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Globalization from below:

Local Politics and Transnational Relations in the Amazon Basin

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Abstract

This thesis is about the politics of indigeneity by a group of Indigenous Peoples situated in the Amazon Basin in Brazil and the transnational alliances it has made as a way of survival, analyzed by means of globalization theory. Namely, the Indigenous Peoples of the Rio Negro and the Federation they formed in 1987, the Federation of Indigenous Organizations of the Rio Negro [FOIRN] and the partnership it has established with the NGO Horizont3000. FOIRN was created during a time of structural changes in Brazil and pushed into existence due to the marginalized and vulnerable position the Indigenous Peoples of the Rio Negro found themselves. Institutionalizing their fight the way they did secured their own existence as Indigenous Peoples by making it possible to ratify by official legislature and before the Brazilian government their right to maintain their livelihoods and "traditional" lifestyle, closely attached to the land. They did so mainly thanks to the transnational partnership established within the Climate Alliance framework, which provided the means for the Federation to exist and supported them in their fight for land demarcation, a goal they later managed to achieve. Therefore, the dialectics between local and global is an essential theme in this thesis, seen as precondition for survival for these Amazonian based groups.

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1   INTRODUCTION: GLOBALIZATION, A FUZZY TERM

Globalization is a rather controversial term. In the last few decades the term has become increasingly present in the media and in political and academic debates. It is, generally speaking, portrayed either as the culprit for a myriad of problems the world faces today or as a solution for them.

For instance, some academics[1] treat it as a synonym for "neoliberalism", the ideology of free and efficient markets as established by the Washington Consensus, in the sense that it is believed to be an ideological project whereby the world's problems and inequalities can be solved (Dicken 2011, 5; Eriksen 2007, 11). Others hold globalization to be an expression of Western imperialism[2], working in favor of the world's most powerful nations and rather increasing global economic inequality. Both views share the assumption that we live in *one* integrated world today. Both exponents of this approach are referred to in the literature as "hyper-globalists" (see Dicken 2011) or with Eriksen (2007) as "globalizers". Their positon, however, represents only one end of the major globalization debate. On the other end of the spectrum, we can find the so-called "sceptical internationalists" or "sceptics" as Dicken (2011, 6) suggests. This group argues that the first mentioned position on globalization is rather an exaggerated one. According to sceptics, the world was considerably more integrated in the century preceding the first Great War than it is now. Quantitatively speaking, again according to Dicken, the level of economic integration and migration before the wars has in fact never been superseded.

However the case may be, merely reducing globalization to economic variables is in my view a too simplistic approach, neglecting a series of other processes taking place. It ignores for example important qualitative changes in recent years related to the compression of space and time due to technological developments in communication and transportation (Harvey 1990). Based on observations like this, Dicken (2011) argues that the hyper-globalist view of the world is nothing but a myth. Along the same lines, Eriksen (2007) argues globalization is neither or, but somewhere in between, and what varies is the emphasis given to each one of

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[1] See for instance Martin and Schuman 1996, Findlay and O'Rourke 2009.
[2] See Santos 2011.

the globalizing processes: global homogenizing processes as well as local processes of heterogenization.

In my thesis, I challenge the hyper-globalists take on globalization, which poses the world is becoming "flat" in a culturally homogenized sense and subsequently that differences belong to the past. Instead, I share Dicken's (2011) position (see also Rigg, 2007, Eriksen, 2007) that the local still matters and that there is indeed a "geography" to globalization as well as "agency". Hence, globalization processes do not happen in the same way or with the same levelling force worldwide, but produces rather a myriad of distinct outcomes locally. Such processes are not only of the top-bottom kind either. What happens at the local scale, even in the most seemingly "isolated" areas can itself influence global scale processes. Globalization I contend works in fact in both directions and at many scales.

I maintain, as I hope to show in this thesis, that "Globalization from below" is an important aspect of globalization processes today. The politics of Indigenous Peoples in the Amazon forest of Brazil is one of many global-local examples that provide evidence for such a claim. This is the main topic of my thesis.

