon lowlands. This leadership was connected to establishing ways of dealing with forest peoples and, simultaneously, with settlers and colonists. The way they worked and co-worked in the mines at *Cerro de la Sal* (the Salt Hills mines) kept the frontier between the lowlands (the Amazon) and highlands (the Andes) relatively stable (Pimenta 2005; Iglesias 2010)[33].

After Peruvian Independence in 1821, the new Nation-State needed to occupy new frontiers along the unexploited Amazon. Once more, economic expansion threatened the balance that had

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[31]For an ethnography on various Ashanika groups, see Varese 1977. For their political articulations in Peru, see Ayaipoma 2006.

[32]This group includes the Kaxinawa, the most numerous indigenous group in the Brazilian border state of Acre, who are also present at the Upper Envira, Juruá and Breu, at the borders with Peru.

[33] There were uprisings when the Spaniards, followed by African slaves, turned down the ultimatum to leave the highlands. This happened between 1742 and 1752. Many indigenous resisted or moved to the Upper Ucayali River, at the low jungle, and to Upper Jurua in Brazil (Pimenta, 2005). They were guided by an Andean mestizo, Juan Santos Atahualpa, who trusted in Ashaninka shamanism, keeping missionaries away.

previously been struck in the forest as the result of negotiations and mediations between settlers and indigenous peoples. In 1891, the Peruvian government granted a concession of 500,000 hectares of land along the Perene River to a British trade and colonial company named the Peruvian Company. This company assumed responsibility for industrializing and trading salt.

In the wake of trading companies in the forest, Ashaninka families, including the Pyanko family, migrated to the low jungle, to the Ucayali basin, which includes the Tamaya and Amônia River[34], at the border with Upper Juruá in Brazil. The same pattern of intense extraction economics was occurring at the Acre River Valley region in Brazil. Nevertheless, the mode of occupation of the rubber settlements in Peru was different and prompted the dislocation of some Ashaninka groups to Brazil[35] later, during the first half of the 20th century.

If during this time indigenous groups in Brazil were being subjected by the new legislative category of 'indigenous peoples', in Peru the politics was to openly make 'indians' into peasants, with no law at all protecting their territories. In addition, when seen as removed from their original ways of living and mingling in the rainforest political economy and its waves of migration, the identities of many groups were blended into the even more general category of *mestizos* (mixing of indigenous and settlers). With that designation, nobody in either the Andes or the Amazon would be indigenous and no specific rights should be guaranteed to them (Hvalkof 2006 Varese 1977). This was very convenient for the nature of the frontiers.

With settlements being constantly augmented because of *caucho* exploitation – associated with territorial expansion and the intense use of land in order to supply labours' necessities – many

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[34] The Amônia River headwaters are in Peru, as are most of the rivers of the South Western Amazon.

[35] In Peru, rubber exploitation began in the 1870s and affected the Ashaninka who had moved from the central jungle to the upper Ucayali region. For an ethnography of Ashaninka dislocation according to economic cycles, see Pimenta 2005. On differences on rubber exploitation and pattern of occupations as according to ethno-botanic characteristics see Almeida and Cunha 2002.

groups got pushed into what was becoming Brazil. It is important to stress that at this moment the Brazilian borders with Peru were not yet defined. Even if on the Brazilian side the method of extracting rubber was distinct, on both sides the way settlements were established utilized an economic and land occupation system of debt bondage.

In the face of the challenges imposed by the rubber economy, when the Pyanko family came to Brazil, their previous experience at the Ene Valley placed them in a strategic and important role for negotiating their position vis-à-vis property owners, when rubber extraction reached the Upper Juruá valley, first in Peru and then in Brazil[36]. As such, upon reaching Brazil, the Pyanko family already knew that the fate of being indigenous was bondage to those mastering the means of production. The latter, in this case, enjoyed a combination of access to huge plots of land, a low paid labour force (or even chattel slaves) and the availability of a natural resource (rubber). Composed of people running away from this condition and environment, the Upper Juruá Valley emerges as a space of possibilities (Escobar 2008).

Notwithstanding the fact that contact between indigenous and non-indigenous persons had been intensified since the beginning of the 20th century – especially because of conflicts aroused between extractive communities in Brazil and Peru[37] around the definition of their borders – the broader understanding of the forest and what contact meant in this context must not be forgotten. Another layer should be included in this contact: there was growing friction with migrants coming from the Northeast of Brazil to the Southwestern basin, following a huge nationally sponsored

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[36]Such experience was transplanted later in time to the Alliance of the Peoples of the Forest, which will be discussed more extensively in chapter 4 of this dissertation, in examining contemporary Ashaninka strategies and life projects.

[37]Marechal Thaumaturgo was the stage of one of the battles between Felizardo de Cerqueira, a rubber tapper patron, and Peruvian caucho extractivist workers who wanted to control rubber production in the area, including using indigenous peoples taken from Peru (Iglesias 2010: 5-13).

propaganda campaign for the expansion of the rubber industry. This migration defined the nature of the frontier and contributed to defining the borderscape in this region.

As discussed, Upper Juruá was a place of convergence between indigenous groups and migrant workers. Different from Roraima, Acre became a territory right after the borders at the Southwestern Amazon basin were defined, in 1904. As Acre enveloped most of the space corresponding to Brazilian Southwestern borders, this part of the country was rapidly declared as a political territory in the forest amidst the national plans conceived for it.

Along with Acre's geographical specificity, the rubber economy put this peripheral area of the Amazon at the forefront of the national economy and politics during the first half of the twentieth century[38]. As much as a structure of governing was needed for Acre, the territory needed more people to work at the *seringais* (seringueira tree outposts). In addition, national administrative units along with border setting had to take place in Acre in order to manage the economy – in the form of land concessions for tapping trees. The presence of the State was very much connected to establishing borders and guaranteeing national territory for economic purposes. Nevertheless, as noted border setting was focused on the Upper Acre River Valley and was not easy to impose.

As early as the mid-19th century, when the Joint Commission got to Acre in order to officially put the border benchmarks at Upper Juruá, the fate of indigenous peoples was to either be converted or killed by explorers and their trailblazers looking for new land to expand economically (de Oliveira and Baines 2005; Davis 1977). The inclusion of rubber in national economic planning

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[38]During its economic formation, Brazil was very much permeated by economic cycles linked to commodity export. Rubber came to prominence in the early 20th century as the commodity to propel the nation into export and international trading again. Fuelled by the emergent car industry in North America, rubber production in the Amazon grew exponentially under steady state management, creating a political balance inside the country for political conflicts emerging internally. However, when English botanical scientists took the *seringueira* seeds to their colony in Malaysia, there was an upheaval in how the economy was structured. With the Second World War, Japan seized *seringueira* plantations in Malaysia and Brazil became the hub once again for rubber exporting. During this epoch, the government started a national migratory politics to take people from the Northeast to the Southwestern Amazon under the motto "New Life in the Amazon". These people were known as the rubber soldiers.

through international trade had ended up entailing a method of internal colonization in the Upper Acre Valley, which afterwards was reproduced in the Juruá region. At the former region, a direct conflict occurred and the presence of indigenous peoples was not definitive for setting borders, but rubber and its role in the economy was. However, the way indigenous groups contributed to the forms of occupation practiced by migrant workers coming from the Northeast differed from the occupation on both the Peruvian and the Bolivian side. These differences were later to determine the ontological and political possibilities at borders at Upper Juruá.

The extractive rubber industry expanded to the Upper Juruá region during the first half of the 20th century, right after the rubber crisis between the First and the Second World Wars. At this time, more people coming from the Northeast – especially after the 1933 law to expand the colonies and land leasing in the Amazon – were moved further north within the territory of Acre in search of more *seringueiras* outposts.

Along with the move per se, modes of occupation and production were also being brought to this part of the forest; there were encounters with many indigenous groups and other patterns of land use. In addition, with people who were already moving upwards in the territory at the end of the conflict with Bolivia[39], the Juruá region ended up being added to diplomatic negotiations for defining the borders with Peru.

Fuelled by this political and economic context, the Joint Commissions for demarcation went back to Upper Juruá between 1920 and 1927 so that borders could be redefined. At this time, the Commissions' action was permeated by the same indigenist politics that was informing different policies and measures to deal with the "uncivilized" population in Roraima. However, the

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[39] The conflict with Bolivia ended in 1867 and the Ayacucho treaty fixed the limits with this country. However, once the limits were defined people fighting in the conflict started organizing to fight for the independence of Acre. The separatist struggle was not successful. Nevertheless, it turned out to be a defining moment in the definition of limits with Peru, more up North in the lower basin, and set the scenario for alliances between indigenous peoples and rubber tappers. For a detailed historical account see Ranzi 1992.

application of policies in Acre was harsher. The so-called pacification of Indigenous peoples implying displacement and physical violence became a matter of distributing land to rubber patrons, a national interest issue at that moment. The Pyanko family was already there by this time. Arriving from a context of displacement in Peru, initially their positioning was one of working for patrons to keep rubber estates organized and thus avoiding encroachments on their lands because of low productivity.

In terms of governmental policy, when the Joint Commission went back to Acre in 1920, the idea was to establish contact and keep the indigenous pacified. This goal was imperative so that entrepreneurs would have incentive to buy land and go to 'isolated' places, guaranteeing territorial occupation and the necessary start-up for the rubber economy. Indigenous peoples, again, were integrated by land occupation and posterior expropriation. However, the situation with the Ashaninka was different.

The context of the rubber boom and expansion of frontiers in Acre ended up leaving legislation more permissive and flexible in face of both land grabbing and indigenous peoples' enslavement. Samuel Pyanko, an Ashaninka coming from Peru, was one of the indigenous leaders who were part of a kind of contact zone created between the Joint Commission for Demarcation, Peruvian migrants and rubber patrons, both from Brazil and Peru. In an interview with Antonio, one of his sons and the present-day Ashaninka leader in Brazil, he said that Samuel used to work with the Joint Commissions first and then for the rubber and logging patrons. After migrating from Peru and beginning the setting up of a village at the Upper Juruá River, he realized that working in accordance with governmental ruling would weaken Ashaninka *lifeways*.

In telling me this story, Antonio explained that his father realized colonists and governmental officials were using their experience of moving through the forest and of making the rainforest their

home. Antonio told me that Samuel used to say the Ashaninka had helped other people transform the rainforest into their home too. Nevertheless, at some point they realized they could not be doing so for the government and detached themselves from other forest peoples. Otherwise, the rainforest would be a place to seek refuge again as opposed to being a home, which was what they had been trying to make of it since they left the Andean foothills. Following this moment of seeing the forest and their *lifeways* as points of arrival and departure, in the first half of the 20th century, the Ashaninka people decided to articulate their struggle differently. By this time, the rainforest had become the landscape for connection and survival, representing the possibility of both staying and going as it was already home.

Within the context being forged in Juruá, they figured the way to keep culture intact was not in fleeing again or operating within closed boundaries as a group. Much to the contrary, the strategy and the struggle would involve relating to other people in the same situation of dislocation – the rubber tappers. The venue for resilience would not be everlasting subjugation as labourers or as governmental trailblazers. The most interesting way would be to invest in relationships in Upper Juruá based on Ashaninka understandings of the rainforest as *mobile household or home* and as a node for resistance.

In talking to other Ashaninka elders, I realized that an Ashaninka diplomacy had developed in Upper Juruá in connection with their becoming indigenous in the rainforest, right at the emerging borders (Vecchione-Goncalves 2009). This diplomacy would follow their story of shared resistance in Peru and their very decision to migrate in resistance. Similarly, these stories and the stories of articulation in the second half of the 20th century in Upper Juruá were also of expropriation and transformations in land use and occupation.

When rubber tappers got to Upper Juruá they did not find as much *seringueiras* as was available in the Upper Acre River region. There, they also found a pattern of occupation related to low forest degradation and land use that combined growing domesticated species that were part of the daily diet (such as manioc, yuka and various types of plantains) with growing 'wilder' species that could be kept farther from the houses. Likewise, they encountered another pattern of occupation that would influence their alliances with the Ashaninka and other indigenous groups. Villages were closer to the rivers and houses were not as far from each other as they were in the Acre River region, where families barely communicated – restricting their contact to rubber trading and social occasions promoted by the rubber patron. With this difference, the possibility of establishing relationships was higher, as was the possibility of traveling and visiting extended family.

In the beginning, relationships between rubber tappers and the Ashaninka were also restricted to rubber trading as the latter were also working either as tappers or as estate overseers. The Ashaninka were considered excellent warriors and good negotiators and rubber estate owners sought them to protect their estates in exchange for the goods they needed. Rubber estate owners also wanted them to be part of attacks against other indigenous groups, called *correrias* (forced runaways), in order to grab land[40] (Pimenta 2005; Varese 1977)

According to elders, when a group of Ashaninka was going up the Amônia River, they found the way to both recover their culture and be closer to new routes for visiting family in Peru, at the Tamaya and Ucayali Rivers, while keeping older routes of dispersion still at work within their extended landscape of survival. The specific place they chose to live, on a piece of riverbank at the

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[40] The ethnographies of Stefano Varese and José Pimenta were important for making connections between past Ashaninka stories and their dialogues and relationships with the State within the global political economy. Nevertheless, Isaac, Moises and Benki Ashaninka testimonials about migration and the emergence of the Apiwtxa Ashaninka community on the Brazilian side of the Amônia River were fundamental for gleaning an indigenous standpoint on how nature and politics were entangled in this specific landscape of the forest.

edge of the border, was named Kampa[41] do Rio Amônia. Once they found the place they believed would better facilitate their contribution to the landscape, the need to negotiate with rubber tappers making their home on the Juruá riverbanks made sense for building a regional common strategy.

During the late 1940s, when the rubber economic cycle reached its initial stages of decline with illegal logging and mining activities taking a toll on the local people, Kampa do Rio Amônia began to serve as a hub for people coming from Peru as well as for extractivists[42] (the previous rubber tappers). Among Ashaninka leaders, especially the patriarch Samuel Pyanko, there was an understanding that their land (and the rainforest as a whole) would be protected only via this cooperation.

By hosting people, they would be paving the way toward enforcing the principle of the forest as home for peoples departing and arriving in search of a better living. From this position stems the idea of life projects connected to the search for place, where action and a political view on nature as essential to self-determination would be fundamental to achieving resilience. Having a project informed by their *lifeways* evinced an agency based in collective and practical self-determination in Ashaninka political organization, which the government and patrons assumed indigenous peoples, and to a certain extent, rubber tappers could not have.

The shift in the way indigenous peoples and rubber tappers related to one another in the forest had not been immediate though. Focus on what enhanced relationships among families on both sides could mean in the long-run, as well as the changes in land use patterns – colonizing the

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[41]Kampa stands for Campesinos (peasants), which they were known as in Peru. They absorbed the expression more as way to be connected to family in Peru rather than to come to terms with government policies to turn indigenous peoples into rural workers.

[42] Once the decadence of the rubber economy really hit the state of Acre in the 1970s, rubber tappers had to diversify what they extracted from the forest in order to survive. At this time, although still mostly known as rubber tappers they regrouped under a broader semantic umbrella – coming to be known as extractivists. For a detailed description of the process, see Allegretti 2002.

forest according to what was necessary to live – promoted a shift from interests in making profit to interests in nurturing cooperation and good local relationships.

As opposed to the idea of a customary right of occupying land embraced by the Portuguese state in Roraima[43], *relationality* was the source for mobilization and articulation in Upper Juruá. Relationality favoured the articulation between indigenous peoples and rubber tappers in the 1950s, expanding in the 1960s between indigenous peoples, rubber tappers and other extractivists. As the elder Samuel Pyanko used to remark: forest peoples in the Amazon should not fall apart in the struggle for survival, because their interrelated *lifeways* made the forest possible and vice versa.

Conclusion: The Contemporary Frontiers of Constitutional Becoming

As discussed in this chapter, Indigenous peoples and the nation state in Brazil emerged side by side. Nonetheless, the political acts, still in progress, that made the latter possible were the same that tamed the former in an asymmetrical relationship that defined fundamental differences between people, regions and places. The borders that had defined the nation and its project since the 18th century created boundaries inside the national territory and one of the most prominent was transposed onto the very definition of the indigenous as such.

Even though asymmetries were systematically imposed and deposited onto the category 'indigenous', colonial and international relations usually demanded that specific classifications related to these asymmetries, depending on at which specific border they were played out, were enhanced in the relationship between Indigenous peoples and government. Such interplay with asymmetries, hierarchies and the imposition of political authority through territorial formation was part of the

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[43]Here I am referring to the how the Portuguese incorporated the Macuxi and Wapishana patterns of dislocation in the Madrid Treaty to attest that Brazilian indigenous peoples were moving through specific borders. In addition, the same appealing explanation was used to justify the negotiations on the borders with English Guyana in the 19 and 20th centuries.

'nation becoming'. In this sense, the very specificities denied and neglected because they were against the bounded, although expanded, characteristic of the nation were recovered for the sake of broadening first the official colonial mission and then the colonial practices of the newly born nation. As illustrated, this was the case with Roraima, a periphery connecting the Caribbean and the central Amazonian sites of Brazil. There, Indigenous peoples were born 'international' and the borders arose from their patterns of mobility and occupation. The Treaty of Madrid was an example of how colonial rule and the following emergence of international borders came hand in hand with the recognition of the indigenous as part of the land; a fate of living that became the source of their displacement and the death of existent patterns of movement through the landscape.

With that, the story of the Macuxi and Wapishana began to be tamed (and told) as indigenous politics. Since a separation from their history previous to the Brazilian Nation-State happened, indigenous politics have been informed by what indigenous land turned out to be because of the *national territory* and the *authority* it entailed in the Amazon forest. Such authority was imposed over the peoples dwelling in this place, for the sake of situating national sovereignty and responding to interests of groups from another part of the country. Indigenous politics has been very contentious to national politics in the Amazon in the face of this history, even if the international corroboration of indigenous peoples' existence was essential to configuring the international in the region. Borders entered their land and their existence and they had to contend within them. Such contention started to be mediated, by indigenist politics and by the ways groups like the Macuxi and the Wapishana absorbed the 'indigenous' into their practices of living and articulating subjectivity. This was part of the process for envisioning Raposa Serra do Sol as an articulated Indigenous Territory in the future, so that it could resemble the ancient indigenous land of *Rupununi*.

The dynamic in Acre, another border and another frontier story of the Amazon, was different from Roraima. This difference highlighted both the diversity amongst the indigenous groups (even if classified by a homogenous category) and between borders, which can bring different colonial practices in and of themselves. Colonial differences here are related not just to the different colonial practices of specific Nation States, applied over groups and lands beyond their immediate territory, but also to different regions within their colonial dominion, including those landscapes overlapped and cut across by borders.

The nature of frontiers throughout the Amazon can illustrate both what is common in the asymmetries reproduced among groups living in the area and what is different, according to the friction and articulation arising from these asymmetries. Especially noticeable at borders that, in the Amazon basin, can be imagined as occupying a much broader space than the physical benchmarks illustrate, are asymmetries that were and still are connected to the emergence of the *indigenous* – who was the native, yet at the same time a necessary outsider of the colonial enterprise.

The flip side of this asymmetrical history is that, going much farther than the idea of eliminating peoples previously living in the Amazon, the colonial encounter could not eschew the fact different *lifeways* were operating at the borders, making them a place of living and a landscape of mobility despite its instrumental exclusionary role within the colonial enterprise. This evinced other stories immersed in the condition of being indigenous and responding to different practices of colonization at the same time these responses were fuelled by resistance in local culture; in other words, *indigeneity*. This indigeneity emerged in contact and in friction with the national borders and with the intermittent, although changeable, boundaries between colonists, settlers, government and the indigenous.

This is important because the first reaction to saying that the 'indigenous' emerges from the colonial practice and the colonial territorialisation is that all political stories related to them begin and end with this relationship. We can say that indigenous political stories come in tandem with it and are tamed by it. However, as we have seen, there is more to indigenous politics than contention, and this richness can be recovered by their previous articulation in time and space when making the rainforest a place of resistance, as in the case of the Ashaninka.

This group became indigenous long before the Brazilian state encountered them. The encounter ended up bringing more complexity to their life struggle. As the political ecologist Soren Hvalkof remarks, in this case, historical factors informed the Ashaninka occupation prior to colonization and conferred a different dimension on place (Hvalkof 2006). This situation attests to the fact that they were producing and influencing the Amazonian landscape, and therefore socializing the supposedly empty and unoccupied Amazon. The forest was then a "fully socialized universe" (Tsing 2005), combining a relational and non-hierarchical relationship to nature with a culturally affirmative landscape amenable to cooperation amongst indigenous and non-indigenous groups. In that sense, indigenous politics, in becoming their venue to dealing with the state, in some cases represented a disruption in the internalized separation between nature/culture/society. By provoking this disruption, indigenous politics turned out to be more than contention to indigenist politics and transcended to territories across the Brazilian borders, providing a basis for acts of becoming indigenous persons and groups beyond the state or the political territory the state ascribed to them.

Chapter 2
Legal and Political at the Edge in Raposa Serra do Sol

The indefinite start and end points of political edges are openings for dialogues where and when least expected. In relating Indigenous peoples' political activities to the idea of the edge, it is possible to see that the imminence of exclusion emerging out of an unbounded space of belonging – indefinable constitutionally and uncontrollable politically by territorial rationale – is accompanied by the continuous condition of becoming political (Isin 2002; de la Cadena and Starn 2007). This condition appears to be so because the limitless space for belonging is built on how relationships are carried on among people in the physical space in which they circulate, turning it into a constantly politicized place. Certainly, the double logic of the edge[44], so to speak, makes it a place for political imagination to flourish. However, it also feeds into political conflict when concurrent imaginations clash, or more specifically, when one imagination ascribes itself the legal power to imagine and manage others politically, as the State does with Indigenous peoples.

Raposa Serra do Sol (RSDS), an Indigenous Territory (IT) located in a border area in Brazil, is an example of an edge in the political and legal sense. In RSDS, the thin line between belonging to an IT[45] and becoming political is always permeated by the conflict between *what it is to be indigenous according to a constitutionally bounded territory* and *who the indigenous are in everyday life, aside from these constitutional ascriptions*. Such nuance reflects how the indigenous groups organize themselves inside

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[44] As explained before, the idea of the edge brings an opening for politics into a space that is neither outside, nor inside. This opening disrupts what is regularly thought of as politics, insofar as it brings politics where it is not expected – as with Indigenous peoples moving in the Amazon since the beginning of Portuguese and Spanish colonialism. This idea certainly borrows from the contact zone as laid out by Mary Louise Pratt (1992).

[45] It is worth mentioning two aspects about belonging to the political territory here. One is geographical and definitional and refers to the human political enactment within the limits of the IT; the other, connected to the first although going beyond it, is that belonging to this political territory is not a static activity inextricably correlated to the physical space. The "way of belonging" as well as the "way to belong" may change according to relationships and political events and this of course extrapolates the political territory as solely related to the physical space of the IT.

the reservation and on how they relate politically with groups outside the IT, including those on the other side of the border.

By looking at the tense political dynamic sparked by the demarcation of RSDS in this chapter, I intend to show via narratives and conversations I had with some leaders there how the idea of being political in a territory at the edge is affecting understandings about belonging and becoming political in this specific landscape. There, the necessity of delimiting and defining what indigenous politics is in the IT seems to be matched by a strong inclination toward not merely having rights stemming from the titled land, but also of establishing and ranking the political subjectivities and actors inside it following constitutional law and external recognition. These avenues are what most of the indigenous leaders I talked to considered the way to *peace and stability*[46] within the limits of the IT and in relation to external actors. This feature of politics, so to speak, does not necessarily apply to all the political actors in the territory, and that is exactly the point where the basis for political belonging and entitlement becomes disputable, as I will show through the story of one of the most important and respected leaders at RSDS.

When negotiating my visiting and living in the IT, I told the people in charge of the authorization process that I was interested in knowing about the political relationships in the area, including global partnerships and the main challenges to overcoming the problems generated by national borders and the expansion of developmental policies. I can say that particularly when the issue of borders arose in my conversations with leaders and other people in the IT, it did not appear to me that there was a unitary standpoint or politics on the issue. Nor was it the case that peace and stability had been reached in the IT after demarcation because people were then able to agree upon what the indigenous politics in RSDS should be. It is exactly this evident tension, I argue, that will

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[46] The emphasis is mine here as these were words consistently appearing in leaders' discourse. According to them, peace and stability were possible only through demarcation and juridical recognition.

give room for a contentious politics to emerge out of the edges of official political resistance in RSDS, which is a still contested political territory.

In this sense, what I propose here is a reflection upon ITs at the borders as political and territorial edges that allow for dissidence. I intend to discuss the possibility of dissidence within resistance by opening a discussion about the definition of the ITs as political territories, the legal structure permeating them and the relationships between them and a presumably outside space. I will do so by narrating conversations with leaders at the Indigenous Council of Roraima (hereafter CIR) as well as with a leader, previously part of the CIR board, and now acting independently at the edges of the territory, right at the tri-border with Guyana. The latter, Sr. Orlando, is a good example of how edges of a border, literally speaking, can bring on complex and extended political landscapes that push the boundaries of legal and political limits of the IT by managing the borders of the political differently.

Raposa Serra do Sol Now and Then: Stories about a Landmark in State Expansion

RSDS was not the continuously demarcated territory it is today and all the indigenous lands inside this space were not just the home villages of the Wapishanas, Macuxi, Ingariko and Taurepang with no official limits within. Rather, they were political units to protect their movement, or more precisely, their *lifeways*. The movement toward the actual spatial configuration of RSDS and the political struggles related to this IT are contemporary to the expansion of economic and agrarian frontiers in the Brazilian far north as well as to the definition of the last borders in the country.

At that moment of defining borders, Brazil was building its sovereignty externally as an independent agrarian exporter state and internally as a federative republic, as described in the last chapter. In this sense, the political identity Brazil was searching for in defining these borders was connected to how it would balance power struggles and legitimacy inside its own territory by

defining its limits and distributing land, ownership and influence throughout areas considered strategic at that time. The Amazon rainforest was (and is) part of a plan for nation building and for establishing a scheme of order for the creation of a functioning institution (Scott 1998). The State was able to contain its power relations via agrarian exportation and territorial aggrandizement in its last frontiers.

In order to convey how this change has happened in the context of the different relationships established with indigenous peoples in the upper Amazon basin, I will outline some of the politics of the area. For that, I talked to Sr. Orlando, who today lives in Uiramutã, located at the border with Guyana (one of the most remote communities in RSDS). Sr. Orlando has witnessed most of the 20th century political events that have changed indigenous *lifeways* throughout the shaping of the IT as a political territory, overlapping the politics already in place. Being a bit of a dissident, Orlando is a source of "other stories"[47] about this political landscape. This is so first in relation to the assistance given by colonists to indigenous persons, especially children and women in the first part of the 20th century, and second, to the emerging internationalization and party politics of RSDS in the 1990s.

Negotiations for travelling to Uiramutã were not easy. In Boa Vista, capital of the province of Roraima where RSDS is, I had to go to the CIR and talk to the leaders (especially the director), explain my research topic and specify the people I would like to talk to and why. These steps are a regular part of any research and involve the obligation of ethical reporting, as I am writing about people's lives and life projects. Nevertheless, what interested me the most was the politics involved in the process and how every place on this IT of 1,747,464 hectares (CIR/FUNASA 2009) is seen

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[47] When I refer to 'other stories' here I mean to convey what is proposed by Ashis Nandy. According to him, in order to make possible thinking about decolonization in looking at the world through the relationship between the colonized and the colonizer without producing a hierarchy around the meanings provided by this encounter, we have to search for alternatives to History, as a discipline, and source of subjectivities production (Nandy 1988).

differently in terms of access and political relevance. Such differences depend on the positioning of people and places, attesting both to colonial difference and to specificities in indigeneity.

As such, I chose to report the other stories about this place from the perspective of Sr. Orlando, from his particular positioning in the place in which he is living and practising his politics. In addition, I will tackle the contemporary politics in other RSDS areas through the intermediation of the CIR. There is no separation in time about Orlando's positioning and the politics in place in Uiramutã and the national and international politics around the IT. However, as Sr. Orlando presented me a much more engaging (and political) story about what RSDS used to be, it makes sense to go back in time and (apparently) break with description of the politics of the present. The task is to discover its ties with a pervasive sort of coloniality affecting persons in the area. His understanding of the political process was one of observing through events[48] (Appadurai 2000; 2002) and episodes important features connected to the construction of the IT as a political place.

On a morning of October 2009, we sat under a mango tree as I asked Sr. Orlando how life was in RSDS at that moment and how it has been changing since the demarcation in 2003. He answered me first by saying this was the wrong question and that the right one would be how it has been changing since all was *Kuwai kiri*[49]. He could not point out exactly in time when it was, but he could say that it was when all indigenous peoples knew where their lands were. According to him, this meant being able to respect the limits – which were mainly related to non-interference when people were moving through lands, as all were part of the same land. It also meant to be respectful of other groups and ways of living on this land, as peoples were sharing the same place on 'Earth'.

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[48] In a straightforward sense, he was talking about events, about happenings that marked the story of RSDS. However, the way he described these happenings was completely connected to his everyday life and to what he or his ancestors were doing that could demarcate the emergence of the cattle farms within their lands.

[49] *Kuwai kiri* stands for the Macuxi as the whole territory that in the present day is Roraima. As pointed out in the previous chapter, the Wapishana called it *Rupununi*.

Sr. Orlando said that before the creation of the state of Roraima, the whole territory of the actual state area was inhabited by Macuxi, Taurepang, Ingariko, Wapishana (all now in RSDS) and Yanomami living amicably. He continued, asking:

> "Can you see the cement mark over there, close to the river? Over there is already Venezuela and, to the side, towards the river, Guyana. The story about it is the story about these international relations you told me you are studying, although I am not sure what it is about. The mark is the right answer for the wrong question you asked me". [Then, he laughed] (Sr. Orlando during an interview in October 2009)

The cement mark Sr. Orlando was talking about is one of many setting the territorial limits between Brazil, Venezuela and Guyana that stand right on the ITs, which are also part of Brazilian territory (See Picture 1). The connotations and practical consequences of these marks for the Kuwai kiri lands turned the sacred interethnic land into RSDS. In this way, the correction to my question goes back to the 19th century, although the remarkable events, according to Sr. Orlando, are the ones related to the end of the 1920s until the early 1970s. These are the events he has experienced, and using his coming of age as leader in Uiramutã and the struggles related to RSDS and the life projects in the community as an example, he gave me his account of the interplay between the indigenous peoples' place, physically and symbolically, in the territory.

When Sr. Orlando was a child in the early 1920s, Marshal Rondon's expedition was reaching the upper Amazon basin. The expedition, viewed by many Brazilian scholars as the new civilizing mission, went to upper Brazil in order to place the final border benchmarks as agreed in the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century. According to Rondon's testimonials, he was going to the hinterlands to save indigenous peoples from the apparent mistake of not being Brazilian (Hemming 2003) and to protect the recently declared national territory[50]. How the colonists made

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[50] As discussed in Chapter 1, this process involved occupation of the rainforest allied with bringing civilization to it, transforming it into space suitable for settling. In this sense, it was not really until these times that internal colonialism in the Amazon took on a more messianic approach based on bringing order and progress to a backward region – similar to doctrines like 'the White Man's Burden' in North America. I say close because I maintain the idea illustrated in the last

use of indigenous groups in the process of defining the national territory is what makes the endeavour of continuous colonization particularly oppressive

This oppressive relationship that enabled a connection between the human and the political, wherein indigenous persons clearly had not reached the 'human' stage of being political, was clear. Sr. Orlando talked about his childhood, in connection to the implementation of border landmarks. As he put it, with Rondon's arrival[51] land allotment began and Southern farmers came to occupy the piece of land that was allegedly nobody's, even though the Kuwai Kiri were there. He said he remembered army officials used to say Marshal Rondon was a very generous person; he was willing to bring work and redemption for Indigenous peoples. In this way, indigenous persons willing to learn Portuguese and have an education would have it as long as they worked to help identify the limits of the country – which were the limits of indigenous lands on the Brazilian side.

Sr. Orlando's father was one of the indigenous men who worked placing landmarks at the borders. In so doing, he became an alcoholic, as Uiramutã became a frontier town where various forms of political violence were inflicted upon indigenous persons in addition to the promotion of White and enlightened education for the protection and development of the native population, as Rondon had imagined. The idea of the republic coming from the political centres in Brazil clearly could not be transported to the far North. Inclusion and representation in this area were restricted to whatever power was delegated coming from the centre and to people having economic power. The people willing to occupy Roraima began in a certain way to 'own' politics, to control it, by delegation and de facto ownership. The consequence was the brutal use of force to 'manage' the

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chapter that differences in colonialism or "colonial differences" influenced the way the imposition of progress occurred in different places in the Americas.

[51] Rondon started placing the landmarks departing from the area from the Tacutu River in the North eastern portion of the Roraima, with approximately 600 indigenous persons "helping" in the demarcation. By that time, he had handwritten documents denoting a type of title for the land, which he gave to the Tuxauas (indigenous leaders).

territory. The definition of borders was part of this managerial project so that these 'new locals' in the Amazon space could develop their activities and deal with the forest. As the space, or the territory gained political connotation and dominion afterward, it was to be controlled and not to be interacted with. The same applied to the indigenous peoples considered part of it.

In the process of defining the borders, many families were torn apart, including Orlando's family. By the beginning of the 20th century, around 1910, his father started to work in mining, another activity emergent in the area, in order to be closer to the river and to family on the Guyanese side of the border. His alcoholism got worse, as it did with many other indigenous men, once farmers and miners began to sell liquor in small vending places inside working villages for keeping the rebel indigenous - the 'bravos' (angry men) - under control. Orlando's father ended up exchanging his son for a few bottles of brandy. As a "catechized Indian"[52], he had ended up being an intermediary in dealing with the 'bravos', an activity he continued to exercise until he died. Orlando went to a farm where he worked as a messenger and learned Portuguese.

According to Sr. Orlando, he got clothes, books and even a surname – Silva. After being a messenger, he started to help in managing the rice farm and, by this time, it was becoming more and more difficult to know about people in Guyana and Venezuela. What he knew was that *Kuwai kiri* was not the same anymore and that people were going to the new city of Boa Vista or to Lethem, in Guyana, to join the Macuxi, who were organizing themselves to help in the independence struggle of this country[53]. As Sr. Orlando said, in the case of Brazil, indigenous peoples, being part of no movement, did not help in the independence. But they were fundamental to the country's political

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[52] Catechized were those that agreed to be educated according to the Catholic faith by the Franciscan missionaries. The missions have the objective of providing education in Portuguese to convert indigenous peoples to Catholicism.

[53] For an ethnographic account of this process, see Baines 2004; 2012.

and territorial design and to the fact that there was no war with the Venezuelans and Guyanese in the upper Amazon basin.

Recalling the absence of major conflict 500 hundred years ago, he remarked that the Brazilians were the indigenous peoples and that this is not even slightly remarked upon by people part of the movement in RSDS in talking about the citizenship rights they are struggling for. That few conflicts had occurred at the border was because the people inhabiting this place were coming from the same cultural and political background, whichever side they were. Indigenous groups – mainly the Wapishana, with its diplomatic way of being and negotiating, and the Macuxi, as warriors defeating those not interested in engaging in conversations with the Brazilian state - made possible the installation of the nation-state at the upper Amazon borders, according to Sr. Orlando.

He also remarked that if the situation was not as peaceful as it was when he was 20 years old and working at the rice farm, it was because the government had not come to terms with the provision of citizen rights they said they would give to indigenous peoples. "This is now happening because the conflictive economic rights", he affirmed, stepping on the cornfield and pointing to the rice farms on the horizon. Nevertheless, he said, it is also happening because party politics is influencing the people here and they are forgetting who they are and what their politics should be. Sr. Orlando emphasized that constitutional and citizen rights, which white men allege had evolved and improved since the dissolution of the Indian Protection Service (SPI), are just deceitful to Indigenous peoples. He continually made the point that constitutional rights make people fight based on principles, which are not part of the freedom Indigenous peoples want or understand. In addition, Sr. Orlando outlined that the party politics that had come with the citizenship discourse of the beginning of the 1980s, as dictatorship was reaching its end in Brazil, had ended up fragmenting what they now define as the Indigenous Territory. As he put it:

"the demarcation as a continuous land or the demarcation per se does not mean that we are safe with our life projects, which depends mostly in our unity as a people, at least in the basic principles of our survival as Indigenous Peoples. I am not saying that everybody should think the same. I am just saying that the way things are done here cannot be defined by party politics where interests that are conflictive with ours are being defended."(Sr. Orlando, interview October 2009)

Returning to the issue of citizenship and how it was presented to indigenous peoples at this border area, Sr. Orlando said citizenship could be important as long as all indigenous persons, independently of their ethnicity, could reflect upon who they are and what their identity is as it relates to the place they inherited and stand in physically and symbolically. For him, the sense of belonging that was exchanged in the past for clothing, immediate survival and land, which was already theirs, should not be transplanted on to citizenship. This would be the case, as for him, the rights and political subjectivity citizenship entails do not truly include indigenous peoples because they do not stem from their *lifeways*. Citizenship should not be what defines them as agents of their history and of their politics as it is too limiting and has always been about 'taming' them in accordance with what they are not allowed to do as opposed to what they can do. Access to health services and education does not mean much in the end if it is not enhancing their educational and health systems.

Sr. Orlando said that it was because of this reflection about belonging that he decided to leave the farm by the time he was strong enough to work his land and to stand up for his ideas. He decided to go back to his village and work so that this land could be back in the hands of his people again. Inside his traditional land, but outside of its practices of belonging, he felt out of place and decided to recover what had been lost. So in the late 1950s he departed, leaving no notice to the Indian Protection Bureau for the Localization of National Workers SPILTN[54]. He returned to the village and to his land. Here the overt influence of the Franciscan Consolatta order missionaries

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[54] The naming here could not be more political. The state agency capable of and in charge of dealing with indigenous peoples dealt with them in terms of labour. They were at the service of the nation-state that localized them and because of their work could offer them belonging.

could be felt – a way of trying to protect the indigenous peoples from the vices that had come along with the mining activity. This line of solidarity with the Consolatta missionaries is still very strong in RSDS; they are somewhat of a gatekeeper for most of the global contacts the indigenous groups of the area have, in terms of political activism. He said that he was grateful the missionaries were there, though. Otherwise, as he puts it, "conflict with miners coming after the farmers, would have been inevitable and nobody would have stepped in if the missionaries, on the basis of their faith and compassion, had not".

When mining activities got to RSDS, they brought not just more cultural and political disruption, but also a change in the landscape. In 1962, when Roraima was still a federal territory, with the military having overt and constant presence in the area, the association between surveillance, space management and authorized economic activities, which included mining, changed relationships to the space. Many indigenous persons, who were committed to working in the mines at that time, cut ties with their families and communities. Mining got into their *lifeways* and became part of how internal colonization was practiced in the area. Roraima came to be known as an illegal mining territory, and for the sake of development and nation building, miners became symbols of patriotism despite their illegality.

The environmental degradation and the droughts currently facing RSDS, in Sr. Orlando's opinion, began with mining. Mining also set the terrain for party politics that took advantage of emergent fear in indigenous communities, stemming from a weakening of community bonds. With that development, political parties came to be the stage for political negotiation and, more profoundly, for negotiating the basis for, and continuity of, community action. Representation overtook participation during this time and to do it across borders, of course, was beyond the limits of the party and the politics in place. This is when sedition developed in the community and the

discourse about becoming a national space in its own right came to comprise the bulk of the politics in RSDS.

This turning point in politics had happened much before the traditional land was recognized and demarcated the way it is now; conflicts related to the demarcation of the IT had emerged in 2008 and 2009. Accordingly, the conflictive aspect very much linked to the nation-building process in the area and the demarcation and post-demarcation unfolding of conflict is not new. It has been part of contact and political negotiations in the area since the end of the nineteenth century. The anthropologist Stephen Baines, who has been working at this tri-border area since the early 1980s, described the territorial and land dynamic going on there as one where "the concept of territory is moulded within highly politicized contexts which reflect political divisions in the region."(Baines 2005:3)

As mining activity was one of the cornerstones of Brazilian internal colonization in Roraima, it posed a challenge for indigenous groups in terms of re-organizing and strategizing their struggles. In terms of the ways mining affected the distribution of economic practices and its political costs, it can be said that spatially it pushed communities away from the lands in the proximity of the creeks, where most of the indigenous groups had made their homes and livings. As Sr. Orlando recalled, the heavy metals used in mining poisoned whole communities, clogged the rivers and "made mountains come down"[55], when they were looking for diamonds. The presence of miners from all over the upper Amazon basin had led to the formation of frontier towns inside the indigenous villages.

The humiliation that had occurred in the past continued, according to Sr. Orlando, because of the localization of national workers and the establishment of landmarks by the SPILTN and SPI. The economic activities fostered by the definition of borders increased migration and degradation of

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[55] By this, he was referring to the dynamiting of hills that were right at the limits of traditional lands and, sometimes, actually on them.

indigenous lands. Humiliation took away the pride and sense of belonging. By the time dictatorship had nearly ended in the early 1980s and people were celebrating re-democratization in the region as whole, the 'politicized' indigenous peoples had already been carrying on their struggles. They had been working through emergent political parties and the support of the liberation theology of the Consolatta missionaries.

In economic terms, the region was getting richer at the expense of indigenous decadence and acculturation. This was the moment, precisely in 1975, that Sr. Orlando pinpointed as the rise of the "Ou vai ou racha" movement (*Whether it works altogether or it falls apart*, in a rough translation) for the recognition and future demarcation of the land as an IT[56]. The absence of faith in the community had led to an upheaval, but an emergent faith in indigenous politics had been deposited in the young institutions ushering in the re-democratization process, as well as in international declarations for cultural and political rights. In 2009, Sr. Orlando recognized the process as quite deceitful. As the indigenous scholar Taiaiake Alfred asserts, land claims and sovereignty discourse would ultimately present a false liberation, which in the end was not about the survival of the community and its politics (Alfred 2005; 2008).

Sr. Orlando said that after humiliation with mining, he decided to join the movement and turned into one of its angriest leaders. As he said, party politics is very volatile and the community had to stand by its own despite affiliations with political parties. Also, he was convinced that dialogue with the national government, with the support of international institutions as suggested by

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[56]Via this movement, the plea for what would later be the claiming of RSDS as continuous territory started. The proposal was made in 1975 by the Tuxauas, the political leaders, and was sent to the Indian National Foundation (FUNAI, acronym in Portuguese). The document initially asked for the recognition of 578.918 hectares of indigenous land. In 1977, the extinct Ministry of Interior issues formed a working group to follow up on the regularization of the territory in a continuous way. During this period, the allegation continued to be that if all villages and lands were to be regulated and demarcated continuously, most of the provincial area would be encompassed by it, putting sovereignty and the federalist concept in jeopardy. Presumably, this would create a political imbalance in terms of representation for this territory, even if it was still part of another province (Frank, 2006, *Collection of Reports to FUNAI and the Supreme Court for the Evaluation of the Homologation of the Raposa Serra do Sol as Continuous Territory*, personal archive, unpublished).

members of the Consolatta order, could be a strategy. After it was decided by the Indian Protection Service (SPI) that the area that today comprises RSDS (See Map 4) was mostly an indigenous area and that it should be demarcated, Orlando organized a trip to Brasilia, the capital, with another indigenous leader.

In Brasilia, they talked to generals and political representatives, who were aligned in the thought that the 1,577,850 hectars area should not be demarcated as one sole territory, as it could jeopardize national sovereignty. In 1985, the decision was that area would be demarcated not continuously, but various communities would have their separate ITs, although they would be neighbours. Rather than being part of the *Kuwai Kiri*, as Orlando described in the beginning, each community would have its own limits.

This kind of demarcation enhanced conflicts in the area in two ways. The first was that communities started to develop distance between them and to compete for territories and national attention in terms of having their rights recognized. The second is a consequence of the first. In so far as they were dispersed and not engaged with one another, communities sought out other types of association for getting by in the environment of scarcity generated by mining and mono-crop agriculture in the area.

The interesting point in this process for Sr. Orlando was that in 1984, before the decision, indigenous groups had actually united and demarcated the area themselves. With the help of the Jesuits, they bought land to accelerate the demarcation process. The money was offered as a line of credit and in return, the indigenous peoples had to work the land and provide for the families so that communities could be reorganized in accordance with their *lifeways*. In so doing, they were hoping for recognition of the traditional land. The tricky part of the story is that even though indigenous groups were standing up for their communities and not expecting final decisions and solutions from

the government, the situation became very convenient for the latter as the final borders were being settled with the declaration of Roraima as a state in the federation. With indigenous peoples buying the land, the government would not have to choose sides in making a decision about the territory, which eliminated the possibility of contradictions arising and social movements gaining strength.

By that time, dictatorship was not yet over and any political and social sparks, especially at the borders, were undesirable. So, after several meetings with the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI) and the Indigenist Missionary Council (CIMI, Brazilian acronym), *tuxauas* (political leaders) decided to buy the land, with no opposition from the government (Frank 2006). During those meetings, they realized that the area in between communities demarcated separately would be of approximately 2,000 hectares. This space in between communities, which was actually their place of living and relating to each other, was set up as the goal for purchase, and the target for continued negotiations with the Federal Government.

Sr. Orlando attested that the 'convenient' way in which they were organizing themselves for the government became increasingly inconvenient for Indigenous peoples over the years. In the beginning of the 1990s, the probability of not getting the continuous demarcation increased, as the army, navy and air force in Brazil, along with the Ministry of Foreign Relations, argued that the extensive borderlands and 305 farmlands in the territory would make the demarcation impossible. The fact that indigenous peoples, mostly part of the CIR, bought the land created a kind of buffer to the urgency of the situation with the communities, and the debates became restricted to land as territory. During this period, poverty and constant movement between Brazil, Guyana and Venezuela provoked divisions in the community between those aligned with the CIR and those more aligned to the farmers and to the potential benefits of demarcation in islands, mainly connected to maintaining their jobs on the farms. It was in this context that the Society for the

Defence of United Indians of the North of Roraima (SODDIUR, Brazilian acronym) arose, followed by more conflict in the area.

In Sr. Orlando's opinion, the situation became even worse when SODDIUR and the CIR began to be permeated by party politics and all claims began to be based in state and federative politics. In reality, the politics were about local power disputes and ways of understanding the demarcation for the exercise of power. Nonetheless, in this borderland area the conflict was translated into the language of the national, by this time reflected in constitutional reforms and a constant movement towards the judicialization of politics. Sr. Orlando said that in 1992, he went to Brasilia to debate the situation with FUNAI, public prosecutors (*Ministerio Público*) and the Ministry of Justice, but in the end left confused by the many laws and clauses that, while important to know, for him simply confounded instead of solving the problem.

After that, he said he stepped back from the national forefront and decided to focus on supporting the struggle within the community. He said that it was especially important after the 1996 decision which saw the legalization of Pacaraima and Uiramutã as municipalities, inside the indigenous lands, but which could be governed by non-indigenous and would be municipalities like any other. This was a strategy well used by SODDIUR and the farmers, based on constitutional amendments to create more municipalities and therefore weaken community struggles. Members of SODDIUR argued that decentralization in the form of municipalities was always what indigenous peoples wanted in order to have more autonomy. Yet the missing point of that history is that it would have been decentralization with a focus on self-governance inside their territories, and not by outside mechanisms that would bring even more conflict to the area. Once more, political parties contributed to this partitioning and another layer of politics was introduced into the IT. The municipalities were also justified as a means of better distributing social services to indigenous

peoples (in their identification as) citizens of Brazil – creating one more point of tension and management of peoples coming from Venezuela and Guyana mainly in search of health services.

Sr. Orlando said that since the creation of municipalities and with the increasing tensions enhanced by indigenous peoples coming from trans-border communities, he started to distance himself from the party politics because of the divisions it was provoking within and between communities. He said that party politics served to construct and put faces to 'enemies' that had never been enemies, and to make indigenous peoples soften toward people who were clearly not committed to their cause. In 1998, the expected decision for the recognition of the land as continuous, not just for juridical precision but for the continuous co-existence of the communities within it, did not bring a spirit of unity to RSDS.

Sr. Orlando said that, again, leaders used the victory for their own political projects for the elections late in November of that year. The 1998 decision did not bring leaders back to the politics of place, in the communities. Much to the contrary, it drew them even more to party politics, creating an attachment to the territory which was reinvented through this rather than from a community-based alliance politics. Most of the leaders at that time started mirroring outside arrangements to organize politically inside. Most of the connections forged outside the IT were based in a contention with national politics, but through the means officially used, namely partisan. The start of restrictions on people coming from Guyana and Venezuela to go to schools, for example, represented a step back to Sr. Orlando. According to him, "they were no others, they were us".

Walking back to the *maloca*[57], he said that was how he ended up being the *tuxaua*[58] in Uiramutã in the 1990s, because he wanted somehow to transfer all his experiences and stories for

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[57] Maloca is how indigenous houses are named in the upper Amazon basin.

the enhancement of the community. Talking is always the best way to solve problems, he said, but sometimes we have to stand up and connect to our ancestors and lands to keep on going and these landmarks make no sense for that. "There is no party, no Constitution, that will convince me of the opposite", he added. By way of ending his storytelling, he asked me where the origin of my interest in Indigenous peoples lies. I said I used to work with the Guarani people in Southwest Brazil so that they could recover at least a bit of the land that they never got recognized, especially since border landmarks with Paraguay, Argentina and Bolivia do not mean anything to them. He told me that he knew the Guarani and heard people say they have no land and live with no space for fishing or growing corn. He said that people in RSDS have it all and still want to go to other places to fight for it, and are depriving other indigenous persons of enjoying it. He went on to say that they should help the Guarani as they were all part of the same problem, so to speak.

This contrast in understandings of places and spaces indigenous politics can occupy was made clear to me when looking at the aftermath of the demarcation process[59] and talking to leaders in the CIR in Boa Vista. The idea that the discontinuity of the IT could be challenged by the continuity of alliances between communities across borders and limits, fundamental to a trans-border community-building, was completely overtaken by a politics of internationalization that I was not really expecting to find. Peeling corn, Sr. Orlando told me about the first cornfields he took care of in the area and asked if the Guarani would not even have a little land for that. I said hardly, but that if they had I thought they would with no fear. He smiled and kept on peeling the corn.

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[58] Tuxaua is how political leaders are called in Raposa Serra do Sol and in most of northern Brazilian Amazon.

[59] Resolution 820 of 1998 approved the demarcation of RSDS as contiguous territory embracing all the Indigenous Territories within it, which would be part of just one territory onwards. As contiguous territory, RSDS is now 1,678,800 ha.

The day after: becoming political in the post-demarcation

After 1998, when FUNAI and the Brazilian presidency sanctioned the recognition of RSDS, challenges had increased in the IT. The way politics got designed from inside out, although strongly influenced by national politics and the legislative apparatus, made possible the emergence of coalitions in the territory that to a great extent kept the land secure. Nevertheless, the backlash coming from the farmers backed up by the Federal Government – which was acting through a twofold front in the area contemplating both indigenous movements and agribusiness – had fuelled a tendency to centralize the politics of resistance in the area.

It is important to highlight that land recognition and demarcation are not the final steps before indigenous groups can fully and legally enjoy their traditionally occupied land. After demarcation, the Ministry of Justice and the Presidency have to homologate the land title and with the requirement that the territory will become an IT for exclusive indigenous usufruct. When the President sanctions the IT, FUNAI registers the IT as patrimony of the Union (or patrimony of the Brazilian Federation) and this is the reason why FUNAI is the primary agency to indigenous peoples for requesting demarcation and recognition of traditionally occupied land. In this sense, indigenous peoples do not own land, but with land registration they have the public and judicial guarantee of using the territory and its natural resources in an exclusive character, excepting mineral resources in the subsoil.

In RSDS, the process was no different, although it came in different stages because of legal pleas issued by farmers and by the state of Roraima. The process had involved political struggles at the federal, state and local level, bringing in more elements that would shape politics in the territory

contemporarily. In fact, when the homologation[60] was issued, it meant eviction to farmers occupying the territory. As determined by Article 231 in the Brazilian Constitution, the recognition of the Indigenous Territory:

> Paragraph 6: Acts with a view to occupation, domain and possession of the lands referred to in this article or to the exploitation of the natural riches of the soil, rivers and lakes existing therein (…) the previous exploitation of natural resources are null and void, producing no legal effects, except in case of relevant public interest of the Union (...).

The problem was exactly that for some sectors, rice farms and farmers were representing the *relevant public interest of the Union* (Federal Government). In addition, there was another point used by the military against the contiguousness of the territory – the territory in question was at the borders. They affirmed, also based on Paragraph 6, that if the territory "is in the interest of the sovereign nation" there are exceptions to the inalienability of the lands firstly recognized, demarcated and, finally, homologated. And of course, being at the borders under an administration that was not national could mean a threat to national security. Such allegations sustained the hypothesis that Indigenous peoples could lose the land now recognized, and become obligated to return it to the Federal government (the so called Union), if national security were to be in jeopardy.

By using the same legislation, Indigenous peoples continued mobilizing in RSDS in order to keep the unity of the territory, which actually happened in a very official and unified manner. They followed up with the struggle, arguing that the exercise of their rights as citizens would rely on the full enjoyment of their traditional territories and that any quarrel with other actors would depend on a firm political stand on the territory as a whole and with the community acting as a whole through it. They made that argument especially referring to the disposition that:

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[60] Two points about legal conceptualization are worth stressing, relating to what continuous land is and to the homologation process. The term 'continuous land' in the Brazilian Constitution means that many traditional territories can be encompassed by one larger IT. When the area is recognized and demarcated as continuous, it will undergo a process of homologation, through which the Presidency, informed by the constitutional power deposited onto it, will concede the use of its national land to indigenous groups.

> Article 231 (Paragraph 1) Lands traditionally occupied by Indians are those on which they live on a permanent basis, those used for their productive activities, those indispensable to the preservation of the environmental resources necessary for their well-being and for their physical and cultural reproduction, according to their uses, customs and traditions.

Despite the divisions inside the IT and challenges coming from the lack of acceptance of the so called "productive" sectors in Brazil, in 2002 the Ministry of Justice and the Presidency sanctioned the homologation of 1.6 million ha of continuous land for the five indigenous groups on RSDS. The separation between groups inside the reservation from the homologation onwards was enhanced by the strengthening of what I previously called in this dissertation a *territorialisation of politics*. Especially since from 2002 on, the challenges became linked to how varied groups' interests, needs and projects could be conciliated in the vast RSDS territory (See Introduction and Chapter 1).

Sr. Orlando remarked that in terms of geographically measured space, with the continuous demarcation, the land traditionally occupied could resemble the indigenous landscape as it was in the beginning of the 20th century already within Brazilian borders. Nevertheless, the way indigenous persons began to participate in indigenous politics through the Constitution in RSDS ended up having little reliance on or resemblance to the relationships that had defined the same continuous land many years before. The constitutional territoriality for indigenous persons, as it was the case in RSDS, had implied a different relationship with land, now based on rights and citizenship. In the same vein, placed-based struggles in Roraima became highly mediated and informed by a politics enacted by the Brazilian constitution.

One of the new aspects breaking and changing past spatial configurations, the location of CIR headquarters in Boa Vista, points out connections in the actual landscape that take indigenous resistance and relationality to the urban center. When groups inside the IT are closer to a specific group of people at the headquarters in Boa Vista, the tendency is that the local politics at the village where this group has leadership will be aligned with CIR politics. The problem is that to operate in

Boa Vista and represent many different villages, the CIR must have a very centralized politics – which is very centralized in the instruments indigenous peoples have been guaranteed by the Constitution, focusing on a territorialized and unified indigenous politics grounded in specific rights to occupy the land. In this sense, local politics ends up resembling the central politics of the CIR and becomes, therefore, a territorialized politics. The politics based on the constitutional territory perpetrated by the CIR to keep the territory continuous is transferred to the local level, where it used to be more problem-based and plural. With that, politics became territorialized and conflictive, even with indigenous persons that are leaders and live outside RSDS, in the city.

In this sense, official resistance when transported to the urban area under particular strategies will not usually account for the diversity in the landscape. For the most part these strategies do not account for the political boundaries that national borders came to impose on the landscape (built on relationships beyond borders) and mimic the national strategy of keeping out whoever is not an "original citizen", in an attempt to strengthen the territory.

In practical terms, to take the council to the city, which included communities other than RSDS, has led to less participation in the decision-making processes. It became difficult to finance transportation for getting regional leaders and other people together to discuss fundamental matters. Moreover, there is distance between the issues dealt with daily by the communities and the issues dealt with by the CIR, which involves projects, budget and legal language. These days, elders in particular complain about how difficult it is to understanding conversations that often do not reach out to the communities.

Currently, the subject matter of debates at the CIR involves the unpacking of indigenist policies and politics[61]. To a great extent, the programs run by the council attempt to catch up with

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[61] Indigenist politics refer nowadays to those policies elaborated by the government to deal with indigenous peoples in order to guarantee them equal access to rights.

the rights to which indigenous persons are entitled by citizenship - such as health and education - as these are usually roughly translated by the government through its policies toward indigenous groups and territories. The act of becoming political in RSDS, fuelled by the recognition of the continuous territory, approximated access to the rights entailed by claims of how to become a citizen vis-à-vis constitutional rights guaranteed to indigenous persons. In this sense, to be political as indigenous became equal to being a citizen.

According to Engin Isin, the act of becoming political involves the struggles that organizations and claims of people have to assure their rights in their relationships with others (2002). Citizenship is the mediator of this relationship to a certain degree as it is a source of political subjectivity. To enjoy the rights that a full condition of citizenship entails attests to the fact that citizenship manifests itself in various ways in political relations, and is therefore a political subjectivity that brings with it a condition of alterity (Isin 2002). In examining the CIR and the ways indigenous peoples started organizing at RSDS, the condition of becoming political by assuring territorial rights and in reasserting these rights through disputes with the state introduces a condition of alterity. Most indigenous persons in the area try to have what citizenship entails in terms of individual rights, and claim their collective space by negotiating and strategizing in "agonic encounters" over the conditions for being political vis-à-vis citizenship (Isin 2002: 22-24). Even if they have Brazilian citizenship, which is not a status that every indigenous person in RSDS has, it is through CIR politics that indigenous peoples mediate their struggle to become political through the experience of having citizenship rights (Yashar 2005).

Citizenship is, then, a practical, contested and sometimes oppositional arena through which political subjects keep constantly building their political subjectivity. It is by using the notion of citizenship that the military will say the territory can threaten national security, because non-

nationals will likely enter, alleging indigenous ties. It is also through the notion of citizenship that the CIR would reply that they are also Brazilians and that they need social services in order to avoid the RSDS getting involved with non-nationals, especially illegal miners and dealers trading fuel and diamonds, for example.

Finally, it is also through what citizenship entails that many familial ties inside RSDS will be disputed. These disputes happen because many Macuxi and Wapishana in Guyana and Venezuela come to Brazil to "negotiate" (Isin 2002) their abjection in not having citizenship by attempting to access citizenship rights, such as health services, in the same way as Brazilian indigenous persons. Gradations in the concept of citizenship (Ong 2006) lead them to look for openings and gradations in sovereignty – in this case, the protection of the national territory within the IT borders – so that they can be associated with Brazilian indigenous peoples, be knowable subjects to the national services or the army, and thereby obtain rights, even if temporarily. The exception here entails much more than the mere usage of citizenship by non-nationals, as I will explain further, which generates conflicts about who leads politics in RSDS.

It can be affirmed to a certain degree that citizenship permeates the political imaginary of the post-homologation mobilizations. Riots against the State repeatedly highlight the case that there is more to indigenous rights than just land. Land may be the beginning and the end, but as stated by Article 231, indigenous peoples cannot be deprived of the means of sustaining their territory. For CIR leaders, those means involved not just natural resources and land, but also the ability to participate in politics by claiming access to the benefits of social and economic rights.

In creating a bureaucracy to deal with the political issues at the sub-national and federal level, the CIR strategic plan after homologation was thought to be comprehensible to State officials. Relationships with state political actors tended then to be seen as the best way to practice indigenous

politics. Even if supporting partners were mostly NGOs or charitable foundations, the discourse and the political actions were formulated and organized to contend with State politics. The only problem is that this politics and the actors toward whom it was formulated were very little known by most people living in the IT. State action and planning are clearly not legible to these people because these actions do not correspond and do not come to terms with the way they live politically (Scott 1998). Attempts by the State to manage these people are well known by most of them as a vector for destroying their *lifeways*.

CIR reaction to migration to RSDS from these countries is also not comprehensible to most of the peoples. At least those living at the very edge of the IT cannot understand why the council is trying to "manage the territory" as the State usually does. They can absorb the politics of the State, even if State management is incommensurable to them in making use of citizenship rights to access what those rights provide. But the CIR is more complicated because it classified the 'migrants' as a hindrance to the IT's autonomy and interests. In this case, the translation of rights and State planning for the benefit of the *lifeways* – what James Scott many years ago called the weapons of the weak[62] – was a restricted code by a group of indigenous peoples with a specific definition of being political.

With regard to state planning, with the increase in settlements in the state of Roraima as well as in lines of credit for those investing in sugar cane agriculture for ethanol, indigenous territories like RSDS came under pressure from the Brazilian developmental state. In addition, farmers attracted by the BR 174 road linking Manaus to Venezuela and the new BR 401 leading to Guyana and linking the Amazon to the Caribbean started moving up toward the borders again, where many

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[62] James Scott in his seminal work will point out that the ways of living of rural and abject people and their forms of everyday resistance are the strongest means of standing politically they can have (1985).

indigenous communities in RSDS are. As land is cheaper, mainly in Guyana, many of these farmers went there to take advantage of cheap labour and a less structured social system.

Most of the people affected by their arrival were Macuxi and Wapishana with family in RSDS. These people, facing difficulties and knowing about more social services coming to Roraima, began to go to the other side. As had happened in the 1970s, though on a more internal basis, development in the Amazon did not 'deliver' development to the indigenous communities. As is the case now, the pressures of economic and regional integration in the area push people to the margins. Migration is their way of getting to the edges of these margins, cutting through infrastructural or economic integration and trying to seize the advantages of citizenship.

In Boa Vista and at Maturuca, the biggest and most connected community to the CIR in RSDS, the fact that farmers were approaching the land through other areas was presented as worrisome to the community. Leaders said they were also worried by "the increase in relatives migrating to their land", as one such leader explained to me. According to him, people coming from across the borders to the land they strive to have and to organize – people in search of better lives, with indigenous families helping them on the Brazilian side – could be putting sovereignty and self-determination in jeopardy, as their arrival and constant transiting could be viewed as a threat to national security by the military.

As previously mentioned, in the aftermath of the homologation the process for institutionalizing the CIR became highly politicized, especially when it came to what people thought would be made of the territory in order to keep land rights. Part of this politicization process was also related to how external connections became centralized at the CIR, particularly because the connections with specific institutions made possible the institutionalization of the council. Sponsorship for the process came from the Ministry of Health, FUNAI, Indigenist Missionary

Council (CIMI) and the Program for the Protection of the Legal Amazon in Brazil (PPTAL, Brazilian acronym), an axis of the Ministry of Environment for the Amazon sponsored by the German International Cooperation (GIZ, German acronym). The relevance of pointing this out now is that part of the support was linked to achieving control of the population inside RSDS both by making it countable, and by providing well-being.

Again, viewpoints at CIR headquarters and among specific communities about the best approach were variable. The CIR decided that via a membership card they could monitor the social and economic conditions in the territory in relation to the impacts of agribusiness and integration. Also, with a membership card, they could avoid undesirable migration coming across the borders. People would have to provide the card to access health services, for example, and community members coming from the other side of the border would have more difficulties dodging the system, as I heard one of the leaders of the CIR saying.

An interesting moment of disruption came out in response to the card politics. Some groups, especially in communities at the border, became resistant to this as a way of demonstrating their disagreement with the concentration of politics brought about by the CIR. On one end, there was a territorialized official indigenous politics with its headquarters outside of the IT. On the other end, there was a parallel politics that, even if complacent to the headquarters' decisions, became more fluid and place-oriented. This happened in the sense of being more focused on everyday practices of resistance rather than on a unified and institutionalized politics to oppose the State – although it contended with citizenship as the State's main form of providing and letting people participate. Counteracting the resistance that allowed people to come into the territory, the CIR started to centralize meetings, training activities and the partnership with Health and Sanitation Indigenous Districts for workshops and services provision. At the same time this was happening, in the most

remote areas in RSDS, where communities were resistant to the card, they also had to resist on the ground the farmers and miners pushing and encroaching into RSDS. As they were advancing from across the borders, the social situation of indigenous peoples there was deplorable, which heightened the movement of people to the Brazilian side. In this way, resistance really became politics at the edge of both the IT and at the national borders. For that resistance, it would be necessary to host the outside families so that as indigenous groups they could become stronger in facing the developmental project for the region.

Citizenship and the nationalization of indigenous lives

As had occurred with the expansion of frontiers in the 19th century, the current developmental and integrationist State is leading to gradations in participation and inclusion through law. The difference is that with a legislative body, each day more focused on individual rights and in giving juridical security to those who invest along with the government in what is considered a public good, Indigenous peoples end up having to show they can make the best of their territories with the rights provided to them.

As sovereignty acts upon them, allowing the use of the territory according to their needs as long as they do not interfere with the national interests, they become citizens in constant negotiation with the expansion of new economic frontiers. Although it can lead to the conformist position of being more or less included based on the ability to negotiate the benefits brought by economic expansion using a notion of rights, such negotiation can also unsettle dominant political relationships. This unsettling seems to be the case in the hosting of families coming to the Brazilian side in order to access the rights afforded by economic growth. The territorial idea of keeping the indigenous peoples inside RSDS is unsettled by familial ties at the same time the premises of citizenship and sovereignty are unsettled when indigenous persons decide what to do with them.

It has to be said that the CIR tried to keep this situation from occurring in maintaining the membership cards. In 2009 the directory decided that people without cards coming from Guyana or Venezuela would have to submit a detailed report on the areas to be visited so that a specific allotment of time could be allocated to them for visiting their families. The interesting thing about this – and herein gradations in citizenship and sovereignty can be seen – is that it was done as a joint task with the Brazilian Federal Police. This combined action was initiated especially when confrontation flared between Indigenous peoples and farmers after the homologation.

When I talked about the nationalization of indigenous lives at the borders, it was exactly the kind of association cited above that I had in mind. The CIR has copied a model for decision-making and policy enactment similar to the nation-state. The problem is that when seeing the situation of indigenous peoples within a broader and deeper political scenario related to state and constitutional formation, their presence is part of the specific and exceptional situations decision makers do not want to come into dialogue with. Constitutional politics accepts and guarantees, but does not dialogue.

The fact that self-determination as allowed by the nation-state can still bring with it oppression could not be resolved – and it was not in RSDS – by the CIR cooperating with the Federal Police. Likewise, it could hardly be solved by partnerships with the Ministries if they did not try, after many conflicts and negative results in the communities, to talk through the situation, incorporating more people, including some women, into the dialogue. What women and elders told me is that the fact that the CIR has been incorporating representatives from all over RSDS who are in constant conversation with the national government does not repair or reconcile those parts that have been excluded from the process of decision and law making. In other words, the membership

cards and services did not reconcile them with the government and their politics, although the use of them, especially by people crossing borders, meant a disruption in indigenist politics.

Looking at it through the politics of dissent in democracies, as explained by Rancière, the act of taking over the political stage and changing people's places in the political game, as presumably has been done by the CIR, would only be for the few. In this way dissent, or the competitive diplomacies[63] inside the reservation, as I prefer to call it, emerges as an instrument and substance for an alter-politics with which to confront the territorialisation of politics in RSDS (indigenous politics) and also the territorial indigenist politics coming from the government.

Such alter-politics within the territory will come out mainly through resistance to the consequences of predatory development, in a non-territorialised way, from indigenous women in RSDS. Women's action in RSDS will cast doubt on debates about "appropriate representation of indigenous identity and indigenous peoples' interests" (Bern and Dodds 2000:163). Their resistance shows that such approaches are no longer enough insofar as groups in charge are "geared toward some aspect of self-determination or of negotiation with the wider state" (Bern and Dodds 2000: 163). At the end of the day, these groups are not interested in engaging with the alter-politics born in the very confrontations and impossibilities provoked by the political condition(ing) in the area.

Self-determination through institutionalization of indigenous councils and dialogue with other scales of politics, such as those of specific trans-border communities or global NGOs, usually leaves aside the complex web of relationships (Blaser et al. 2010) inside the IT. Furthermore, it remains neutral and uncritical, institutionally speaking, of the influence external groups, such as farmers, have on indigenous peoples associated with their production on the land they have and control.

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[63] The idea of indigenous diplomacies is explored by Marshall Beier and Franke Wilmer (Beier 2005 and Wilmer 1992), in tackling indigenous relationships with both the colonial state and in presenting their claims in international forums, equating their situation to that of a self-determined sovereign state.

Certainly, people pushed aside by the strict directives elaborated by the CIR will find a way to make their survival possible in such a complex web of relationships. This is not always via alliances with indigenous communities, as I will illustrate with regard to the impacts of developmental projects and, specifically, the attack on the indigenous peoples' formation centre at Surumu, a community at the northeastern part of RSDS. Hearing about these episodes and talking about it put me at the interstices of the political configuration in the area. This was very difficult to articulate in terms of my presence there. I ended up being an interlocutor to competing diplomacies.

Back to the (New) Colony: The Developmental State and the Reconfiguration of Placed Politics

Brazilian policy makers and planning for Amazonian development are constantly coming across indigenous peoples or, as policy makers prefer to say, issues. The process involving the recognition, demarcation and homologation of RSDS has been questioned, confronted and challenged continually by the developmental front in the Amazon basin, which bears a blatant resemblance to the expansion process promoted by Rondon and others. The evident and continuous line between what happened in the past, and what has been happening now, especially since the Society of the United Indians of North of Roraima (hereafter SODIURR) and rice farmers appealed the demarcation to the Supreme Court in 2003, brought to the fore competing political actors and practices. These practives were related to a dynamic through which Indigenous peoples would be featured as opposing the developmental state in the area.

Although there is a clear animosity between SODIURR and the CIR, the interstices in which the pro-demarcation and homologation (which came later, in 2009) built up politically is what makes RSDS a political stage for competing diplomacies. It happened particularly when disputes inside and through the CIR spilled over and reached the point of confrontation or alliance with developmental projects related to local sustainability. How actors position themselves in relation to these

developmental projects and how and when they became allies in confronting them tell a lot about the voices that are audible in the process. As Rancière and Panagia stress:

> In order to enter into political exchange, it becomes necessary to invent the scene upon which spoken words may be audible, in which objects may be visible, and individuals themselves may be recognized. (Ranciere and Panagia 2007: 115 cited in Van Muster 2009: 266)

According to Rancière and Panagia, becoming visible in a situation of obliteration is the poetics, the creative side of politics, which brings to the fore whatever was hidden by official politics, or by official opposition to politics. Art can be a venue for that and through these places voices inaudible in the political process can be made heard and spaces for political opposition can be built. Nevertheless, these places would never be official and when contestation and struggle finally became the core of political dispute, as was the case of RSDS vis-à-vis the Brazilian state, they are taken to the official arena so that the partitioning can be discussed or contested. People in the CIR used the demarcation and all the contestation involved in it as the political stage for disputing the fact that the state was treating Indigenous peoples as issues or obstacles to development in the area.

Nevertheless, what has to be stressed is that the idea of a creative space for politics did not end with the homologation. Even if the attempts at obfuscating the places and differences in contesting state politics were many, how different groups of people inside RSDS have been resisting developmental projects and creating other spaces for resistance is disrupting the idea of a unified contestation. Perhaps this is why the conflict potential in the area is still great and political subjectivities have been forged continuously as developmental projects emerge, forcing indigenous peoples to become political in their own creative survival (Isin 2002; Soguk 1999; 2009). The poetics of the political, in this sense, is not a potential; it refers to what can be done in the present to confront a past that repeats itself, impacting indigenous lives in Roraima by current developmental practices and by reactionary actions against the homologation.

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, Roraima is a frontier province where people coming from the South got settled in government lands and where farmers still accumulate lands at the expense of small producers or of the indigenous way of living. Against this background scenario, the political stage in RSDS after 2003 began to be designed in tandem with it, both in terms of alliance and resistance. One of the first projects related to it was the creation of a school for sustainable development (Indigenous Peoples' Formation Centre at Surumu) and for the formation of political and environmental agents in RSDS.

Indigenous Peoples' Formation Centre (hereafter *Escola de Formação*) is one of the most important projects in RSDS and the CIR features and develops it as the place and the project through which the struggle will be continued. The school is the venue and the instrument wherein RSDS starts to become a local development project enterprise to confront the economic forces from outside and for controlling and planning what is happening inside the IT in terms of sustainable development projects after the homologation. As such, it is a space both for creative politics and for competing diplomacies and political disputes. It is also a target for the attacks of groups directly opposed to the homologation.

The school is at Surumu, one of the biggest and most politically agitated communities in RSDS. Although not exactly at the borders, Surumu could be considered an internal border[64], an edge between the border communities and Maturuca, one of the communities situated more inland in RSDS and where most of the CIR leaders are from (See Map 5). To get to Surumu is not easy physically speaking, but more so because of political authority. With one highway having been built already in order to integrate the Caribbean in Guyana to the Amazon, in Brazil, Surumu is at the

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[64] Etienne Balibar introduces this idea that borders move inwards and outwards onto peoples' lives. The effect (and affect) borders provoke are not just produced at the borders per se, but can be reproduced in other places when people carry the stigma of being excluded with them, along with the characteristics and profiles excluded by the borders (Balibar 2005).

front line of the encounter with new development avenues and progress, as the advertisements on the road construction sites say (See Picture 2). Surumu is also the place young indigenous in RSDS dream of going, and of having a scholarship to study, to learn to take care of the land and about communitarian business approaches in order to make their own communities endure, they say. On top of that, it is the community cut across by the Surumu River, whose waters were used as irrigation for the rice fields in place before the homologation, when rice farmers could still occupy the area. It is not for nothing that when the backlash to the homologation occurred, the school was the target.

In 2005, people working for the rice farmers allied to some indigenous individuals, members of SODIURR, invaded the school, held about 10 indigenous students hostage and set fire to the structure as well as to the crop fields being prepared by students. These rice farmers were the same ones expelled from RSDS after the homologation in 2009. Paradoxically, they were the entrepreneurs getting governmental lines of credit as part of the agribusiness developmental projects of the area. The episode was huge in the national news, but because it happened in the IT, it fell through the cracks in debates on the impacts of expanding agricultural frontiers.

As the invaders got in the IT – outsmarting the Brazilian federal police and reaching the area through the Guyanese territory, which is contiguous to a community bordering Surumu – the situation fed into the discourse that the reservation as a continuous land leading to or coinciding with border areas could jeopardize people's safety and territorial security. This view completely ignored the fact that rice farmers involved in the situation have always used the territory as continuous for their mono-crop plantations. Specifically, this way of using the land was posited by the government as a strategy for bringing people to the area, enhancing and protecting national borders as 'productive spaces'. On the other hand, still on the territorial side of politics, CIR leaders

used the situation to defend limitations on the transit of indigenous peoples coming from communities across borders. The justification was that there could be no controlling of their political activities outside the IT, which could jeopardize sustainable development projects for enhancing self-determination in the area.

The event in Surumu seemed to have changed and reconfigured politics in RSDS. For this reason, it is important to observe what propelled the farmers to invade the area, which involved the land dispute in RSDS and the governmental incentives for agricultural expansion in the Amazon. One example of these incentives was a law approved in 2009 for the allotment of land in the upper basin for small farmers. This allotment happened right at the border and right next to RSDS. Of course, these small farmers, harassed by the big farmers and seduced by the possibility of making fast money through the legally acquired land, sold their lands to rice farmers. This development also increased the dispute with Indigenous peoples as the farmers continued growing rice using, for instance, water from the IT. In addition, they started to diversify their production, based on the expansion of sugar cane plantations in the area supported by a law offering agrarian and financial incentives to those interested in getting involved with biofuel production, another big problem degrading natural resources contiguous to or part of the RSDS. To put it another way, the politics behind the invasion and the blatant political violence itself provides a legal and political protection for developmental politics and ended up being a political milestone for farmers in the area.

Another effect of the invasion is that the politics practiced by the CIR became even more territorialized. Stemming from this event, the idea of RSDS as an international space among leaders was tantamount to strengthening the prohibition of people transiting without cards and authorization, even if they were families or long term allies. Control over the researchers and sponsorship for projects out of the CIR centralized jurisdiction little by little became monitored and

mapped in terms of the location of the activity and how and with whom it was implemented, as this was considered an issue of utmost public interest in the IT. Only selected non-governmental organizations could be working in the area and the money dispensed or donated had to be managed by the council bureaucracy. Especially when related to sustainable developmental projects, which communities could no longer implement and launch independently or they would be weakening the resistance to the government and to the farmers.

The matter was (and is) that they have to show the government and whomever else it may concern that they can develop and sustain, and this would seem to be the key to keeping any attempted intervention away. When farmers and SODIURR appealed the decision to demarcate the IT as continuous indigenous traditional land to the Supreme Court in 2009, CIR strategy tended to mimic state action in the sense that a representative board was created to ensure unified decisions about the future of the territory. Decisions would be abided by all communities inside RSDS. The problem was that it lacked representatives from most of the communities, and neglected to disseminate information thoroughly to every community in the area. When the military and the farmers alleged that connections with global actors were actually putting Brazilian sovereignty in jeopardy, CIR leaders agreed to restrict their transit in the IT. They pronounced in an assembly that their sovereignty should be protected first and foremost. The event at Surumu became a reason for them to choose very carefully to whom they would relate politically.

The interesting point is that the same logic is transplanted to a fear of the global in RSDS when connections are made without council authorization. This happens when researchers like me are negotiating their entrance into the IT, which can be initiated through various connections other than the council. The same fear comes to the fore when indigenous persons coming from Guyana or Venezuela, impacted by infrastructural projects, are impeded in their attempt to get into RSDS

because they can hinder the council's project. When both things intersect in some way, which was the case with my research, the control is even more meticulous.

Meetings with the council to dissect the project and to talk about my connections, as well as the extended presentations I had to offer in Maturuca, the main community, were exhaustive. However, when talking to leaders such as Sr. Orlando or when exploring more of the connections women have with the story and the territory, the politics turns out to be very different. Such disconnect highlights that the politics of the council is not necessarily the politics of the community as whole. For me, there was clearly a global politics in place in these negotiations and reconfigurations tantamount to developmental politics and to the legal upheavals in RSDS. Nevertheless, it was what the leaders were trying to keep their eye on. From this moment on, they began possessing the politics, as they became the only authorized actors, thereby hindering other ways of creatively making politics.

One really intriguing aspect brought up by the CIR leaders was the direct correlation between sustainable development and security, but rooted in self-determination as defined by the council. In talking with another important leader, a precursor in the indigenous movement in RSDS and in Brazil, this was clear from a comment he made about the indigenous police system in Canada. For him, the fact that Canadian reservations had police systems with their own people watching out for the territory and containing conflicts inside it was a reason to have houses, cars and schools on them. He associated this with a standard that indigenous persons in RSDS would only be able to achieve, as he presumed they had in Canada, if they police their territories, and put more emphasis on acting for the land as opposed to for the communities, which was the intrinsic connection to territory presented by Sr. Orlando. In the view of this experienced CIR leader, the politics after homologation for containing developmental politics and the threat to the IT had to rely on projects

for the economic development of the area, controlled by the CIR deliberation, allied to the protection of territorial limits.

Interestingly enough, this is the same principle that can cause the state to intervene in or reclaim indigenous lands, namely, the issue of national development and the sustainability of projects related to it. Despite the shift in national discourse focus toward it, sustainability seems to be the key word for differentiating development inside the IT from Brazilian development, as the movement is always to contain the advances of agrarian export national developmentalism. Nonetheless, what cannot be forgotten is that project centralization and planning for environmental protection and security resembles the national means of thinking about and achieving development. Further, internationalization emerges as the answer to ending internal dissent. Confronted by the idea that the IT should be internationalized when in conversation with the CIR director, I could better understand the movement toward the territorialisation of politics through the selection and control of political articulations.

"I Belong to the International, Therefore I Have a Place"

When thinking about indigenous politics, especially when seen as constant resistance to national state creation and re-creation, as is the case of RSDS, it was hard for me to imagine that the idea of the internationalization of the territory and restriction to activism across borders could be a political strategy. I have faced many difficulties in accessing communities in RSDS because my first contact was with indigenous women active in establishing connections with global NGOs as well as with local communities. To the council, these contacts represented a kind of bypassing of the centralization project. To me, the difficulty was the result of a process of internationalization, the backbone of the CIR politics in the face of changes in developmental politics in Brazil and resistance to the RSDS contiguous homologation.

Conversations that I had with the CIR director were always a bit tense. It made sense given the fact I was a student associated with an international university wanting to observe political mobilization and articulation with respect to local and global forces. As the CIR council knew that what I was observing would be taken to another country, the concern revolved around portraying an image of politics as unified, controlled and part of an identity that should be organized enough to show others they could be a nation. There is no speculation about performances here, as the same director was who told me so.

According to him, when people go to other countries or even when activists and indigenous persons go to participate in debates for self-determination or sovereignty at the United Nations or in the Organization of American States (OAS)[65], they need a visa. As he said, people need to be national citizens to move through borders and be recognized as equals so that they can travel to other places. "That is how relationships are regulated and controlled and people and territories are respected", he affirmed. For this reason, he pointed out that for RSDS to grow and develop, the area should be internationalized and other indigenous territories in Roraima should become part of the contiguous land.

For him, I would have to get a visa and show my passport to go to RSDS – which I was doing all the time when crossing through Venezuela and Guyana to enter the area – not to the Federal Police, but to people assigned by the CIR. In light of this comment, I asked if it would mean separation from Brazil. He said that this would not be the case as the Federal Government could accommodate the IT's independence (Personal Interview October 2009). On top of this, with federal support they could develop their territory as autonomous, seizing financial advantages by making the nation-state compensate past humiliations, to a certain extent, in getting federal funding

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[65] He was referring to the fact that the situation in RSDS had been brought by a CIR indigenous lawyer to the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, which supported a plea to the Inter American Commission on Human Rights at OAS, urging Brazil to homologate the land and acting upon the aggressors in RSDS.

to develop their projects. The point for him was that if RSDS was not internationalized they would have no space for their claims and nowhere to rely on when suffering the abuses of other States.

The international realm appears, then, as the political space for recognition and for equality with nation-states. In this sense, the international realm was their place to become political as official representation. He said that in addition to internationalization, they needed indigenous lawyers and politicians aligned to CIR politics so that obstacles to recognition could be reported and opposed without intermediation. At the end of the day, it was their struggle. If other people were impinging on their struggle, it could convey a sense of political inability or lack of capacity to step up in their own defense amongst other States. For him, articulations with global social movements and organizations served to weaken the indigenous identity and politics when not centralized and concentrated on the promotion of growth and self-determination from the inside out.

In "Jose's" view[66], scattered political identities and decentralized articulations would just contribute to more people taking advantage of what they are constructing when achieving, via legal procedures, the national and international recognition of their territory. Jose was very adamant when he told me that if I was coming to RSDS from another country to observe politics, it is because I recognized it as nation. As he told me: "If I belong to the international, I can therefore claim to go to places and to have a place to be".

With that said, all the suspicions related to my relations with women and leaders not keen on the centralization of resistance politics in RSDS, like Sr. Orlando, were embodied in my presence as an internal other and, at the same time, as a qualified international interlocutor to the politics in RSDS. Certainly, due to the motives discussed previously, my presence and my connections in the

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[66] Fictitious name given to the CIR director.

IT were to be mapped to make sure that statements about internationalization and extra care toward the global are perpetuated through my actions.

Borrowing from Rancière again, certainly places have shifted according to changes in political destination within the political bodies in RSDS (Rancière 1999: 30). Nevertheless, shifts in political positions and in places for politics, that characterize what is political activity, may also bring in partitions, divisions within a political group that will end up defining who counts, and who does not, as a political subject (ibid.). Even if what was practiced by CIR was resistance, when they were setting the boundaries for practicing it, they were obfuscating other ways of exercising resistance. The CIR, as official resistance, pointed to institutionalization and internationalization as the only way of resisting. For me, this still characterizes a rupture with the official (national) politics, but probably manifesting itself toward those inside RSDS as policing of their way of resisting and making politics (Rancière 1999; 2010). However, as I intend to illustrate, disruption inside this rupture with official politics will open space to reinvent politics inside the territory.

With the CIR in RSDS, the disruption has occurred at the edges of legal and political constitutionalism, relying on instruments offered by the state so that the population can still be held together within the national territory, under a minimum level of peace and stability. The political edges, in this sense, focus on the maintenance or creation of political space that can contain the advances of other spaces in its territory, but will not allow, by the same logic, the expansion and creation of dissonant places in and within its realm.

The limitation on multiple agency and diversified political action is perpetrated by the very political activity of resistance lying in the council's institutionalization, in this sense. The process of internationalization seems to be a strong tool in affirming such institutionalization and in making internal and external peoples comply with it, which made me believe that political unity, rather than

political union, is the official strategy from inside out. Perhaps, this leads to the fear of the global from the outside in.

Concluding remarks: Peripheries of Indigenous Politics and Edges of Solidarity

In his book on globalization and postcolonialism, Sankaran Krishna calls attention to the potential indigenous politics has to question certain strands in postcolonial thinking that are more celebratory of the idea of encounter enhancing hybridity (Krishna 2010). Also, indigenous politics poses a challenge to ideas of encounter that either essentialize indigenous peoples as part of the natural world, standing outside of the political culture spectrum, or soothe the wounds of colonization, problematizing the assumed connotation of the 'post' in postcolonialism (Krishna 2010).

What can appear as purely theoretical debate is actually a venue for indigenous peoples to put themselves at the forefront of the debate on the conjunctions, disjunctions and erasures of dichotomies between the global and the local, and official and community-based politics. Such dichotomies, which have always been used to hierarchize people and political groups, are being countered by a return to essential indigenous political identities.

Nevertheless, most of the time this essence is considered a work in progress and the impulse for continued contact with varied political actors and environments. The essence is relational, and the history of indigeneity is one of the present, yet not forgetting about the past. As with any other political subject, indigenous peoples' political subjectivities will be a combination of these various layers. Colonialism is still a part of the story and it is not over. In its newest versions in Brazil, through national development in the Amazon, indigenous politics is in constant struggle, many times internal, to be in conversation with or to simply opposing the most traditional features of their political subjectivities.

The truth of the matter is that for those standing with indigeneity, who are more connected to cosmologies, and for those who are more connected to other ways of (re)presentation, such as party politics, the interrelations or conflicts between both manners contribute to a politics of the present coming from Indigenous peoples. This reality brings complexity to any politics tackling territory and development.

In this vein, when leaders in RSDS try to recover an essential identity through politics contentious to development and judicial changes contradicting constitutional rights, they are reframing the colonial encounter in order to bring attention to their present claims. By doing so, they are certainly hearkening back to the past. However, their motivation is the result of disputes occurring in the present. The sense of essential identity in present configurations of power and political events are important for enhancing present versions of the encounter and the asymmetries it continues to perpetuate. The problem is that the way the CIR is trying to essentialize by turning varied forms of political agency forged in RSDS into a unity, with no disagreement, weakening the diverse identity present in the IT. The connections forged under the new ways of encountering politics and making place have been looked upon by the CIR as hindrances to the essence that protects local power relations put in place judicially.

As a means of territorialising the placed politics and politicize the place in a particular manner, leaders and the way leadership is being consolidated work to avoid flaws in the protection of the political territory. The membership cards and the prohibition of people without them to access social services in the territory are an example of the establishment of such boundaries. At the same time, they are an example of ways of evincing an essential indigenous identity through the politics of the council. In this way, the party politics dividing the community, as Sr. Orlando remarked, is not a critique about an outside practice coming and destroying tradition, but is a

statement that the essence taken as being essential for survival does not account for their way of acting politically.

Women allowing the mobility of families through borders, for instance, are framed as signs of weak leadership. Their voice is not taken as a sign of strength, as Sr. Orlando described it to me. For me, their voices are located at the edge of resistance, uttering different possibilities of protest against political legislation. For the CIR, this edge can threaten politics with the sense of an inability to fix an identity in national and international discussion. The definition of what is global, local and national, in this sense, is a political process important for the leaders in charge to carry out politics. Perhaps it is a way of possessing politics, as it is seen as the only way to hold the community together and get their claims through.

At the edges of constitutional law, agents in the interstices, such as women connecting to the disallowed on the other side (to the periphery) of the community, will disrupt in terms of *becoming* political, as opposed to being political as constitutional subjects. Confronting the singular political attribution and nature ascribed constitutionally to indigenous peoples by making alliances all over the world and under the guise of solidarity, women evince different interests and problems in the area and bring a perennial component of change to land struggle in RSDS. Oftentimes, leaders like Sr. Orlando see in it an alternative to party politics for confronting the developmental state. These competing political subjectivities turn indigenous women's politics in RSDS into competing diplomacies for negotiating a less territorial political dynamic in the IT.

Chapter 3
Indigenous Women's struggles at the edge of colonized patriarchy

The fact that for so long indigenous politics in Raposa Serra do Sol (RSDS) has been steadily focused on land claims and legal territorial demarcation, as well as on the construction of the Indigenous Council of Roraima (CIR) drawn from state-based judicial structures, has brought some silences and obstacles to dissent within communities on this Indigenous Territory (IT). Especially when it comes to issues related to trans-border communities and relations to non-state actors, the kind of juridical-political construction RSDS leaders have embraced trends to concentrate decisions and definitions on who has the ability to negotiate what in terms of "foreign policy".

These decisions made toward the "White men" and other states, as leaders in RSDS usually say, are built on the juridical-political structure of the council. Political leaders who presumably represent all the people in the contiguous territory will decide – through this institutional structure – who the strategic global actors and movements (worthy) of being dealt with are, as well as whose "foreigners" are allowed into the IT based on the community's priorities and interests. Again, who defines such interests and where the root of political priorities lies in terms of projects for the communities has frequently been a matter for the CIR and its chosen allies to deliberate.

Within and outside Raposa Serra do Sol, Macuxi and Wapishana women appeared to me to be some of the leading actors in the articulation of Indigenous interests and problems in RSDS when in contact with Indigenous and non-indigenous movements around the globe. Nevertheless, the fact that the predominantly male council is defining what meaningful global politics is on the IT can represent some hindrances to these connections and articulations as it relates to women's empowerment in the territory. The interesting point here is that, even when facing many difficulties, a group of women is making use of various political instruments to forge a situated and, at the same time, cross-border politics in RSDS. In attempting to overcome the unity of politics that came along

with territorialisation in RSDS, some women have been able to navigating through the interstices of this politics and dispute space in it by questioning what the place of politics (and of the political) would be.

It is important to say that what those interstices mean have changed profoundly in relation to what the IT has been becoming in the last years. Changes in meaning ran in parallel to the construction of sovereignty in RSDS. These new political constructions have troubled gender roles in the community, provoking shifts in power relations and in how power is exercised through the CIR.

With the aim of discussing political disputes and the dispute about what the political is within RSDS, I will look at the politics practiced by a group of indigenous women across the IT borders, which coincided with the Brazilian border, in conversation both with international non-governmental and governmental actors. These women conceived the border as a space of possibility for political action in disagreement with the kind of contentious politics practiced by the CIR. Borders were seen and practiced by them as a place for engaging with relationships between peoples and families, in contrast to an engagement with an exclusionary limit – whether it be the national or the IT borders.

In order to describe and analyze this politics, it will be fundamental to grasp how a counterbalance to 'official' contentious politics was shaped by observing how the situated activism of some indigenous women is critical to understanding the expressions of patriarchy in RSDS. As the political practices in this territory are mainly drawn from an ascribed constitutional autonomy, fixity to political roles follows a supposed shared power structure coming from an allegedly collective institution that is responsible for managing autonomy in a fixed space. What I suspect is that the authorized political activity following from this ascription in the indigenous area may

obscure internal exclusionary practices, as if there were no nuances in political participation, which are usually manifested in power relations between communities as well as between indigenous men and women. It is not very likely that these relationships will be grasped by an institutionalized fixity.

In trying to grasp these nuances, I will look at two different, albeit connected, dynamics to understand how the constitutional experience of territory influenced indigenous women's lives and politics at RSDS. First, I will narrate some of the efforts to organize and strengthen the Indigenous Women's Organisation of Roraima (OMIR, Brazilian acronym) in a meeting carried out in the CIR, with the support of the Rainforest Foundation USA and the Norwegian Agency for International Cooperation (Norad). I will do analysis this by pointing out the difficulties and debates in the meeting vis-à-vis CIR politics toward international and national cooperation. My analysis will be based on the way of exercising leadership and organizing women in OMIR practiced by an indigenous woman to with I developed a long-term political collaborative relationship: Olga[67], a Macuxi woman, who has her political activities inspired by a non-territorialized politics. My relationship with her and with the OMIR will also be framed by her diplomacy based on relationships to specific places and to the indigenous communities she is involved with.

After introducing OMIR politics and Olga's role in it, I will move on to revisiting Sr. Orlando's ways of doing politics at the border. This time I will look at the political activities of one of his political successors: his daughter Yolanda[68]. She is carrying on a struggle with the Brazilian Military and the CIR to develop a project for indigenous women's health at the border by enhancing mobility and women's familial ties. For different reasons, she had many of her activities blocked.

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[67] Olga wanted to be referred in this study as everybody in RSDS knows her; that is, Olga, which is not her birth certificate name though.

[68] Yolanda is her real name and she wanted to be referred by it in this study.

However, in alliance with Olga, she was able to run a political project by way of acting within borders and despite the IT political boundaries.

The experiences of indigenous women in RSDS are examples of how acts of resistance can become official, territorial and exclusionary. These experiences are strong stories to examine why Indigenous peoples (especially women) are very cautious in celebrating constitutional political ascriptions to them insofar as the guaranteeing of limits to 'set them free in autonomy' can become the very reason to trap their *lifeways* in official indigenous politics.

Politics of disagreement in place

During the months I stayed in RSDS, I understood that indigenous women's differentiated way of forging political mobilisation responded to two important factors. One was the connection to their families, which implied mobility and an extended use of space, leading to a politics of living based on relationships. The other was that because many of their relationships were outside of the limits of RSDS and across borders, they have been turned into a matter of public policy and indigenous politics after RSDS became an Indigenous Territory (IT). With that, the use of an extended space as their place for politics has become a source of disagreement with the CIR politics that restricted family ties and the politics enacted by these to the domestic arena (within the IT boundaries).

With their bodies and relationships under control by the separation between the domestic and the public (Spike Peterson 1992), with the latter authorizing a high level of politicization and political agency in the IT, indigenous women in RSDS had to forge their articulation in the interstices of this separation (Shaw 2002). The politics enacted by this was one highly informed by a logics of vertical territorialisation by way of a centralized politics in the CIR, which revisited, to a

certain extent, the patriarchy experienced by indigenous groups in Roraima when the borders were defined there in the 19th century (see Chapters 1 and 2).

In this sense, women's political articulation in RSDS implied in interpreting and responding to what this centralization means for them on a daily basis. Ultimately, it was a reflection on becoming political across borders and through relationships in a moment in which this mobility started to be controlled. This reflection is built constantly when women frame their choices both *in* and *for* the community as outweighing its consequences for their personal life – which is interwoven with their political activity.

The concept of disagreement developed by Jacques Rancière is useful to look at indigenous women's political positioning in RSDS precisely because it allows reflection on how disagreement sets the stage for politics by acts of (visible) resistance demarcating within - and by these acts - what the political is and who is part of politics (Rancière 1999). In the case of some indigenous women in RSDS, the disagreement vis-à-vis the Brazilian state that led to the creation of RSDS did not necessarily leave room for them to be part of politics. Those that had no-part (Rancière 1999) in national politics and in politics at Roraima when setting the stage of resistance for the territorial struggle ended up defining the places for politics by centralizing the coordination of the space within the IT.

By continuing to practice their politics through mobility within the space and in experiencing places for politics through their living, some women 'kept on disagreeing' while not following CIR rules about 'transiting across borders'. (Jose, CIR leader, Personal Interview October 2009) Nevertheless, their disagreement contradicted the tendency of constant repartitioning and distribution of roles in politics to get people included through a visible resistance. This happened precisely because they objected to this definition of roles and the oppositional character of politics

by navigating within the interstices of the official politics that wished to make RSDS sovereign. By doing so, they questioned the basis for authorizing politics (and resistance) by their very living. They did it mostly through alliances that spilled over the limits of RSDS, but that were made for defending it as place of living. In this sense, they were positioning against what patriarchy became in RSDS. The position was contentious though, as it was their living within and across the IT.

Certainly, this contention bothered leaders at the CIR. For them, organizing politically beyond the IT boundaries was not considered political and legitimate[69]. More than this, as they were striving to position their sovereignty over the territory and over politics, any means of resistance not in tandem with official politics in RSDS would not be productive enough and could threaten CIR mobilization.

The fact that some women in RSDS were organizing politically mostly on the basis of defending mobility for the sustenance and strengthening of familial ties, despite boundaries, spoke out to other women and project sponsors on the global scene. Even after the homologation in RSDS, there were still many problems in the IT. Illegal mining continued to increase, many rice farmers were not accepting the judicial order that they should be out of the territory and there was a military deployment in a municipality (Uiramutã), created as an island, inside the IT. A politics developed from the local outward and focused on action-oriented practices that two of the women -- that I am going to be in dialogue with in this chapter -- were undertaking to curb the effects of these lingering problems. This politics extrapolated the more immediate struggle for sovereignty and funds to internal autonomous development in RSDS. Precisely due to this extrapolation, their disagreement went beyond a necessity or a striving to inclusion pointing toward an argument that the way of making and doing politics and the means used for it were per se a venue to reinforce the

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[69] It is worth highlighting that those defining the rules of the game can be both men and women more attuned to a hierarchical territorial and political conformation.

relevance of both the place and the way of living. This represented exactly the opposite of what the CIR was doing.

As Escobar and Harcourt stress, women's politics stemming from specific places leads to a dual rearticulation of politics that challenges traditional resistances by showing that "place-based practices (…) involve an inter-related set of transformations around body, environment, and the economy that could provide alternative ways forward in their mobilizations."[70] (Escobar and Harcourt 2005:1) How women inter-relate differently with places of interaction emerging in multiple ways (Escobar and Harcourt 2005:2) is precisely what led to some women's politics in RSDS being in disagreement and renewing and constructing their relationships and articulations on this basis. Also, different inter-relations often lead to diverse responses to the different forms patriarchy finds to play out, even in environments of resistance. Thus, re-location of struggles is always necessary.

The capacity to act beyond the idea of sovereignty for the IT in order to re-locate some places and practices in the territory, by proving them to be central to indigenous' lives, prompted some women to move forward in the mobilization. At the same time, these practices have cast them as people in need of control by the CIR. The necessity to define and to keep the political as it used to be defined by the CIR became clear in this form of control. It became even clearer when the 'dual articulation' of women allowed for alliances outside the IT by building a network of solidarity that was possible and recognized as such precisely because of their resistance as action in place (Mohanty 2003). This focus on how to do politics evincing and collaborating with personal inter-relations allows a group of women in RSDS to build networks and alliances on a practical level.

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[70] This refers to a framework that accounts for place-based struggles that speak to and account for global struggles for social justice and against oppression in general. It advocates that by articulating place to these struggles women point toward a transformative politics that reallocate and reframe relationships to fundamental aspects that shape how we are and act in the material world; those are: the body, the environment and the economy (Escobar and Harcourt 2005).

In RSDS, the interactions on the practical level that allowed for their situated resistance were also in dialogue with the interactions and stories comprising their situated oppressions in the form of patriarchy played out by the CIR and governmental actors. Particularly at the border resisting hierarchical patriarchal arrangements initiated with the formation of the Brazilian nation-state, and continued with the way development has been incorporated by state policies, women had to face the fact these arrangements were transplanted to Indigenous peoples in the way self-government became allowed through the IT and indigenous political structures.

This 'given' allowance to indigenous self-governance (in the sense that it is vertically ascribed by the state structure) gives room for and/or may intersect with hierarchies within Indigenous political communities or Indigenous political structures. For this reason, oftentimes the borders and boundaries of the IT coincided with the boundaries to indigenous women's political action and, more broadly, to what politics could be in a given territory designed by a 'given' governance.

In RSDS, the entitlement given to Indigenous peoples for the formation of the IT as a bordered and autonomous political space is to a great extent transferred to women in a very authoritative and oppressive way. Women have always been watched over in meetings, their mobility across Indigenous Territories' boundaries is systematically under surveillance, and their attempts at being women and political when transiting are often seen as betrayal or as a diminishment of their indigenousness. As Paula Gunn Allen notes, the necessity of being all or nothing, of accepting rules inside the reservation "with no protest and no reflection on women's particularities could be interpreted as a means of identity denial and a lack of the required authenticity to resist" (Gunn Allen 1998: 33).

When women in RSDS are *off the reservation[71]*, symbolically and physically, the usually negative reactions come down as a way of preserving the community and its life projects. Such an attitude consciously (and unconsciously) neglects that the very act of women going out is a part as well as a consequence of how power is structured in the community in its constant search for affirmation and preservation, contending with state structures that are very much patriarchal and patronising in relation to indigenous politics. Patriarchy, in having a capillary characteristic directed through multiple fronts at women's activities, in the form of different relations of ruling (Mohanty 2003)*,* could be detected in this case in the hindrances felt by indigenous women to their acts of resistance inside and outside the IT. By telling the story of Olga – a Macuxi woman – and her struggle for strengthening the Indigenous Women's Organization of Roraima (OMIR, Brazilian acronym), based on the dual articulation of politics that evince the hierarchies[72] played out by CIR ideas of government and territory, I elaborate on what these acts of resistance that go beyond the borders of official disagreement are.

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[71] This is borrowed from the title of Paula Gunn Allen's book. In this book, she talks about the ever contending and struggling position of indigenous women who live outside the indigenous reservation.

[72] I use hierarchies in the plural here following the rationale that power is manifested and acted out on multiple fronts and through different means. For this reason, the exercise of power maintains and designs different hierarchies and, consequently, different kinds and possibilities of domination and acceptance of this domination. Following the same reasoning, different hierarchies can lead to different fronts of resistance depending on where power is directed and on the intersections created in everyday living.

"Women, you have to be organized"

The political structure in RSDS has been designed in such a way that in order to keep the territory under indigenous rule any act of resistance must be reported to the CIR. The same thing applies when women get funding or establish connections to international organisations. They have to submit the terms of this association or partnership to the juridical disposition the CIR has created so that funds, external support and legal pleas can be recognized as legal and legitimate by official actors (i.e. the Brazilian Supreme Court or the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues). Projects, plans and reclamations are expected to be reported to and authorized by the CIR. As the council is an institution with a board and a director, they are the ones with the final say on the building of dialogues, negotiations and even grievances with actors outside the IT. In this case, the autonomy that the Brazilian Constitution guarantees to indigenous peoples so they can choose how to practice self-governance is tamed by the judicial structure that enables members 'to be political' when dealing with external actors.

As such, self-governance is imagined and constitutionally designed to be practiced uniformly in activities directed solely to the community inside (in terms of the people involved and territory covered)[73]. It results in a political binding in which the constitutional rule for defining what is self and what is governance in self-governance rests with the group in charge of managing the official activities.

In the OMIR annual meeting held in October 2009 at CIR headquarters, at which I participated as an observer, there was clear disagreement about what governance means for projects and funding approval as well as for connections to external agents, such as international NGOs. It

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[73] By this, I intend to stress the imagined condition of unity and naturalized communitarian co-existence of ITs as if in the whole territory there were just one conception of governance and of what Indigenous self-governance should be. Especially, since it is a huge area comprising the *lifeways* of five different groups as well as the constant mobility of groups migrating from the border countries, this assumption does not match the reality.

was also clear to me who was defining the real and authentic indigenous self in RSDS, based on the obstacles imposed on women's relations and connections to global and national political actors. The bounds and boundaries of the political started to transmit a tense atmosphere when it came to the debate about whether or not women should have an independent judicial register for OMIR so that the organization could run projects independently, although still parallel, with CIR.

The negotiation so that OMIR could be officially registered by a notary as a civil society organisation was conflictive because men did not want to lose their ability to control protest as well as community-based projects (especially while these were still in the stage of elaboration and funding application). The fact is that they knew from experiencing the protests against rice farmers that women were more effective in blockades (being resilient and camping for more than a month in conflictive areas), as well as in fundraising for national and international events, and in creating collaborative projects with social movements abroad. In reality, control over information and funding raised by women's mobilisation would not be possible if they had a separate institution for dealing with their own projects. Briefly put, women's willingness to expand political activities beyond the IT hints at why this is so bothersome. In not controlling the whole extent of activities within the territory, especially the ones built out of global cooperation, the leaders in question would not be recognized as the unique sovereign actors entitled to it and, therefore, authorized to practice politics inside out and outside in. Consequently, RSDS would not be a unified political community as the global and national actors would not see them as an amalgamated political movement, with all the previous "no-parts" in politics being part of the CIR's imagined political community (Anderson 1991).

This political rationale traces back to the widespread idea in RSDS that internationalization[74] brings more autonomy and respect. In order to understand these dynamics better, a narrative of the debates and its historical background is necessary in the context of the meeting. Let me first begin with an attitude that really struck me the first time I observed Indigenous women and men from RSDS in official political contact.

One of the sentences that caught my attention the most during the OMIR annual meeting in October 2009 was: "Women, you have to be organised". This was said by the CIR director (hereafter referred to as João) because one of the requests made by the women to the council was that they have more support for establishing a judicial register for their own organization. According to two of the women involved in what they called the "never ending" plea for an independent register from the CIR, it has always been a problem in the council structure. It was clear enough to me when 'João' complimented his speech by saying that women were not politically organised enough to have their own organization and that any 'slippery movement' (whatever that means) could cause the loss of accountability the council has spent many years building up. As João remarked, it was not an easy task to gather the support of governmental agencies such as the Ministry of Environment and the Ministry of Justice, through FUNAI, and have the ability to participate more in national politics, leading to the homologation of the IT. For him, the de-centering of the activities[75] coupled with the weak institutionalisation of OMIR could lead to unexpected results for the council in attempts to make political alliances, as the potential groups to be allied with could interpret both as a lack of cohesiveness in the movement and weak leadership.

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[74] Internationalization for Indigenous peoples in RSDS, as mentioned in the previous chapter, means that the area is recognized as autonomous and respected space both by Brazilian actors, such as FUNAI and the Brazilian government in general, and by global civil society institutions and movements.

[75] De-centering, for him, seems to have the Foucaldian sense of having a power structure that is capillary and spread leading as consequence to the distribution of knowledge about the political structure in question and to its rules and norms to be more pervasive to everyday life. In this sense, the politics could be considered less official.

Two interesting points had come across in this discourse, which stressed a certain settling of political boundaries for the territory of the political in RSDS. The first is that the parameter for establishing an effective political organisation, and for being organised politically, is the ability to build connections officially in addition to the ability to be acknowledged as a relevant 'national political actor'. Relevance comes from contributing to the RSDS homologation in the national arena, building a kind of authoritative voice for participating in indigenist national politics and policies. This would be a sign of institutionalisation for the council, which, for them, involves the assembling of non-competitive ideas about potentially interesting projects to be developed in RSDS.

The second is that a multiplicity of ideas and projects is interpreted as a leadership problem, especially when it tackles the maintenance of territorial integrity and land rights. Connecting the latter to the former issue, in the politics of RSDS, a perceived multiplicity of ideas and projects may lead to ineffective contentious politics and jeopardize territorial unity. Mostly, to recognize that there are various ways of organising politically (and authorizing these) may lead to an authority crisis inside the territory and compromise power relations that enable the political space for acts of resistance. The interrelation between the two reaffirms sovereignty as an exercise of political power in a determined space. This political power is enacted outward due to its control over the located politics, which makes self-governance and the policies enabled by it a fundamental tool for the reproduction of the political space.

In the case of women at OMIR, their political autonomy has been blocked, so to speak, because their contentious politics involves political practices that are extensive to many places in the indigenous area, most of them hard to be monitored by CIR as political activities per se. In addition, this way of organizing also called the attention of global and national governmental partners interested in funding activities run by women in the IT. The OMIR meeting was exactly to debate

how the CIR could transfer money directly to them from a project sponsored by Norad. This project had a specific budget line to improve women's participation in the council politics. During the meeting, women in the OMIR expressed their wish to have autonomy over this budget so that they could apply it in their handcraft programme the revenue of which would be used to prepare the organization's register at the notary office. As it was expected, especially by Olga, the use of the budget line was not approved, although the CIR director kept auditing the meeting to listen to how they would overcome the lack of budget by operationalizing a small grant given to Olga by the Rainforest Foundation USA.

During the break, I talked more with Olga and developed a sort of relationship with her. The conversations were strategic to me as they were happening in the site (and heart) of political mobilisation. Since I had first approached Olga through a feminist activist in Roraima, she told me she would be happy to contribute and introduce me to other people who were part of the indigenous movement there. At this time, she told me she believed my research could help frame indigenous problems at the borders in a "very political stance". Before the OMIR meeting, she told me the same when I briefly met her to get an authorization for participating in the event, which had to be submitted to CIR leaders beforehand. In our first 'encounter', she said the kind of research I was doing was a venue for illustrating how important the women's movement in the territory was for the land demarcation, remaining as such when referring to cooperation with global governmental and non-governmental organizations. The assumption that I stressed in the beginning – that women were arousing a different kind of politics in RSDS – was drawn from Olga's and OMIR's attitude toward these possible spaces for politics. Among these, activist research was definitively one 'space of possibility' (Escobar and Harcourt 2005) and her eagerness to foster it by connecting with

researchers as well as searching for incentives from outside sparked the interest of the global organizations, both feminist and environmentalist, to provide her support.

Olga had constantly been criticized since she went to Boa Vista (capital of Roraima) to do the Bachelors in Indigenous Studies and Culture at the Federal University of Roraima under a *Ford Foundation Fellowship for Women and Minorities*. There, she got married to a white man (a CIR's driver) with whom she had three children. In facing all sorts of prejudicial attitudes related to trying to be indigenous outside the Indigenous Territory (IT), when she was done with her studies she decided she was not returning to Surumu, the village where she used to live in RSDS. She only returned to the territory for living and working three years after she graduated. By this time, her struggle to be political had already been reinforced inside and outside the IT, and she returned to reclaim the political space she was denied through these alliances. The same alliances made the political struggle in RSDS conspicuous in many parts of the world through a different angle.

Her story had struck me as a leave of absence. Olga had to be on the verge of being outside the community, according to a specific definition, so that she could push the boundaries, evincing her indigeneity as she was able to transit and mingle among different ethnicities in the territory. In being able to talk about delicate issues with both women and men, her political and geographical mobility represented a way of making singular and different struggles which were part of the same process.

While outside the territory, mobility involved in leaving the territory, travelling through it and, finally, going back to the village she was born in was part of an effort of becoming political as an indigenous woman and being recognized as such. She had to escape the territorial traps of political authorization inside RSDS in order to be able to forge the place of her politics. Most of all, she recognized that in order to do that she would have to bridge gaps between the segregated

indigenous/non-indigenous scheme, as it would be the means to pave the way to her own indigeneity and to women's active participation in the constitution of indigeneity as flexible political subjectivity in RSDS. Nevertheless, this flexibility allied to mobility was not as desired by the leaders as it was by most of the women at OMIR that I talked to, including Olga.

Particularly because she presented the idea of the judicial register, she ended up mediating the practices for constituting this flexible political subjectivity through global environmental and feminist networks. When she learned in the meeting that the CIR was not transferring the budget line to OMIR's administration, she presented the alternative: the Rainforest USA small grant for the development of women based solidarity's economy. She said this organization through a feminist organization in Brazil expressed interest in supporting the OMIR initiative for the production and commercialization of women handcrafted biological jewellery. The announcement aroused suspicion among the CIR leaders, who are particularly afraid of losing the monopoly on defining the political in the territory when not in charge of "external relations". Joao, the CIR director, who was leaving the room at this moment decided to stay a little longer after the announcement. I suspected he was interested to see how they would articulate it for advancing attempts at having a politics more independent of CIR politics.

Competing Diplomacies

When Olga talked about the possibility of funding coming from Rainforest USA, she already knew they would get it. She told me, though, that for assessing the funds they would need to divulge the project throughout the IT among women from different communities as the idea was to make them involved in managing the resources so that they could make use of the income (that would be distributed evenly) in activities which they thought important for community enhancement (Personal

Interview September 2009). In this sense, some arrangements were already set up by the time the meeting happened in Boa Vista.

Olga knew some of the procedures and requirements of Rainforest USA because in the past she got funds from them to buy sewing machines for the OMIR workshop, which since 1999 is still one of the main financial sources for them. By this time, by giving workshops, indigenous women at OMIR had the opportunity to obtain funds from the Rainforest Foundation USA, which is sponsored in part by Norad. In addition, OMIR got political support from the World March of Women through the Brazilian Feminist Organization Sempreviva (SOF) that is also funded by Rainforest USA for projects related to indigenous women. Regardless of the availability of CIR to support this project, women in OMIR decided to launch and develop it, which was a point of confrontation in the past and a strong reason for "João" to be at the meeting in 2009.

In the 2009 meeting, João said very clearly the council would give the OMIR all necessary support in their activities as long as they continued steadily supporting the CIR, mainly by keeping the women's organization under the council political umbrella. According to "João", CIR has always provided OMIR all the necessary conditions for operations, including an office at the indigenous guest house in Boa Vista[76]. Nevertheless, he reinforced that as OMIR was part of CIR and had played a fundamental role during the demarcation and homologation process, the council's Secretary for Women's Issues would be completely available to any of the women's organization's requests. "João" stressed that the Secretary could be an institutional resource for the OMIR in terms of having access to all areas in the IT (for the workshops). At the same time, by working with the

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[76] It is relevant to mention that the house serves as logistical support to people coming from distant areas of the IT to solve administrative or health problems in the city. It is also important to remark that leaders, when coming from the IT, do not stay at this house, but at one especially for them.

Secretary, OMIR would be having access to all information and reports as well as sharing their own reports with the council.

The purpose of making this point seemed to be an attempt to reiterate that it would be an unnecessary hassle to be running workshops and visiting all the communities to gather support and bring awareness about the organisation and its possible benefits for women. In an attempt to eschew OMIR's merit in establishing connections for regulating their situation as an independent organization, "João" first remarked that there was already a women's organisation (the Secretary for Women's Issues). Secondly, he made the point that OMIR's trying to be independent from CIR proved that the women's movement was not cohesive and articulated enough by the simple fact that there was already an organisation and a secretary for women's issues with which they should be collaborating.

Such discourse in an official meeting fed an already existent competitiveness between OMIR and the Secretariat for Women's Issues. It has also made women still uncertain about joining OMIR, troubled by what attribution to this organisation would mean. With that, leaders were able to create inside the very women's movement a kind of constant surveillance and taming of OMIR activities, coming mainly from women working in the Secretariat. Although the creation of the Secretariat has been dissuading the direct conflict between two groups of women, it has pushed the indigenous women's movement out of the centre of political debates in the IT. This is happening because the cooperative framework between the secretary and OMIR, which stands for a more independent political agenda for women's mobilization, has left the role of supporting the Secretariat's actions to the organization insofar as it has no judicial independence to act separately from CIR.

It is worth stressing that all this had happened when OMIR was gaining momentum in terms of political action and notoriety globally. They were discretely assuming an important role in the land

struggle beyond the IT, recognition that male leaders were not willing to share because it meant a reconfiguration of power inside the territory. Actually, Olga and some other women were working exactly to make this reconfiguration happen, since the emergence of OMIR in 1999.

To the end of situating the shaping of OMIR's diplomacy, it is important to say it has strengthened as a political organization in RSDS while the search for political autonomy linked to the sovereignty over the continuous territory was happening. When OMIR first emerged in 1999, women engaged in its institutional design were mostly procuring ways and venues – financial, infrastructural and political – for demonstrating their particularities and problems through the land struggle. During the late 1990s, women were trying to show how political and territorial autonomy were affecting their personal and particular struggles and how oppressions stemming from the claims for land recognition affected them differently. The land struggle created an opportunity for them to insert their problems into the discussion and to carve out their political place in the indigenous movement. However, when the political conformation of CIR became centralized, and I would say bureaucratized, this place was thought unnecessary for the sake of spatial and political unity.

When asked about why the organization had become interested in OMIR projects and in her personal life struggle as a woman activist, Olga said that it was probably out of feminine solidarity and, consequently, out of a worry within the feminist environmental movement that women's activism in RSDS was being absorbed uncritically by the male leaders. In other words, OMIR politics in RSDS disputes the order that has been implemented since the demarcation, which has created a source of internal inequality between those with voice and those without in the resistance. In doing so, they are also disputing the idea that the demarcation would make it possible for all indigenous persons in the territory to participate equally, in terms of owning the land in common.

What made their politics appealing to the organizations funding them is the disputable nature of political equality for all, men and women, despite the visibly unequal representation among men and women in governing bodies inside the IT.

Listening to Olga and observing her efforts during the OMIR meeting to tell the other women about the project that would be sponsored by Rainforest USA, I could not dissociate it from Mohanty's academic effort not to essentialize Third World women's struggles. Olga told me that it had always been difficult for women to have voice in the RSDS because most Amazonian societies are based on a patriarchal structure. In terms of the political movement, it was just after 1998, almost 30 years after CIR was formed, that women were accepted as members of the institution. In addition, the effects of the territorial dispute resulting from the 1880s colonial process in Roraima and its long enduring consequences for how landowners still act in the region are felt strongly by women in their households and in their attempts to speak up in public life.

In Olga's opinion, it was a turning point in RSDS when some women realized how colonialism had affected them differently and how certain colonial patriarchal structures – such as political councils – were absorbed by the governing structures at CIR. At this moment, many of them realized they needed to mobilize against the fact they could not express their opinions publicly about community development and politics on the territory. Of course, there are women escaping from this general pattern, as Olga did, because even without a space, theoretically they have the political entitlement to do so, constitutionally speaking. However, what happens in these situations is that specific relations related to ruling political conduct in the IT manifest into ongoing conflict between traditional and new political arrangements, as is the case with the internal suspicion aroused by Olga's diplomacies through her connections with an international non-governmental organization.

At the same time, women not part of OMIR and sharing the same logic believe that Olga does not portray the 'official' image of women in RSDS and say that her association with non-governmental organizations is for personal reasons and not for the benefit of the community. They say Olga left the community and has abandoned indigenous traditions. Some women have used the examples of Rainforest-sponsored trips Olga has made abroad to explain the situation of RSDS as a sign of this. What these discourses regularly omit is that women in the CIR Secretariat are also constantly in contact with international organizations and travelling to attend international meetings, but under the auspices of the council and mainly sponsored by the Consolatta Jesuit Mission. In other words, I would say, they do it by the way of official diplomacy.

The problem with Olga is that when she suggests that conflicts between different communities inside RSDS and among families could be minimized by women's mobility through different places and by social relations, even across borders – which curbs effects of territorial dispute – she is entering a territory of politics already defined as that of another group, and therefore not her own. Contradicting the official diplomacy, for Olga, women can be guardians of traditional knowledge and, with that, build a bridge to cooperation with other institutions that want to learn from RSDS practices.

It seems that cooperation could help strengthen indigenous women's political identity through practices of sustainable living across and beyond borders. Practices of sustainable living enforced by women's cross-border mobilisation have brought to the fore a new dimension for indigenous activism in RSDS, particularly in making use of familial linkages and of making homes beyond borders. However, to spread the practices across borders meant a certain facilitation of the mobility of indigenous persons coming from Guyana or Venezuela. Since the beginning, this has annoyed CIR leaders who argue that indigenous peoples from Venezuela and Guyana have to search

for venues for development and autonomy in their own (national) territories and not in RSDS. In the eyes of the CIR leaders, the land ownership and its definition as a political territory was being disputed by Olga as she tried, first, to promote a different kind of politics relying on women's familial connections through the strengthening of villages inside RSDS and, second, as she tried to overcome the territorial trap of authority for political activism and activities.

Interestingly enough, in 2006, it was the content of this discourse that made Olga's activism and efforts appealing to Cristina[77], a project manager and fieldwork coordinator at Rainforest USA. The speech that threatens the relations of ruling (rules determining conduct) inside the community, provoking dissent among women inside RSDS, was able to "travel" (Tsing 2005) to other feminist and environmentalist discourses and forge solidarity exactly because it revealed the disputable political space about definitions and practices of autonomy and femininity in the IT after the demarcation. It did so because it went beyond oppositions and essentialized identities in a situation of disagreement, opening the possibility for change, without being naive about the tensions and exclusions in the community. As Chandra Mohanty argues, women must be understood and explained inside social relationships, even if the sources for building these relationships are the sources of their very own oppression (Mohanty 2003).

Women can resist the structure oppressing them by responding to it differently, as was the case with OMIR and the Secretariat at the CIR. This allows them to act politically, escaping portrayals of victimhood and opening up different venues for political mobilisation in RSDS. In the case of OMIR, they clearly opted for giving different responses from women at the CIR, showing a disagreement about how to mobilize politically throughout RSDS. Clashes between the naturalized definitions of the feminine (mainly for support in the household [villages]) and the resulting

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[77] It is a pseudonym.

naturalized potential sites for transformation in gender relations became blatant in RSDS when the CIR started to confront OMIR political mobilisation.

When engaged with OMIR activities not under the CIR control, Olga was avoiding this naturalization. The front on which Olga had been searching for resources for OMIR's institutionalization and regularization was based on international cooperation that requested something OMIR was longing to implement: a politics of community development that could be a defense of specific places and practices within and through the territory. Although the tension was evident and the risks were high, Olga was able to forge alliances for the OMIR and in the interstices to shed light on problems affecting particularly women in RSDS.

The backlash coming from the CIR leaders – relating to the independence OMIR had reached between 2008 and 2013 – is buttressed by the feeling that Olga is occupying a political space and is more or less invading a political territory that is not hers. If women already have voice in the sense of being targeted by community development projects organized and designed by CIR, why would they be interested in designing their own projects and having their own institution? For indigenous leaders at the CIR, politics in RSDS should be unified based on the idea that their ethnicity fuelled by a supposed unified indigenous identity was the only way to give them equal citizenship rights through the guarantee of territorial rights. For that, ethnic, gender and social cleavages must be overcome.

The crux of the problem with indigenous women like Olga was exactly based on the belief expressed above as she was trying to forge and put into practice another political subjectivity. This put into question indigeneity in RSDS and the characterization of the continuous demarcation of the IT as revolutionary in political terms. In fact, the demarcation brought to the fore how the political terrain in RSDS became disputable in the sense that a group of women were not taking for granted

that territorial rights would make them comfortable in their assigned political roles. The contestation of this situation and its nuances certainly had input into the associations Olga has tried to make, and is a fruitful resource for solidarity in action for unmaking the label of oppressed third world women in their communities by what is seen as ground-breaking mobilisation.

Not surprisingly, "João" stayed until the last minute of Olga's talk and when women started presenting on the problems in their own communities and what they are trying to do with the CIR support, he actually left. Other women and their activities following CIR's general community development project is not a concern because they do not threaten the political structure that had been in place since before the actual homologation. What is worrisome, as "João" pointed out, is to see "there are competing diplomacies going on." In other words, the trouble is with other people challenging the way the political is being negotiated inside and outside the IT. Mostly, these people, mainly women and men allied to them (and not the contrary) challenge the equality aspect related to the changes happening on RSDS. Working through the nuances and making use of the complexities, the OMIR places the politics across issues within the IT by highlighting it beyond the territory and connecting resistances across places. For this reason, the disagreement here, although visible as Rancière contends it should be for the purpose of politics, is very subtle and forges many times, in silence, a politics and knowledge on how to make politics otherwise (Harcourt and Escobar 2005) that does not necessarily intend to go through a given partition to mark its position as political.

With that said, I want to move to another story related to women in RSDS that tackles some controversial issues on the reservation involving national territorial protection, migration and sexuality. Through Olga, I came to know about the increasing rates of HIV/AIDS infection at the RSDS borders and the expansion of military activity for controlling these borders. As our relationship got closer, she offered to introduce me to Yolanda, one of the few female pajé (spiritual

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healers) in RSDS and daughter of Sr. Orlando, the captivating and balanced leader whose political action I discussed in the previous chapter. Olga told me she could accompany me on a trip to the distant Uiramutã village at the northeastern tri-border with Venezuela and Guyana in order to get to know Yolanda and spend some time with her family.

A competing diplomacy across borders

For travelling more than a thousand kilometres inside the reservation, CIR leaders had to print me a written authorization, upon the presentation of another report and further conversation at the office in Boa Vista. By that time, the "foreign" negotiation had already gotten a little complicated when I mentioned I was staying with Yolanda through Olga's intermediation. Yolanda is a long time independent female thinker in RSDS, so to speak, and as she has been discussing some issues concerning women's health and security in Uiramutã without waiting for funding or decisions from the CIR central office, one may say she is disrupting the political dynamic at RSDS. More specifically, she is disrupting the political at the border and putting forth the idea that for women the conflict between citizenship and indigeneity, as well as the layers along which this political tension manifests itself, ends up imprinted on the body. After many hours of conversation, a letter explaining what I would do and having rented the CIR SUV, which would be driven by one of the leaders' sons, they allowed me to go with Olga.

During the long trip to Uiramutã, Olga told me that she would seize the opportunity to talk with women in the community and check how their community projects were going and which areas were in more need of funding and support. It was in her interest to include them in the handcraft project so that they could use the profit in their project at the borders. She told me she had the feeling that the situation of women was getting complicated in the region since a Brazilian Army

Platoon had been deployed almost inside the community, as part of the *Calha Norte*[78] project for border protection and national development. According to Olga and from what I was able to sense when arriving at Uiramutã, the presence of the platoon revealed that women living in trans-border communities carry in their bodies the burdens of oppression related to the erosion of their *lifeways*.

Olga pointed out that Yolanda had expressed her concern that the young soldiers were abusing their power to impinge on the movement of women across the border. Often, they use their authority to sexually harass indigenous women, who consciously opted for getting emotionally or sexually involved with the soldiers in exchange for promises of a better living and for getting out of the illegal gold miners' grips. The indigenous women moving across this border and the way their personal relationships have been changing in Uiramutã are particularly interesting to observe for possibilities of resistance at the edges, when these very edges are built up from layers of exclusion and inclusion manifested through their bodies.

As outlined in the previous chapter, RSDS faces the post-demarcation challenge in the huge continuous land. This challenge comprises questions around how to make a plan for their life projects that allow for extensive participatory decision making of as many people as possible in every community existent in the IT. The idea is that in having cohesion around a positive feedback to a planned life project, people will stay within territorial borders and 'nomadism' would be avoided to and from neighbour countries. At Uiramutã, this avoidance is getting tense as this community is actually at the border and the mobility of families cannot exactly be contained, as it would contribute to separating them, thereby causing instability and grief inside the community. The CIR says that

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[78] *Calha Norte* project was created in the early 1990s and it is hosted at the Ministry of Defense. Considered as inheritance of the dictatorship times when the military advanced onto the Amazon with the purpose of integration, which was really mostly internal colonisation (see Chapter 1), the two axis of the project are: "the defense of national sovereignty and the promotion of regional development". Nowadays, the motto is the "promotion of the occupation in the Amazon by way of territorial ordering and sustainable development." (Ministério da Defesa, Projeto Calha Norte, website information accessed in December 2013, my translation)

this separation is inevitable, as indigenous persons from Venezuela and Guyana are using the excuse of visiting families to stay in the community – something that the institution cannot afford and that puts the territorial planning and management of the region in jeopardy. This is a logic very much borrowed by the Brazilian state to control these borders and to call into question the existence of an IT at this specific border that is now seeing an increasing movement of people with the construction of a highway connecting Brazil to Caribbean Venezuela and to Atlantic Guyana.

The family visiting and the disruption of the territorial boundaries as the "place" for providing care and assistance ends up turning women into a source of tension, as they are the primary body (physically and symbolically) promoting 'boundary-less' connections. Establishing conversations across borders and trying to include family members from other reservations and traditional lands in the RSDS projects, women erode the barrier of a *situated indigeneity* that is becoming too aligned with the state and territorial citizenship.

By imprinting a more transversal assumption of indigeneity to their activities, women in the Uiramutã region show that duties and rights for assuring a dignified life to Indigenous peoples rely more on the relational ties they have with the community as whole – inside or outside the demarcated area – than on institutionalized political relationships (Parisi and Corntassel 2009; Smith 1999) by way of citizenship. Such relationships usually exclude the personal consequences emerging out of the fact that families have fallen apart as a direct result of the CIR official political activities. In other words, family ties and their dynamics are also part of the politics even if the council members and leaders have been denying it. The separation between the Indigenous public and private sphere inside the IT – that is the *de jure* demarcated political space where the public relations are mediated by the everyday domestic practices – casts a shadow on women's political action. This is because women's action usually occurs at home at the same time it extrapolates what 'home'

ordinarily means. The ordinary meaning of home connected to the constraining of personal actions to the domestic space (house), and to the nearest familiar group, that was transmuted to indigenous life in the form of limiting daily mobility did not correspond to the act of making home through mobility in the traditional space by indigenous women. The women who were insisting on practicing such trans-border meaning of home were cast as denying the political community the CIR wanted to build. Women's politics, in this case, is a constant transversal movement across making home and expanding (and revealing) the boundaries of the political in RSDS.

According to Olga, in Uiramutã the control and possession of women's bodies has been reverted to a control of their politics in the territory as well as of their mobility, which reflects a taming of how far and how inter-related the political dialogues with other communities can go. In contact with the army, with the leaders that are far away and the leaders inside and with the government, these women go through layers of exclusion according to the political identity in place – namely indigenous, women, poor, rural – and resist by showing that their politics should embrace all these layers in order to be real.

After 10 hours of travelling, we got to Uiramutã. There was a meeting about education and community development going on and most of the 300 indigenous persons who permanently live in the community were there. This was when I first met Sr. Orlando, a leader despite the CIR. He was visibly happy to see Olga and Lavinia[79] and said to me: "If you are interested in learning about indigenous politics and resistance in RSDS, you certainly have already reached two of the most important people in the movement."

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[79] Sra. Lavinia wanted her name to be disclosed.

I have already described my interaction with Sr. Orlando[80] as well as how the concept of relationality and a political trust based on relationships was important for us to begin our conversation. At this moment, our conversation will be important to understanding the relationship between indigenous persons in RSDS and the army when it comes to the increase in prostitution and HIV/AIDS due to the military. In addition to this, it will be interesting to observe the extent to which Yolanda's actions as a health agent have been influenced by her father's way of doing politics, which comprises the idea of relationality and the way indigeneity was exercised in the area they live in.

Sr. Orlando told me that Yolanda was visiting a neighbour community in Venezuela and that she would be back the following morning. She was there to talk with the families about children's sexual education and to promote the use of condoms, as the presence of mining workers in the border area was spreading sexual disease. According to Sr. Orlando, the problem was affecting communities in Brazil as well since there was really no separation or control of the mobility of families, although the military was getting tougher on them, and especially on women. The surveillance at the borders hit families directly and the way people deal with the process of making place in the region.

In the case of sexually transmitted diseases (hereafter STD), among which HIV/AIDS is now a major concern, impoverishment and the lack of a political project involving mobility as a way of life push people to a life dynamic they have never been exposed to. In this sense, when Sr. Orlando says that there is not a separation, it is that the physical and political separation imposed on families is artificial to the way their relationships and commitments are frequently constructed. State governmental politics and international relations separated them. The relationships between trans-

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[80] Much of the talk with him has been already reported in the previous chapter, where I explained the border definitions in Brazil in the area that is today the state of Roraima.

border communities continue to fall under the definition of foreign relations. Such definition ignores the fact that it is through the processes permeating and creating foreign relations that these communities are linked through an ongoing process of exclusion beginning with nation building and continued by border enforcement.

The issues classified as unmanageable in the surrounding areas of RSDS often involve indigenous groups because they do not belong to the political structure or they make this structure a contradiction of its purposes – which means they make the borders mobile and productive of political subjectivities as opposed to restrictive of them. As indigenous *lifeways* have been eliminated from how the political dynamic was institutionalized at these governed spaces, with consequent changes in them being completely disregarded by policy makers, when problems like HIV/AIDS affect indigenous persons they are conveniently presented as a problem that does not exist among this group of people. Within the community, when people like Yolanda and her father keep trying to implement actions for tackling the problem they are interpreted as diverging from indigenous traditions or as presenting a problem that is beyond RSDS. The divergence from tradition relates to actions such as the use of condoms and the sexual education of indigenous girls. To consider the problematic as beyond the IT relates to the constant mobility of indigenous families which is presented by Yolanda as part of their *lifeways* at this specific region (See Map 5).

By talking to Sr. Orlando, I learned that Yolanda was trying to involve communities in Brazil, Venezuela and Guyana in an action to fight HIV/AIDS using the families constantly crossing the border as a means of disseminating information. Through this project, Yolanda was also including young indigenous women in workshops to debate their increasing engagement with prostitution. Yolanda was interested in giving them information on preventing STDs. Sr. Orlando

told me he was helping her in mobilizing the community and in preparing to talk to the platoon commander.

According to Yolanda and to officers of the National Health Foundation (FUNASA), HIV/AIDS is more frequently detected in border areas close to Indigenous Territories under conflict where there are many people transiting. Apparently, this happens the most because there are no connections with the place and local people, diminishing the care for sexual protection (Personal Interview, October 2009). This is not my main concern in this dissertation, but it seems to me that the increase in infection at the borders, especially in touching those turned abject by these borders, demonstrates how these borders are the stage of complex social dynamics, and how the contact zone, transformed into a hierarchized control zone, makes some lives more important than others.

Some indigenous women I talked to stressed that illegal miners and soldiers, always in transit, do not use condoms or do not want to commit to a relationship because they know they will be gone eventually. On top of this, there is a lurking imaginary that because they are indigenous, they are pristine and, for this reason, would probably not be infected by STDs.

For some soldiers that I talked with, it is as if indigenous women were part not just of a community they did not want to have intimacy with, but they were part of the landscape they were transiting through and making use of for the sake of national security. This idea of indigenous women being part of a landscape that soldiers pass through and have no responsibility to seems to be particularly attractive for justifying any responsibility of the military. Indigenous women end up being convenient occasional sexual partners, as they become part of the Amazonian landscape, which they temporarily inhabit. Such a preconception also gives room for sexual harassment, as the lack of responsibility enhanced by the association of the place with transit and objectified nature makes women a disposable part of it. Sr. Orlando reported that at least one of the women in the

community had already been sexually harassed and that the number of STD infections had climbed to more than 20 in a community of 300 people, between 2004 and 2009 (Personal Interview, October 2009; FUNASA 2009). This time frame coincides with both the platoon deployment and the increase in illegal mining in the area.

The messy context involving state policies restricting indigenous transit, the constant arrival of new economic and social actors in search of profit from the local natural resources plus the military intervening whenever they see fit ends up in a conflation of relations of rules guiding conduct and contact reaching women's bodies as their dead end. There is the government, which is limiting more and more each day the visits women make to their families, which also involve the remittance of money when one community is poorer than the other. These limitations push women to go to illegal venues to meet their families. Using these venues requires use of precarious trails or even the river to go where they want while avoiding the checkpoints. This is where they meet the illegal miners and can be harassed or even voluntarily engage in casual relationships.

The parallel economy[81] that also goes on at the borders makes it easier for this kind of relationship to happen, and of course there is another relation of social rules at the border that involves production and reproduction, with indigenous women filling the gap of care and sex to these men that "actively protect national security and have their necessities" (A soldier in a Personal Interview, October 2009). Moreover, there is the centralized politics of CIR that leaves little room for women's participation, contributing to an increasing disengagement with community politics, and a lean toward the economic opportunities of the contact zone as a chance for them to be agents

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[81] These parallel economies at the border between Brazil, Venezuela and Guyana involve mostly the illegal trade of diamonds and some other precious stones as well as gasoline. Especially at the borders with Venezuela, where the gasoline and other types of fuel are subsidized by the state, it is very common to see dealers crossing the border to bring fuel to Brazil. Many times, they also transport indigenous families.

in their lives. All these things converge in women's bodies in RSDS and the solution to the emergent problem, as it is with HIV/AIDS, is to control bodies.

For instance, Sr. Orlando told me that he and Yolanda went to talk to the commander of the platoon about how young indigenous women were becoming involved with the soldiers and sometimes getting pregnant, and how this type of involvement without using condoms was spreading diseases such as HIV/AIDS. First, the commander pointed out that Yolanda was promoting the problem even more in distributing condoms to the girls in the communities, by giving them incentive to have sexual relationships with more than one man and outside the community. Second, when Yolanda decided to go away, he told Sr. Orlando that he could not prohibit "his boys" from having sexual relations outside the platoon, because they had their needs and outside the platoon he did not have the authority to interfere. This is interesting because the military can interfere with indigenous issues, constitutionally speaking. However, this was obviously not considered a problem of either political relevance or national security. In this case, there was no need of interference. It was a matter of containment. It was an issue for Sr. Orlando to deal with in the community with the women there, beginning with his daughter who was distributing condoms to people in constant mobility.

When talking with Yolanda about it, she told me that these situations were one of the reasons she accepted a position as health secretary for the Uiramutã municipality, even though she would have to deal with party politics. Yolanda said that party politics was something she learned from her father always provoked conflicts in the community, since holding power had become more important than actually articulating the politics of having collective power along with community political strengthening. She accepted the position with an indigenous mayor governing with the condition she would not be joining his or any political party. She told me she accepted the

nomination because she believed she could make advancements, particularly in dealing with health issues at the borders.

I asked her if this would not be a strategy that in a way reiterates what the CIR leaders are doing in Boa Vista – contending with state policies and the problems created by them by adhering to their official politics. She answered that this was not the case, because she was using the structure, their recognized discourse, to disrupt the ways they were doing things. Her opposition coming from the inside was in fact a manner of opposing the way official politics uses its structure to deny indigenous women agency in politics. Particularly when the issue involves health, and ultimately, the survival and the continuity of life projects this is an interesting way of forging agency.

With all the possible risks the layered oppression of indigenous women brings to their strategic politics, Yolanda is using her position to challenge how politics is played out and to reject the stereotype of the controlled indigenous woman's body. She has been able to forge cooperation with municipalities across borders as well as to make use of the Uiramutã municipal budget to mobilize families in different communities in Brazil, Guyana and Venezuela. Such a political attitude brings to the fore the idea of multilayered and intimate citizenship (Yurval-Davis 1997; Corntassel and Parisi 2010), that deeply problematizes the feminized role of indigenous women inside and outside the IT, simultaneously allowing their mobilization at multiple fronts while showing that these fronts are all part of their everyday lives.

As Parisi and Corntassel (2010) explain, the intimate citizenship, that reflects our political commitments in every inch of our lives, as described by Yurval-Davis (1997), is for indigenous women reflected in their roles in and for the community and manifests itself in local, national and transnational state aspects. The transversal and relational aspect of this politics stands out as each layer of where the political strings are attached (or entitled) is positioned in a specific historical

context, which will at the same time singularize the political struggle in question and make it part of a broader political dynamic. In the case analysed here, it is the broader political dynamic at the borders and the de-humanization of Indigenous peoples that will scale down to women and focus the greatest consequences of oppression on them, as they are both the carriers of the conditions of oppression and the sources of disruption to the supposed policies for the normalization of the same conditions.

This double movement of exclusion and inclusion is part of what I consider the dynamic of the political edges and, due to this fact, it occurs not just in relation to Yolanda's actions challenging the military and the CIR, but to the very political dynamics produced in RSDS. As with Olga, the protection of women's bodies – which ultimately is the protection of their *lifeways* through a multi-layered cooperation – is important for the struggle against violence, but also for the protection of their ancestral homelands. That is why Yolanda's *situated indigeneity* is intimate, and the actual citizenship as political subjectivity she is trying to promote disrupts the citizenship rules that eschew the political potential of relationality as human collective political action.

Again, Yolanda's willingness to be a health secretary seemed very dubious to me at first glance. But, as our conversation went on, I started to realize why people at the CIR were so frightened of her and her father. Their opposition, not visible in terms of official discourse, is permanent in praxis, in addition to challenging the CIR or political party associations - that are increasingly hijacking the indigenous movement - as a means of political independence. Even if they recognize what CIR does as a strategy, they call attention to its limits. In the end, they recognize indigenous groups' collective life projects in RSDS as the final resource for political agency that can be turned into a very interesting and productive form of political resistance in solidarity.

This political envisioning made Yolanda, the first woman pajé and the first Tuxaua (political leader) in RSDS. Her struggle against HIV/AIDS is recognized as an example of community development through health promotion. For her, the most important thing is to see young women disseminating knowledge and intervening with missionaries and male leaders about the use of condoms. She says it is important for these men to understand that the reality on the territory has changed. For her, to oppose the use of condoms using the discourse that it is against traditional practices is to forget that it was also against tradition to have people outside the community getting involved with indigenous women in the way it is currently happening. To prevent indigenous women from using condoms and from having information about sexual diseases is to ultimately be against the community, says Yolanda. The disruption I referred to pops out in these declarations and actions, which seem simple, but which confront the problem effectively while unravelling the more profound relations informing the local politics of resistance.

In using primary health care and education as a constant attempt to demystify indigenous women's bodies, first, as possession of the community and, second, as outsiders' object, Yolanda calls attention to the multiple locations indigenous women are part of in RSDS. Particularly when health promotion projects go beyond RSDS, expanding to neighbour communities and joining forces with associations like OMIR, women managing and participating in the projects are able to convey their capacity "to be made visible when linking the global to the local, the public to the private, challenging the artificial boundaries between the political and personal spaces." (Corntassel and Parisi 2010: 84) The emergent visibility in situations of emergency which puts into question the way contentious politics may segregate groups during resistance evince political gaps in indigenous resistance in RSDS. However, it also illustrates that these gaps connected to resistance as a whole shed light on different resistances, actors and political struggles that may be situated at the same

place, although experienced and played out in a totally different manner, as it is in the case of these indigenous women.

From a perspective of relationality, this is relevant because health issues and concerns are not limited to a national territory, and how they affect communities varies depending on how communities are organized and relate to one another. Avoidance of contact is not a resolution, but rather a reason for the problems to become aggravated inside each community, preventing relationships from happening and weakening the group's ability to combat the issues brought about by border politics via the inherently transversal political culture.

Connection with external organizations had started to occur some months before I had been to the community, when Olga transferred some of the financial support she was having for OMIR to Yolanda's actions. Recently, SOF had started to fund some projects that Yolanda had designed for the Uiramutã municipality. With that, the social control in the community – which was already high – got even higher, as the external support and the good use of it made it clear that the municipality had the money but was not using it for indigenous communities. She publicized this to the community as the reason she was accepting partnership with external organizations. Yolanda's personal political agenda sometimes seems to me to go beyond the contradictions between official and indigenous politics. Simultaneously, they seem to be reinforcing the construction of her leadership based on the position she occupies. Yet all the ambiguity dissolved being with her in the field. On this occasion, I realized that her agenda was the community agenda. The apparent contradiction and impossibility of accommodating her position with the municipality to her politics as an activist were at last compatible and made complete sense as a politics made in defense of place through women's action.

Re-embodying resistance

Arturo Escobar and Wendy Harcourt when explaining their 'Women and the Politics of Place' (WPP) framework say that while they are thinking about it having in mind the epistemological contributions that subaltern politics can offer to knowledge production, they were not interested in any subaltern politics leaning on "collective action against inequality." (2005: 3) By looking at these valuable contributions on the ground, they were interested in politics that would evince when the defense of place becomes a politics of place, one that ends up conciliating being-in-place with being-in-networks (Escobar and Harcourt 2005). For them, some women's politics and practices do this work by re-locating the political action and local economies through a re-embodiment of the political struggle departing from a deep understanding of their bodies as uniquely embedded parts of the political environment they struggle within. This double articulation between the body and the environment leads to re-appropriations of collective political subjectivity and, consequently, to the defense of the place where it is played out (Escobar and Harcourt 2005: 3-12). Even if I resisted in trying to fit Yolanda's and Olga' story into this conception that is fundamental to the WPP framework, it was impossible. The defense of the border as the place of their relationships began by the re-location of their bodies - appropriated by the politics going on in RSDS - at the center of these relationships.

I experienced an attempt at de-centering women's bodies and actions when going to Uiramutã. This was very convenient to contrast to the project Yolanda was running at the border exactly to re-locate relationships through the standpoint of indigenous women's problems at the borders. When taking the ferryboat to cross the Uraricoera River, which sets the limits between the Northwest part of RSDS and the tri-border, Olga and "José"[82], our driver, looked at me and told me

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[82] It is a pseudonym.

that the short ride would be tense as one of the major rice growers in the region was on board. The first thing they said was: "Get closer to Olga and us and do not stay by yourself in the ferry. Do not talk to anyone." I looked at Olga and she agreed with "Jose", who began to tell me about all the hideous crimes that men apparently perpetrated, including the fire in the RSDS formation and educational centre in the Surumu community (see Chapter 2).

"José", who is very silent, but very articulate, said how sorry he was for what this man had done, especially to women, in opposition to the demarcation. He told me that the only girl in the school when the rice growers' envoys set the fire there was abducted and, probably, violated and this was a thing that everybody in the RSDS grieved, although no one talked much about it. Olga confirmed and said that she was just one of the cases and that as women were at the forefront of the highway blockades near the IT, they ended up being the most recognized faces in the process. Olga highlighted that being at the front lines made their faces known to the farmers, which put their lives in danger when moving within communities and outside RSDS.

By this time, the farmer and "his men" were already staring at us. One of them actually approached Lavinia, who is an Indigenous elder very politically active in the demarcation process, and asked who I was. Lavinia said I was a researcher accompanying them. The dynamic around what is said and unsaid about women and the way this tense situation unfolded involving me as a woman researcher accompanying indigenous women said a lot about the ways women's voices (and grievances) get reported. Even when the unfolding of the demarcation affects their physical integrity (their body) their specificities and problems are not portrayed as departing from a multilayered site of political activism – and oppression, which may evince how their bodies are embedded in the political environment.

Still, on the ferry the unsaid came up clearly when the farmer cursed at me and grabbed Olga's arm, telling her she was prostituting herself in exchange for foreign attention. He ended up approaching me and saying that I had no business there and that I probably had no idea that this place was not for women. Olga and I preferred to be silent, thinking about the husbands we did not have and whose imaginary figures would be resourceful – according to what was ascribed to women in the Brazilian Amazon - to protect us against the anti-indigenous men in our way. Olga has never subscribed to these predefined positions and her body has been checked constantly in these moments. The ones accompanying her on the visits to RSDS, especially women, always have a chance of being subjected to a similar kind of overt, unofficial surveillance.

Faced with this incident, "Jose" came to "rescue" us along with a Jesuit missionary who was on the boat and had been beaten by the rice farmer's henchmen. According to the Jesuit, the man could not accept the fact that the demarcation was done in a continuous way and that it was pushing away his rice plantations. To the farmer, Jesuits and researchers like me are the people convincing indigenous persons in RSDS to rally against them, "people who are bringing development to this once forgotten area".

Reasonably enough the Jesuit recognized that when women are part of the tension between farmers' economic interests and indigenous land claims it is easier for the farmers to transfer it to political violence, pushing women away from the public debate, while threatening or actually hurting and offending them. The offense is either physically sexualized, with indigenous women having been violated when coming back home from meetings in the city or coming from different communities, or it is expressed verbally by stating the place of women as householders. In both cases, violence manifests in order to put women in their place, which must not be the public space, let alone the front lines of riots and negotiations for land demarcation. The interesting solution given by the

Jesuit was that perhaps women should work more in educational projects inside the communities and for cooperatives, avoiding connections that may be interpreted as alliance with groups counter-striking rice farmers' action.

Women's bodies seem to me a site where the edges emerging from questioning who was supposed to be the subject of resistance, as well as in which place resistance should be, became very evident. After leaving the ferry, the tension remained and "José" started to drive very fast – assuming that we would be followed by the henchmen – until the first Brazilian Federal Police checkpoint, at the entrance of the Surumu community. Arriving there, "Jose" reported everything to the police officer and they decided to talk to me and to Olga to figure out what I would be doing at Uiramutã. I explained my project, how I met Olga and let them know we are going to stay with Yolanda and Sr. Orlando. After listening, they told Olga: "You should be careful when bringing these doctors and researchers here. We cannot take care of everyone and these inter-relations are one of the first motives for the tension in the first place. You should be more careful about your family and your community."

This interaction was interesting for illustrating how indigenous women are assumed to have a role they have to play for people inside and outside the community, especially the official actors in place such as the military or the Federal Police. The officer spoke to me and approached Olga in a very patronizing way, just to point out how inappropriate her behaviour was, because she was supposed to be guarding her community and not challenging the role the community has ascribed her. The officer's position was actually very similar to that of the Commander of the platoon in tackling Yolanda's concern about women's health and the use of condoms. At the end of the day, they are all approaches to say how inappropriate their relationships were to defend the community.

However, their relationships, especially when touching on the collective dimension imprinted on the body were precisely the way through which they were articulating resistance.

When "Jose", for example, agreed with the Federal Police officer, it became clear that body control coming from external actors is simultaneously coming from inside as well. Boundaries imposed within RSDS as a way of managing the territory politically, connects to the idea developed by critical feminist geographers who say that the control of people, mostly women, in assessing territories has to do with the attempt to make the territory a restricted place for practicing a homogeneous politics (Pettman 1997; Hyndman 2004). By avoiding women bringing their family ties to different territories and using it as source for the constitution of political subjectivities in the new home, people controlling the territory believe they would be avoiding political, social and cultural mobility and, as a consequence, different sources of political entitlement in the space to be managed (Pettman 1997; Silvey 2006).

By organizing politics based on centralized institutions – such as the CIR – which deal with other centralized institutions outside the territory – such as the Federal Police or the military – political activities, and mobility based on family ties across national borders where RSDS is located, are pushed to the private sphere. In this way, the political activity of making home across borders and boundaries, as in Olga's or Yolanda's case of having multiple connections, is despised. This happens so that authority can be concentrated in just one political body (the CIR) and the political can correspond to specific spaces inside and outside the IT.

Specifically when looking at the hindrances to women's mobility, it makes sense to look at their bodies "as surfaces wherein the social and gender relations are imprinted" (Pettman 1997:93). That is why controlling these bodies is a way of keeping these relations the way they are. Conversely, the way social and political relations are imprinted on women's bodies can also be a source of

change, as when they carry the oppression across borders, they also carry the motives for being oppressed, namely, the possibility of making home across the territory and, simultaneously, building political ties and alliances while doing it. This is precisely the defense of place as politics of place that Escobar and Harcourt talk about. Also, this is the kind of politics Yolanda was practicing with the health project which requests a re-embodiment of resistance through mobility of the bodies and strengthening of local relationships.

In being at Uiramutã and observing how Olga, Yolanda and Sr. Orlando conjoined their actions, it was possible to see that the use of municipal funds by Yolanda for the health project, and the cooperation coming from Olga when the project had no more budget, was a way to articulate future endowments with non-governmental organizations and to keep on re-articulating the defense of the borders as a place of living. When Yolanda was faced with the impossibility of using the municipal funds she challenged rules coming from the CIR and mobilized women in the territory to tell people at the international and national NGOs what was happening, explaining the political specificities in areas in which they needed support. This counter-posed the CIR because communities from across borders were participating, and, in the interstices, counter-posed patriarchy by practicing what was considering a household matter – visiting others so that they become political by campaigning and learning about HIV/AIDS, which was considered a collective and public problem.

This mobilization made possible a workshop right on the border area. The activity went on for two weeks and, during this period, what the women engaged in the project were able to do in terms of reaching people and training health agents to deal with HIV/AIDS exceeded the council's expectations for the region for the upcoming two years (2009-2011). Visibility was brought not just to women's political activism in the region, but also to indigenous health at the borders, illustrating

the positive aspects of their resistance. It is important to highlight their specific and situated struggle is not only about women, but also reflects the burdens of indigenous peoples as a community in the area. This multi-layered political resistance is actually played out as *indigeneity* at multiple layers, to contrast with the idea of different experiences of citizenship on different fronts.

Concluding remarks: Placing solidarity at the edges of the political

At the edges of border areas in RSDS, women are exercising their constant practice of becoming political, revealing that edges can be a place or represent political processes in place for active inclusion amid conditions of institutionalized exclusion and seclusion. Indigenous women in RSDS are part of broader initiatives of contentious resistance politics; however, their part in this politics is somewhat secluded and possessed when it comes to the construction and activities of this political practice. This leads to the idea that contentious politics in RSDS has ended up eschewing dissonant voices in its processes (Rancière 1999: 42), mainly because it has been tamed by the openings provided by the state and incorporates a centralized territorial logic of organizing politics.

Nevertheless, I see women's dissonance and exclusion as an opportunity to break with relations of ruling, sometimes eschewed and minimized by the overarching hope deposited in contentious politics. At this point, the radical aspect of politics in RSDS resides in women at OMIR, who are operating through the interstices of those (indigenous men) that are considered the official part of the *no-part* politics (Rancière 1999) at the border. The difference would be that in the interstices these women are taking part in politics, while continuing with their lives, without necessarily exposing and making visible their resistances in what is considered the public space. Most of all, their seclusion in the household is voided as the household is transplanted to politics as, at the end of the day, politics on the territory and among people in RSDS is directly related to their everyday lives and to the resistances (or acceptances) to having these aspects governed.

By looking at the situation of women in RSDS and their activities at the edges of the official resistance, it is possible to have a critical stand on cultural and resistance politics. These political venues are usually seen as prejudice and exclusion free, especially when practiced at borders under liberation discourses. Nevertheless, official resistance is actually a process of conveying how politics should be experienced in everyday lives and in the making of places or how these specific experiences should guide politics. Women's politics emerge, in this sense, as a line of communication between different experiences and places, allowing a more fluid and less rigid guide (or ruling) for politics. As commented by Silvey:

> The currency of culture and identity as performative acts can be traced to their articulation of homelands, safe spaces where the traffic across borders can be controlled. Such acts of control, maintaining coherent insides and outsides, are always tactical. Cultural action, the making and remaking of identities, takes place in the contact zones, along the policed and transgressive intercultural frontiers of nations, peoples, locales. Stasis and purity are asserted – creatively and violently – against historical forces of movement and contamination. (...) When borders gain a paradoxical centrality, margins, edges, and lines of communication emerge as complex maps and histories. (Silvey 2006: 7)

Both with OMIR's emergence as a key political actor questioning CIR politics and vindicating its space in RSDS and with the situation experienced by Yolanda, where a specific area of politics disrupts separations between the private, the public and the body, the transgression of political cultures on local, national and global levels is evident. The transgression refers not just to the politically imagined scales wherein politics supposedly occurs, but also to the material and symbolic spaces where indigenous men and women should be operating. In this sense, when Olga promotes and experiences politics through global connections and uses it as way of strengthening global alliances, the restriction of politics to the relations between CIR (representing RSDS as a homogeneous political unit) and the spaces the CIR finds worthy of negotiating is put into question as a way of possessing politics and reifying internalized differences and *lifeways*. By the same token, when Yolanda moves through the interstices and expands the place of health politics beyond the

Indigenous Territory, connecting it to mobility and familial ties, more boundaries to the political are challenged.

This somewhat grassroots political culture is in constant movement, transgressing the idea that political 'situatedness' is political 'stuckness' or backwardness. Politics on the move here, as well the political movement, reinforces bounds of commitment making it possible to observe that the political subjectivities of these women have been built and practiced at multiple fronts and areas. The exclusions they suffer usually reflect the necessity of eschewing or diminishing one of these fronts so that they can have the ability to participate.

To reflect on the edges of the political, focusing on indigenous women and on how they take advantage of intersectionality, is to open the discussion on the possibilities of politics in the interstices and to look at different ways of being and becoming political, even inside resistance. Going back to the point of forging solidarity, although there is a risk of ghettoizing the action of indigenous women by evincing their problems and their struggles, in layering their exclusions and separating them from the idea of a totalizing patriarchal hierarchy, the specific places they stand *in* and *for* through their political action animates non-hierarchical cooperation with external actors. This kind of cooperation stands for what Chandra Mohanty calls solidarity in action (2003), in which the stakes of getting support from the outside are very much defined by the political activity and resistance of those in need of allies and alliances.

The diplomacies indigenous women are building compete with the CIR and are neglected by the council precisely because they are drawn from their political activities, which are part of their work and relationships in the community (Corntassel and Parisi 2010). As Corntassel and Parisi argue, indigenous women engage in a politics of intersectionality when framing their diplomatic engagements (Corntassel and Parisi 2010), which means the way they overcome their exclusions in

linking to different actors is also indicative of how their relationships are constructed and why they are usually excluded from the sphere of the political. The edges at work are what make political action in solidarity possible. The way *lifeways* become political became clear in accompanying these women and I believe my presence and my research were authorized there because it was understood as part of it. The trust building was possible inasmuch as I became part of their diplomacies and started to negotiate my research as a relationship of situated solidarity with them.

Chapter 4
Indigeneity at the Edges: Ashaninka resistance beyond borders

The story of Ashaninka people at lower Amazon borders in Brazil is much different than what happened at Raposa Serra do Sol. The context, the geography, the way colonization was perpetrated and experienced in this part of southwestern Amazon, what today is the Northern region of the state of Acre, led resistances and relationships to combine in peculiar forms of endurance. To a certain extent, Ashaninka historical mobility has contributed to an engaged resilience in Upper Juruá.

The mobility of the Ashaninka group coming to Brazil from Peru reached far beyond a mere sense of movement. As noted before, it represented the possibility and opportunity to move when needed so that they could endure as a group. This characteristic was parallel to what Ashaninka politics became after their land was recognized as Indigenous Territory (IT) in 1992. Mobility has materialized in Ashaninka activism and strategies at Upper Juruá and it was the key for strengthening their legal territory beyond its legal limits. Juridical recognition would not be enough if the IT were not articulated locally and globally.

In attempting to interpret this articulation within and across borders, I will concentrate on the relationships that they have been fostering in the last 20 years. These relationships are fueling political articulation in a localized and placed way, though not losing sight of its global meaning, very much attuned to the conservation of the Amazon rainforest. In this case, borders have not been a limit to political action. Much to the contrary, borders have been the point of departure for Ashaninka politics at Upper Juruá.

To the end of translating articulations based on Ashaninka activism, I will narrate an event at the Center for Forest Knowledge - Yorenka Ãtame. The center is located at the heart of the Amazon lower basin, in the municipality of Marechal Thaumaturgo, the last village before the

Peruvian side of the border. It was conceptualized as a venue to re-articulate the Forest Peoples' Alliance, a forest-based social movement that gained momentum in 1988.

The intention here is not to describe the alliance as others have already done vis-à-vis national and international environmental activism (Allegretti 2002; Keck and Sikkink 1998). The focus will rest on how Ashaninka politics has been strengthening community-based alliances in the forest, drawing from the politics previously advocated by the Forest Peoples' Alliance. This politics was mostly a critique to the disengagement developmental politics has often had with the reality of the Amazon forest and its peoples. In this chapter, I will examine how this forest-based politics unfolded in border areas, contesting what borders are through a shared understanding about what landscape is and what it entails for land use.

By looking at the engagement with resistance inspired by the indigenous land rights scheme, I also intend to reflect on the role of Ashaninka people's ideas about biodiversity and how this has been decentering knowledge production in the lower basin. This along with the practice of mapping activities related to land use has been fostering political engagement and providing experiences of becoming political (Isin 2002; De la Cadena 2010) at the forest beyond borders and development.

The citizen, the subject and indigeneity within

The confluence of citizenship as the ability to experience rights (Yashar 2005) according to the recognition of specific features in determinate groups which would enable them to be in negotiation with and, supposedly, in equal relationship under the state apparatus, became a reality for Indigenous peoples with the 1988 Brazilian Constitution. According to this legislation, to be indigenous became closely associated with the acknowledgement that indigenous groups were living in specific lands much before the Constitution was ratified.

In this sense, in order to fully guaranteeing Indigenous peoples' rights as citizens, they would be entitled to live in traditional lands[83] that would be for their use only[84]. Obviously, the process so that a traditional land may become an IT is long and involves many interests that can obliterate and, eventually, block Constitutional principles and rights. Nevertheless, in the context of re-democratization in a country that paid little attention to indigenous land rights, Article 231 in the Constitution opened a possibility of resistance that still remains as the main venue to reaffirm indigenous rights and *lifeways* in Brazil[85].

Crucial in the making of indigenous groups as citizens under the 1988 Constitution is that the handing over of public land to their use is based on the idea of collective usufruct as opposed to being anchored on the principle of property. The latter allows land to be disposable in exchange for profit or any other relationship of exchanging value for the purpose of accumulation. The former assumes that land and the transformations in it, through ways of living in it, has a value of its own, which is neither negotiable nor extinguishable.

As a considerable representative group of indigenous persons were part of the negotiation for Articles 231 and 232 in the 1988 Constitution, the right connected to using and living (in) the land brought to the fore the importance of having rights - including land rights - attached to the recognition of indigenous *lifeways*. Ultimately, they participated in the Constitutional Assembly, beginning in 1987, and decided that the guaranteeing of citizenship rights to indigenous groups would not be disconnected to what was fundamental to their endurance: land.

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[83] Traditional lands by the Brazilian practice of participatory demarcation would include those to which Indigenous peoples have common ancestry (meaning land they were not necessarily occupying in terms of geographical location) and those the same group, self-defined as such, would be occupying since times they have the (oral) register of, as according to testimonials and kinship ties.

[84] For how it is situated in the Constitution vis-à-vis the landscape and how Indigenous peoples articulate the latter with rights see Introduction and Chapter 1.

[85] See the Introduction to this dissertation.

This participation, even if per the mediation of representatives and not with the presence of members of every indigenous group in Brazil, was crucial for the future debates on indigenous rights and to the strengthening of alliances they had at this moment, which they were able to cherish afterwards. In addition, indigenous participation at the Constitutional Assembly and the content and values imbued in indigenous constitutional rights prompted thinking about land tenure through a perspective other than one informed by the property rights rationale. To people living at the forest, seen as both object and site for developmental projects, it was precisely this perspective that gave them an edge to affirm their *lifeways* and to be in a certain dialogue with the kind of citizenship the Brazilian state wanted to negotiate with them.

In southwestern Amazon, the road to this affirmation brought an interesting connection between indigenous peoples, rubber tappers and other forest-based communities. Stories about the recognition, demarcation and legalization of Kampa do Rio Amônia Indigenous Territory (hereafter KRA IT) for Ashaninka people at Upper Juruá have a straight connection with how land was articulated beyond the IT and how the idea of the IT – including the constitutional idea - strengthened forest-based regional alliances. These alliances have certainly articulated a new take on the practice of citizenship at Upper Juruá; one that brought to the fore the fact that there are other worlds to contend with, to contest and to negotiate in politics (de la Cadena 2010; Blaser 2014).

When I talked about Ashaninka stories to make home across places articulating land and identity as an engaged resilience[86], I showed how this articulation was linked to the expansion and advances of extractive activities linked to global flows in tandem with the varieties of development and nation-building embraced by Peru and Brazil. By articulating political action with other forest-based peoples and to other people outside the lower Amazon basin, Ashaninka people in Brazil

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[86] See Chapter 1 for Ashaninka people patterns of occupation and their drawings of politics across borders.

linked the story about the recognition of their territory to how collective rights and citizenship were engaged with by people in Upper Juruá.

It is possible to say that the assumption of the collective as political and of community endurance as a source of rights became a fundamental part of forest-peoples' political articulation even before the 1988 Constitution was incorporated as a point of entry for political mobilization in Upper Juruá. To the end of exploring this articulation, I have to explain how the concept of *forest-based peoples* emerged in the state of Acre and how Ashaninka people have connected it to their struggle.

In 1979, Ashaninka people went through a violent invasion in the land they had been living in for more than 50 years by illegal loggers (Personal Interview Francisco Pyanko 2009). The people coming into their territory were involved with the Cameli family, a group of settlers coming from Southern Brazil to the state of Acre and illegally exploiting timber there since the 1960s. When I was at the Apiwtxa community at the Amônia River for the first time, in 2009, Ashaninka men and women told me that on this occasion the invaders used chainsaws, provoking an enormous destruction in the 'Earth'. The 'Earth' includes the spirits in the forest, which, taking the form of animals, just disappeared from the land making their hunting activities impossible (Personal Interview 2009). According to them, the destruction had followed along the first half of the 1980s, slashing and cutting down almost ten thousand hectares of forest covered by mahogany and cedar (Apiwtxa 2012: 34).

In 1987, there were 80 kilometers of logging roads opened up at the heart of the forest at the border between Peru and Brazil and social tensions were escalating in the area (Salisbury et al 2011: 37). The most affected zone was located precisely near the trails within the indigenous land leading to the Brazilian-Peruvian border. At this location, Ashaninka people in Peru had deals with logging

companies that, in exchange for territorial use, promised to build a road to connect the indigenous land to Pucallpa, capital of the Ucayali department, where they would have access to social services and, possibly, would be able to migrate to other parts of Peru for a better living. There was a complicating factor though that made their resistance at the border uneven. The Ashaninka people living in Peru that were collaborating with the Cameli family were also related to Ashaninka people in the Brazilian side of the border. In fact, they were all part of the same extended family.

In this sense, the advancement of rare wood exploitation that actually pushed Ashaninka people out of the Sheshea, Tamaya and Amônia riverbanks in Peru to the Amônia riverbanks in Brazil also contributed to shape the political landscape emerging in Upper Juruá. At this time, some indigenous peoples and rubber tappers, in Brazil, and natives and peasants, as they were called in Peru, were working for the Cameli family. The latter was associated with logging companies in Peru as rare wood exploitation was allowed there.

According to testimonials I heard in Apiwtxa community[87], it was during the 1980s that the biggest mechanized invasions for logging happened, respectively in 1982, 1985 and 1987. Within these years, the Native Community Sawawo (*Comunidad Nativa*) was created alongside the Amônia riverbanks in Peru. Very much influenced by Peruvian logging companies (*madereras*), Ashaninka people, mostly part of the Pyanko family, assembled in Sawawo to facilitate the logging incursions in Brazil through the Peruvian side of the river. The Pyanko family, a huge transborder community of Ashaninka people, through their familial ties allowed for illegal logging to be a smooth enterprise.

During the 1980s, the part of the Pyanko family living in Brazil after having worked for the caucho and logging patrons (See Chapter 1) decided to drop this endeavor so that they could focus on restructuring and recovering the land they chose to live in. In between, Brazilian loggers

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[87] Apiwtxa is nowadays the major community (village) at the KRA Indigenous Territory. It is relevant to recall that in Brazil there are usually many villages (aldeias) in an Indigenous Territory.

supported by Peruvian companies, seizing the opportunities appearing in modifications to the political conceptualization of the Amazon forest in Brazil and Peru, encroached on Ashaninka territories, primarily with the collaboration of indigenous persons (Personal Interview 2011).

It was also during the 1980s that Ashaninka people decided to mobilize for land rights. After the second invasion to their territory, in 1985, the community decided they would start with the land recognition process through FUNAI. By this time, the re-democratization process was still in its beginnings in Brazil, but there was legislation in hand, the Indian Statute of 1973[88] (still operating today), that guaranteed indigenous peoples would not be removed from the land where they were living and that, from this basis, they could initiate a process to have their land demarcated under FUNAI auspices. So, in 1985, Ashaninka created the indigenous association Apiwtxa so that they could organize and raise funds for the process.

The creation of the association was important to give them financial autonomy in the process vis-à-vis the Brazilian State that was very committed to making indigenous peoples into subjects who would be easier to govern and control. Even with the Indian Statute, there was no provision of any budget line for land demarcation. In the case of the Ashaninka people, FUNAI agreed with the request for demarcating the land, especially in recognizing the threats coming from illegal logging at the border, immediately initiating operations to invigilate their territory. Nevertheless, the lack of budget, personnel and political will kept the demarcation process at a low pace.

However, there was another story going on in the southwestern Amazon that sped up Ashaninka territory demarcation. In another region of the border with Peru and Bolivia, at Upper Acre River Valley, forest-based social movements attested to the fact that forest politics could well

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[88] This refers to the specific legislation on Indigenous Peoples in Brazil before the constitutional reform after dictatorship. It is available in Portuguese at http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/leis/l6001.htm

be inspired and articulated via indigenous politics and rights, albeit not determined by it. In the end

of 1986 and during 1987, Chico Mendes[89], a rubber tapper and rural union leader who became an

icon against environmental degradation and land concentration joined forces with other rubber

tappers and union leaders in Upper Juruá. He did so very much inspired by the ideas about having

legally guaranteed territories for those dependent on land to reproduce and perpetuate their *lifeways*.

This assemblage of forces was coined as *florestania[90]*.

There are many articles, dissertations and books on Chico Mendes' environmentalism and it

is not my task to discuss his political leadership in this dissertation (i.e., Schmink and Wood 1992;

Allegretti 2002; Hecht 2011). What is important here is to understand how *florestania* captured

emergent articulations about land use in the Amazon forest as the only source for exercising rights

and the venue to experience a differentiated citizenship. With *florestania* - the citizenship of the forest

- local social movements gained momentum in the international arena calling attention to the fact

that development is a contested practice and rights enacted by it often leave a space for an

alternative politics.

In other words, for those living in the forest the stakes of citizenship would be different.

People living and depending directly on the forest should have an active role in deciding how their

possibility of continuing to live in the forest, linked to the very continuity of the forest as a place,

should be legally defined. For the social movement endorsing *florestania* in Acre, a state then and still

highly dependent on forest resources, this could not be done outside of the realm of land tenure.

For Ashaninka people certainly this conjunction implied more than to be dependent on

forest resources. There was another realm to reckon with related to the inextricable relation between

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[89] In December 1988, Chico Mendes was murdered in an ambush in his house at Xapuri, a town in Upper Acre River.

[90] Terminology created in 1987 by the activist, journalist and part of the social movement in Acre, Antonio Alves.

their life and the forest that determines their present and future. This is hardly captured by development and environmental politics. However, after the 1988 Constitution, the new legislation concerning indigenous rights inspired the creation of the first Extractive Reserve in Brazil, at Upper Juruá. Ashaninka people by this time had already learned well the potential to contend within law. By engaging with *florestania*, they made an alliance for the promotion of land rights in the whole Upper Juruá region.

With that, the content of Articles 231 and 232 of the Constitution, which concern indigenous rights, was used by the social movement in Acre in the political mobilization for having nature as a diffuse right to all, as previously stated in Article 222[91] of the Constitution. The latter gave room for specific land rights to be adjudicated so that people could live in Conservation Units (CU) coming to an understanding that their ways of living would be a determinant factor to conservation. From this standpoint, the idea of the Extractive Reserve emerges inspired by the principle of traditional land use as a form of long-term occupation. According to Article 222, rubber tappers already living in places previously used for the rubber economy and occupied later by the expansion of cattle-ranching would have a kind of renewable land tenure right. This mechanism is based on the idea of usufruct, not property, and allows each rubber tapper family to use up to 100 hectares for their subsistence, only if the area they live in is recognized as part of an encompassing territory of collective use[92].

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[91] The most general assertion of Article 222 lies in the definition of the right to a healthy environment, in the sense that it is a diffuse right to which all peoples in the present and future generations are entitled to and that the Federal Government has an obligation to protect via legislation and public policy to guarantee it as commons through public action. The protection of biodiversity is encompassed by Article 222.

[92] From this juridical point of view, none of the families were allowed to sell their plot because possession was only possible due an agreement by which families would share the territory so that through collective action they could be stewards of the Conservation Unit.

The first Extractive Reserve to be approved by Federal Law was the Upper Juruá Reserve[93], right at the border with Peru, neighbouring the Ashaninka territory. The regional effect was tremendous. Noticeably, Ashaninka mobilization to get territorial recognition acquired a new dimension after 1990, not because they were not able to stand for their rights before, but because the Forest Peoples' Alliance (alliance between rubber tappers and indigenous peoples) was fundamental to reinforcing a much broader and deeper project about how to articulate land and *lifeways*. On top of it, with the international spotlights on Chico Mendes' murder in December 1988, a space for exercising and demanding land rights associated with a debate on the forest peoples' right to the rainforest unfolded amidst a political environment in which the Brazilian government had to pave its way to democracy beyond the urban arena.

As anthropologist Mauro Almeida remarks, the advances in the rights sphere allowed communities to see their role in the political and geographical turn that happened in the state of Acre. For him, this turn was one that made the community explore the potential of mingling territory – a concept that is imbued in the rights sphere – and land – as illustrating peoples' everyday social dimensions and landscapes. They realized that by conjoining both, they could enact their *lifeways* politically (Almeida 2004: 23). In this way, forest-based peoples' discourse turned out to be the location and point of departure for claiming rights when they could (as they did) use it to call attention to a statement about what life is.

The international outreach of *florestania* as a practical concept is a strong inheritance and still permeates most of the relationships among social movements in Acre while also inspiring international environmental movements (Tsing 2005: 250-260). What is important to stress here is that *florestania* emerged within the political and environmental movement in Acre also as a kind of

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[93] Created in 1990 by the decree Nº 98.863, January 23rd, 1990.

local articulation of citizenship in the newly democratized Brazil (Hetch 2011: 205-208). It served as the mediation to talk about political and land rights in the forest to people living *in* and *from* the forest under a language that has a practical meaning to them. This 'practicality' was linked to how an emergent debate around land could strengthen projects they were imagining for their lives and vice-versa. Relationality came along with the practicality in this project in the sense that it was ultimately a debate about how indigenous *lifeways* could inform the web of political relationships in the rainforest. Lifeways, in this sense, were taken seriously as political statements made by forest peoples. This is how the Forest Peoples' Alliance came together.

The recognition of the Extractive Reserve prompted Ashaninka people to initiate a campaign that would culminate in their territorial recognition. The core principle of the Alliance met and coincided with Ashaninka mobilization to have their territory, especially because this mobilization, since the beginning, was connected to a struggle beyond the territory. To this end, the inclusion and engagement of neighbours was needed to push illegal logging out of their land. Borrowing from Clifford's idea on the articulation between indigenous identities and land as socially experienced in place (2001), for the purposes of acquiring land rights Ashaninka people had to articulate their land to the political landscape. As mobility has always been part of their becoming, land struggle went far beyond the territory advocated by them and incorporated threats to the landscape at Upper Juruá as a point of entry to reinforce the political relevance of territorial demarcation. As described by Moisés Pyanko, an Ashanina spiritual leader:

> We thought that we are going to take these people out of here because they are destroying everything that is ours. We were worried about the quantity of wood that people were taking out of the territory, with the amount of game they were taking (…) there were boats leaving with tons of game meat. (…) we wanted to stop that somehow. But how would we do that? I assembled twenty men and we discussed how we could reach out our strategy to the neighbourhood. We thought the best way would be to burn the chainsaws and other machines when nobody was around. This was the time we became acquainted with the Constitutional land rights and this was the moment we were sure we would be certainly doing something to take those people out of our land. (Moisés Pyanko 2004, Testimonial cited at the revised edition of the Ashaninka ethno mapping 2012: 46)

The 'time' to which Moisés[94] refers actually encompass the months in 1988 in which Terri Aquino and Antonio Macedo, two 'rebellious' indigenist agents from FUNAI, were sailing through the Juruá basin to help in organizing meetings for the creation of the Extractive Reserve. At this event, they were also working in the participatory demarcation of what would become the first ITs in Upper Juruá. In becoming acquainted with the Constitutional rights, mainly through the elder brother, Francisco Pyanko[95], and joining forces with the rubber tappers in the Forest Peoples' Alliance, especially through another brother, Benki Pyanko, Ashaninka people seriously engaged in campaigning for the demarcation process.

As other indigenous lands in Acre were undergoing demarcation through participatory processes funded by international agencies or NGOs working along with FUNAI, Ashaninka decided to bring in support for their case. The connection with the Forest Peoples' Alliance turned out to be a good point of intersection for scaling up the mobilization. This happened particularly in preparation for the 1992 United Nations Convention on Sustainable Development (UNCED) in Rio de Janeiro, also called the Earth Summit.

In connection with Brazilian environmental activists connected to Terri Aquino and Antonio Macedo, Benki Pyanko brought awareness to the logging threat lurking in Apiwtxa. The same activists put Benki in contact with The Gaia Foundation, a British organization advocating for indigenous land rights internationally. The Gaia Foundation became immediately interested in Benki's story and contacted the Overseas Development Administration (ODA) in England, which provided FUNAI with the financial support to work cooperatively with the Apiwtxa association in the demarcation process.

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[94] This is his real name as he wanted to be cited by this.

[95] All the members of the Pyanko family wanted to be quoted with their real names in this dissertation.

The work was finally undertaken between June 3rd and 23rd in 1992 (Apiwtxa 2007). Following the demarcation, the KRA IT, comprising 87,205 hectares, was formally registered by the Brazilian Vice President, Itamar Franco, on November 23rd, 1992. Before the final stage of registration (*homologation*), Benki Pyanko was able to expose at the Earth Summit the situation of illegal logging at the borders with Peru. The presentation attracted the attention of project officers at the Integrated Protection Program to Indigenous Peoples and Indigenous Territories in the Legal Amazon (hereafter PPTAL), managed by the Brazilian Ministry of Environment and sponsored by the German International Technical Cooperation (GIZ, German Acronym) that decided to fund a project run by the Ashaninka people. The PPTAL program targeted the protection of areas at economic frontiers in the Amazon rainforest. It was partly through this program that, later, programs for Environmental and Territorial Management in Indigenous Territories (GATI, Brazilian Acronym) were constituted. This is very important to the current indigenous politics in Brazil, which is relying heavily on understanding the forest as socio-natural landscape[96].

Still in the 1990s, it is important to look at the Ashaninka people's strategies beyond the territory in a movement to link indigeneity to citizenship. Part of this strategy can be detected in the relationship they built with FUNAI based on their own readings of what indigenous constitutional rights were. According to many Ashaninka people whom I talked to in 2009, the participation of FUNAI was important, but not determinant to the official recognition of their territory. They recognize that FUNAI participation was constitutionally necessary; however, they affirm that the process required more than exclusive reliance on the Constitution. In their opinion, it was interesting to realize that the fact they were at the borders, under environmental threat, contributed to the recognition of their territory. For them, it turned out to trigger in FUNAI a practice of

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[96] This approach to the management of life in the forest has been largely used by Brazilian environmental politics.

transferring to Ashaninka people at the border responsibilities related to national security such as border patrol[97]. They say this happened because while they were demarcating the land, they identified all the invasion spots at the border with Peru (Personal Interview September 2009).

On the flip side, they realized when they were demarcating the land that the funds could also be used for projects following their intuition about how to manage land better (and, consequently, borders). Particularly on this point, they stress that with The Gaia Foundation support funds and the initiative for land demarcation they could foster dialogue with neighbours, such as rubber tappers, and feed their experience into the movement to think about Upper Juruá as an integrated region. In this way, legally and constitutionally, a consciousness had emerged among Ashaninka people and other forest peoples at Upper Juruá on the power that lay in indigenous political agency and self-government, much more than in self-determination per se. With that, local alliances were built grounded in the recognition of their connection to land and to other peoples' ways of living.

As Arturo Escobar stresses when looking at a broader spatial scenario, standing beyond established political limits, including different political and social groups in an idea of landscape as opposed to territory, ecology - a view about relationships in place (Escobar 1995) - turns out to be more relevant than the political relations establishing territorial limits. This opens the arena, methodologically and epistemologically, for other actors to participate in politics as political subjects, contributing and offering one's own form of existence (de la Cadena 2010: 341) as a possibility for becoming political within different places, although departing from a specific place.

It is a fact that the Brazilian Constitution tried to make indigenous citizens (Garcia 2005) through building a juridical apparatus within the general and most fundamental rights in the country to "constitute" the indigenous political subject. Nevertheless, this making of indigenous citizens

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[97] It is important to highlight that FUNAI does not have the attribution of border patrolling. However, it is attributed to this institution the invigilation of Indigenous Territories and the guarantee of its integrity.

connected to land rights opened a gap to Ashaninka people to make use of it in strengthening their alliances and bringing to the fore the strategic position of indigenous peoples living within borders in the forest.

Drawing on Chantal Mouffe, Marisol de la Cadena describes movements like the Ashaninka peoples' as agonistic to become political (de la Cadena 2010: 342). Such agonistic movement involves the same categories to contend within borders, expressing unresolved antagonisms in politics that do not necessary lead to conflict and that can make other worlds, usually not countable and invisible in politics, visible.

This agonistic politics through the struggle to be a citizen, in the case of the Ashaninka people, is actually a way of incorporating indigenous *lifeways* as part of the struggle for politics (cf. de la Cadena 2010: 342). Agonistic citizenship (Isin 2002) through the standpoint of land rights ends up encompassing different concepts of life and understandings about what politics could be. As Engin Isin remarks, in the struggle to be a citizen, political beings end up becoming political subjects through a process of exercising different political subjectivities that will be in contention to citizenship (2002). The political subjectivity of the Ashaninka connected to environmental protection served to enhance their citizenship rights as the venue to have land rights.

When stories of Ashaninka people's mobilization for the protection of their land end up coinciding with the mobilization toward indigenous rights, their historical mobility and the constitution of landscapes offer interesting aspects to discuss indigeneity as simultaneously grounded and situated politics and a politics that can connect the situation to a broader purpose such as the protection of the Amazon forest. This more cosmopolitan purpose which is rooted in Ashaninka peoples' *lifeways* and resistance is an example of how they articulate land beyond the territory, spreading and imprinting their forms of resistance on the landscape in Upper Juruá.

Indigenizing the landscape

On a relatively long walk from KRA IT to Comunidad Nativa Sawawo, in Peru, Benki Pyanko asked me if the rainforest was what I imagined. The question made me think about my imaginaries of the rainforest and my answer was that it was actually very different than what I imagined mainly because I had no idea about its size and the role people had in its daily transformation. It was very obvious after some months staying there, but in the beginning it was not clear how people were dealing and engaging with the forest as a way of living as opposed to an ideal or an option. Benki told me he could relate to what I was saying because prior to leaving the rainforest for the first time, he thought everything was forest.

> When I left Apiwtxa for the first time to go to the UN Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, I thought that everything I would see on the boat and on the plane would be rainforest. I thought that all the way down south from Acre to Rio de Janeiro, all I would see would be rivers and the forest, even with my grandfather telling me once in the past that the forest could be different depending on the spirits and where people were going with the forest. (Benki Pyanko 2009).

Joining us in the conversation, an Ashaninka from the Sawawo community intervened: "and isn't it so?" This intervention says a lot about Ashaninka peoples' mobility along time and space. The border as a livable space became an inherent part of Ashaninka lifeways, regardless of which side they were living on. In crossing the borders or taking their reality to other places they were, in the end, part of the forest. The experience of the lived space in connection with *lifeways* and stories will also carry in it the different personal experiences some Ashaninka persons would have in accordance with the role they assume within the community to communicate and negotiate the same *lifeways* outside. This negotiation certainly relates to communicating the value of using and living the land in the forest in a very specific way.

The continuity in spaces seen by two different Ashaninka persons as the "forest as an integrated whole" (Benki Pyanko, Personal Interview 2011) brings in itself different relationships and worlds – or if one will, scales - ones that have to be accounted for when exploring the meanings

and practices of landscap(e)(ing). Among the two Ashaninka men, the account of landscape was different depending on their standpoints. This standpoint was constituted differently according to the moment (in time), and under what kind of relationships, they became acquainted with the fact the forest was a finite space. However, even in the face of this finitude, it is worth observing how Ashaninka persons have negotiated this sothat the idea they have of the landscape as a broad set of relations with the forest could be articulated as politics to negotiate their position both within the demarcated IT and throughout debates on the environment and biodiversity.

Outside the IT, the "isn't it?" question is also a matter about articulating the forest locally and beyond through the historical mobility and other historical circumstances that allowed for different alliances to be at work. These practices and different takes on landscape also bring in an interesting debate between different socio-natural worlds and how they are engaged with political relationships, what Marisol de la Cadena calls *cosmopolitics* (2010).

An example of this was when the Gaia Foundation invited Benki to go to the UN Earth Summit. Although he thought that everything was forest on the way to Rio de Janeiro, he was well aware that there were activities in place that could disturb the way "the forest was assembled" (Antonio Pyanko, Ashaninka leader, 2011). The same feeling about a disturbance going on in the forest was taken by the Forest Peoples' Alliance to resist major changes they were experiencing in Upper Juruá. Ashaninka peoples' struggle for land rights in Brazil was very much informed by this awareness, as were the alliances built at Upper Juruá. The summit was then an opportunity to bring this politics to the fore.

When at the UN Earth Summit, which was a landmark for Ashaninka peoples' participation in international conferences, they slowly realized the struggle for land rights was a situated and articulated ongoing process. They realized the territory they had now was demarcated and finite and

that it had to fit, in some sense, their sense and necessity of mobility. Despite the borders or aside from the way Indigenous Territories were organized and specific legislation for indigenous land rights was approved, there were people living in the forest. This continuity between people, places and the forest had to be taken into account by Ashaninka peoples' struggles. The way they were organizing themselves for the new demands on territorial ordering in the forest was another subject to include in the political landscape. Indigenous peoples and forest peoples' responses to it would determine the shaping of politics at Upper Juruá.

The necessity of practicing this politics at the Earth Summit was very clear to Ashaninka persons attending the conference. For them, the event was about debating life, rather than discussing the pure management of nature. However, it is worth noticing how both features will collide and combine in the realm of biodiversity through Ashaninka peoples' politics in the scenario of emergent socio-environmentalisms (Ricardo and Ricardo 2011; Hetch 2011), especially in Brazil.

In this sense, Benki and four more Ashaninka persons realized at the conference that the size of the forest was even bigger and wider for articulating their ideas about mobility and continuities in space than they could ever have imagined. There they became acquainted with the word 'biodiversity' and with the fact that the summit was dedicated mostly to discussing an international convention on its protection.

Biodiversity became much more than a word in their vocabulary when they realized that the idea of 'Earth' as it stood for in 'Earth Summit' was connected to the concept of environment that States usually use to talk about forms of dealing with and controlling the forest so that that "they can take things out of it endlessly, without giving anything in return" (Benki Pyanko, Personal Interview 2009). As Benki well remarked, the UN Earth Summit was actually a convention on

environment and development, which brings in itself a concept of Earth very different from that used to articulate their struggle for land rights based on biodiversity as diversity of *lifeways*.

The nuances in terms such as 'environment' and 'development' were intentionally weaved with biological diversity when bringing the Ashaninka people to the conversation in Rio de Janeiro. The terminology, alien to them, found a fertile terrain for translation amongst indigenous struggles. It also served as a manner to publicize the emergent debate about sustainability in the Amazon forest to the general public in a context of respect and recognition of cultural diversity. Such recognition attested to the participation of varied peoples in the process of discussing the UN Convention on Biological Diversity by giving it a sense of political inclusiveness.

There are interesting interpretations on the actuation upon indigenous and other local groups coming from a (neoliberal) managerial state (Scott 1997; Ong 2006; Li 2007) since the 1990s that worked well with the emergence of the concept of sustainable development and biodiversity to fill the gaps in development politics and in the developmental state rationale (Blaser 2009; 2009b). At the same time, there are those interventions that are going to highlight how the connection between capital and the state will find its ways through practices of sustainable development not only to solve its own internal crises, but to expand its actuation to areas and worlds where it did not reach before (Escobar 2008, Gudynas 2011). Nevertheless, I am interested here in looking at how the Ashaninka acted upon the emergence of sustainable development as politics and policy and how they mixed and enmeshed it with their own readings about landscape and biodiversity. More importantly, what I want to show is how they have been connecting these two terminologies to strengthen their politics since 1992 so that they could contribute to a politics of engaged resilience at Upper Juruá.

The Ashaninka persons that had been to the summit told me about what they considered a wrong way of talking about 'Earth'. For them, it seemed strange and it felt uncomfortable as nobody in the plenaries was really taking spirituality seriously. They said that by realizing the forest was not a continuum in reality, they felt the biodiversity people were trying to discuss at the conference stood for what they conceive as perspectives within and toward life, namely *lifeways*. The Ashaninka interpretation on biodiversity discussed at the convention was that it could be one of these perspectives to life. However, people there should also have recognized that there are other forms of living and seeing the forest that are equally important. For them, this was biodiversity: the various forms of living on Earth that, in conjunction, created the forest and "everything that goes as far as one can see connecting different worlds to the spiritual world" (Personal interview September 2009). As I gathered from the talks I had with the three men and one woman who were at the summit, there was not a precise point from which to begin an analysis about biodiversity, there was just life. This standpoint could be well articulated in the idea of landscape as a political project.

Even with the small space for participation, they could find a gap to interact with the official discourse, mainly due to the praise they got in the Peoples' Summit, a parallel event to the official conference that reunited hundreds of groups as well as local and big international non-governmental organizations (BINGOs), such as the WWF and The Nature Conservancy among others. In narrating the story of their territorial recognition and in talking about the Forest Peoples' Alliance with other groups from Acre, they brought another scale to the debate on biodiversity.

During the Peoples' Summit, a terminology emergent within social movements in Brazil gained momentum among development practitioners, namely, socio-environmentalism. Mainly developed inside the Socioenvironmental Institute (ISA, Brazilian acronym), a Brazilian non-governmental organization that emerged following the work of the Center for Documentation on

Indigenous Peoples (CEDI, Brazilian acronym), socio-environmentalism was very much connected to activities and practices developed with indigenous groups to bring forth their endurance allied to the resilience of the ecological systems they were living in. Thus, socio-environmental stood for the belief that whatever was made of the environment politically or technically could not be separated from social dynamics on the ground.

ISA has never worked with social and indigenous movements in Acre. Nevertheless, the Forest Peoples' Alliance, with many people connected to the emergent debates in socio-environmentalism, deployed the terminology as a political practice to work with local groups. While socio-environmentalism was emerging as an important political stance in the late 1980s, there was also a strong articulation of organizations and researchers dedicated to community-based work with indigenous groups. Made up of several commissions spread nationally and working to enforce indigenous land rights, the initiative was ultimately dedicated to informing indigenous groups about their rights and helping them articulate politically for achieving territorial recognition of their ITs. In this context, the Pro Indigenous Commission of Acre (CPI-AC, Brazilian acronym) emerged.

By the time the Earth Summit was over, CPI-AC and the Ashaninka People of KRA IT were already partners and the project they had for intercultural bilingual education for school teachers in the IT ended up embracing socio-environmentalism as a practice. This happened because the Ashaninka people highlighted that it would not make any sense to children to learn the language if they were not connecting it to the 'Earth' practically. Language was the communication to the 'Earth' and to all processes involved in it. At the same time, Ashaninka people acknowledged that the territory was a new reality and that the limitations of it should also be thought of in tandem with the connections to 'Earth', which involved the action with non-indigenous partners, international allies and the surrounding realities. For them, socio-environmentalism, as biodiversity, accounted for

ways of people connecting to life. Such connection considered diverse scales and degrees of proximity between people and regions that would determine to what extent differences would be incorporated in the same relationships.

Toward (an) other development landscape

During the UNCED, while Brazilian policy-makers were setting an international partnership to implement a satellite system for monitoring deforestation, Ashaninka people were engaging in the biodiversity debate by gathering the support of Hannah Strong, one of Ashoka Foundation[98] founders. Also in the Peoples' Summit, the Rainforest Foundation Norway, supported by Norad, decided to broaden and heighten the support to local organizations working with indigenous groups in Brazil so that they could incorporate the work on biodiversity in their programs on bilingual indigenous education (CPI-AC Annual Report 1998).

It is important to highlight that along with the National Monitoring System came the Pilot Program to Conserve the Brazilian Rainforest (PPG7). The Program was launched in 1992, during the Earth Summit, with the financial support of the G7 (Germany, Canada, Italy, Japan, United Kingdom and United States), plus the Netherlands. At this moment, there was the decision to create a budget line to support the designing of specialized institutions and departments to formulate and execute environmental public policy in the Amazon rainforest. The European Commission and the Brazilian government also contributed financially to this objective in the program. The whole financial mechanism resulted in the Rain Forest Trust Fund (RFTF) (World Bank 2012, Vecchione-Goncalves 2013). The World Bank ended up being the trustee for the program, slowly transferring the funds to Brazilian institutions such as the Ministry of Environment (MMA).

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[98] Later, in 2007, Benki Pyanko became an Ashoka Foundation Fellow through the Change Makers/Social Entrepreneurship program.

The PPG-7 made possible the creation of another program called the Integrated Protection Program to Indigenous Peoples and Indigenous Territories in the Legal Amazon (PPTAL, Brazilian acronym)[99]. The activities going on before the Earth Summit and the speeches and presentations of indigenous groups during the international event coincided with results coming from long-term research showing that Indigenous Territories were the least deforested areas in the rainforest (Soares-Filho et al 2010). The PPTAL came precisely to combine the indigenous expertise in the use of landscape and the monitoring of areas environmentally protected.

The risk of deforestation and environmental crisis that were gaining momentum in the Western civilizational discourse (Blaser 2009b: 190-191) really pointed toward indigenous responsibility in the process. Many sustainable development programs started to be shaped so that they could account for indigenous agency in adaptation, eschewing the real drivers of deforestation. Nevertheless, the turn to indigenous landscapes and to their resistance opened up the debate among indigenous groups concerning their agency and their relevance to local solutions to deforestation (Blaser 2009b: 205-206). This environmental turn in development augmented the capacity of indigenous groups to combine multiple scales of action, leading to their strengthening as political actors locally and regionally.

In the aftermath of the UN Earth Summit, it was decided that not only local civil society in the Amazon should be strengthened by programs like PPTAL, but that indigenous groups should be directly involved with the design and execution of the same programs. With that, part of the US$ 428 million invested in the PPG-7 would be destined to a sub-program inside the PPTAL, called the Demonstrative Projects for Indigenous Peoples (PDPI, Brazilian acronym) (Vecchione-Goncalves 2013). The project was very much based on a framework created for implementing rural

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[99] PPTAL was the program to guarantee that institutions dealing with indigenous peoples and indigenous associations would be strengthened for the purpose of enhancing the protection of every traditionally occupied territory in the Legal Amazon.

development projects in small communities. However, the contentious action of many indigenous groups, including the Ashaninka, was to use the PDPI to developing what they thought adequate for their territory.

The PDPI did not work as anticipated in all ITs. The project framework was not one that could fit to every indigenous reality. However, there were situations in which indigenous groups captured the scope of the project, executing it according to their own experiences. This being the case, there were visible changes in the landscape. By capturing the project scope or by interpreting its framework according to the community needs, Ashaninka people were able to capture the ethno-development content in it by absorbing the elements they considered beneficial to their endurance. One of the benefits was to engage with the participatory mapping (ethno mapping) activities to restore and recover landscapes.

For the Ashaninka people, the understanding of the forest as continuous space and the necessity to restore the sites which were destroyed by the advances of extractive capital found important and productive opportunities in the emergence of biodiversity as politics and of ethno-development as a project. In association with CPI-AC, they assessed the PDPI to develop and include agroforestry in the curricula for indigenous education in the state of Acre. Seen by many as external intervention to indigenous traditions to include them in the capitalist scenario of exploiting sustainable alternatives to neo-extractivism (which was also my vision on the process), agroforestry became the political venue for the articulation of landscape beyond land rights. The IT became the unit to think not only about the limitations of those rights, but to reflect on the latter's indispensable character for struggling on a broader scale.

The agroforestry project with CPI-AC started in 1996. It stemmed from Ashaninka peoples' political demand to recover the soil and the vegetation at the riverbanks so that they could start the

seeding of species they were saving since logging encroached on their land in the 1960s. Agroforestry was considered by them to be an opportunity for taking stories and practices associated with native fruits seeding and harvesting to the school so that children can engage in recovering the land from invasions while improving their nutrition. In this sense, in becoming acquainted with invaded areas, they would get a profound understanding of the modifications in their lived landscape.

Agroforestry systems are usually associated with the heightening in cultivation of wood trees combined with fruit trees so that a community can have access to all that is necessary to survive in a place or commercialize the goods without harming the core subsistence system. With the ITs in Acre, and particularly at KRA IT, the idea was to conjoin soil recovery with the promotion of food sovereignty linked to cultural strengthening. The movement for the implementation of the agroforestry system later in time was featured in a documentary made by an Ashaninka teacher, which has a title that conveys well the meaning of their struggle: "We fight, but we eat fruit" (*A gente luta, mas come fruta*). When the project was initiated with the community, in partnership with two associate researchers from CPI-AC, they went through repetitive invasions. The documentary shows how they worked with Ashaninka children in the school and with the agroforestry agents involved in the battle for food and its spiritual and cultural connection so that they could protect 'Earth' and, consequently, the territory.

In this sense, the project with CPI-AC brought recognition of the space in movement at KRA IT. As it was a process, it allied the recognition to the cognition of species, their names and usage in everyday activities, bringing in an appraisal on their *lifeways* through land use. In truth, Ashaninka people did not need an educational system to learn about agroforestry systems. To a certain extent, they were already practicing it. Nevertheless, if this was the opportunity to develop a

collective project, the implementation of agroforestry systems became part of their educational experiences. At the end of the day, Ashaninka people were framing the development project and the use of its funds with their chosen allies, such as CPI-AC, for their own benefit.

There were two important factors contributing to the implementation of the project which Ashaninka people used to frame it as a collective experience. One was the fact that for them, it was difficult to imagine their territory without imagining relationships at the border. The other was that relationships with partners outside the IT were fundamental for them to grasp that actually landscaping, the use of geography, and even the implementation of agroforestry systems to recover land, were actually linked to patterns in their mobility and to ways they were occupying land in the lower Amazon basin since the 18th century.

Both factors were actually linked. They brought to the fore an interpretation of the forest as a set of social relations, a space of friction of different ways of living, human mobility, development projects and projects of resistance (Tsing 2005) that evince and trace landscapes far beyond the sustainability frame (Blaser 2009c). The role of landscape seen as an indigenized project to resist through *lifeways* could also be captured by the experience of Ashaninka people in Sawawo. In the relationship they forged with Ashaninka at KRA IT, the latter's position as indigenous in Brazil, through the IT, and their position being Ashaninka internationally, used to bring in support for resisting the invasions, were key factors for changing their standpoint about how to articulate in the forest.

When Ashaninka people from Sawawo re-connected with those at KRA IT, they were also in a movement of recognizing that another situation (landscape) was possible in the forest - one that better fit to the Ashaninka reality – as opposed to what had been practiced since Alberto Fujimori

(1990-2001) approved, in 1995, a national law[100] to promote forest concessions. This law allowed for the inclusion of indigenous persons as trustees in contracts with private companies. In this sense, this take on the forest as a landscape in friction is as important as the assumption of the continuous character of forests, resulting in a complex landscape of alliances and patterns of mobility. Through this point of view, political circumstances are as important as historical mobility(ies) which may evince particularities of Ashaninka *lifeways* intersected at the border. In the last 15 years, the agroforestry systems practiced as a collective project have been stressing some of these frictions.

In this vein, the diversity in life (biodiversity) including the perspectives on it (lifeways) were fundamental to decenter the politics of developmental projects at KRA IT. By the same token, the kind of politics promoted through this diversity evinced problems and gaps left by developmental projects prompted and promoted due to changes in legislation in Peru, which directly affected the diversity of life in Ashaninka communities on this side of the border.

The dots and nodes formed on this landscape were also made of the alliances that strengthened the idea of the IT in Brazil since its very beginning. The appropriation of sustainable development and development projects to make these alliances recognized abroad and within the Upper Juruá region by the Ashaninka were fundamental to unsettle the Brazilian environmental politics put in place in the 1990s.

Forest Knowledge Decentering Politics

Some years after the UN Earth Summit, challenges were still present at northern borders between Peru and Brazil. Illegal logging, even if acknowledged by the Brazilian government as worrisome, continued escalating in the early 2000s, with the strengthening of the managerial

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[100] This was the 1995 "Law of Private Investment to Promote the Development of Economic Activities in the Lands of Peasants and Native Communities", which followed 1992 Forestry Concession Law.

neoliberal state in South America. This managerial state (Scott 1998) through which the Amazon forest has been consolidated as space of intervention, framed indigenous groups as one of the main interlocutors of state development in Upper Juruá.

The necessity to talk to indigenous groups came also because their land rights were considered obstacles to the increasing connection between the state and the private sector. In this sense, the rise of the managerial state in the Amazon forest was also possible through the creation of legislation and policies that, beyond the effort of 'making indigenous citizens' (Garcia 2005) visible, were concentrated on turning them into entrepreneurs in the face of the transformation of the forest into public land to be conceded to private capital. The connection of indigenous subjectivity to sustainable land use ended up allowing them to have participation in the emergent practices of sustainable forest management, particularly in Peru.

In the early 2000s, Ashaninka people at KRA IT continued to believe that alliances and the reliance on social movements and forest-based social mobility were still the best option to build a bottom-up alternative political scenario at the border. They were going in a different direction in integration than those proposed by infrastructural projects or by fair trade networks related to sustainable and certified timber extraction though. If they were to embrace and absorb a different kind of ruling environmental behaviour, it had somehow to be linked to the opportunity brought by PDPI in developing the agroforestry systems which, for them, was a form of ruling and management prone to fostering an engaged resilience.

The Forest Peoples' Alliance ideals did not have the same appeal among their neighbors as they had in the 1990s, though. A powerful sign of disengagement was that some families living in the Extractive Reserve were turning to cattle ranching much beyond what was allowed by the *Land Use Plan* in 1990 (2,7 ha for each family along with cultivation). More aggravating was the fact that,

after slashing and before burning for cattle ranching, many families were selling the wood to dealers, which was neither allowed by the legislation creating the reserves nor part of the collective *Land Use Plan,* approved in 1990.

In 2008, some people doing long-term collaborative research along with a few Extractive Reserve leaders approached Benki and Moises Pyanko to propose a re-engagement in the talks about the Forest Peoples' Alliance. In approaching the Ashaninka leaders, they flagged their interest in learning about the indigenous agroforestry systems. As one example of a *technique of resistance* (Agrawal 2005) they were interested in, they stressed they would like to learn how Ashaninka people, as a community, built Yorenka Ãtame – the Center for Forest Knowledges (See Map 6). As allies, they asked how they could make use of the Center to rethink their agreements amongst the community and throughout Upper Juruá (Personal Interview with Rubber Tappers August and November 2009).

With that, a re-approximation between ex-rubber tappers, activists and researchers working in the Extractive Reserve and Ashaninka people happened. The concern at this time lay on the fact that, beyond land rights, there was more to fight for. The same land rights by that time could neither guarantee the permanence of diverse experiences of life in the region nor avoid intrusions encroaching on protected territories in Upper Juruá. Agroforestry systems and food sovereignty based on biodiversity as diversity of life were two important practices for mobilizing against this inertia, particularly because Ashaninka people were able to imprint their own ways of developing an agroforestry system to the general system proposed by PDPI.

In this sense, the PDPI as a policy helped to create what Agrawal calls a *governmentalization of localities* that produces specific subjectivities in communities following specific practices that engendered a conduct toward the environment (2005). The same conduct is what is going to shape

what the environment is for the community and why it should be taken seriously (Agrawal 2005). Nevertheless, how these rules were absorbed and conveyed within communities according to the use thought appropriate by Ashaninka - who mixed the same rules with their cosmologies - leads the 'conduct of the conduct' (Foucault 1991) to be practiced through the horizontal scale of relationships as opposed to through the vertical framing of a policy to a specific territory (Blaser 2004).

It is worth highlighting that rubber tappers and Ashaninka people were engaged in recovering the Forest Peoples' Alliance since 2005, when Ashaninka agroforestry agents identified an illegal logging road of more than 5 km, with approximately 300 ha of deforestation inside the IT. The road was right at the limit between the Extractive Reserve, KRA IT, the Apolima Arara Indigenous Land, still under identification process by FUNAI, and the border with Peru. According to Ashaninka peoples' testimonials, there were rubber tappers involved with illegal logging at this moment. Due to this event, they approached the National Council of Rubber Tappers in a way so as to reach an agreement about how to manage the border region in alliance.

The talk evolved to applying with a project to the Biodiversity Fund (FUNBIO), created and administered by the Brazilian Ministry of Environment and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) with non-refundable loans coming from the Global Environment Facility (GEF) at the World Bank. The project encompassed "the organization and perpetration of exchanges on 'indigenous agroforestry practices' as well as the implementation of agroforestry systems based on acquired knowledge for the purpose of strengthening food sovereignty and territorial protection within Indigenous Territories and Extractive Reserves in the Upper Juruá region" (Projeto Vida e Esperanca para o FUNBIO, Associação Apiwtxa, CPI-AC e Associação dos Seringueiros e Agricultores da Reserva Extrativista do Alto Juruá 2005).

Mostly, the project came as a result of agreement that if indigenous persons in KRA IT did not work closely with people in the Extractive Reserve, as well as with the youth in the Upper Juruá region, the agroforestry project would fail altogether. In terms of agreements for its implementation, the project called for an amicable, shared and balanced land use (which includes rivers) at the IT borders with other protected territories. The system stemming from it[101] is ideally *undone* and *in process* (Associação Apiwtxa, CPI-AC e Associação dos Seringueiros e Agricultores da Reserva Extrativista do Alto Juruá 2005: 1). The boundaries of the agroforestry system as laid out in the project were more related to the number of people joining its implementation and contributing with their everyday lives for its maintenance, rather than to limits on the space (territory) for its implementation.

In the beginning, conveying, designing and implementing the project were difficult because relationships to land and to neighbours were blurred to most of the people at the Extractive Reserve. Still, in 2005, Ashaninka people made the invasion situation public in a seminar promoted in Brasília. At this moment, they brought attention to the increasing connection between rubber tappers in the Extractive Reserve and dealers on the Peruvian side. They did so not to criminalize rubber tappers, but to stress that people living in this Conservation Unit were not respecting the principles that led to its creation. In addition, they highlighted the fact the Brazilian government was

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[101] It is a technique which combines the logic of biodynamic agriculture, that is, combines the many life cycles of diverse fruits and timber trees as well as vegetables cultivation and animals living in it to maintain a permanent cultivation that can come to terms both to soil preservation and to the nutritional necessities in a community. The production system is coordinated as whole, imitating an ecological system, with the plants and trees serving as forms of nurturing to other species, to the soil and to animals. The idea of agroforestry brings to the fore the political topic that familial agriculture has always happened at the forest and that these techniques, transferred to natural resources management allied to food sovereignty, are ways of enhancing indigenous lifeways or, why not, ecologies. Indigenous agroforestry, although having many elements coming from outside indigenous traditional ways of dealing with land, combine the systemic understanding of agroforestry with various ways of cultivation detected in place, which include patterns of mobility in settling that are highly beneficial to keep the soil working in a systemic manner with the populations occupying it; the so called *Terras Pretas* (Heckenberger 1996; Silva 2009).

not providing the minimum patrolling required so that people in the protected territories at the border could carry on their lives without being in conflict with each other.

In this sense, Ashaninka people did not hesitate to offer their support so that an agreement could be remade on land use when asked by the Extractive Reserve leaders in 2009. Despite all the problems, they wanted the FUNBIO project to succeed. However, they imposed a condition. When representatives from each of the communities were reunited to exchange the ideas on the pre-agreements they made among their constituencies in the Extractive Reserve, it had to be done at Yorenka Ãtame with the participation of indigenous groups living at Upper Juruá such as Kaxinawa and Kuntunawa people. There was an understanding that the agreement for collective land use, the so called *Extractive Reserve Management Plan*, was fundamental to the politics articulated by them for the region.

Yorenka Ãtame was a symbol of resistance to Ashaninka people and other Indigenous and traditional peoples in Upper Juruá. The place where Yorenka is, right across from where today is the Marechal Thaumaturgo village, besides being a site of border contestation for Brazilians and Peruvians, especially those involved with timber extraction, was a site of political and juridical contestation for Ashaninka people. After so many years of disagreement with the Cameli, who had been historically encroaching on their land, they decided to buy the plot five hours away by boat from KRA IT, using mostly international donations. Yorenka Ãtame was built there for teaching the local youth about how to recover the forest destroyed by logging activities. As they were developing these activities from the times of the school´s inception since 2004 up to 2009, when the meeting between rubber-tappers and indigenous groups took place in the school, more than one hundred species had been already identified, catalogued and recovered in the area. Most importantly, all the species were catalogued following Ashaninka knowledge and their ways of systematizing it –

frequently by drawings. More than one hundred hectares of recovered and transformed land animated rubber tappers and their collaborators to interact within this space.

When the Apiwtxa association decided to build the school outside the IT, in a very degraded and contested area, the idea was to integrate forms of knowing and resisting as well as bringing in people, at first very hostile to the idea of Indigenous Territories and knowledges, to their side. According to Benki, they imagined a place where people could share stories about how different cycles of resource development changed their lives and the landscape in Upper Juruá. By merging experiences, the Center would be an experience of relationality for thinking about regional development based on the thought of people dwelling on Upper Juruá.

During the meeting between rubber tappers to discuss the new management plan, with the participation of indigenous peoples and the local youth of Marechal Thaumaturgo, Yorenka Ãtame was a hub to practice grounded and grassroots education for the emergence of new public policy and legislation. From what I observed, it seemed a way of articulating not just the IT beyond the actual territory, but to texture it in rearticulating land used collectively in the region.

There were certainly other people cooperating to make the (extended) meeting happen during the whole month of August 2009. As the management plan for the Upper Juruá Extractive Reserve was in production, there were researchers and technical staff in the meeting who were collaborating with the FUNBIO project since its inception. These same collaborators, whom I joined in this meeting, contributed to the articulation of 'Life and Hope', a group dedicated to spreading agroforestry practices and promoting seed saving in Upper Juruá as a pattern for occupying and reclaiming land in the forest. *Life and Hope* was also the name for the FUNBIO project, as the whole idea of it was to strengthen and institutionalize the group through the creation

of systems to nurture life (agroforestry, seed saving and food sovereignty), enhancing collective land rights.

There were many exchange experiences in the meeting related to how the Extractive Reserve management plan could be put in practice if it was approved. The recovery of Yorenka Ãtame and the future recovery of areas in the Extractive Reserve were debated during the implementation of two new agroforestry systems in the school. The methodology for implementing the systems was to discuss, while preparing land for seeding, a form of cooperation between different social actors interested in collective politics[102] in the forest.

In this meeting, the Centre for Forest Knowledges hosted more than one hundred people coming from 50 communities among whom were people who had been members of the Forest Peoples' Alliance since 1988. The applied methodology proposed that all these people, divided in groups, discussed the specific points of agreement that should be included in the new management plan. Benki's Ashoka fellowship, along with the support from FUNBIO, served well to organize the activity and bring in people from different territories.

Every day in the evening, after the practice was over, people systematized the different conversations so that the plan could be written in the most collaborative manner possible. As pointed out in one of these days, "it was important to recover it collectively because the plan would be a law for the reserve, made by the reserve." Many people involved in the meeting though were not sure about building the plan collectively with indigenous groups.

One of the points raised in one of the conversations was that because people at the Extractive Reserve have been accused of involvement with Peruvian loggers, the Brazilian Institute

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[102]The actors directly involved were: representatives of Ashaninka do KRA IT, Ashaninka and Kaxinawa people of the joint indigenous territory of Breu River, Ashaninka from Sawawo-Peru, representatives from Alto Juruá Extractive Reserve, two anthropologists (activist researchers) from University of Campinas-São Paulo that have been involved in writing about and identifying life projects in the reserve, myself, two representatives of CPI-AC, two representatives of the government of Acre, two representatives of IBAMA and the president of the National Council of Rubber Tappers.

for the Environment and Renewable Resources (IBAMA, Brazilian Acronym) has started exerting extensive control over any kind of extractive activity there, making their survival impossible. The idea of protection allied to the extractors' sustainable living was changed by this emergency situation, which was in fact stimulated by governmental politics, especially on the Peruvian side of the border.[103]

Over the month of training, people less reliant on the alliance became gradually more positive toward the initiative. A collective mapping experience and its potential sites of grounded resistance according to land use prepared in the second half of the course provided incentive to the working groups. To a certain extent, to have the experiences mapped worked as an instrument of commitment to the parts involved in the course, not only because they were showing and sharing important and strategic aspects of their relationship with land, but because to document it could work afterwards as a baseline for observing how the alliance would be making changes on the ground. These changes stand for modifications in the landscape related to land use.

With everything drawn and networked in the map, it seemed that even people supportive of a 'rentier'[104] logic of land use could literally see the potential for cooperation and engaged resilience. Differently from the maps brought by the government in strategies of zoning in the rainforest and used by forest and oil concessionaries in the case of Peru or by environmental and territorial zoning practitioners in the case of the state of Acre, in Brazil, those maps produced in the meeting were not for the future; rather, we can say they are the present.

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[103]It is not that in Brazil there were no legislations supporting the developmental enterprise in the sense of promoting entrepreneurship in the forest through concessions or land tenure. However, most of the legislation tackling issues directly in regard to Indigenous peoples and to the so called Forest Code started came to the juridical state apparatus after the meeting, in 2010.

[104] The rentier logic in land use relates to changes in the relationship to land pointing out to an aggregated value applied to it. This value will reckon how much the land would worth if not used either for subsistence activities or for other productive activities by those that own it who will prefer rather to speculate on its value or to rent it for other people to produce or to capitalize on it.

For the communities attending the meeting, the maps may help in envisioning the future based on actual and current relationships to land - which set up and forward what researchers call the environment - through various relationships among people making the rainforest through their living. Collective mapping, referred to by communities as mental map and by funding agencies as ethno map, draws an articulation (and a use) of a politics of scales from below (Escobar 2008:32), favouring the communities' positions on land use as opposed to framing them for external action upon the rainforest (Blaser 2009b; 2009c).

The politics of scale from below in the meeting helped rebuilding an alliance, still in the making, but that allowed for social dynamics to be expressed in the mental maps which informed the process of elaborating a draft for the *Upper Juruá Extractive Reserve Management Plan*. In elaborating it, people at the reserve recognized the importance of indigenous persons' presence in making a proposal for the legislation. More importantly, they acknowledged the place of their relationships with the Ashaninka people and other indigenous groups in the map making process. By deciding who counted, drew and narrated the stories to be included in the maps (Escobar 2008: 56), they opt for a history able "to incorporate multiple past and present stories of places and peoples" (Rocheleau 1995:1047; Escobar 2008: 33) in Upper Juruá. For the researchers and collaborators, there was an agreement and political decision to listen to forest peoples' stories and incorporate them into the draft to be submitted to the Ministry of Environment "before trying to solve their problems" (Ibid: 33)

The decree approving the *Upper Juruá Extractive Reserve Management Plan* was sanctioned and published in November 2010, more than a year after the meeting at Yorenka Ãtame. Even with some disagreements in the meeting and difficulties in engaging people, mapping it through conversation and multiple dialogues in Yorenka was an exercise of decentering politics *to* and *at* the

forest. Also, on this occasion, approximately one hundred people, all coming from Upper Juruá, but with different backgrounds on the forest, produced knowledge about it, escaping definitions coming from the outside, albeit in dialogue with them.

In an area of studies and social activism such as those encompassing the environment and forestry sciences, in which definitions of indigenous and traditional communities - as well as of forest - are centred in external assessments, knowledge produced through engagement with ongoing relationships to de-naturalize the former approach is a fundamental movement in the ever-changing nature of forest-based politics.

Planning life beyond development

After the meeting at Yorenka Ãtame, I went to KRA IT, more precisely to Apiwtxa, the one and only village (*aldeia*) in this territory, with about 900 Ashaninka people living there. I had been to Apiwtxa before the meeting twice, but at this time, completely influenced by the dynamics of the meeting, I was looking at the connections between stories of mapping and the actual life at the border. I was eager to see a sort of revisiting of *florestania* through cartographies of land use. What I saw was very much attuned to what Escobar calls strategies of community localization against (and) in dialogue with the politics of capital – through state developmental politics. This politics usually pinpoints areas of interest and influence to scale down its action through the community language (Escobar 2008).

The Ashaninka community has absorbed the developmental logic and, at the same time, has been contesting one of its manifestations, namely, the politics of environmental and territorial management, through the management of their own territory. This agonistic way of becoming political (de la Cadena 2010) in the process of mapping their territory was an attempt to recast land

rights according to what they thought ownership entailed by making use of both non-governmental and governmental projects to carry on their life projects.

The story about mapping for the Ashaninka goes back to 2003, when CPI-AC, The Nature Conservancy (TNC) and GIZ became interested in Ashaninka activities at the border, mainly in their activism as indigenous agroforestry agents (agroforesters) and their potential for 'land use adaptation and management' (GIZ/TNC Project Guidelines, 2004). Cooperation via actors connected to international conservationism - TNC - and to international cooperation for the strengthening of relations with civil society organizations via technical assistance – GIZ – became possible with the project "Trans-border Conservation in Upper Juruá and Serra do Divisor (Brasil-Peru)".

The project involved many organizations in Peru and in Brazil, including CPI-AC and the conservationist Acre based organization SOS Amazônia. As its main managers in GIZ and TNC would say, the project was broader than its "indigenous component" (Personal Interviews 2011). Nevertheless, it was through the subproject TNC/GTZ[105] "Ethno mapping in 08 Indigenous Territories located at the border Brazil/Acre-Peru/Ucayali", executed and planned by Apiwtxa Association, the Movement of Indigenous Agroforestry Agents (Agroforesters) in the State of Acre (AMAIAAC) and CPI-AC that more than 20 thousand hectares of forest along the border Brazil-Acre/Peru-Ucayali were recovered through cooperation and exchange among indigenous groups.

In asking about the process while at Apiwtxa, many people told me that among the important things they required for the ethno mapping workshops was to have Sawawo representatives in the activity. They also requested the participation of other agroforesters in the research related to land use and fauna and flora management. While talking about it, they pointed out to a village across the Amônia River where some people were fishing and said:

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[105] At the time of project application (2003-2004), GIZ was still GTZ.

> How could we map our territory and understand the boundaries we by ourselves create to preserve the reproduction of fishes and animals if we do not know what they are doing about it or agree with them on what should be done so that everybody can have food in the IT which is a world of delimited and restricted space? There are no borders to these boundaries we have to imagine so that we can survive. These boundaries are not to impinge on the way we live. Much to the contrary, it is to have it improved as if there were no borders separating us. (Collective Insights August 2009)

At the same time, they pointed out that the collaborative work they were developing for such a long time with CPI-AC in the realm of education and the recent alliances and shared experiences in agroforestry could not be left out of the project. According to a teacher in the Ashaninka School, "if they (TNC and GIZ) wanted to conserve biodiversity at the border, they had to understand what the diversity of life there was, including agreements and projects in progress in Upper Juruá."(Personal interview 2009). So, this project was not a new one, disentangled from what was already happening in the IT.

In walking with them around Apiwtxa, I could have a sense of the agreements in place. Spanish, Portuguese and Asheninka language were mingling in the many conversations I heard. During the workshops that occurred in Apiwtxa in 2004, they said all this talking was much louder and diverse as Kaxinawa people were also there as well as many people "like me". With that I realized that the mapping coming from the TNC-GIZ project, as an intercultural effort that frames their place as a project (Escobar 1998, 2008) was already in progress for Ashaninka people since times I cannot reckon on. The written and geographical instruments to translate them were actually instruments they accepted to be in dialogue with governmental and non-governmental politics, negotiating to what extent they wanted to be examples of citizenry in the forest through environmental and territorial management. If the initiative wanted to make their everyday living a project, citizenship – in the sense of experiencing constitutional land rights through the IT – became their project to determine what was better for their territory. As they say:

We had already worked on the maps, but we have done it in a different way by drawing the invasions. The map we made in 2004 was more profound because we marked and put on it all the creeks, rivers (…) we identified them in the satellite images as we name them in our daily experiences and they were transformed in the kind of map governments understand. We identified the forest and the kinds of forest we have within the IT, the types of vegetation, birds, game, fish and turtles. For me, this has been very important. This is an activity that does not involve only the people leading the mapping experience. Many community members are involved, including the elders that are helping everybody in finding and identifying each spot and kind of vegetation we have in our area. (Bebito Pyanko, testimonial to the ethno mapping activity in 2004 cited in Apiwtxa, CPI-AC 2012:24).

(…) with the many maps we are drawing we returned to places that are sacred for us. These places showed us where we can find resting areas for animals to breed. In this sense, we can manage the game meat as you say. Such practice brings more strength to one person's spirit because she or he will understand better the life of specific animals which live inside our area and inside us, because those are the animals we keep on chasing to eat. (Moisés Pyanko, hunter and Ashaninka spiritual leader, Personal Interview 2009)

These two testimonials reveal two important dynamics in the mapping process, which is in itself an exercise of interpretation both to Ashaninka people and to practitioners dedicated to it. One links to the fact Ashaninka people were involved with mapping since the 1970s, when invasions started pushing them either to mobility within the area nearby the border or to monitoring boundaries on land used by them in attempts of controlling or centralizing the illegal flux of timber throughout the community. Mobility was not really new for them, but the connection between reasons to be mobile and grounded patterns of territorial monitoring (both recovered through elders' testimonials) shed light again on the politics of making place. Very much linked to the political economy in the lower Amazon basin, Ashaninka peoples' mobility in building the social and cultural connections to the new territory in Brazil has contributed to shaping the landscape in Upper Juruá (See Chapter 1).

The other testimonial also connects to mobility and land use. However, it does so in expressing ways through which the mapping activity could lead to a conjunction of maps, both as thought for the project by practitioners and by them with their mental maps. This second testimonial shows how they thought mapping was important to document graphically a practical

experience – hunting and breeding – and its connection to specific places linked to the spiritual world. The latter is also part of their lived landscape for which they have animated references: the animals they eat. In this case, the experience of mapping when locating animals and plants and letting them have the time to live and breed, so that Ashaninka people can eat them, brings to the discussion a dynamic that cannot be grasped only by geography or environmental management.

Conversely, Ashaninka people could well interpret these interactions by the use of geography and cartography, seeking for the best points of translation to expose their ways of living and dealing with the animals in the maps. In designing this combination, Ashaninka people introduced novel aspects to environmental and territorial management making a point inside the community about the relevance of participating in the TNC-GIZ project.

This conjunction also speaks to some stories I heard in Apiwtxa, especially during the long walk we took to Sawawo where I tried to remake with them some of their trajectories in the ethno mapping workshops. When moving toward Peru, an Ashaninka woman said that before the workshops there was not within the community in general an understanding or knowledge about a limit to their territory (and she was clearly accounting for people outside of the leadership circle). She said that she was not sure if most of the people even knew what the IT was, although they knew what it entailed in the past 20 years in terms of the struggle for land rights. Also, she pointed out that in debates on the role of the IT one of the most intriguing things she heard is that there is something called "relationship to nature and the environment" and "natural resources". I asked her if she thought these "intriguing things" were connected to the fact they were mapping their territory, exposing its limits, to which she responded:

> Sure! If there were no limits and if there was not this idea that nature is a resource, we would not need a 'relationship' to it, it is inside us anyway and we are also inside it. The boundary is one of reverence and respect, not of separation.

As with the experience of acquiring land rights, ethno mapping and its connection to make Ashaninka peoples' living possible had different impacts on them. Nevertheless, the conjunction of these many stories and how Ashaninka people used them to respond collectively to the conservation initiative is what is more interesting. They absorbed some of its practices, such as mapping and monitoring, and interpreted them in light of their own intimate experiences with land.

The experience of mapping, which uncovered and exposed boundaries emerging within their *lifeways*, had to have a purpose articulated for their future, beyond conservationism. One more time, they had to think about how they could interpret and reinvent their capacity to endure. For them, it could not be disconnected from the fact that the forest was complex, complicated on so many levels and by so many layers of dispute over territory in the past, present and future. As the teacher Isaac Pyanko would say about mapping as a flexible and mobile pedagogy:

> These maps are the future and they show what we want the territory to be. Maps are not fixed, neither are the actions or the ways of making them. There are historical things related to the past included in the map - those we cannot change. But, we integrate those to what we want for our future and this includes relationships with governmental and non-governmental organizations. (Isaac Pyanko, ethno mapping revision sessions, Personal Interview 2012)

Ultimately, mapping was about the articulation of their daily living accounting for temporal, spatial and place-based complexities while being attentive to gaps left either by the Peruvian and Brazilian governments, or by international governmental and non-governmental conservationist initiatives. In those gaps left by public policy, by ethno maps, border invigilation, among other things, we can see the forest working as a dynamic social space (Tsing 2005). Political actors, such as the Ashaninka people, are capable of grasping such 'sociality' by attesting for the weedy landscape (Tsing 2005) that makes the forest social. According to Anna Tsing, the weediness in the forest presents exactly these layers of histories and stories of local actions that end up engaging with universal practices and concepts about the forest, but resulting in a totally different reading of it

(2005). The weediness is the result of a friction between these concepts, interpretations and practices (Tsing 2005). Ashaninka people recognized frictions in the borders they were living and acknowledged those in the maps they were producing. They also recognized ethno maps would show a reality, but that they also lead into another, beyond the gaze of ethno-development and the lines expressed in the maps guiding such practice (See Map 7).

Through this perspective, ethno maps triggered more than access to social services brought by engagement with conservationist initiatives. These maps led to an engagement with the idea of Indigenous Environmental and Territorial Management (PGTA, Brazilian acronym), a practical concept that became public policy in Brazil in 2012, and that was inspired by the elaboration of the *Ashaninka Environmental and Territorial Plan*, published in 2007. All the activities to develop the plan followed up with the maps first elaborated in 2004. The financial support for it came through the project CPI-AC had with Rainforest Foundation Norway and from the subproject with TNC-GIZ.

Practically speaking, the moment of elaborating the plan, through many meetings involving agreements and disagreements within the territory and across it, represented the creation of an arena for political engagement through the issue of environmental and territorial management. As the Ashaninka woman said, they learned through the ethno maps that there was a thing called relationship to nature. Not that much later, they figured this relationship to nature out through maps and planning. They realized the way they exercised it could be a venue for bringing in the support they needed to engage communities across the Amônia River, relying on the environmentally smart identity attributed to them in the region.

Along with the engagement with monitoring, environmental and territorial planning became another way to articulate land, *lifeways* and the IT through the adding of a subjectivity related to trans-border conservation. This subjectivity opened spaces, for example, for debates on mobility and

the role indigenous peoples could have in occupying and monitoring borders more effectively than if their transit were restricted due to border security. An interesting thing is how the plan, written and agreed within 3 years of conversation, led to what Benki Pyanko described as "agreement in disagreement" (Personal Interview September 2009). This means that it has certainly reshuffled identities, but in very different ways and degrees within the community.

Many practices were governmentalized, creating a 'conduct of the conduct' in this area of Upper Juruá. However, gaps and spaces to maneuver within the plan were wide enough to incorporate environmental management as long as it was not provoking any harm to *lifeways*. Mobility within the territory and across it connected to water, soil, flora and fauna management was an example of this flexibility. Another example was mobility avoiding the intrusion of illegal loggers. Both show a kind of governmentalization of bodies *through* and *in* the environment. This has obviously created different means to articulate what KRA IT is in relation to what being an Indigenous Territory entails for communities living within a very complex border region.

To re-work the meanings of *monitoring through living the land* brought a positive and constructive aspect to Ashaninka peoples' life projects. In the end, the process for planning was much more important that the plan per se because this life project became more relevant than the environmental and territorial planning. This was a movement actually very similar to what happened there with the ethno mapping process and its strategy for ethno-development.

According to CPI-AC researchers, the junction of horizontal (*lifeways*, spiritual and historical connections to land and land use) with vertical information (satellite cartographical data) besides amplifying Ashaninka peoples' geographical knowledge, also brought valuable contributions to the use of natural resources and to assemble information about the invasions (Apiwtxa and CPI-AC, 2012: 24). They added that while elaborating the plan, they realized the maps had strengthened

people politically, providing subsidies to their external political actions while they were being used to subsidize activities such as flora and fauna conservation and management (Personal Interview 2011). Putting it into a simple analysis, Peti, an ex-rubber tapper and the Pyanko family matriarch, said the maps spread information out at the same time they became an instrument to assemble information to be included in the plan. This movement, for her, was fundamental to being in dialogue with other indigenous communities and neighbours (i.e., rubber tappers) as well as with Governments (Personal Interview 2009).

By connecting these viewpoints that account for Ashaninka peoples' relationships, it is possible to see how mapping and environmental and territorial management became part of their life projects. The inter-relations between the horizontal and vertical experiences (Blaser 2004) is one that can be linked to cartography, but also to Ashaninka peoples' geography as a deep understanding of 'Earth'. Relationships connecting the transitions from 'Earth' to livable land, and from this to a political territory, speak back to the past, to the present and to neighbours, tracing a web of relationality (Blaser et al 2010) that makes the vertical connection to Earth into a horizontal language that communicates their management plan as project for nurturing life in the Upper Juruá region.

At the same time, the horizontality that allows for all sorts of appropriations of the Ashaninka territorial and environmental plan by others, reinforces their territorial rights in a very specific space. Through this lens, the proximity and connections in the local (place) is not a project coming from the outside, but represents many points to be in dialogue with a project that is much broader than the Indigenous Territory.

As Mario Blaser highlights, indigenous life projects contrast with developmental projects precisely in the form they expand to other areas. For him, development as a practice and concept is very much based on Western models of life, having an intimate connection, even geographical, to

places such as Europe (Blaser 2004: 33). He refers to this connection to place as verticality and argues that it guides the way you are going to relate to the space and to land (building it into a place). The problem with development is that when it is transmitted to other places it takes its vertical relations to be communicated as universals to other places, where there are obviously other relationships to place (ibid.: 30-32). In this sense, development carries its placement as a horizontal relation when, in reality, it is vertical because it is provincialized (Chakrabarty 2000).

Contradicting the verticality framed as horizontality, indigenous people's life projects, such as the Ashaninka's, usually do not turn specific ways to connect to Earth and land into the only possible way for prospering in 'relationship to nature'. Much to the contrary, when these projects are communicated to others, even within the same community, particularities about connecting to land and making place are not intercepted or acted upon because it is precisely the dialogues and relationships among them that will strengthen the life project. This horizontal way of communicating, that may also be called *relationality*, reaches out to other places and, more importantly, does not subsume them to a universal space (Blaser 2004; Gray 2005; Soguk 2009).

In practicing this horizontality, the ethno maps became an exercise of looking and evaluating the inside to communicate better to the outside, as Peti stressed. By going much beyond ethno-development, mapping became a political tool, an instrument to communicate what would be the relationship to nature for the Ashaninka. They incorporated this language into their life projects within borders and made a distinction between the latter and the boundaries intersecting with life and *lifeways* in Upper Juruá. With that, they created a third space, an edge, to maneuver within ethno-developmental projects. Through this, they could put their political imaginaries to work beyond international environmental politics.

Concluding Remarks: Lifeways across borders

The creation of KRA IT was an example of how land can be subsumed to territory (in the sense of becoming a governmentalized space) and how place, consequently, can be framed as territory of policy for developmental projects related to areas of specific geographical and conservationist interests. At the same time, the demarcation of the territory and the emergence of Ashaninka leadership in debates encompassing biodiversity-related issues brought a sense of political action through regional, national and international networks that showed the articulation of land beyond this territory. Biodiversity understood as web of life (*rede de vida*) - beyond its scientific status - involving different perspectives of living the forest and in the forest also buttressed connections among social movements inside and outside the rainforest, inspired by a forest-based politics.

In a state such as Acre that has most of its limits with Bolivia and Peru, the trans-border condition and position of the Ashaninka put them into the spotlight for thinking biodiversity and forest conservation beyond borders. Also, their environmental activism and capacity to mobilize neighbour areas made them highly pursued subjects, so to speak, for collaborating in innovative experiences in territorial management as was the case with ethno-mapping. However, as much as their indigenized view of the landscape contributed to express a more complete account of how the occupation in this area of the lower Amazon basin worked, the provision of the satellite images for mapping, and the subsequent project funding, helped them in articulating their territory in the long run.

In an effort to conciliate the alliances, the networks with the place, land and, ultimately, Earth, Ashaninka absorbed the short and middle run objectives in the trans-border conservation project to executing and living through their life projects beyond the IT. The ethno mapping and environmental and territorial planning that aimed at influencing environmental public policy ended up being incorporated by the state of Acre as one of its main objectives in a project for which

application was made to the World Bank. There are many problems in the framing of this project and I am not in a position to discuss them in the conclusion of this chapter. But, what I can say is that mapping activities which started at Apiwtxa and the alliances made through them made it possible for communities to be heard and this policy could be extended, through another project, to at least 10 more Indigenous Territories in the state of Acre.

It is a possibility that at the end of these activities, in 2015, indigenous groups are going to be used as a result for best practices in developmental politics. Nevertheless, it is very important not to downplay how, since 2004, Ashaninka people have been negotiating their political subjectivity through these projects so that the core principles in their life projects would not be fundamentally damaged.

At the meeting at Yorenka Ãtame, for example, they discussed that conducting collective sustainable life projects, a language present in external projects, would be essential to avoid the encroachment of infrastructural projects linked to the continuity of the *enclosure of the forest*. The politics of place *in place* in KRA IT, and through Yorenka Ãtame, challenges the centered logic of enclosure to developing, beginning with a shared practice of planning and mapping throughout the forest. This is a condition for their horizontal communication and politics at the forest; one that certainly strengthens their politics and their spirit, as Moisés would say.

This is also something that sustainable development program officers and infrastructural projects executors, even if willing to absorb or grasp, would hardly be able to translate and deliver as a business model or conservation project. The opposite, though, is precisely what happened at KRA IT. The way these projects have been used by Ashaninka people through time helped in building a dialogue with regional and environmental politics which spilled over to the Upper Juruá region, bringing into the political debate an Amazonian cosmopolitics which challenges development, beyond borders.

Chapter 5
Crossing Borders and Making a 'Working Region' in the Lower Amazon Basin

Ashaninka ways through the rainforest to get to the lower Amazon basin at the borders between Brazil and Peru were not smooth. As discussed, the way the Ashaninka had managed border setting as well as occupation and use of border areas through time determined not just the integrity of the IT, but also strategies of cooperation with Peruvian communities and ex-rubber tappers (extractivists) in Brazil.

Cooperation within and across borders facilitated community endurance and, consequently, international and national support for mechanisms developed by forest based communities to diminish and avoid deforestation and loss of biodiversity. Not unexpectedly, these strategies challenged the general tendency of borders to capture subjectivities by exclusion and to define territories in similar fashion. Challenging convention, Upper Juruá looked more like a region due not to intergovernmental agreements, but to the social movements, communities and the life projects based there.

The leadership of Ashaninka people, noticeable in making Upper Juruá a region, has been exercised through the constitution of a network grappling with environmental threats. Foundational to this has been the formation and understanding of this region as a 'working region'. Practically, this concept means that when people carry out relationships across borders and throughout varied territories – with different environmental classifications according to national legislation – they help to create a network of *sociobiodiversity* protection. The method they chose to do this was the same as the one they continue using to depict the region: entangled and networked.

To examine the networked advocacy for turning Upper Juruá into a transborder region, I will look at one of the meetings of the Transborder Working Group of Upper Juruá (GTT, Brazilian acronym). Inspired by Ashaninka resistance to illegal loggers, GTT was created in 2005 under the

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Pyanko family leadership and fuelled by the activism of organizations and communities worried about the encroachment of logging activities in Upper Juruá. This continued to be one of the major concerns at GTT meetings in late 2009 and 2010. At this time, uncovering and publicizing the situation no longer seemed enough.

I begin this chapter documenting the efforts of an Ashaninka leader to bring together rubber tappers on the Extractive Reserve to participate in the GTT meeting in Rio Branco, the state capital of Acre. In doing so, I will discuss the Ashaninka way of exercising leadership through conversation and a sharing of responsibilities with other groups in the forest. Part of the strategy behind assembling people for action far away from home - calling them to go the city - was to bridge the gap between the city and the forest. To fill in this gap meant nourishing the idea that the GTT forum could actually be part of their everyday lives in the forest, particularly because it could address their living conditions at the borders. For that, their presence in Rio Branco alone would not suffice. Qualified participation in presenting their strategies for cooperation against deforestation and for the improvement of wellbeing in the forest was needed, following the participatory mapping (ethno mapping) activities. This will be the second point I address in this narrative, connecting it to the participation of Peruvian communities and their joint work with both the Ashaninka people in Brazil and extractivists.

The next point will be to describe the meeting, the methodologies built and used to foster discussion, as well as the call to spirituality for addressing the current problems in Upper Juruá. In doing so, I must also reflect upon the advocacy in and for this area, from emerging networks as well as relationships established with national and international NGOs. I will also examine how the Ashaninka exercise their indigeneity in the face of specific problems at the Upper Juruá borders in connection to the way their cosmologies have allowed them to endure there.

To end the discussion, I will present the most passionate debate occurring in the meeting, which was about the issue of non-contacted indigenous groups living throughout the borders between Brazil and Peru. At this moment, indigenous cosmologies and forest-based politics became one so that the problem could be embraced by different communities and indigenous leadership could be recognized as fundamental to avoiding the 'delivery of development' occurring at the expense of indigenous groups' existence.

Cosmopolitics in a Boat

In November 2009, I was back in Upper Juruá after a long trip to Raposa Serra do Sol (RSDS). During the months I was in RSDS, whenever possible, I was in contact with Benki in Marechal Thaumaturgo and his partners in CPI-AC in Rio Branco. Benki and his brother, Isaac, told me about the GTT and invited me to participate in the meeting. In October 2009, I got an email message from the project officer at the Apiwtxa organization, confirming that the meeting would occur in late November and inviting me to participate in the preparation and planning.

As I accepted the invitation, I was back at Upper Juruá in mid-November 2009, flying straight to Marechal Thaumaturgo, this time a bit more familiar with the landscape and the political actors there. Preparation for the event required a trip through one of the most important tributary rivers of the Juruá: the Tejo River. The Forest Peoples' Alliance emerged at that river. There, it had gained momentum in the early 1990s[106]. Benki was the trip leader and, as he explained, my presence there now would be different, as I would actively be helping engage people from the Extractive Reserve to attend the GTT meeting, offering explanations about environmental threats and projects financed by both national and international initiatives in the southwestern Amazon.

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[106]For discussion of the involvement of Ashaninka people with the Forest People's Alliance, see Chapter 4. For a detailed explanation and reflection of the movement in Upper Juruá, see Almeida 2004; Almeida and Cunha 2002. For the articulation of rubber tappers in environmental, national and international politics, and land rights see Allegretti 2002.

Boarding the boat, I could not leave my research interests and obligations behind. However, I was now, as some Ashaninka remarked, an ally and a part of the network, so "I was expected to do more than write on my notebook and talk non-stop to everybody."[107] This experience helped me in re-drawing my research questions[108] and to understand the nature of the network (*rede*) I was becoming involved with. In the same vein, it helped me examine how local relationships were being connected to a broader development scenario and regionalization juxtaposed to the kind of regionalism already in place in Upper Juruá. The GTT was a sign of this, and a counter-history to official economic and territorial integration.

Created in 2005, the GTT responded to an Ashaninka demand to build an articulation between civil society organizations working in Upper Juruá and forest-based peoples living in the area in order to tackle illegal logging. Already engaged with the *Life and Hope* (See Chapter 4) project involving national partners in the implementation of agroforestry systems, Ashaninka people at KRA IT started articulating with GTT a broader political strategy comprising participatory monitoring at the border. They felt it was particularly needed after the number of invasions increased in their territory in 2002, when Peru approved the Law of the Jungle[109].

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[107]As remarked by Moisés Pyanko, Ashaninka community leader in KRA IT.

[108]At that moment, as well as writing about it now, it was impossible not to recall the methodological frameworks informing this dissertation. For a broader debate on activist research with indigenous peoples in Latin America see Hale 2001; 2005; 2008. For an account of the relationship between activist research and a research oriented by an indigenous approach, see the Introduction to this study and its reference to Shawn Wilson´s perspective on research as ceremony (Wilson 2008).

[109] Alan Garcia approved the Law of the Jungle law in 2009, by which a legal and administrative apparatus was created to approve and deal with oil and mining concessions in the forest when the resources were in the subsoil. The bill allowed the overlap of mining concessions with Native Communities, with no necessary consent whenever these were not yet recognized and with negotiations when the lands were titled. The Law of the Jungle also enacted a clause that areas of forest concession could be expanded up to 100,000 acres for use of up to 40 years. Indigenous peoples would have no rights over subsoil resources. The bill followed the tendency already inaugurated during the Fujimori years with constitutional changes in 1990s, which created the legal framework for forests to be considered "zones of permanent production".

The intermittent invasions culminated in a Joint Task Force between Ashaninka people, Brazilian Federal Police, the Brazilian Army and the IBAMA, which forced 30 Peruvian loggers out of KRA IT on March 2004. Though able to connect the protection of their territory to national sovereignty discourse and environmental protection at the national level, the Ashaninka understood that more than 'official' help would be necessary to retain the integrity of their life project. Hence, with the assistance of CPI-AC, they called a meeting in KRA IT in April 2005 to propose a cross-border articulation among indigenous peoples, rubber tappers and extractivists and their associated organizations to organize a collaborative plan to promote the protection of Indigenous Territories and Conservation Units, in Brazil, and Native Communities, in Peru (See Map 8).

Gathering extended and cooperative protection was just what we were intending to do on the trip along the Tejo River: gain the adherence of the Extractive Reserve Population not just to the agroforestry systems and project, but to a transborder initiative, which understood the Upper Juruá as a region both at the borders and across them. The challenge would involve telling people that the GTT meeting would entail the possibility of talking about their region with Indigenous peoples and peasants from Peru as well as with organizations willing to fund their local strategy. This space offered the possibility of going beyond contending illegal logging invasions and toward a grassroots and integrative agenda, which would be possible by connecting practices on the Peruvian and Brazilian side, as the strategies of the latter would not succeed without coordination with the former.

In this sense, the Ashaninka argued that the GTT meeting in the CPI-AC office in Rio Branco would be a way of discussing strategies to make better living at *the borders* possible. At first, this expression seemed strange to me. It later made sense following the conversations I had with Benki Pyanko on the one-day boat trip to Restauração village, the most populated on the Tejo

River[110], inside the Upper Juruá Extractive Reserve. As Benki remarked, "there is life at the borders". For this reason, the GTT meeting was ultimately about life and the connections and networks needed to make it possible.

Ashaninka cosmologies about moving and their image of an extended place of living, as well as the *lifeways* transmitted, absorbed and remade by other forest-based peoples like rubber tappers, were key to the emergence of the GTT's transborder politics which, I will argue, has been designed as a form of cosmopolitics. For that reason, describing the process of calling people to the meeting is as important as its further examination for reflecting on the basis of this cosmopolitics.

The trip started at Yorenka Ãtame and the first stop was at the Kuntanawa[111] Sete Estrelas community, an indigenous settlement inside the Upper Juruá Extractivist Reserve[112]. The group decided to stop there because Sr. Milton, the Kuntanawa leader and one of the most important political leaders of the Juruá region, fell ill while helping organize the meeting and implementing a seed nursery project in the community. Once we arrived, we learned the community healer sent him to the health unit at Restauração.

Even with the absence of Sr. Milton, his son, 'Cauã'[113], showed us the seed nursery located strategically at the back of the school, so that children could take care of the plants as part of their activities in the community. Children's involvement in the life project at a very early age is part of the Ashaninka strategy, followed by other riverine and forest-based communities, of multiplying and preparing minds to put forth their voice in and within the Amazonian landscape. The seed nursery

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[110]There are approximately 150 families (about one thousand people) living at this community.

[111] The Kuntanawa people are part of an indigenous group who since the beginning of the 20th century have been working as rubber tappers in Upper Juruá. They consider the small site they live in the reserve as their traditional land because they carry life projects in the area since before the reserve was created. It is an example of how a space can be made into an indigenous political place due to connections (in this case with the rubber tappers who fought for the creation of the Extractivist reserve just as they did).

[112] For an extended definition of an Extractive Reserve, please check Chapter 4.

[113] It is a pseudonym.

was introduced to me as the backbone of education and socio-environmental justice. I understood at this moment that this was one of the role model projects for the GTT and that Benki had stopped there because he wanted the Kuntanawa example to be presented at Restauração in order to call for people's participation.

This motive became even clearer when 'Cauã' explained that the project was developing well, but that some people in the Kuntanawa community as well as in Restauração were unsure about the value of its accomplishments. According to 'Cauã', this was happening because former rubber tappers in Restauração had been to Peru and attested that some communities there were profiting by negotiating land use directly with companies – pointing toward an interest in immediate benefit that life projects could not keep up with in the short term. As news spread across borders, extractivists became seduced by the fast profit apparently provided by resource economy and development.

Benki interrupted the narrative and said they were probably forgetting how many communities in Peru were currently in a complete state of depletion due to the delusional belief that companies attend to their necessities once the natural resources were gone. This attitude, according to Benki, which had been engaging communities along the Upper Juruá since the big invasion in KRA IT in 2004, was ruining their chances of making their life projects succeed. Benki also recalled that it was precisely due to this illusion of enrichment that the Sawawo Ashaninka Native Community[114] in Peru lost most of its trees and contaminated its rivers, ending up asking for the help of Ashaninka people living in the Amônia River when they realized the potential of the cross border articulation.

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[114] This happened when the community made an agreement with *Forestal Venao*, a logging company, so that the company could operate on their land in exchange for a portion of the earnings. For this, Venao sponsored the process for Sawawo to become a land tenured Native Community. According to Peruvian legislation, native communities can negotiate directly with companies if they have land tenure (see footnote on the Law of the Jungle in this chapter). In the case of Sawawo, the overlapping occurred after the tenure. When the timber was gone, Venao stopped sponsoring and giving support to Ashaninka life projects, which have been left in a very unsustainable condition in the face of soil impoverishment, river contamination by mercury, and local wildlife extinction, causing food security problems.

'Cauã' added to Benki's observations, saying that people involved in the agroforestry project, living on the Extractive Reserve or in the ITs forget that land is not an individual enterprise. He illustrated this via the seed nursery, which is collective and exists because people fought for the collective use of the territory that was incorporated by Brazilian Federal legislation. The struggle and activism for the Reserve to be recognized as a Sustainable Conservation Unit where people can live and make their life was collective as was the land fuelling it.

When it comes to comparisons and engagements with peoples on the other side of the border, 'Cauã' said, they have to understand that life projects are collective. According to him, growing food, keeping seed nurseries and providing environmental education for children and adults branches out of a collective conceptualization that will obviously involve people and their life projects across borders. In this sense, he pointed out, we have to learn from their mistakes in using their collectivity to work with companies and not imitate them in something that will not add to our landscape. Long term planning and deep transformation cannot be substituted for immediacy. The engagement would emerge in horizontality through relating various important events and actions, such as the GTT.

As smooth as the cosmology that allowed the occupation of the forest, the emergence of a politics beyond borders in Upper Juruá would have to be grounded in an ethics of place. This place should be seen as an extended shared space where people would connect their ways of living throughout a contiguous region. What would make Upper Juruá a region would not be the fact that geographically many CUs or ITs are together in an ecological environment, but the fact that the vicinity in geography extends to relations of solidarity. Such relations, strengthened by the necessity to fight against encroachment in protected areas, blur the limits between different territories and foster an environment for shared learning and protection. This is the case because one protected

territory cannot exist or endure if communities in surrounding territories are not involved in sustainability as a collective action. Precisely due to the relevance of relationships and their undeniable presence in this region, sustainable life projects would depend mostly on how communities connect and chose to connect in order to avoid direct dependency on external social actors for their articulation.

It is important to stress that connection from inside out does not mean disengagement with external actors. Much to the contrary, engagement with external actors was completely necessary, as laid out earlier. However, this engagement could not be determined by an idea of collectivity forged outside or without conversation with the groups directly involved. Recalling the politics of how Ashaninka people became indigenous in Brazil by making the Rainforest their home, this manner of hosting and discussing ideas, peoples and projects in calling for the GTT evinced a form of cosmopolitanism now common in the Amazon Rainforest.

This cosmopolitanism came from the transformation of this space in a place full of different cultures and traditions, where the attempt to make land into a collective experience ended up creating a modus operandi of hospitality and dialogue amongst most of the population. This is quite often forgotten by state officials who find no roads to take them there. The same cosmopolitanism was based in a form of politics, of relations amongst people coming and going, that brought to the fore different forms of seeing the space and, consequently, of distributing and exercising power amongst people. Against the process of frontier expansion then and now, cosmologies and politics entangle in customary hospitality in the Amazon as a place of constant and ongoing occupation[115].

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[115] As Marisol de la Cadena notes in reflecting about indigenous politics (in the Andes), we should recognize, for the purpose of stimulating and acknowledging changes in politics, that there are other forms of relating politically departing from kinship, religion and ways of being which lead to intimate connection between ways of seeing the world spiritually and how one should live and allow the others to live in it, moving through it (de la Cadena 2010). The politics in indigeneity and indigenous cosmologies can point out to this way of engagement to others in movement based on an idea of extended territory that defies the only historical possibilities of the political to spatial limits, either by reference or by negotiation concerning staying, moving or being political through these limits.

When 'Cauã' told Benki that the fact he had hosted people from Sawawo in KRA IT could make people suspicious of him, Benki's response was that in the GTT meeting they would be discussing alternatives to agreements with companies, hospitality connected to Ashaninka cosmology and the reality of dwelling as resistance in Upper Juruá. As Benki said, he had to host people from Sawawo. First, because they were Ashaninka people and, second, because if he had not, the whole idea of the rainforest as extended place of resistance and the protection of land as collective endeavor would be undermined. Further, in knowing about the story in Sawawo and their standpoint on challenges brought by companies, people in GTT would have the opportunity to learn the perspective Ashaninka people living in Peru have on land and why they thought it would now be interesting to get closer to the collective projects in Upper Juruá.

These projects represented how they wanted to see themselves in the future in perspective with one another, with the forest and with the border region, in other words, with the landscape. The possibility of opening a situated political space for cooperation would also depend on the standpoint of people who had rejected the idea of land as collective in the past – as Sawawo did – so that the perspective of seeing it as collective could be enhanced using exactly what they had neglected: the forest as the place of making home and surviving for many and not just for one community. 'Cauã' added to Benki's response, talking about how logging companies would be complete outsiders to the project for the Upper Juruá and for the forest:

> This is something the companies cannot come to terms with because they are not interested in our living-well politics (*bem viver*) and in the way we handle the resources as part of our relationships and of the making and remaking of the forest as our place of living, cherishing and building community.

Foreseeing tension in Restauração, Benki suggested a meeting for the same afternoon we arrived. In preparation, he suggested that 'Cauã' invite everyone living in the community. While we were inviting people for this small meeting, the Kuntanawa and Ashaninka drew maps of their life

projects to point out changes in natural resource management at the Sete Estrelas community with the implementation of the seed nursery. In sketching the drawings, members of the community walked along the forest and marked the growth and harvesting at specific points, pointing out the impacts on the fauna and flora and the consequent effects on hunting and gathering activities.

When designing the maps, community members 'draw their region' on top of the regular cartographical map according to their activities and the climate in each season of the year, as they interpret it, turning the flat map into a circular referential image[116] which illustrates their everyday living. They also include developmental projects undertaken by both the Peruvian and Brazilian states and the resulting transformations of the space and their relationship to it. In other words, the ethno maps they were producing in the community outlined activities practiced by different actors that altered the use of the space and the life projects through which many communities intersect. Creating the maps was equally important as a political practice that could build and reposition their place as political and of the space (forest) as an inseparable part of their political engagement. As they were engaging with their cosmographies, questions to be discussed at the meeting came up, such as how to implement a communitarian invigilation system at the border and how to share and disseminate agroforestry knowledge[117] across borders in order to map strategies beyond and in spite of them.

Talking all night and visiting and staying for some hours in nearby communities, we revised maps, reinforcing their necessity and strategic role in the GTT meeting. We were also able to set our

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[116] With this I mean that maps are visually flat, which gives the impression that the points and lines on it are not connected. Nevertheless, when the Ashaninka people and other groups reference the everyday practices of land use on the map they are actually making reference to their past stories about the territory, how it came to be the way it is, and what kind of activity is necessary for it to look a specific way on the map. The map is not about lines defining sites and locations that are not related. Much to the contrary, whatever appears on the map is part of the everyday activities.

[117] This is connected to the idea presented in the introduction and discussed in the first chapter, that the production of knowledge for the indigenous groups and the social movements I had been in contact with is strictly related to their experiences of relationality, in other words, to how they experience and exchange knowledge.

agenda for the meeting in Restauração, which was fundamental for gathering extended participation in the GTT and reinforcing cosmopolitics in Upper Juruá. In total, we had ten more people coming with us to the village to talk about the GTT and to help invite more participants to the meeting.

Mapping Life for Trespassing Maps

After visiting and talking to people in approximately five communities along the river, we arrived at Restauração village. As is usual in riverine communities, many people were already waiting at the port to help us climb up the banks with our materials – participatory maps[118], regular maps from the Upper Juruá region, Global Positioning System (GPS) equipment, and a computer with a projector so we could show images of other GTT activities and meetings. Among the pictures, Benki included some of the Forest Peoples' Alliance, from back in the early 1990s, and some of the meeting between rubber tappers and indigenous groups at Yorenka Ãtame, which I described in the last chapter.

In beginning with the pictures, the strategy was clear: remind people reticent about the bottom-up transborder action that alliances had already been occurring for a long time now, resulting in the creation of their territories. As a matter of fact, these alliances were ongoing and, changing over time, ended up introducing Peruvian indigenous and non-indigenous communities and external partners such as NGOs to what was their way of making politics. Changes in alliances made between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples in Upper Juruá attested to connections that were made outside of the immediate geographical areas involving the Ashaninka IT in Brazil or the Extractive Reserve. However, even if changed, the present alliances do not deny the intensely connected network which gave birth to those made in the past. Therefore, Benki's strategy was to bring a global and placed politics to the region, where alliances were for the region as a whole and

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[118] For a definition of participatory and ethno-maps and an example of how the process was connected to the creation of the management plan at KRA IT, see Chapter 4.

geared toward the protections of territories, be those indigenous or non-indigenous, either in Brazil or in Peru. The GTT would be a sign of its ongoing process of intensifying and changing the nature of the connections. Neither the engagement, nor the sense of place was different than it used to be though.

When connections were intensified with the addition of other groups in the resistance scenario, there was a shared understanding that for the place to survive, other places across and within borders would have to be added. The process happened through the addition of people participating and engaging with the struggle which brought back, especially between forest-based groups in Brazil and Peru, a cosmology grounding politics based on mobility, a movement justifying dwelling and resisting colonization and imperialism within the forest that existed prior to borders.

Pictures of the participatory mapping process in KRA IT and images of the course at Yorenka served well as an illustration of where the GTT could go and the relevance of Restauração dwellers for helping to raise the challenges and problems of the community that needed to be discussed (See Picture 3). Participatory maps produced by Restauração dwellers made along with indigenous groups at Yorenka mainly illustrated how deforestation, as a consequence of increased cattle ranching, was affecting harvesting and subsistence. These advances were jeopardizing the life projects of many communities in the surrounding area, and the politics of enhancing biodiversity by investing in the diversification of food production by seeding and saving native species.

The argument for discussing this at the GTT reinforced the idea that it would not be enough to conserve biodiversity in one's own site of living or in a restricted community. If others sharing the same river (Juruá), the same soil and contributing to the same landscape, were not part of the process, the diversification ideal they were proposing would not be easily achieved. Participation in this would mean partaking in biodiversity conservation, which for them meant the nourishing of

alliances for integrated life projects in the region and the ongoing process of making the Upper Juruá valley into a region. In this sense, the process of mapping would delineate community life, and not forget its intrinsic bonds with the whole region. This was a very different approach than partitioning the region according to scales or hierarchies with each group developing a specific function.

As reinforced by Benki and 'Pedro'[119], an agroforester[120] and dweller in Restauração, this was what they were doing in the course at Yorenka. The GTT meeting and possible involvement with other group activities would be a way to keep the conversation going, despite the occurrence of specific courses. Courses would be the educational and practical moment of exchange for reinventing alliances. In the same direction, although on a different front, adherence to the GTT would guarantee that the results of mapping and agroforestry, including the detection of invasions in protected areas, could be shared by communities and spread regionally. The co-constitutive practices of mapping, invigilation and of building common objectives for a regional development based on communities' priorities was also sending a signal to external partners, like researchers and funding agencies, that this was a way of conserving biodiversity while also promoting life projects. Participatory mapping would foster diversity among communities and within territories, be those ITs or Conservation Units based in Direct Sustainable Use.[121]

This conceptual debate was developed the very first afternoon we arrived. The following day, a General Assembly was convened for Restauração dwellers and all others living in nearby communities. Inevitably, questions about why we were going to Rio Branco and about the participation of the Peruvians came up again. And some dwellers, ex-rubber tappers, pointed out

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[119] Pedro is a pseudonym

[120] For the definition of agroforester or agroforestry agent, see Chapter 4.

[121] This category means that it is a natural conservation area where people can live and practice economic activities for subsistence as long as they are practiced in a sustainable way, based on a territorial management plan.

that they were starting to work with cattle because there was no alternative for them in such an isolated part of the forest. Benki remarked that perhaps in the short run that could be profitable for them, but what would happen when intense deforestation due to slash and burn practices for cattle ranching overtook the region, and the resulting floods destroyed the harvest of daily staple foods like cassava, papaya and bananas? As 'Pedro' said, the market, and the buyers at Marechal Thaumaturgo village, would not help them and neither would the profit from cattle ranching.

Benki agreed with Pedro and started making the connection between the Ashaninka management plan and the GTT in order to talk about the relevance of Peruvian communities participating. The maps were again the node for connecting the stories and the relevance of the meeting. Benki explained to people that the experiences of participatory mapping that at this time were reaching the Extractive Reserve began simultaneously with the creation of the GTT, when KRA IT was invaded by illegal loggers coming from the Sawawo community in Peru. There the community had engaged in a management plan based on Forestal Venao company interests and not on their own necessities. Keeping this in mind, Benki explained that they had to think about their management plan, taking the issue into consideration across borders, on the other side of the river.

When the Ashaninka people developed their environmental and territorial management plan in 2007, the invasions could not be left aside when doing the maps to be a reference for the plan. The participatory mapping process united the community even more in the call for action beyond borders and more space for action was built into the plan and in conjunction with the study and articulation of the border issue. With that, they made the first call to the Government and to the people at Upper Juruá to observe the area as a complex socio-environmental place, where any action needed to be taken in coordination with local people.

In answering questions about what their connection with the Army and the Federal Police was at that time, and in what sense this link to official power could be considered *working with the community*, Benki said that the decision to access them was made because the people at KRA IT thought it was not their role to patrol borders. However, it was their role to detect problems and to participate actively in solving them. National sovereignty was not their business, but the balance and protection of the territory on their land was. In this sense, if the federal agencies had any information about people or operations in the IT, they needed to know about it. According to him, the border was under the Brazilian government's jurisdiction, but the IT was at the border and they should therefore have access to information in order to include it in the maps produced by the community (See Map 7), as these dynamics are also an important and definitive part of the landscape. Benki then showed the map and said:

> This map is the result of all the studies we carried on in our community. It is the illustration of how we understand and use our land. The invasions are part of our history and we explain them now and according to what had happened in the past. We also explain the present and what can happen in the future if we do not carry out more effective action.

With that, Benki informed them that their plan was buttressed by the border issue. Nonetheless, for them the 'border issue' represented more than the invasions per se, but the necessity of dealing with the Upper Juruá as a region of articulated territories. He highlighted again that as opposed to how it was in Peru, the management plan and the participatory mapping did not aim to provide economic independence to Indigenous peoples in terms of finance and cash flow, a model which as a matter of fact favored the invasions. Peruvian legislation for Zones of Permanent Production in the forest gave the idea to indigenous communities that inclusion would come via the economic opportunities stemming from resource development. They would be citizens of the forest inasmuch they were part of this time (and resource) limited opportunity.

The problem with the Peruvian approach, according to the Ashaninka people living in KRA IT, is that they do not realize resources are renewable if communities work the forest as they used to work it since time immemorial. Different processes of land use, as Benki described, bring different consequences for the landscape. The annihilation of the forest as it occurred in Sawawo Native Community will be no different in Restauração when it comes to cattle, said Benki, if you do not look at Upper Juruá as a whole. As he stressed, when they reached out to the Army and the Federal Police and, recently, when they opened their community for cooperation with the Sawawo community, they were looking for sovereignty over their lifeways and life projects rather than for national sovereignty.

The invasion, the creation of the GTT and the outreach the Ashaninka undertook promoting sovereignty over their *lifeways* strengthened their connections with CPI-AC, as noted earlier, as well as with international NGOs such as TNC. Benki explained at Restauração that these connections ultimately resulted in their environmental and territorial plan, which corroborated their ways of using land. This use, more connected to everyday living, could not avoid dealing with the surrounding areas. As use was connected to linkages, all the surrounding areas to KRA IT became part of an integrated mosaic which tried to resemble an interrelated ecosystem (or Forest) among the most important parts of which were the political relations and agreements between and within different communities.

The area that the environmental technicians would call landscape at the borders has been for a long time their political landscape for survival, on the move. They have always seen the border as the continuation of their life in a holistic manner, as a borderscape. These relationships and strategies were profoundly connected to inner understandings about the politics of place in Upper Juruá, where resistance and life projects had for so long been linked to border settlement and to

global scenarios captured in and by this landscape. As remarked by Francisco Pyanko, Benki's brother:

> As time went by, we have realized that we cannot work just within the limits of our land, because the sustainability of our life project also depends on our neighbours, on Brazilian national politics, on Peruvian national politics (…) it is difficult to solve because we have to deal with another country because if there are borders, there are different laws in the other side. (…) Many times we had to appeal to the Brazilian government to articulate with the Peruvian government for us: in trying to make them sensible in order to join forces with our life projects and trying to make the border communities understand that we do not want to bother them, we just want peace to this region (Francisco Pyanko, Preface to the Ashaninka Management Plan 2007: 9)

The negotiations with the Peruvian government Francisco was referring to involved a meeting between Benki Pyanko and the Peruvian president Alejandro Toledo in Peru in March 2005. Benki was accompanied by the governor of Acre at this time, Jorge Viana, who after denouncements made by Ashaninka individuals at the National Commission of Human Rights in Brasilia had begun to follow up with the Apiwtxa community. This story was especially interesting for people in Restauração because one of the question points raised by Benki and directed to Jorge Viana was that if Acre was internationally recognized as the Government of the Forest, formed in alliance with Indigenous peoples and rubber tappers at the end of 1990s, the same government was not taking care of the forest in letting these kind of invasions occur. Benki said he had been invited to go to Peru to expose the situation. On that occasion, he tried to present the Upper Juruá area as a continuum of social lives and as an integrated environment that would be impacted by regional trade and infrastructure integration in light of news of the construction of a road connecting Peru and Brazil, cutting right through the forest.[122]

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[122] The road between Peru and Brazil, also called the Pacific or Interoceanic road, was completed and officially inaugurated in July 2011 under Peruvian President Alan Garcia. Connecting to previously built roads in Brazil and Peru, the road establishes connectivity between the Atlantic and the Pacific Ocean and represents one of the canons of South-American integration and development based on infrastructure and energy projects sponsored by the Initiative for Integration of Regional Infrastructure in South America (IIRSA).

With that, he made clear to the community why the participation of the Peruvians would be so important. The mapping of their lives and the articulation of their strategies through the GTT demanded it. In asking me to read the preface to the management plan and talking about the international and regional scenario, Benki found the space to introduce me as an ally, illustrating that from a researcher's perspective the regional integration plans proposed by the government could hinder the regional integration he envisioned and had already explained.

I ended the conversation by saying that of course the trip to Rio Branco would be long, but that this city had been a part of the articulation of forest-based peoples for a long time. Also, in taking advantage of pre-preparation we were doing in the forest, we could arrive in Rio Branco and meet with the forest-based peoples at another part of the border, the Acre Valley region, a community that had already suffered a great deal from the road connecting Brazil and Peru. The city of Rio Branco could then be a point of connection for peoples to meet, along with peoples from Peru, and to make a statement – that Upper Juruá is still a source for biodiversity as a diverse and integrated life project. Pressure to transform the southwestern Amazon's extended forest-rural area to favor big forestry and agricultural business would be discussed as a group, and of course there would be discord and conflict. However, the presence of various peoples from different places and with different perspectives all aiming to conserve the *lifeways* of Upper Juruá would be a way to make their voices heard by the local government in Rio Branco.

In addition, if they could assemble information from the communities about the ways they were being affected by the national government's thinking on regional development and border politics, they could not only have a document organized, but also community solutions to present to the government. As I tried to convey with the least possible degree of intervention, if they chose to adhere to cattle ranching, opting for the short term benefits of infrastructural integration as well as a

management plan in agreement with the private sector, it would first be interesting to hear the stories of various communities in Peru and the Acre Valley region. These were stories of impact and disruption, which they somehow tried to capture with the participatory maps.

The final message in the meeting in Restauração community was based on two specific and important points:

1) The Extractive Reserve, as the IT, was a collective territory; each small producer or rubber tapper was entitled to use the land under a collective agreement. There is nothing in the agreement related to the promotion of private enterprise or to agreements within the community so that they can make profit as individuals using land or the resources in the reserve. The promotion of activities as such would defy the concept of collective use they worked for to have a collective land. "This was the biggest victory they could ever have possibly had in 1990 with the creation of the reserve", 'Pedro' pointed out.

2) Both the Extractive Reserve and the IT were limited territories. This means that in actual juridical reality, *lifeways* and strategies of survival have to be conceptualized according to the territorial limits. However, because the Upper Juruá Extractivist Reserve is 'at the borders' with the KRA IT and with Peru, their connectivity made the territorial (in terms of environmental and land categories in Brazil and national borders with Peru) very fluid throughout all these spaces, which transgress the actual borders.

In this sense, the point was that when communities think the territories are reckoning with geopolitical and jurisdictional restrictions they cannot forget the potential for collaboration stemming from ecological and socio connectivity comes long before NGO and conservationist strategies. This is not to say that any kind of cooperation with the latter should not be considered. However, what 'Cauã', Benki and 'Pedro' were trying to say was that strategies had already been

developed in their everyday living. Precisely for this reason, thinking about the impact of coordination and cooperation in the GTT could appear to be an option to deal with the limited territory.

To make connections, albeit departing from participatory mapping and territorial planning, the Ashaninka people included activities of resistance beyond borders as well as strategies built in conjunction with rubber tappers in their maps. The IT ends up being a node in the network of Indigenous groups and organizations, extractive associations and other collaborators in Upper Juruá, which helped in designing it into a 'working region' practicing, living and resisting throughout the geographical space. Articulation of the participatory mapping as part of their *lifeways* attests to the external and internal borders in Upper Juruá as being part of a unique social and biodiverse place.

Places within Networks: The Transborder Working Group Meeting

When we reached Rio Branco for the GTT meeting, one thing was very clear about the articulation going on: the relevance of the process. It is not that the meeting per se was not fundamental. Yet how the meeting was articulated through the invitations was a key factor attesting to both the importance of relationships in shaping the way Upper Juruá is, and the necessity of partnerships between communities – precisely to recall the strong relationships that made resistance to chattel slavery, deforestation and displacement possible. The most interesting aspect of the process was how and to what extent forest peoples brought something other than contentious and oppositional politics to the political vocabulary, by working as a collective through resistance in and for the Upper Juruá region in making it into a 'working region' (and not a geographically immobile site).

In this sense, when talking about the politics of the GTT meeting and all of the connections and connectivity built between the Ashaninka and external partners, such as international and national NGOs, the point is not that they and other forest-based groups were able to create a strategy due to their global connections. The inner characteristic of the movement arising in Upper Juruá and, therefore, of the network emerging from within it, was exactly the nature of the relationships informing the same network. These relationships were stemming from Ashaninka cosmologies concerning the intrinsic connection between the forest and its peoples engendering an interest and a disposition to listen to other viewpoints stemming from other forest-based cosmologies, not only their own[123]. These cosmologies ended up operating as perspectives, standpoints through which to participate. Understanding how the other lives and respecting it, became the only way to endure (Viveiros de Castro 2012) collectively. It is exactly at this point that politics - representing relations among people that involve power in various forms of manifestation - will connect to cosmologies – the way indigenous groups will understand the world around them and their role in this encompassing world in relation to and in communion with it.

This is why nature cannot be separated from culture, because what people do in the forest depends on how the forest responds to it and vice-versa. Transposing this to networks among different forest-based groups that have the forest as their main reason for interaction and as a home, interactions make us see the contact between these groups as a constant. Through the ongoing contact and the construction of networks in contact, they have always been in relation to one another and to the Upper Juruá region. With networks emerging from relationships, it can be concluded that it was the articulations and the process of making them that made the GTT possible, not the reverse.

As illustrated, Upper Juruá, already networked and expanding from judicially recognized territories (i.e., ITs and Conservation Units (CU)), served well as a venue for working out the idea (and the practice) of the KRA IT as an extended place. According to this concept, territorial bounds would be less important than the connections and relationships departing from them. The GTT meeting we were attending, consequently, was part of the whole process, a node in motion (a site with political subjects) in the network emerging out of the heart of Upper Juruá. In thinking about the discussions that I will describe as shared practices of resistance, I will expand on the possibility of conciliating 'being-in-place with being in networks' (Escobar and Harcourt 2005; Escobar 2008) following Ashaninka politics transposed to the city of Rio Branco.

For this purpose it is important to highlight that in this image and concept of the network, each node and part is as important as the whole assemblage (*rede*) (Escobar 2008). This is because each part has the potential or capacity to actively influence the nature of the network and to act independently. However, in doing so, their identities are already changing because of the relationships that have been built through the network. In a nutshell, there are no pre-defined and essential identities (Escobar 2008: 287)[124]. This mode of thinking uncovered by researchers working with social movements as knowledge producers, and with places as the material base for mobilization and alternative socialization (independently of its extension and boundaries), seems interesting for imagining how indigenous groups in Upper Juruá overcome the ontological barrier of the categories imposed on them by space constriction and territorial delegation. Again, the process of organizing for the meeting was a way to overcome restrictions to action coming from a) national borders, b) Indigenous Territory borders and c) economic and legal boundaries stemming from

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[124] With this, Escobar was making his definition of the network as a fundamental part of what he called social ontology, a different way of explaining and articulating what is considered to be part of the social and what counts as resistance, departing from places where resistance is occurring based on collective everyday experiences. For an extended discussion, see Chapter 6 in Escobar 2008.

changes in Constitutional law – the latter of which occurs more intensely in Peru, but is spreading slowly in Brazil in order to enact South-American regional integration as a national developmental project.

The meeting took place between November 26th and 28th in 2009 at CPI-AC. The first day was dedicated to debriefing the process of articulation of the GTT since 2005. This was very well summed up in descriptions of the invitation trips from indigenous and extractivist groups. As is very common in meetings with forest peoples in the Amazon, and following a practice common among indigenous groups, everybody present was called to a circle to introduce himself or herself. This set the scenario and allowed for debriefing sessions about preparations for the meeting to come up naturally. In observing and participating in the process, I can say that it was the participatory orientation of the GTT that worked well for people who were still in doubt about how the group would work when Peruvians and other allies from the Upper Acre valley were present.

In the personal introductions, people were focusing more on what the GTT was representing at that moment for the place they were coming from. With that, the participatory orientation was more a moment of thinking about **where to go from here** and **what the here is**, rather than stressing a creational moment. As the person entered the circle, he or she would situate his or her personal presentation inside the context of the GTT. This way of introducing people and issues, as well as the organizations or communities they were part of, situated the group composition and the possible conversations and topics to be tackled or shaped during the meeting.

When people from Restauração introduced themselves and presented some of the points discussed in preparation for the meeting, they first remarked that they believed that in being there they could engage more and keep working on life projects collectively in Upper Juruá, and exchange with border areas in Acre as a whole. As they pointed out, this would make Upper Juruá 'a region of

life and freedom'. They described how they had learned about participatory mapping during a meeting involving more than 1,000 people in Restauração. On that occasion, as extractivists pointed out, Benki Pyanko stressed that the continuation of the reforestation project (*Life and Hope*)[125] would depend on a collective initiative and mobilization in association with communities in Peru.

While working with the maps and incorporating their challenges into them, people from the Extractive Reserve started to believe in what Benki was saying. They stressed that they were at the meeting to hear from other communities and different partners, like CPI-AC and the environmental organization SOS Amazonia. The latter was also bringing more extractivists from other communities at Upper Juruá. In ending their introduction to the public, which was followed by Franscisco Pyanko, they expressed what they thought would be the commitments necessary to engage in biodiversity conservation for guaranteeing sustainable life to communities in the region:

a) Perpetuation of life projects, which includes the strengthening of the Forest Peoples' Alliance[126] to counter national developmental projects such as roads, settlements, oil prospection and the impacts of oil and forest concessions coming of the border;

b) Attendance at meetings with updated information in hand in order to exchange with other communities and contribute to ways of carrying on engaged life projects based on the drawing of a transborder participatory map and, as a group, detecting points of invasion of illegal logging, fishing and hunting;

c) Narrate the process through which information was gathered and how the communities decided which points would be important to raise at meetings. This would determine the

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[125] For a description of the movement and the reforestation initiative it is implementing in the forest, see Chapter 4.

[126] See Chapter 4 for definition.

degree of participation and inclusion,[127] and attest to the fact that the GTT was a work in progress needing informed commitment from its participants.

The way people from Restauração initiated the meeting in partnership with the group of Ashaninka from the KRA IT was emblematic of the participation and inclusion issue arising from discussions of the problems and threats in Upper Juruá. Following their testimonial, a leader from Saweto, an Ashaninka Native Community in Peru located at the banks of the Tamaya River,[128] pointed out that union and alliances would be very important for the possibility of common development in the region in accordance with the communities' life projects. According to him, participation in the GTT meeting would provide knowledge about the situation in Peru and Brazil in terms of border politics, developmental projects and legislation. And in looking at these issues from the point of view of the communities, together they would be able to study the dynamics intersecting them all, and finally have a sense of how they could work together to materialize a perspective realized during the meeting that they are much closer to each other than the reality posed by the border separating Brazil from Peru. For the Peruvian indigenous leader, the border gives the false idea of distance that is much more related to the politics of the countries rather than to the politics of the communities. The degree to which communities associate themselves to those state politics will determine how far they are from each other at the border. It would be impossible

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[127] Donna Lee Van Cott in her extensive scholarship on ethnic politics in Latin America points out that participation does not necessarily entail inclusion. Inclusion, however, demands participation (Van Cott 2000; 2007; 2008). Although, she is speaking more in connection to governmental politics, by listening to Indigenous peoples talking about it, it is possible to see how the appropriation of these terms play out in their networked and placed politics.

[128]The Tamaya River is part of the Abujao basin in Peru. The rivers in the Abujao basin flow to the Juruá River, with headwaters in Peru.

to talk about their situation at the borders if it were not through this 'transborder community based alliance'.[129]

This affirmation was very much based on what Patricio's[130] community was going through and what he had to experience to attend the GTT. He entered Brazil hidden and walking through the forest and crossing the river until he got to KRA IT. This was because the Saweto community had not yet been titled and there was pressure coming from logging companies encroaching on the traditional land. Since 'Patricio' had decided to try to mobilize the community to reject the logging companies' funding for land tenure through private environmental management plans, he had been constantly threatened by people working for the logging companies. He said that along the Tamaya River, Saweto was the only community denying 'logging company deals' and that if they could get land tenure out of the activism and awareness raised by the GTT, it would be one more piece in the mosaic of transforming Upper Juruá into a continuous region with its biodiversity conserved in accordance with communities' strategies in dialogue.

A Kaxinawa (Huni Kui) leader and agroforester, Mana[131], complemented 'Patricio', thanking him for sharing his story with peoples in Brazil. Mana remarked that since they were all *transborder indigenous peoples*, living either in Brazil or Peru, they should talk about this condition collectively. As he said, there would be no survival if these borders were not overcome by the very act of talking about them and seeing them as their collective place of living. To this end, they needed to know stories like the one Patricio told, to acquaint themselves with and acknowledge the work of other groups and organizations, indigenous and non-indigenous, in order to exchange experiences and

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[129] The observation about the Ashaninka case through a transborder perpective against illegal logging was called transborder political ecology as a result of collaborative research between the University of Richmond and the Universidad Nacional de Ucayali. For an in depth account, see Salisbury, Alvarado et al 2011.

[130] It is a pseudonym

[131] This his real name as he asked to be quoted as such.

resist in sharing. This testimonial made sense with what Patricio referred to as 'the last piece in the mosaic' because without the inclusion and participation of everyone who is part of the landscape in sharing these experiences, as Mana pointed out, the resistance would be fraught and resilience in place impossible.

Amongst the 'partners' (as the Ashaninka, Kaxinawa and other groups in Acre usually say), were CPI-AC, SOS Amazonia, Instituto del Bien Comun de Peru, Fundación Pronaturaleza, Instituto de Pesquisa Ambiental da Amazonia (Amazon Environmental Research Institute, a Brazilian NGO [IPAM]) and the Rainforest Foundation Norway. Working with the partners were more than 100 representatives from different indigenous and extractivist communities[132] in the meeting, which was mostly funded by an articulation agreement between partners, communities and organizations that led to a bi-national project.

The project, called *"Fortalecendo a Integração Fronteiriça Acre-Ucayali"* (Strengthening Acre-Ucayali Integration) was initiated during the same year of the meeting, in January 2009. It was the result of an articulation social movements were building across borders for the conservation of protected areas, including CUs, ITs, Native Communities and National Parks. After interviews and visits to many protected areas at the border between Peru (in the department of Ucayali) and Brazil (in the state of Acre) the Amazon Cooperation Treaty Organization (ACTO) began to call for pilot projects for the promotion of biodiversity conservation by local communities, which was becoming one of the organization's main policies for enhancing security, development and democracy in the region.

There was an understanding developing one year before the call for pilot project applications that, as a regional organization for promoting development and cooperation in the Amazon, the

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[132] For a list of the GTT members see Annex 1.

ACTO should be tackling the forest as a political and social region rather than as individual countries. Toward this end, any projects developed through ACTO should prioritize cooperation among communities and governments, at the national and local level, so that the target was not just changes and monitoring in national and international legislation, but projects for developing trans-border conservation areas.

It is worth mentioning that the bi-national pilot project, promoted by the ACTO institutional framework and sponsored by GIZ, stemmed from the activities of the GTT as well as from the follow up, mainly from the GIZ, with projects in Peru and Brazil focusing on community development and the strengthening of food sovereignty through the local institutionalization of agroforestry systems. Even if the ACTO and the GIZ were interested in observing which would be the most effective forms of providing institutional support to enhance a regional framework or forum between the governments of Ucayali and Acre, it was noted that a possible and effective forum between the two of them aimed at biodiversity conservation would depend, from the start, on coordinating with and listening to communities about how to develop the project. It was necessary to know what they would do and what kind of actions they would carry out to promote integration through participatory action.

Faced with the necessity of having the organizational and state framework in the project, CPI-AC and SOS Amazonia conducted fieldwork and many interviews with approximately 50 communities living along the Juruá River. Program officers wrote and afterward initiated the execution of the Brazilian counterpart of the project accordingly. Along with community members, officers proposed that the latter would have a seat on the project Steering Committee in order to participate effectively in the construction of the 'Fórum de Integração Fronteiriça Acre-Ucayali' (Acre-Ucayali Transborder Integration Forum [FIFAU, Brazilian acronym]).

A certain disruption in official politics occurred during the GTT meeting when partners and the government of Acre presented the FIFAU. The reason was that, in comparison to the GTT and to the activities developed directly between the partners and indigenous and extractivist communities, the articulation within the forum had not advanced. It was not that the communities were only important for writing the project and making it more inclusive. They were also important for discussing it at the policy making and evaluation level. Communities, through partnerships developed over years, before and beyond the scope of the project, were able to reach objectives like an increase in reforested areas (more than a 500,000 ha), formation of stewardship committees for issues like the encroachment of cattle ranching and communitarian invigilation for illegal logging, and promoted, whenever possible, meetings to exchange information through participatory maps. This should be an example of self-organization to the forum.

In addition to these factors, if it were not for community input, the government of Ucayali and Acre technical chambers for sustainable development would not have the necessary information to discuss legislation and budget for regional developmental policy. Precisely when representatives of the government of Acre touched on the budgetary issue, many community representatives took the stage and asked, for example, why the chambers were not spending money to promote research and exchange of information for campaigning for the demarcation and recognition of the Saweto Native Community, the territory that "the 'ally' from Peru had just talked about."

The question was, if the governments of Acre and Ucayali were supposed to invest in an intergovernmental structure to deal with problems at the border – enhancing cooperation to invigilate the area so that communities would be protected – then why not begin with the threats detected by involved communities? As one Ashaninka person from Saweto pointed out,

strengthening integration would rely to a certain extent on observing how communities were already promoting integration at the border.

Attempting to mediate the situation, the son of Antonio Pyanko, Francisco Pyanko[133], who in 2009 was acting as the Indigenous Issues rapporteur for the state of Acre, said that everybody should try to see the space there as an opportunity for conversation. He gave an example about the creation of the Steering Committee for the *Serra do Divisor* National Park mediated by SOS Amazonia. The committee was a stepping stone in terms of promoting dialogue throughout the forest, as it was able to reunite different communities in favor of creating the protected area or not. The dialogues were important to keep one part of the park available to the people living in it and harvesting and hunting for their subsistence. There was no need for displacement and talks and community engagement through the Steering Committee were fundamental to monitor and discuss changes in environmental law that could possibly have led to interventions in the way the land was managed. At this moment, it was clear that people living in the surroundings of the park would also have to participate in the committee meetings.

In the case of the GTT, Francisco recalled, many events were already pointing toward where leadership should focus. However, one of the most important things would be to realize that threats in Upper Juruá were a regional issue. The work of the community throughout the region, whether lands were titled or not – and by this he was referring to differences between Peru and Brazil – would be the path to officially regionalizing the problem. He gave the example that before the Ashaninka people started working on the management plan, and including issues affecting Ashaninka people in Peru in it, it was impossible to see anything about the invasions and the communities there in maps of Upper Juruá. Due to ongoing work across borders, there is now

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[133] It is his real name and he wanted to be quoted by this.

information about what happens on the Peruvian side of the border and its effects in protected areas in Brazil.

According to him, after the contribution of the Ashaninka people there were maps used by the Federal government which acknowledged impacts in border territories. Nevertheless, this usage was in tandem with the conception of the borders as areas of expansion of economic frontiers and not as *landscapes of life*. When frontiers like that expand, said Francisco, there is usually an urge to turn the forest into a city or, if not, into an area for *rural development*. For him, the changes characterizing this social turn promoted by the government to manage the forest should be presented to government officers as a kind of evaluation of the social programs that were designed for other areas and were now being transported to the forest.

Francisco said that due to other priorities the problem Saweto represents to the security of communities at the border are pushed outside the inter-governmental agenda. According to him, the Peruvian and the Brazilian governments are more concerned with working on bi-national cooperation concerning the adaptation of income transfer programs from Brazil to Peru for funding families so that their children can go to school rather than looking at problems occurring with indigenous populations living across their borders. At these places, local or municipal governments have no incentives to promote local and intercultural education, let alone to work on demarcating indigenous territories in a conjoint work with national governments. Precisely due to this governmental position, the audience concluded it was important to look at the interplay between the lack of regional policies to support the demarcation of Native Communities in Peru (*Comunidades Nativas*) and to stimulate the approximation with the Brazilian Federal government, which is an old desire of the governments of Acre and Ucayali for the transborder politics.

This was worth observing, particularly because the Brazilian Federal government was committing to national developmental plans in which the southwestern Amazon is the central axis for the infra-structural project to connect the Atlantic with the Pacific Ocean. Simultaneously, to speed up the integration process, support to economic and ecological zoning and environmental management plans grounded in the regional experience was needed. A point defended by the community was how to make use of this regional experience and, at the same time, question the regional development plans put forth by the association between national and regional governments.

In the face of this intervention, a very interesting comment was made by Silvia Brilhante[134], biologist and coordinator of SOS Amazonia, which was later complemented by Antonio de Paula[135], an 80 year old rubber tapper and coordinator of the organization Amigos das Águas do Juruá *(Friends of the Juruá Waters)*. Brilhante commented that the GTT was a privileged space because they, as project executors and as mediators to the state of Acre government, could hear from the community directly. This listening process could happen either in meetings or through community activities to observe how they are experiencing the group, as a network, and what they are planning for their life projects. As Antonio de Paula complemented, it was a space and opportunity for community based organizations to be heard directly, and for their partners, in an overall sense, to listen to critiques about their work, positive and negative. In the end, Antonio said:

> it is about other people that see them as different, or as forest peoples, to really know about what life is for them and to talk about human rights taking into consideration what is to be human for them, collectively, in the forest. (Antonio de Paula, testimonial GTT, 26th November, 2009)

The dynamics over the next two days of debate and discussion followed in the same pace. As there were many people in attendance and everyone was eager to talk and learn about the infrastructural developmental projects that could affect their communities and to visualize them

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[134] It is her real name as she wanted to be quoted by this.

[135] It is his real name and he wanted to be quoted by this.

from the perspective of the participatory maps, the strategy was to divide people into conversation circles. But first Marcelo Iglesias, an activist researcher who had been doing long term collaborative research in Upper Juruá since the early 1990s, delivered a presentation about expected projects for the region and asked me to speak on the issue of Free Prior Informed Consent (FPIC). As Moisés Pyanko had pointed out, it was no longer the time to write in notebooks. My systematization about what I was seeing in the communities and at the borders had to be immediately returned to the audience, during the GTT meeting.

Before we moved on with the presentation and with organizing the working groups, someone asked where Benki was. Francisco said he was in Copenhagen for the COP 15. Obviously, most of the people in the audience did not know what the COP was. Francisco explained that it was a meeting in Denmark where representatives from many countries and peoples from different communities all over the world met to discuss climate change. In this meeting, there would be a panel on biodiversity and climate change to which Benki was invited by the Brazilian National Commission on Human Rights, in order to discuss life projects in the rainforest and how they have been preventing the advances of illegal logging and deforestation by slash and burn agriculture in the Amazon basin.

Francisco said that he would have preferred Benki to be at the GTT meeting, as it was in this meeting that they were discussing their future. At this moment, Antonio de Paula, the elder and rubber tapper, interrupted him and said that Benki was also discussing their future in that faraway place. Antonio remarked that if Benki was talking about biodiversity and life projects in Upper Juruá, he was probably talking about how the people in Upper Juruá turned toward the diverse aspects of their *lifeways* in the forest as a group, respecting the diversity in their lives. As Antonio said, if Benki was there talking about it people would be able to understand that biodiversity and

ecology were already in place in Upper Juruá, and had been practiced for a long time, long before the COP 15.

With that, Antonio de Paula captured a very important and fundamental thing about the work of the GTT and of different partners among the organizations and allies in the forest. Networks were important for Upper Juruá, but as a place it was already entangled in other regional networks (as part of the landscape at the borders), which could be translated as working in conjunction with other fronts and networks globally. This would not represent an escape from the region – much to the contrary. If it were to enhance the diversity of their life projects and guarantee that they could stay true to the primary object of keeping the region sustainable through their *lifeways*, then networks were ultimately about life. As he had said previously, "it was about the right to be human collectively".

The Ontological Frontier

As we entered the second half of the GTT meeting, the focus was on the infrastructural projects that would affect the Upper Juruá region in future and those already affecting the Upper Acre Valley region. We opted to talk about the projects affecting Acre as a whole first because, as discussed at the beginning of this dissertation, the whole state is a border area and projects and policies in Peru and Bolivia both affect it. Secondly, developmental policies and the political economy of the Upper Acre Valley have historically had consequences in Upper Juruá. Migration fluxes and the alleged 'isolation' of the Juruá region, owing to the difficulties of transportation and/or the lack of 'necessary structure' for cities to be planned, contributed to designing the regional landscape in clear connection to communities' mobility, *lifeways* and life projects (See Chapter 1).

With this in mind, Marcelo began to explain that infrastructural projects were usually linked to plans to integrate regions within a country, providing the structure necessary for the country or

region to develop economically, and thereby speeding up an increase in revenues through improving business, creating jobs, and increasing national monetary reserves to invest in reducing inequality between regions. He explained that when developmental plans began to be heavily applied in the Amazon region, particularly during the 1970s in the second half of the dictatorship, the idea was "to integrate not to forfeit" the natural resources and the geopolitically strategic position of the 'Brazilian' Amazon rainforest. In order to make that happen, the government had to bring settlers to the forest to redistribute the land, and think of ways of connecting the region, with a huge hydroelectric potential, to the energy infrastructure in other parts of the country, so that the plans could make the most of the Amazon's potential for resource development. At the same time, by taking people to colonize the area in the 1970s, they would be solving conflicts among land owners and the agricultural sector in other parts of the country. Two solutions, Marcelo pointed out, were to build roads and hydroelectric plants.

Marcelo told people in the audience that an example of this kind of project was the *Transamazonica (BR 203)*, a road inaugurated in 1983, that cut from East to West through a great part of the Amazon forest in Brazil and that still represents one of the biggest environmental disasters in Brazil's history. He also explained that the plans and construction of the hydroelectric plants in the Amazon had been accelerated at the beginning of the 21st century as regional integration and development continued to play a central role in the Brazilian developmental project. Since the 1970s, energy was one of the axes of integration, as were roads. Currently, the latter are seen as enabling Brazil to have a direct connection with the Pacific Ocean, and the former are the means for having a basic structure to offer to mining companies and land owners, agents of a development plan based on resource extraction.

During the briefing on the more general situation and before the working groups sessions even began, comments and stories were already being shared. An indigenous person, part of the Manchineri indigenous group from the Mamoadate IT, which is located in the Upper Valley River in the municipality of Assis Brasil, at the border with Peru, said that after the construction of the Inter Oceanic Road (connecting Brazil and Peru through Acre and the department of Madre de Dios), many problems occurred on his land due to deforestation and illegal logging invasions (See Map 9). As a Manchineri leader told the audience, in 2010, when most of the road had already been built, a group of Manchineri seized five men inside their land as they were marking timber for logging. The wood would be transported from the IT partly through the Acre River and partly through a logging road that would connect with the Inter Oceanic road, at the border with Peru. As in Peru, the wood illegally cut in Indigenous Territories in Brazil would be *blanqueada* (laundered)[136] and sold as legal and certified with the Forest Stewardship Council stamp (FSC).

In addition, the Manchineri leader pointed out another problem: an increase in the number of episodes of non-contacted indigenous groups, likely Mascho Piro people, approaching the Mamoadate IT. The Mascho Piro people speak a language of Arawak root, according to Lucas, the Manchineri leader. He said that based on various encounters it had been possible to recognize some words and the language structure as they were communicating with each other. As a group of Manchineri people explained, since illegal logging had increased, so had mining and drug trafficking because of the accessibility provided by the Inter Oceanic road. Non-contacted groups had been approaching the houses in one of the Manchineri villages to look for food and gadgets. The leader explained that even though the road is not that close to more inland areas in the tropical rainforest, the Mascho Piro people have an extended area of living, as used to be the case with the Manchineri

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[136]This process refers to rare wood laundering, which has been increasing considerably since modifications in Constitutional law under Alberto Fujimori presidency (1990-2000) (see Cossío-Solano, R.E.;Guariguata, M.R.;Menton, M.;Capella, J.L.; Rios, L.; Peña, P 2011).

in the past. For this reason, "any imbalance in the ecosystem caused by deforestation, contamination of rivers by heavy metals and changes in local demography affect the non-contacted", stressed the group. Lucas said that in their environmental and territorial management plan they dealt with the road and all the illegal trails branching out of it by establishing a connection between all these trails and the places the Mascho Piro people have been living in, transiting through the borders between Brazil and Peru including the IT.

He explained to the audience that in Brazil there are no territories legally reserved or recognized for the non-contacted groups[137], as opposed to in Peru, in some situations. Lucas said that recently FUNAI began supporting indigenous peoples' initiatives with ITs located within areas used or transited through by the non-contacted. These initiatives refer to reserving part of the IT for the non-contacted for harvesting, fishing and eventually living for one or two seasons, particularly during the summer when they move closer to the river. According to Lucas, this kind of *'indigenous demarcation'* has been developed by the Manchineri since the 1990s, avoiding conflicts among the communities. FUNAI support arrived when the impacts of the BR 317 (the Brazilian part of Inter Oceanic) trickled down to some indigenous groups in Brazil in 2008.

Marcelo explained that the problem described by Lucas was very common during the late 1970s and 1980s, when many infrastructural projects sponsored by the World Bank Group and more specifically the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB), encroached upon indigenous communities. At this time, the policies were still very much in tandem with what had been promoted by Marshal Rondon (See Chapter 1). The *indigenist politics* was to contact the groups and bring

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[137] There are some special regulations for the non-contacted and recently contacted indigenous groups with a special coordination to deal with matters concerning or affecting them in FUNAI. However, in terms of territorial definition, for the non-contacted the regime is the same for the contacted; so an Indigenous Territory can be created and recognized because there is an indigenous group inhabiting it and they may be considered non-contacted but the legal effects are the same of a territory for any other indigenous group. In Brazil, there are special units coordinated by FUNAI that can be installed close to already recognized indigenous territories where there are reports of non-contacted groups. These units are called Ethno-Environmental Protection Units.

Indigenous peoples into civilization by grouping them into villages and guaranteeing territory. Given that their mobility would obviously be compromised by road construction this was the 'human rights' approach found to deal with them. The consequences are already known. To contact the non-contacted usually entailed the decimation of many groups in the face of expanding economic frontiers, or led to the emergence, later, of indigenous politics, which was not necessarily bad.

As Marcelo pointed out, the politics today are a bit different and many of the new officers are listening to other indigenous communities about the non-contacted trails, but they are also listening to what indigenous groups living in ITs are doing to tackle the situation. This approach, offered by the indigenous groups, serves as a stage for beginning more negotiations about allowing a broader participation in *indigenist politics* coming from *indigenous politics*. In light of modifications to how territories are organized since the 1988 Constitution and the ongoing expansion of economic frontiers through regional integration, to a certain degree the supposedly non-contacted appear positively, as an ontological frontier to indigenous groups that opens the way for them to make a statement about their own political ontology (Blaser 2009), or their own pathways for becoming political.

As the State and regional governments place the situation solely in the realm of human rights protection – more specifically in the minimum right to live – the challenge for indigenous groups working together in networks such as the GTT, would be to enhance forest-based initiatives, such as the one described with FUNAI, but based on their perspective for relating with non-contacted groups. More than that, in thinking about the non-contacted through their life projects vis-à-vis the expansion of developmental projects, this activity would involve more than classifying and letting the non-contacted live. It would go beyond regular human rights issues to politicize indigenous life,

defending not the life of a group, but specifically their *lifeways* and understandings of the landscape, which converge in the struggle against new colonialities (Alfred 2005; de la Cadena and Starn 2007).

The ontological frontier brought by indigenous groups trying to build an institutional framework to relate to non-contacted groups is difficult, even impossible, to conciliate with the developmental discourse in Brazil. Non-contacted groups represent a different ontology, a different way of being and becoming in accordance with the perspective of the indigenous in ITs and other groups. In order to carry on an indigenous forest-based politics related to them which overcomes the limits of a politics strictly connected to human rights, indigenous groups that are part of the GTT would have to focus on a politics based on other knowledge about politics and about what politics is and how it is constituted. This politics would be one based on indigeneity that accounts for both the place of becoming and being political and the connections and spaces for places to converge in a diverse political statement made in dialogue.

What was seemingly a detour in the conversation and in the group activities, actually gave food for thought for looking at the impacts of regional integration and infrastructural projects as integrated sources of resistance. Marcelo explained that the BR-317 (Inter Oceanic road) had led to the burning of more than a 1,000,000 ha of secondary and primary forest in areas close to the highway. Adding to Marcelo's presentation, Elsa Mendoza, a Peruvian researcher with IPAM, and Juan Pablo, a Peruvian researcher with the Instituto del Bien Comun/Peru (IBC), pointed out that illegal mining had reached its peak since the road had been opened, and that many indigenous persons from the Andes were coming down to the department of Madre de Dios to work in mining, aiming to save money to immigrate to Brazil. All this information was very important to the indigenous persons at the event, but certainly Lucas' testimonial and Marcelo's explanation about the infrastructure and developmental projects encroaching on communities were striking,

particularly in that they could help people evaluate the relevance of partnerships with people like Elsa or Juan.

Following these testimonials Marcelo said that stories about the Upper Acre Valley were important so that people in Upper Juruá could realize the extent of the impacts on communities and come to realize that perhaps even if the immediate benefits of the roads are real, so too are their long term negative consequences. Such is the case precisely because the Inter Oceanic road cutting across the borders with Peru was not the final aim of regional integration through the state of Acre.

At the beginning of the 2000s, the state of Acre, also sponsored by the IADB and by funding from the Federal Government, began pavement of a road connecting the capital Rio Branco to Cruzeiro do Sul at Upper Juruá. This road was actually the BR 364, which began in Brazil's central plateau in the city of Goiás, crossed the southwestern Amazon through Mato Grosso and Rondônia, and ran up to Cruzeiro do Sul at Northern Acre, at the state limit with the Amazonas state. Many impacts of this road, which was finalized in 2011, are still being felt. However, the developmental and regional aspects connected to it did not end in its termination in the Brazilian side. At the end of 2008, the road was confirmed to be part of the Central Amazon axis of IIRSA. With that, in the near future the BR-364 would connect to a road coming from Pucallpa, capital of the Ucayali department in Peru, also in the Upper Juruá region. The investment would be sponsored by IADB and the Brazilian Development Bank (BNDES, Brazilian acronym).[138]

When people asked where the road would cut through and Marcelo began to show it on the map (see Map 10), the dimension of the integration project overlapping Upper Juruá became clear. Along with the BR-317, this road would impact on a *mosaic*, a *working region* of communities living in 29 ITs and 14 Conservation Units, which total altogether 7,800,000 ha along the border between

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[138] For details on the loan and the project, see www.iirsa.org/.../detalle_proyecto.aspx. The information is also available in English by choosing the language for the webpage.

Brazil and Peru in the state of Acre. Evidently, the road would not cut through all of these territories, but in many places the 40 km distance infrastructural projects must keep from indigenous communities as requested by Brazilian Federal Law would be the most communities could get in terms of protection. However, as discussed in the meeting and as is well known academically and by governments and social movements, the impacts reach communities far beyond the 40 km required by law (Moran 1993; Schmink and Wood 1992).

Marcelo said that the endeavor would cost approximately US$ 247 million, according to information provided by the IIRSA website. It is worth stressing that this money will be used to invest in an infrastructure project that will impact approximately 4,900,000 ha of nationally protected areas in Upper Juruá (Vecchione-Goncalves 2012). Nationwide, the budget for protected areas corresponded to less than 5% of the national budget (for the whole country) in 2009 as opposed to 50.4% of the budget for infrastructural projects (Brazilian Ministry of Planning 2009). The disproportions are clear and show not only the budgetary priorities, but the nature of the project for the Amazon borders.

Adding to Marcelo's information, João, an Ashaninka from the Sawawo Native Community in Ucayali, pointed out that in the area where the road would be connecting the deep Brazilian rainforest to Pucallpa, around 3 million hectares in the Peruvian side had already been turned into areas for forest concessions. The area is next to the KRA IT and, more problematically, to the Murunahua Territorial Reservation for Non-Contacted Indigenous Peoples, in Peru. As mentioned, in Peru there is a legislation that nationally recognizes the existence of Non-Contacted Indigenous Peoples (Law 28736), which guarantees the identification and demarcation of a specific protected territory and does not allow occupation or economic use, so that the survival of the non-contacted is

assured. Even though the Peruvian legislature had passed this law and Alan Garcia had sanctioned it in 2008, this right can still be overturned though.

On top of not being a right that is valid across time and political changes, the beneficiaries of it are not in a position to make use of it actively, as they chose not to be part of the society that created it. What this means for the infrastructural project or for any other endeavor that might impact or overlap the reservation (which is the case in Peru) is that if an impact study says there will be no impact on the reservation, the rule stating that the reservation is inaccessible to economic activities or to the transit of other than indigenous people is overturned and the project can be developed. This would impact not only the non-contacted, but the ITs in Brazil and Native Communities in Peru as the area is a continuous territory of interaction between peoples.

Reaching a crossroads in the discussion, people were speculating that if governments seek to integrate and develop, but in evaluating, monitoring and consulting about impacts do not consider the integration and connectivity already in place, they can hardly be taking impacts seriously. With that in mind, I mentioned that, in September 2009, many environmental organizations throughout the world asked the World Bank and the IADB to rethink the possibility of investment in any road connecting Cruzeiro do Sul and Pucallpa. In the document, which actually put the IADB investment on hold for an indeterminate amount of time, the role of the GTT was highlighted and organizations such as TNC and Friends of the Earth – both on very opposite poles of the environmental movement – said it would be fundamental to hear from the group in the process. Concomitantly to this process, organizations and academics in Brazil and Peru were able to initiate a plea at the Inter American Human Rights Commission. Rather than merely focusing on the human rights scheme, the idea was to politicize, with the active participation of indigenous persons both from Peru and Brazil, the resurgence of the International Committee for the Protection of Non-

Contacted and Recently Contacted Peoples in the Amazon, Gran Chaco and Eastern Paraguay (CIPIACI, Brazilian acronym).

The situation was 'globalized' on the Apiwtxa blog, where Ashaninka at KRA IT discuss the problems impacting them in the forest. After Juan Pablo described to people what the CIPIACI was, I asked him to talk more about the non-contacted as he worked in the research to write a plea, through the Committee, about the non-contacted in Pucallpa, Ucayali, to be presented before the Inter American Human Rights Commission, at Washington DC. I also asked him to talk about the relevance of enhancing shared practices of resistance in Upper Juruá, based on the concept of the mosaic and the working region, and how this kind of work served to put the non-contacted in evidence.

The relevance of the place as a unique mosaic of biodiversity captured the attention of many activists and funding partners, including Rainforest Norway, which had for a long time been sponsoring the indigenous bilingual education program in Acre and in many regions in Peru. Two months before the meeting, Rainforest Norway became interested in sponsoring a transborder project between Peru and Brazil, grounded in the indigenous framework for the promotion and experience of rights from integrated territorial and environmental management. The project, which began at the end of 2009, was named *Paquete Amazonico* (Amazon Package) and aimed to promote a bottom-up approach to environmental mosaics or corridors, beginning in Upper Juruá and expanding to the Upper Acre Valley and other areas in the Peruvian, Bolivian and Ecuadorian Amazon.

I brought it up because I wanted to enter the sphere of Free Prior Informed Consent (FPIC) – necessary for developing infrastructural or any economic project – and wanted to discuss its relationship to GTT activities and the impact their work was already having. I told them that as they

already know exchange of information is fundamental in order to keep resisting and conducting their life projects. For FPIC, the national government, along with the companies to which concessions were made for construction or forest management etc., would have to consult the community about their willingness or approval for developing the projects they were sponsoring or conducting. As the holder and guarantor of rights nationally, the government would have the responsibility not just of making sure that the consultation occurs, but also that accurate information is provided about the project and about its impacts, benefits and compensation. In responding about what business the World Bank had with FPIC in cases like the BR 364 and the Pucallpa to Cruzeiro do Sul road, I told them that the bank could only release the loan on the condition of a consultancy process, to make sure the communities were informed and that throughout the process there was periodic monitoring of impacts[139]. Dialoguing with me, Antonio de Paula, the rubber tapper said:

> I have never been consulted about anything. Not about the road. Not about the money that is getting into the communities through social income programs that are making people not work the land anymore. What I know is that every time we want discuss something that is good or bad for the community, we talked with each other, search information and make a decision. (Antonio de Paula, 27th November, 2009)

With Antonio de Paula's testimonial, I had nothing more to say about FPIC. This very much summed up the idea about the obligation to share information and the responsibility to do so. Based on Sr. Antonio's testimonial, the working groups decided in the following day that they would discuss the Upper Juruá as a transborder region, as a mosaic of different, but integrated territories. They believed their debate about infrastructural projects in the region should be informed by this shared concept. They also decided that, in the discussion, they would have to think about the FPIC issue not as the only way they had to safeguard their life projects, but as an important instrument to guarantee the autonomy of the communities in the region.

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[139] For the evaluation of the implementation of the bank policy toward investment impacting on Indigenous peoples, see http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTSAFEPOL/Resources/Indigenous_peoples_review_august_2011.pdf

The non-contacted was one of the top issues in the debates, because if they were discussing the mapping of their lives and the strategies to carry it out through a mosaic, or an environmental corridor (as they said a "life corridor"), the former's life should be taken into account. Summing up the issues and possible departure points for finding solutions through the GTT, with partners and allies within indigenous and non-indigenous communities, the main points were:

a) Changes in how the socio-environmental mosaic (landscape) is organized alongside the border of Peru and Brazil are affecting the non-contacted groups, as it had once affected the groups 'contacted in the past'. As had happened with the Ashaninka, Kaxinawa and many rubber tappers that had to dislocate because of the economic frontiers, the non-contacted now represent the last frontier. The solution would be to tackle illegal logging, advocating for public funds and support to patrol, based on community information and with the aim of returning information from the patrol to the community. It was paramount to involve the community in the process and not to delegate the responsibility of surveillance to the community, as they already had enough to do managing the impacts of borders on their life projects.

b) The articulation which was made possible through community action in Upper Juruá had to be shared with peoples at the Upper Acre Valley. The GTT, as it does now, would function as the social space to exchange information about threats, impacts and strategies at both points of the border, whether the information came from communities in Peru or Brazil.

c) The GTT had to continue to articulate with the group Madre de Dios-Acre-Pando (MAP), which it had been working with since the end of the 1990s. Although the group is more academic in its membership, the exchange of information could bring forward community standpoints on transformations at the border both in Upper Jurua and Upper Acre Valley. An example is the consistent cooperation between the GTT and the campus of the Federal University of Acre in Cruzeiro do Sul, where indigenous teachers were able to develop an educational program recognized

at the undergraduate level. This connection could make possible the monitoring of bilateral agendas and their impacts on communities alongside the border.

d) Continuation of the exchange of experiences between agroforesters (agroforestry agents) in Upper Juruá. As well as transmission of these experience to the Upper Acre Valley River and inclusion of Peruvian communities in these activities through the project sponsored by Rainforest Foundation Norway and the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (Norad), developed for transborder community-based territorial management.

e) Implementation of more forest community based management plans, with meeting between communities to discuss the experience vis-à-vis the problems caused by infrastructural projects and threats such as illegal mining and logging.

f) Elaboration of a transborder map to deal with threats, the transiting of non-contacted people and land tenure and land conflict issues.

g) Creation of a community commission to monitor activities at the border.

h) Elaborate bilingual (Portuguese or Spanish and an indigenous language) didactic materials on forest community based management.[140]

Conclusion: Designing Political Landscapes

Looking at the points the community brought forward at the end of the meeting and, mainly, connecting the whole process, beginning with the invitation trip and, perhaps much before, with the articulation of *Life and Hope*, and the opening of the KRA IT to the Ashaninka in Peru, a network stemming from Upper Juruá, but not closing itself from external connections emerges more clearly. The aim of this chapter was, through describing the meeting process, to explain the nature of the political network at Upper Juruá and the contributions coming from Ashaninka history in

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[140] These were the systematized decisions and conclusions the communities participating in the event agreed with. The participants nominated me to prepare it during the meeting.

transforming the landscape, which happened to be the border. Nowadays, the GTT certainly is more than Ashaninka peoples' project to protect their territory based on the 1988 Constitution. Nevertheless, much of the Ashaninka peoples' *lifeways* (their practiced ontologies) became a shared experience and attitude among different environmentally protected areas, designing Upper Juruá as a unique region, the home of a 'life corridor', as pointed out by Antonio de Paula.

During the meeting, it was clear that the political landscape was much broader than the border limits and that the border was actually the landscape they operated within. Perhaps this was the reason Ashaninka people's *lifeways* resonated with other forest-based communities' struggles, and their claim to the resurgence of the Forest Peoples' Alliance beyond Brazil echoed throughout the Amazon lower basin. As noted before, the expansion of frontiers and border making was part of the process through which the Ashaninka began to relate to other Indigenous peoples, other forest-based groups and to the state. Now, the foundations for political cooperation are no different; the challenges are simply coming from different scales and meet at the borders, more specifically in projects for integrating South America through the Amazon basin.

As illustrated, Ashaninka people at KRA IT continue to use their own lives as sources of resilience and strength, collectively invigilating their territory and promoting the necessity of this territory in the region through the sharing of their *lifeways*. When Benki chose to be on the GTT invitation trips, showing and drawing maps and, during the meeting, went to COP 15 to talk about biodiversity, these points of connection and the very activity of the GTT in making Upper Juruá a source of biodiversity in progress also shed light on this alternative and collective take on biodiversity. Ashaninka people's engaged resilience within landscapes at the borders and contributing to the idea of the mosaic, strong in Peru and gaining momentum in Brazil, have been cutting across maps and even citizenship, pointing toward an indigenous politics beyond the sphere

of rights and differences, most often allowed by Constitutions and tamed by resource and national development.

Upper Juruá is not very well-known for its potential for political ecology and creation of knowledge by social movements, at least for non-forest-based peoples. Even for the former, as was realized during the GTT working groups, one of the most important demands is to share practices and information amongst themselves before threats advance onto the region. As one group composed of Ashaninka women and artisans from the Upper Juruá Extractive Reserve pointed out, to participate in the GTT was to do more than make a statement about land or social issues in the forest. According to them:

> It is also about affirming our *life projects* and *lifeways* as part of a forest-based identity that overlaps Brazilian identity, as there is life and political action in the forest [which the] the government talks about as being its national territory and not our life territories.

This testimonial illustrates how the region is multi-scalar and how the very activity and projects of people living there make it into a place that is constructed and reconstructed though a scale emerging from below. The region is neither disentangled from global practices, nor is tamed by national borders. The territories of life right at the border they are talking about also bring with them people who are not directly involved in the same life projects, but who are an active part of the landscape. By designing the landscape through resistance according to the diversity of the region, the non-contacted people were found to be the last frontier for a development that pushes boundaries onto the people living where developmental policies are expanding. Nonetheless, the boundaries pushing the non-contacted out are the same imposed onto territories already recognized. For this reason, indigenous groups are forging alliances to juxtapose their relationships, as practiced in a grounded landscape, to developmental projects that aim to integrate an already integrated region. These projects depict Upper Juruá and the border area as fragments and deny the continuity of relationships and the contiguous use of land, provoking social, cultural and ecological fragmentation.

The sustainability of infrastructural projects like the Inter Oceanic highway have already been questioned due to the number of social conflicts that arose due to an increase in mining activity, for example.

At the GTT meeting, people from Upper Juruá were also trying to learn lessons and re-evaluate the work they were doing. Debates about infrastructural projects at different parts of the border were valuable, particularly to attest for their difference, not just culturally, but politically.

What was developed in KRA IT and Yorenka Ãtame, as illustrated in the last chapter, was fundamental toward building the vibrant political life at Upper Juruá that owes its specificity to the relationships built in place, but not restricted to it. There, the dialogues emerging from a place-based struggle have been creating possibilities for global connections. In turn, these connections come back as part of a relational cycle that enhances an understanding of politics practiced universally, albeit not in a universalizing way. The point of connection is actually the diversity of life experiences, dependent on connections made locally and globally, though experienced at the specific political place where negotiations began – that is, at KRA IT.

"Nowadays, there are also slaves; the government is enslaving humanities (…)" - Josias Manuahuary, Munduruku warrior, talking about the hydroelectric complex that will be built in the Tapajós River, where his traditional land is, Facebook post 05 May 2014.

Conclusion
Managing Rights and (un) subjecting the political

After telling the stories that inspired me in this study I will end by returning to the beginning: telling how everything started. The story about the beginning is actually a 'concluding detour' which meets well the argument developed in this dissertation. There are differences between possibilities for indigenous politics to become either an expression of territorialized politics at the borders or possibilities for engaging beyond borders by constituting a regionalism from below based on practices of resistance that articulate land beyond the Indigenous Territory. The former and the latter possibilities provide possibilities for stretching and troubling disciplinary boundaries (and beings) and contrasting concepts and conceptualizations about the human, nature, the political and the 'indigenous'.

Both possibilities have led me since the research started to interrogate borders as geographical and ontological limits that may restrict the imagination about other worlds. These include not only politics as a procedure or practice, but even more important a political becoming for life projects as politics. Indigenous persons and specific indigenous groups as well as their cosmologies and *lifeways* were fundamental for reaching this broad conclusion, which hovered around this study as a hypothesis since I decided that I would frame differences in border landscapes. I looked at the agency and endurance of those that became Indigenous peoples from the Brazilian borders by examining the processes that created them. Indigenous persons, who are part of the Macuxi, Wapishana and Ashaninka groups that I worked with, as well as what I learned about their cosmologies and *lifeways,* were fundamental for reaching this conclusion.

One aspect that became very clear for me when carrying out this research was the role their choices, sometimes enmeshed with historical events, combined with mindful political articulations, played for guaranteeing endurance on the borders and within the interstices of these same borders. Those interstices coincided with the allowed limits for their living, namely, the Indigenous Territories. Nevertheless, those interstices were also spaces for mobility in politics and within places made political by their *lifeways*, which reiterated the importance of my choice for carrying on this study in the field of International Relations. Certainly, I had to conduct it through an interdisciplinary approach that could value Indigenous peoples` histories about the awakening of the 'international' in their places and these places as global connections between different worlds of living. This approach was part of an exercise about showing how through different circumstances, and in different places, indigenous groups (and persons) became collective agents in the construction of their political subjectivities. They went against or put their *lifeways* in friction with the political identity they have been subjected to for so many years. Borders were essential to this subjection as well. They created opportunities for other identities to emerge. It is interesting to observe how the borders of subjection are reproduced in studies that may be framed as studies of Indigenous peoples.

The focus on boundaries and borders, and their consequences and intersections with Indigenous peoples, coincided with my choice for doing this research, back in 2006. In this year, I applied for funds from a Brazilian funding agency to support my studies while doing course work in the PhD in Political Science at McMaster. The project was slightly different at that time, but the major concern was the same: grasping and deepening the understanding of the politics of indigenous groups situated on Brazilian borders through their *lifeways*. The project was not accepted by the funder. During the interview, the evaluators highly recommended that I apply for a PhD in

Anthropology, at a public university in Brazil that is very involved with a research area called *Anthropology of the State*. They said I was touching on so many issues such as rights, International Law, Indigenous peoples and borders, but that, in the end, I was interested in understanding the inter-relation between indigenous groups, the state and the border. To them, I might as well have joined anthropology and the anthropology of the politics mediated by the State.

Instead, I insisted on writing this dissertation. I was not sure about where I would end. I sensed that the disciplinary boundaries reinforced territorial and symbolic borders on Indigenous peoples' political becoming not only physically, but also on the borders and orders of International Relations and, more broadly, in Political Science. My argument was that indigenous groups at the borders had a lot to say about political and geographical landscapes. So I sought to listen to other stories so that I could grasp why Indigenous peoples are hardly seen as subjects of politics and interpreters of rights. At that time, I regretted greatly that I did not get the scholarship, but now I am very grateful for I what heard. This gratitude made me more convinced about the fallacy of certainties and the poverty of disciplinary boundaries understood as built around strict borders - to academia, to political activism and to life. Indigenous *lifeways* and their 'mobilities' taught me about how political landscapes are designed and how borders have been defined since their inception.

Since that interview, I have been learning that disciplinary ontologies are constantly challenged by the continuous act of Indigenous peoples becoming political indigenous groups and persons. They show many times that it is in the making and living by relationships that ontologies are created and re-created, as part of a political process that is ultimately the political process of life. Politics can be no less than relationships in this case and endurance is an exercise in these relationships through different practices of power in relation to other people and, mainly, to nature. For this reason, I might not have done *Anthropology of the State*. Rather, I carried out an ethnography

of indigenous groups' politics within borders created by the State and re-created by these groups. Probably, this is why I believed politics is not always territorialized, although it can make use of the territories for different purposes of being, staying and becoming. I owe the stories told by indigenous men and women living at the borders for learning these lessons.

Fortunately, the emergence of borders and their transformations coming from the perspective of the states that were prompting their official constitution, so to speak, were not the end of Macuxi, Wapishana and Ashaninka stories and imaginations. Throughout the years and the transformations that South America, the Amazon forest, Brazil and these very groups went through, other configurations, other politics and polities came to the fore. In fact, other politics came from the borders to the borders, as shown throughout the chapters of this dissertation. The political 'becoming(s)' and the different worlds coming out of these politics in a space of friction, as explained in Chapter 1, were not conflict free. Nevertheless, I agree with Tsing that frictions reach out to (and fill in) gaps of productive politics and identity formation (and re-formation) that may explain specific encounters in the world in which we live through what she calls global connections (Tsing 2005).

Certainly, there are hierarchies being reproduced and constructed by this friction and this was exemplified by how colonization and, later, "development" came to seize the benefits of horizontal relationships to impose the vertical relations of those who arrive in Indigenous Territories due to colonization and engage in "developing" those territories (Blaser 2004), considered as peripheral areas. However, by following Pratt in the idea that there is more in the contact zone than the generation of an identity ascribed by the colonizers (Pratt 1992), I found resistance in the gaps occupied (and claimed) by friction. There is resistance in the interstices of the contact zone which persists until the present day. Resistance makes these peoples and their places of living, usually

targeted for control by governments, sources of other existence that contests the status of 'being in periphery' given to them. This status emerges from their mobility throughout spaces they consider being connecting points for their lives, providing an edge that allows for a mobility in politics that is practiced through strengthening the territory as a political place by moving through different places of living. Therefore, , as seen with the GTT project for the Upper Juruá valley and with the health projects coordinated by indigenous women in RSDS, the politics expands the limits of the territory and manages the rights restricted to the 'being political at the Indigenous Territory'. When they do it and shift away from peripheral possibilities, they become political beyond the territory, although departing from it.

When indigenous persons and groups move beyond the territory in order to articulate their ways of existing, there comes an engaged manner of being resilient and bringing agency to the borders of their territories and of nation states. This is a paradox well understood and, oftentimes, richly explored by some of them, as shown in Chapters 3, 4 and 5 of this dissertation. Through this point of view, land and identity becomes much more than an ascription, status or a condition for citizenship. They are the result of self-determination. Nevertheless, it is self-determination as the result of a dynamic way of negotiating the self at the edges of the juridical and the political mainstream, pointing out and approaching different worlds to becoming political. They do so precisely through negotiating different existences and understandings about coexistence in and with a more than human nature (Latour 1993, Blaser 2014). It is a negotiation of the self beyond the state, although in conversation with it. Eventually, this conversation can become a matter of dispute, as shown in chapter 3. Then, it is important to observe what animates such disputes and how indigeneity endorses, contradicts, contends or dialogues with the borders of the political that is reproduced, contested and opposed through these same disputes.

By calling attention to relationships of existence and coexistence, this study contributed to debates on space, place and its political enactments depending on the concepts, practices and methods used to describe, characterize and intertwine them with peoples' lives - indigenous and non-indigenous. This debate occurs which occurs in environmental anthropology, cultural and political geography as well as on political ecology is recently gaining strength in International Relations.

It would be impossible, though, to navigate through the resistances connected to these relationships of existence and coexistence if it were not by the way of 'approaching worlds' that I stick to, thanks to the contributions and insights shared with me by peoples in Raposa Serra do Sol (RSDS) and Kampa do Rio Amônia (KRA) Indigenous Territories. This statement is not only to reassure the acknowledgments in the end. This is a way of stressing that the way of doing this research and engaging with the indigenous persons and their *lifeways* were fundamental to reaching and building these contributions. To do this now is a matter of ethics, but also of laying the argument clear, in the sense of arguing that approaching worlds of existing is a pre-requisite to assuming there are relationships between different worlds.

Equally, this was a fundamental step for approaching borders as a wide space of agency and a strategic place to contest and contend with the political in many different ways, on so many levels. For this reason, the ways of indigeneity to manifest politically, especially at borders (national and other territorial limits), are so rich to grapple with the many political subjectivities that might be enacted, restricted, coexisted and resisted within border spaces, making them political places by making politics anew. As exemplified by many situations in this dissertation, down rivers and troubling limits between the forest and the city, it is not only the case of stating other ways of making and doing politics collectively. It is also a matter of affirming that the very diversity in doing

and making politics is political arising from the process of becoming indigenous groups through another politics that is not indigenist politics (indigenism).

Territorialisation and the space of politics

Since the 1988 Brazilian Constitution was agreed upon, territory became a central concept to Indigenous peoples in Brazil to negotiate their existences and establish the bases and language for their resistances, especially when tackling the issue of rights, so closely related to the guaranteeing of territory. Nevertheless, the idea of territory and its intertwined nature with land is placed based, as shown in Sr. Orlando´s stories and in the Pyanko´s family movement along the border-to-be and in multiplying *lifeways*. 1988 was the moment of binding these other forms by the Rule of Law dialogue, but it was also the year that land tenure related to possession against property (see Chapter 4) gave room to other forms of social and political binding to emerge beyond the limits of the law and the borders.

As seen, in some events and situations, for the sake of building a continuous politics constituted by territorialized policies for those within the Indigenous Territory (IT) was a link to relate to those outside it (or outside of what the idea of the IT means in a specific context to a specific group), indigenous leaders in RSDS ended up reinforcing borders imposed on Indigenous peoples. They did so by re-stating boundaries to *lifeways* across borders in the sense that the latter would be allowed only if practiced within the borders of the IT. Borders coming and going with the state were taken and embraced by groups in charge of the 'official politics' and were transplanted within indigenous lands. When doing this, indigenous leaders at the Indigenous Council of Roraima (CIR) ended up denying the deep and diverse interpretation of the territory so that their autonomy, a political concept defined by their relationship with the state, could be preserved. When other

diplomacies emerged to negotiate the territory by negotiating life beyond the territory, a sense of competition came out in RSDS. It came out as patriarchy which was fought against by a situated indigeneity a group of indigenous women (and men) articulated within the experience of keeping familial ties. Along with family, these indigenous persons also brought to the territorial dynamic the place-based struggle for indigenous women's health against the internalized borders of economy and politics reproduced by military platoons next to and juxtaposed to Indigenous Territories.

Indigenous women struggles in a very local basis, in this sense, were interesting in realizing how the same struggles could appeal to foreign non-governmental organizations and networks because they resembled more general issues affecting women. However, they were also crucial to challenging models and modes of resistances, which neglect existences coming much before arrangements to deal with the spectrum of constitutional rights. Making up resistance through challenging these same rights, as indicative of political participation and quality of life only within the borders of the IT, was a way to manage constitutional and human rights by re-signifying them according to the RSDS reality. When doing it, either by using the municipality budget for promoting indigenous women health or by guaranteeing that other indigenous persons outside the IT could have access to public services while reinforcing familial ties, these women were ultimately re-signifying and managing rights to keep life meaningful in the IT. Without this effort, the IT would be just a consequence of law within the limits of the legal. With this position, the IT can be turned into a set of relationships to place, still in relationship to other places, turning the border into a political assemblage (*rede*).

Regions and places for peoples` politics

Territorialisation is not necessarily bad. As some indigenous groups were displaced by the advance of economic frontiers, they made life in other places and re-territorialized them in negotiations with, or resistance to, state and developmental projects by way of localizing their life projects. What Yolanda and Olga made in RSDS and the trajectory of the group of Ashaninka people that migrated to the Upper Juruá valley is an example of this use of territory. Nevertheless, it is important to highlight that these examples of territorialisation did not restrict indigenous political action to the space delegated by the state or to any other external group for practicing politics. Much to the contrary, the re-territorialisation was strictly connected and derived from connections between places where they lived before and places they lived now. The more place-based such connection is, the stronger the territory becomes in connection to *lifeways* and to political action that goes beyond the territory precisely to make a point about the necessity of this existence that is, above all, a shared life project.

This kind of existence that I called "engaged resilience" has led the Ashaninka people at KRA IT to re-build their existence through a collective process of resistance with other peoples at the Upper Juruá valley. This project involves also Ashaninka people in Peru in addition to an effort to keep up with the interpretation and contestation of an array of developmental projects based on a diverse set of environmental and administrative legislation that favour the encroachment of a model of development that threatens their *lifeways* at the same pace it threatens the Upper Juruá valley. The advances of economic frontiers in the Upper Juruá region and in border areas in Western Amazon have been increasing systematically since the 1980s. Ashaninka people, along with extractivists and ex-rubber tappers, have been managing the politics of rights to nurture life, as a right, in the region ever since. Even amidst ups and downs in the alliance, the idea of the forest as home and place

made up of endurance and resistance, almost as a subject of rights as it is a source of life (as it has been debated lately in the region) pointed to a dynamic form of practicing politics in straight connection with a politics of living. It is relevant to say that both the creation of the Upper Juruá Extractivist Reserve, in 1990, and the KRA IT, in 1992, feed into one and another in the sense of calling attention that there are other ways of relating to land and that there are alternatives to property to manage life.

The fact that these life projects were at the border motivates even more the counter project of existence initiated in the region that not only extrapolates borders, but that is constituted within them. The politics that is produced by making of a border political landscape corroborates at the same time the nature of this same landscape as an intertwined regional political scenario. This would be one favoured by a situated indigeneity (Clifford 2001) that sheds light into the specificities of being Indigenous peoples. According to the circumstances that make them become Ashaninka people in a particular context, they extend this 'political becoming' to different scenarios by making diverse landscapes and multiple existences possible. Against the regionalism of the IIRSA, Ashaninka people promoted and proposed with other indigenous and non-indigenous groups at the Upper Juruá valley a regionalism otherwise beyond the South-American status quo of regionalism as economic infrastructural integration. With this step, the KRA IT, similar to what happened to the part of the border where women were acting in RSDS IT, was turned into a set of relationships to place. But this place became the Upper Juruá and its struggle or life project became materialized and multiplied in the formation of the Trans-border Working Group (GTT).

Looking back to the topics that the audience came to at the GTT meeting in the city of Rio Branco (See Chapter 5, pp.255-278), they show a different understanding of territory and of sovereignty. In these topics, much like what happened with women in RSDS, the debate on

sovereignty was the debate about what to do to reach sovereignty over their lives. Throughout this, they sought to use testimonials and cases, which conjoin and rejoin in the existences and life projects they aim to carry on. Those projects can be diametrically opposed to developmental projects, as their unanimous resistance to forest concessions or to the road connecting the *Serra do Divisor* National Park in the two sides of the border have shown. In contrast, life projects can also lead them to find a common ground for some sort of negotiation within the state to resist and contest ascribed and governmentalized ways of living. They would do so by departing from their own existences, as is the case with the ethno-mapping practices that fuel and foreground the developing of environmental and territorial management plans.

In any case, respecting the threats that may come from the latter option, but that can just be evaluated by the indigenous groups, the idea that borders produce identities and orders (Albert et al 2001) related to the state and the scales derived from it is troubled by the idea of borders turned into ways of living. These same borders can be framed as modes of occupying and interpreting the space as a result of interactions emergent and found within scales from below (Escobar 2008). What this means is that it is possible to imagine a global-placed politics and that cosmopolitics can also be a derivation of the multiple possible politics coming from within these scales. In this sense, cosmopolitics become an active part of this regionalism from below and of working regions led by Ashaninka people in Upper Juruá, not as a result of universal values generating tolerance and hospitality in the Amazon forest, but as consequence of a cosmology that relies on mobility as a form to integrating with the forest, making it home and a source of politics. It is important to say that the forest has no borders and that when borders reach forests, they will become part of the regional landscape and vice-versa. Ashaninka people's engaged resilience within landscapes at the borders contributed to the idea of a mosaic, strong in Peru, and gaining momentum in Brazil with

the concept of environmental corridors. Such idea has been cutting across maps and even citizenship and stresses thinking points toward an indigenous politics beyond the sphere of guaranteeing rights while respecting differences, most often reinforced by national Constitutions and legislations, although fiercely tamed by resource and national development.

<div align="center">

Sam(ing)e old threats

</div>

In continuing observing the situation of the indigenous groups at the two border areas that I worked at, some changes happened since 2009 even if not provoking any critical modification in the political landscape. One thing remained unmodified though: the threats to indigenous ways of living as a constant act of jeopardizing their *lifeways* as illegitimate, an obstacle to development and, consequently, a hindrance to the right to development of the majority of the people, especially those living at the outskirts of Brazil, which includes the broader public the Amazon region. This is an opinion constantly printed in newspapers with the score of all the people against Indigenous peoples being often illustrated by badly researched stories in the Economy or in the Agribusiness section. With that, it is possible to identify that one thing remains unmodified: Indigenous peoples continue being the last frontier to the expansion of Western civilization, whatever this means depending on the time and place the same civilization is spreading its dominions. In the case of Brazil, running rapidly to cross the hall and get a spot at the room of the states recognized as developed, this frontier has to be conquered regardless of acquired rights and the environmental (and public finance) hazards that the expansion of primary economy and resource development is causing to the country.

Through this process, Indigenous peoples continue to be an external definition and external issue to their own matters because the act of 'othering' them is a shortcut to make them the same (Cameron et al 2014). In this sense, threats to their lifeways in the form of the expansion of

infrastructural projects, the arrival of public policies by the way of environmental and territorial management, and modifications and revisions in legislations that attempt at breaking and dismissing their territorial and political rights, are all a movement to terminate them. The idea is to make them (less) equal and, finally, to put their land at the service of the property enterprises through the mediation of the state (what some call crony capitalism). The final objective of dispossession and displacement are not very different to what happened a hundred years ago, although the craft of doing it is much more complex and subtle these days. It is not my task to examine these new crafts now, but I can say they are related to the issues of sustainable development and green economy that are the other front of capitalism expansion in Brazil. Infrastructure, mining, hydroelectric plants and the agribusinesses are not far away from this front though. Actually, they walk along in the path of the civilizational process in a country where the 'Indian' and its allies are clearly the outsiders in the endeavour (Elias: 1993). This standing makes them, therefore, the subjects and the authors of another project that challenges the world we are living.

In Acre, for example, the way indigenous groups have been organizing themselves after the creation of the GTT inspired by Ashaninka people at KRA IT activism, is setting the tone for debates around developmental projects at the border, coming from social movements not just in this Amazonian state, but in all others. The collective border invigilation initiatives that emerged within the GTT are now spreading through other border areas and they have been responsible for detecting the presence and the threats to the non-contacted indigenous groups moving through ITs and other environmentally protected areas at the border between Brazil and Peru. It is interesting to highlight that by doing so, Indigenous peoples whose *lifeways* are already in dialogue with a non-indigenous world are advocating for the protection of the non-contacted *lifeways* as the protection of their worlds of living and becoming. The observation of this dynamic that is being threatened both

by infrastructural projects for South-American integration and the imminent oil and gas exploitation in the Upper Juruá Valley in Brazil is already something that I am engaged with. Actually, this involvement started during the research when the forest-based groups called my attention to this problem and continued when I was hired as project officer at CPI-AC in 2011 that ended up being extended as a collaborative research until 2014. Oil prospection and exploration, like mining in general, is not yet allowed in Indigenous Territories, but it may change in the next years with a Legislative Project (1610/1996) that is proposing to make it legal. Needless to say that the lobby of the mining industry is huge and that it includes transnational companies', such as Anglo-American and Rio Tinto, already in operation on the other side of the border, in Peru, and the Brazilian Vale S/A.

The Raposa Serra do Sol case and its constitution as a continuous territory at the borders has been guiding the debate on Indigenous peoples' territorial rights in the last five years. Indigenous peoples' and their interests in this case, which are their very *lifeways*, are framed as opposed to national interests, not just at RSDS, but in all other border and non-border areas where indigenous groups may ask for the revision of their territorial limits. The sovereignty over their lives here is clearly in opposition to national territorial sovereignty and their differentiated use of land and space is per se a threatening legal condition to all those that want to a) protect the national territory and keep the International Relations in place with whom they should be played out and b) expand productivity and the good and rational land use along and within borders of deep Brazil. The situation was so serious that in 2011, Congress representatives, part of a Legislative Rural Front, proposed the Project for Constitutional Amendment 215 (PEC 215) that aims at giving the National Congress the power of veto and modification of the demarcation of Indigenous Territories. This directive would be retroactive to already settled situations if approved. The situation of RSDS gained

global attention in 2009, but the situation of institutionalized legislative threats to indigenous rights in Brazil grabbed the international public attention when PEC 215 was pushed to voting in 2013, coinciding with the advances of the Belo Monte Dam construction in the Xingu River, in the Amazonian state of Pará.

In May 2013, thousands of indigenous persons, part of varied indigenous groups, went to the capital Brasilia. There, the cry for the protection of indigenous rights initiated a wave of protests in Brazil that culminated with the numerous manifestations in June 2013. Still in May 2013, Indigenous peoples stressed that their protest was not just about their rights, it was also a protest for the respect of other lives, for nature and for a politics otherwise through which justice could stand for the rescue of the world. Ultimately, as the anthropologist Eduardo Viveiros de Castro manifested continuously during the last two years, if you want to know about the end of the world ask an indigenous person, because they know exactly what it is, as their world came to an end with colonization (Cariello 2013). I believe Viveiros de Castro was certainly talking not just about the contact per se, but how their worlds of living were slowly dying, but actually also becoming part of another world.

This matters because I am not saying here that the resilience of indigenous groups is a reason for us to say that they can recover their world and that everything would be fine with their new worlds. However, I am saying and I want to stress as one of the contributions of this study that even with the strategies of 'saming' coming from the new old threats of resource development and neo-extractivism, these new worlds of indigenous *lifeways* emerging within the death of their old worlds have a potential for thinking borders and politics otherwise. Particularly, the political situation and positionality of Indigenous peoples in places engaged with resource development are essential to reflecting about borders imposed to every territory and group of people that are

indigenous to a land that this system aims at possessing to later turn it into property and strip of values of other existences. I believe any work in any discipline in the Social Sciences interested in understanding the dynamic between the economy of natural resources, land concentration and the political ecology of the rainforest should look closely to these worlds of becoming and to the *lifeways* animating them.

The contributions of this dissertation, then, I expect to go beyond the call for openness in International Relations for methods, peoples and ways of researching. It is hoped that it was done by calling attention to what these other worlds of knowing can offer in terms of valuable contributions to our fractured world of knowing and living separated by borders. These fractures are often enhanced by national interests that are certainly thought over by critiques of the international system. Nevertheless, most of the critiques of theories of the international do not engage solidly with the people making the global connections responsible for the existence of the same international system.

When I decided to start working with the indigenous and indigenist organizations that inspired this research in 2011, I was already defining the next steps of this research, which relates to observation of the 'same old threats' mentioned in the lines above. In searching for words to explain how to do it, I found inspiration and reference in Arturo Escobar citing Daniel Mato (2005) when the former was clarifying that to engage with the study of ontologies and to see the social movements as an integral and authoritative part of the production of knowledge involve asking, "questions of what, with whom, how, and from what locations one thinks." (Escobar 2008: 306) According to Escobar, questions like that "become of paramount importance to elaborating effective strategies of collaboration."(Ibid.)

In times when indigenous life projects are becoming threatened either by disqualification or by appropriation, these strategies and questions become even more essential methodologically. The beginning, which is the affirmation of these projects as an ontological project (Escobar 2008: 305), is also becoming an end for developmental projects played out in sustainable style. Now that life is becoming interesting and convenient enough to territorial management projects, how the politics will unfold in the different world of becoming indigenous that is emerging in between worlds of frictions will have to be listened to with ears and eyes wide open. Much beyond dialogue, indigenous groups are already speaking and they are talking of worlds of becoming that most of us do not bother to see. We do not do so especially because we are unwilling to engage in looking for and finding answers in their very practical way of resisting by keep on living regardless of the processes, lives and agents that kept on denying the ways they become in this world. Precisely for this reason, Indigenous peoples' management of borders and rights and their endurance should be part of the political puzzles and questions we have posed to ourselves daily. How their politics and places resist is one of the most challenging political facts of current times. To observe it - even at a minimum level - should be a task for political analysts, scientists and activists worried with the collective, the commons and diversity as a grounded and common experience in the Earth as distinguished from the constant displacement of life that we are currently experiencing.

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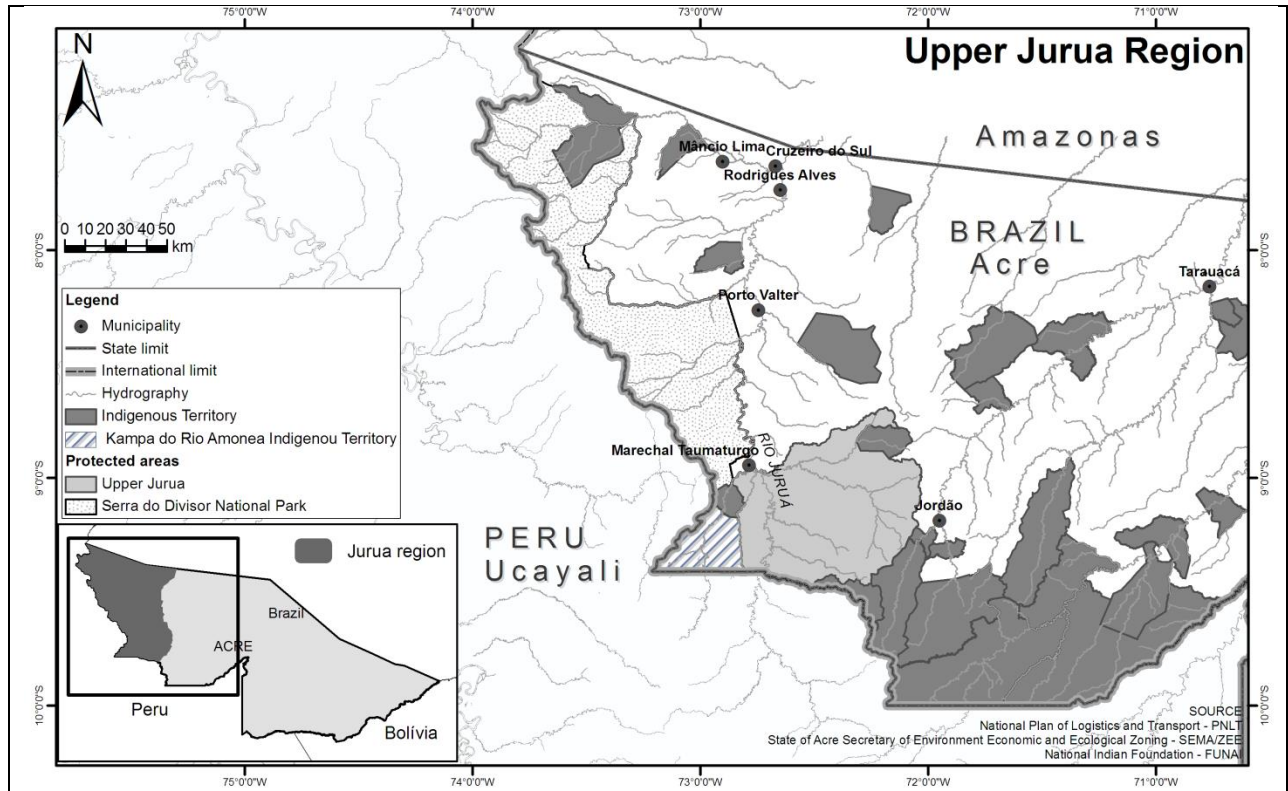Ranzi, Cleuza Maria. *Raízes do Acre*. Rio Branco: EDUFAC, 1992.

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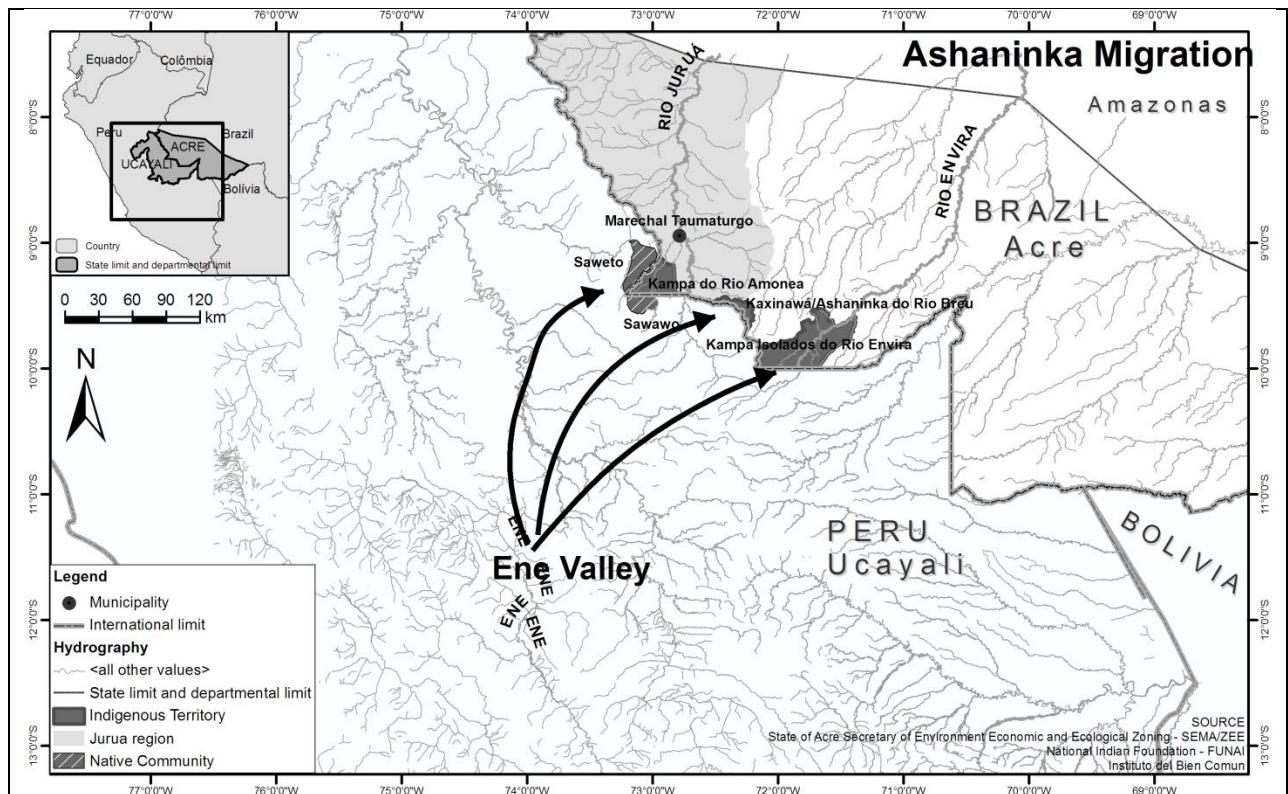Wilmer, Franke. *The Indigenous Voice in World Politics Since Time Immemorial.* London: Sage Publications, 1993.

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Annexes

Maps

Map 1. Location of Mount Roraima at Raposa Serra do Sol Indigenous Territory – Roraima
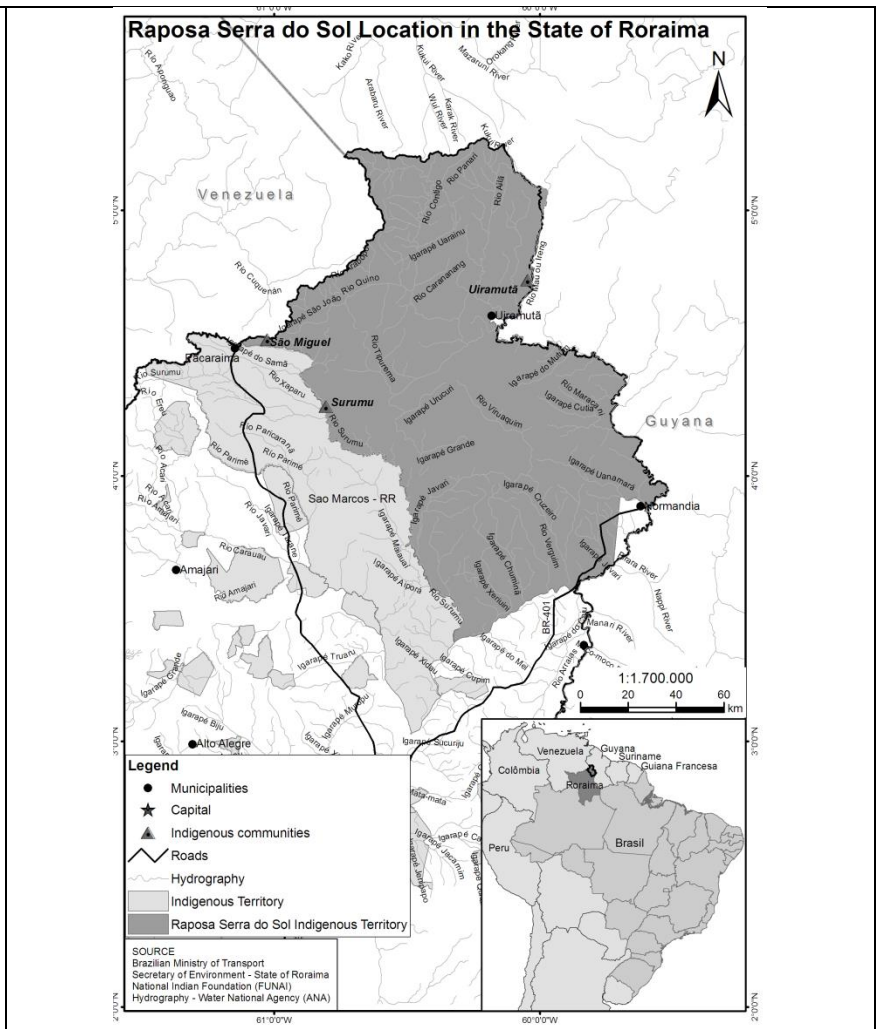
**Map 2 Upper Juruá Region in perspective to the Brazil-Peru Border**

**Map 3 Ashaninka people's migration routes to Upper Juruá valley in Brazil and Peru.**
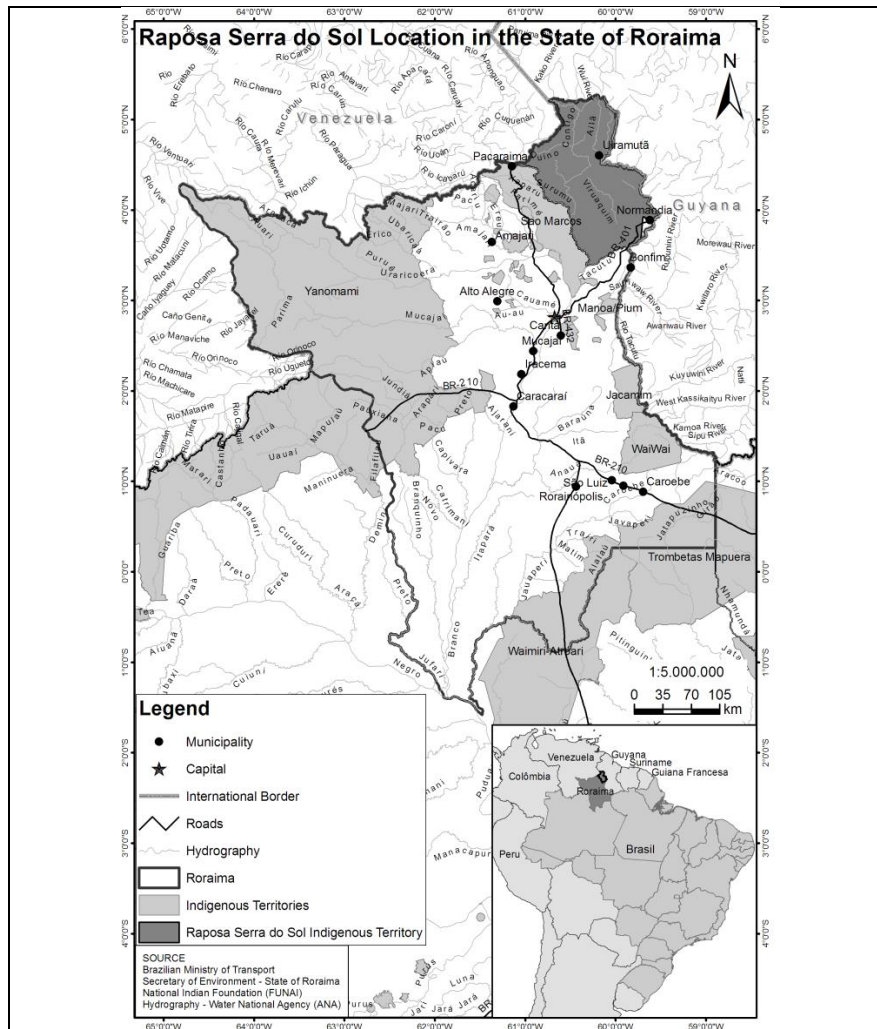
Map 4.Location of Raposa Serra do Sol Indigenous Territory after continuous demarcation and in perspective to Brazil-Guyana and Venezuela border
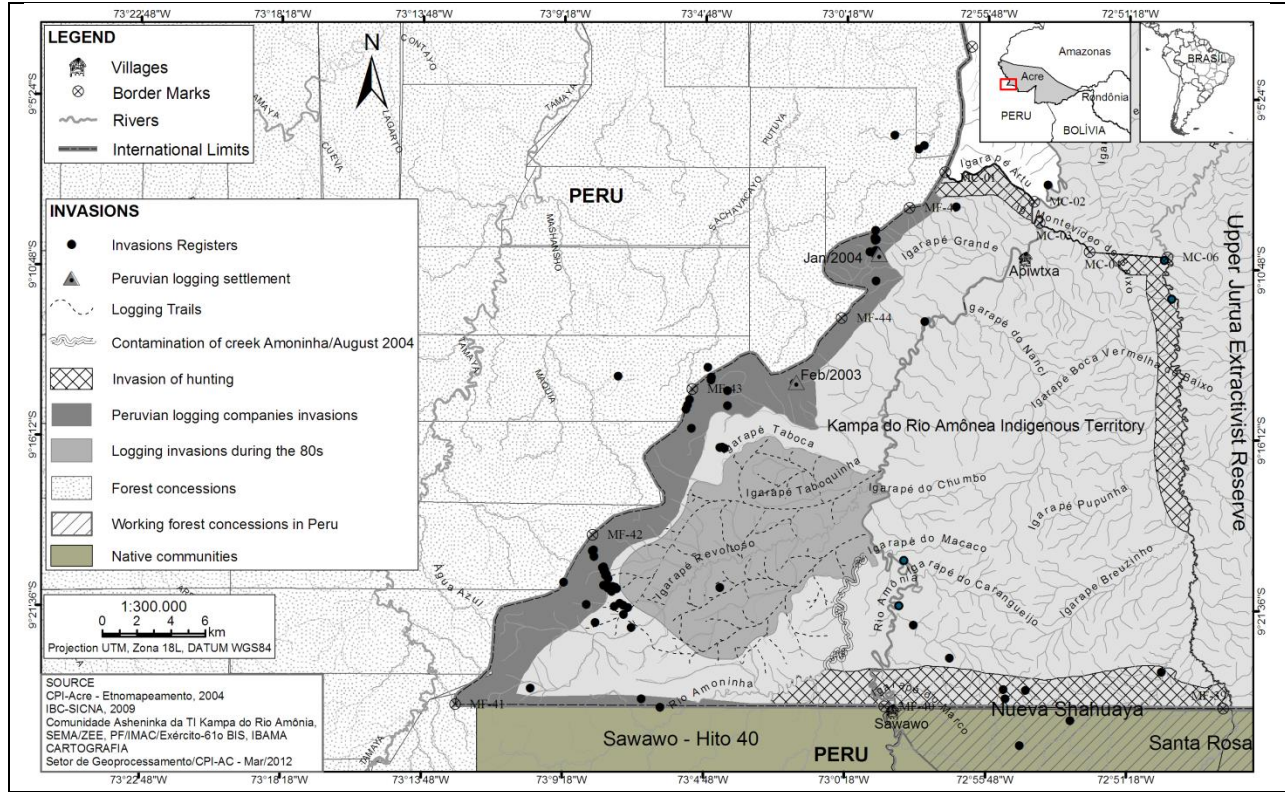
**Map 5. Overview of the biggest communities in Raposa Serra do Sol Indigenous Territory**
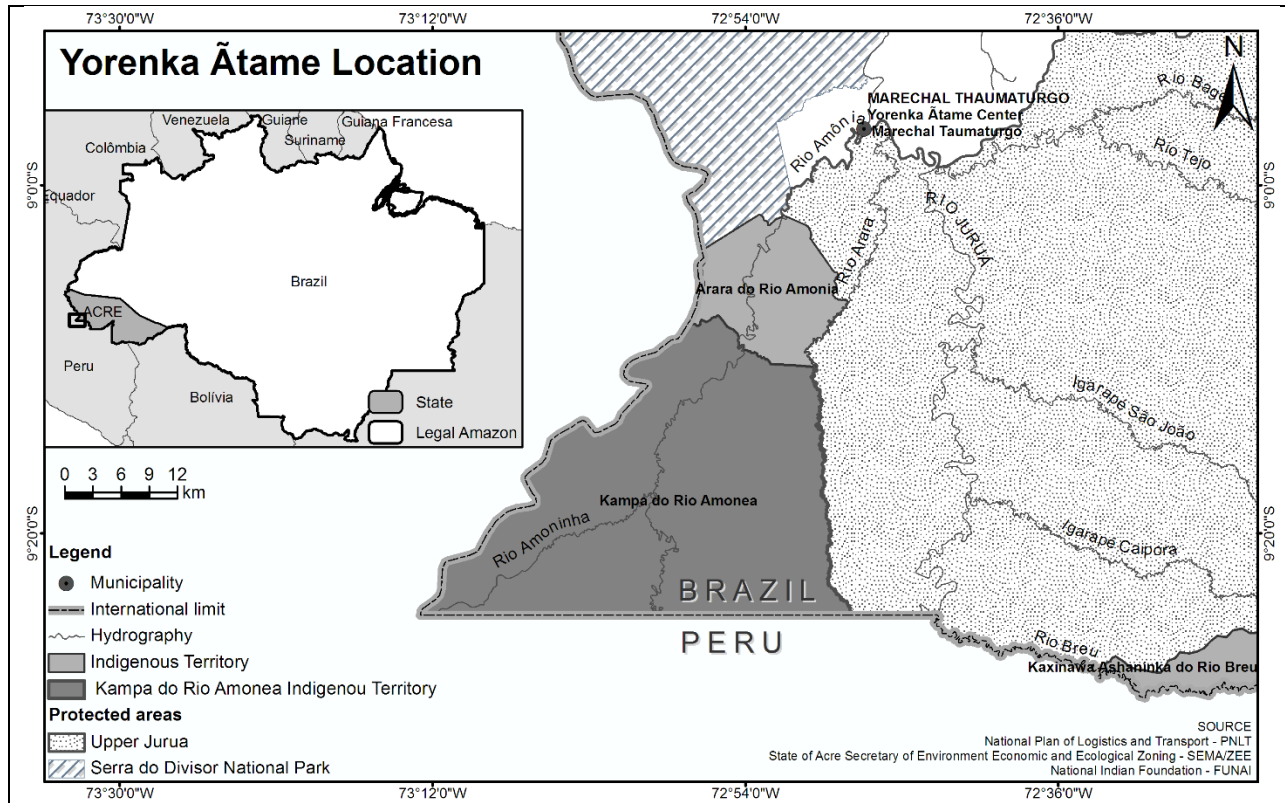
**Map 6. Location of Yorenka Ãtame – Centre for Forest Knowledge**
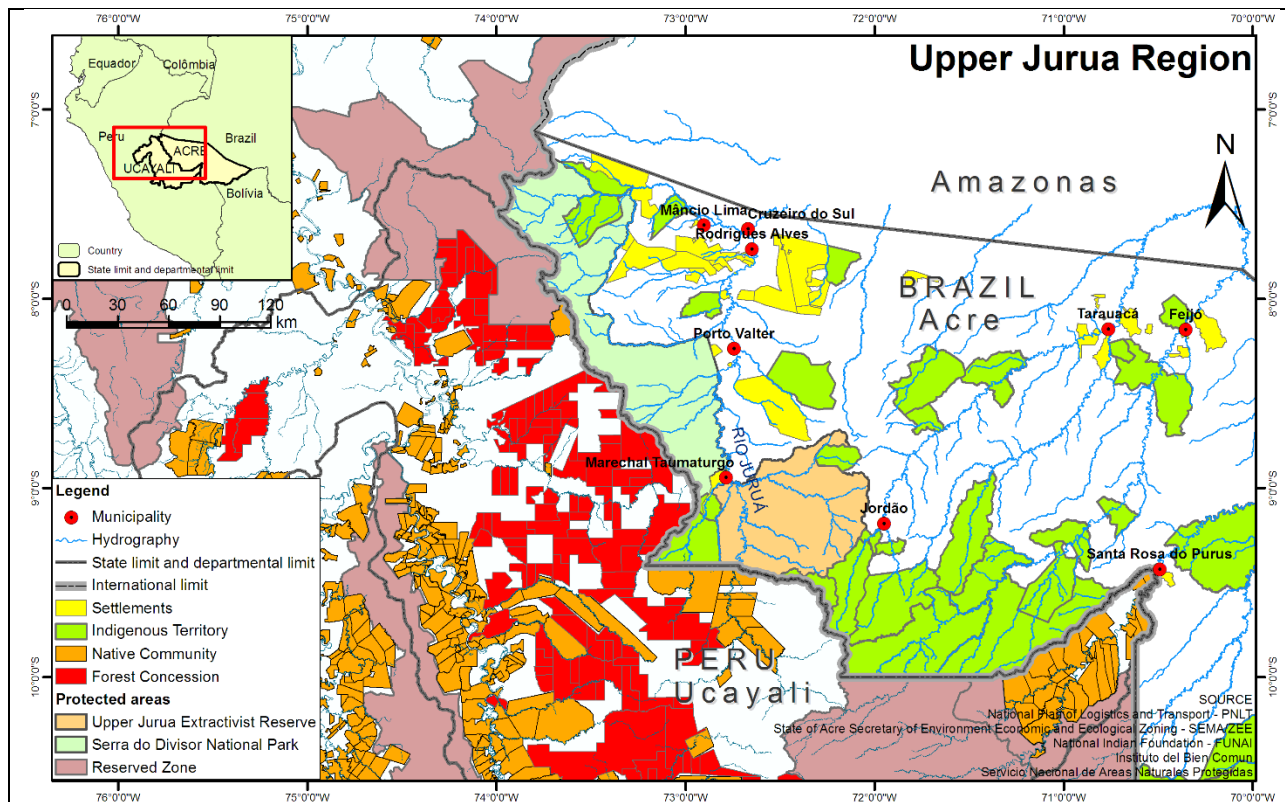
Map 7.Transborder dynamics based on Ashaninka peoples' and their neighbours' perceptions of the borderscapes.

Map 8. Invasions to Kampa do Rio Amônia Indigenous Territory reported based on testimonials and ethno-mapping experiences
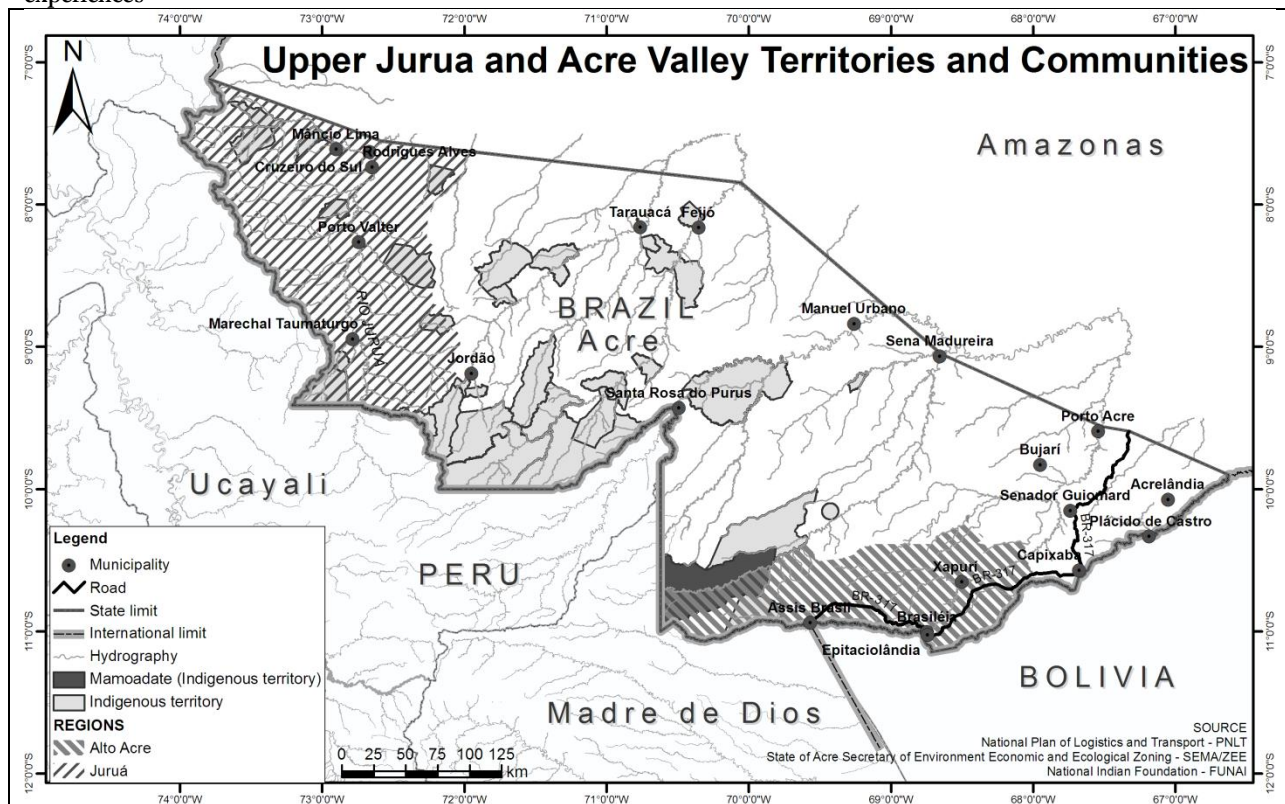
Map 9.Indigenous Territories at Upper Juruá River region and Upper Acre River region
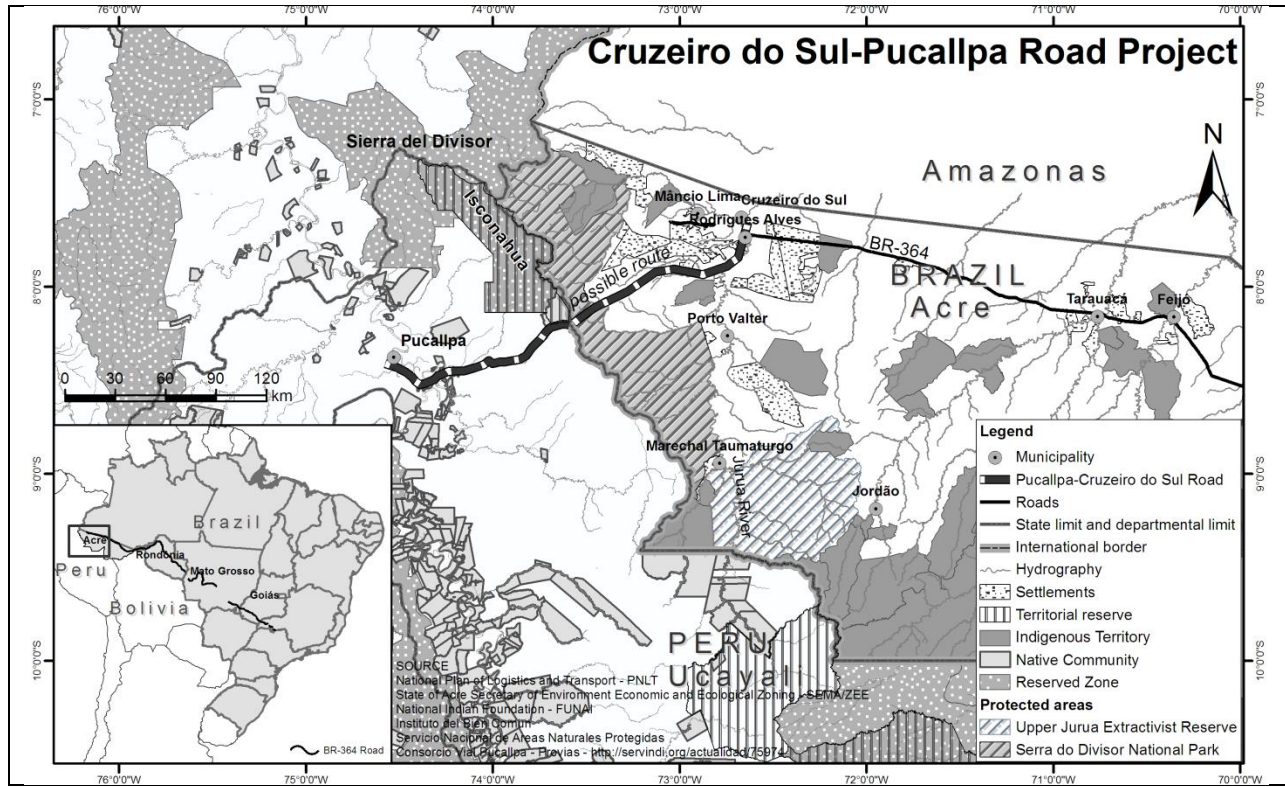
Map 10. Possible Route of the transborder road connecting Pucallpa, at the Peruvian department of Ucayali, and Cruzeiro do Sul, at the Brazilian state of Acre.

Pictures

Picture 1. Border Marks at.Raposa Serra do Sol Indigenous Territories. Credit: Marcela Vecchione Gonçalves

Picture 2. Sign at the road Manaus-Boa Vista-Venezuela: "Open borders to development". Credit: Marcela Vecchione Gonçalves

Picture 3. Workshop at an Indigenous border community in Brazil for ethno-mapping and co-joint actions for environmental management at the border Peru-Brazil. Credit: Marcela Vecchione-Gonçalves