Several Brazilian indigenous group are today fighting to maintain local autonomy and identity, and in doing so, they are paradoxically actively tapping into and making good use of global actors like NGO's, the latter themselves being true born children of globalization processes[3]. Both international governmental institutions as well as non-governmental institutions (organizations) are key sources of empowerment at the local level, as is attested by many indigenous populations in the Amazon basin. Here, local rights to land and to self-recognition are for the main part negotiated through trans-local and trans-national relations between local indigenous group and global actors such as NGO's. In fact, Indigenous Peoples have themselves become global actors putting significant pressure on their own nation-state to acknowledge their existence and the rights that come with it.

In order to research this problematic more accurately, I will focus in one specific indigenous group. They are the Rio Negro Indigenous Group (*Povos Indígenas do Rio Negro*), called this way due to their geographic location close to the margins of the Negro River, a tributary river of the Amazon River. They are a group of culturally speaking, quite similar Indigenous Peoples who organized themselves into one common federation in 1987, named the Federation of Indigenous Organization of the Rio Negro [FOIRN]. They did so in order to

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[3] See Brown et al. 2000 and Vertovec 1999.

fight for and to negotiate special local rights within the overall Brazilian nation-state. Initially the joint federation faced several financial, administrative and political problems and was not taken seriously by the Brazilian national government. In fact, FOIRN almost ceased to exist until an international partnership called within the so-called Climate Alliance was established between the Austrian Institute for International Cooperation [IIZ], today Horizont3000, FOIRN and the Brazilian Social Environmental Institute [ISA] (Federação das Organizações Indígenas do Rio Negro [FOIRN], n.d.-a). This partnership was formed in 1993. In my thesis, I hope to bring to light the complex way in which this partnership was established, and I do so by applying a globalization perspective on the matter.

1.1   OVERALL SCOPE OF THE PRESENT ENQUIRY

This topic of research first occurred to me when doing the course Globalization Theory and Culture within the department of Social Anthropology, NTNU. Here I was surprised to learn about the indigenous Inuit people inhabiting the Artic regions of the continent. According to the anthropologist James Clifford (2013) several Inuit groups in fact were part of transnational networks and engaged in economic activities mainstream to global capitalism while at the same time managing to maintain a distinct way of life that reminded these people that they were also locally distinct from other more sedentary populations. Hence, I became curious about whether or not this also could be the case in Latin America, a continent I know well myself being of urban, sedentary "modern" Brazilian background.

The scope of my research is mainly restricted to a globalization perspective that resembles that of the anthropologist Geir T. Hylland Eriksen (2007). However, since "globalization" processes also is a topic not restricted to a single discipline, I will also benefit from following a more interdisciplinary approach, something which also is more in line with my own more interdisciplinary academic background. Since my own background is mainly interdisciplinary, I will also draw on a few secondary readings within the economy - Peter Dicken (2011) - and the human geography – Jonathan Rigg (2007) of globalization processes. Hence, the main sources I will use are not confined to one discipline. However, the main analytical concepts I will make use of are largely provided by anthropologists.

One important source of academic inspiration is the book *Globalization: the Key Concepts* by Hylland Eriksen (Eriksen 2007). Another key contribution is the work by the anthropologist

James Clifford called *Returns: Becoming Indigenous in the Twenty-First Century*. Finally I will draw extensively on Ronald Niezen as a relevant source on International Indigenism, in particular his work called *The Origins of Indigenism: Human Rights and the Politics of Identity (2003)*. This latter work provides special insights into how indigenous group today play out their politics of indigeneity in the global arena in close relation to International Human Rights discourses. The microcosm, he says, that "I" as an anthropologist have chosen to study, is the world: "Twenty or more years ago this would have made little sense" (Niezen 2003, 1)". The difference he goes on to argue, is the world's interconnectedness.

Besides the already mentioned key works, I will also draw on scientific articles including one PhD dissertation in addition to relevant material about these local Indigenous group available on the internet. Primary sources such as documents from international organizations and institutions, electronic mail and informal conversations with key informants will also be used to a smaller extent. I have in addition successfully made contact with the above-mentioned NGO at hand, and to one anthropologist, Georg Grünberg who has done research in the particular area of my research.

The thesis will be divided into six chapters. The next chapter will contain the theoretical framework, what globalization "is" and is not, including the main relevant analytical concepts for this research. The third chapter will go on to present the emergence of indigenous identity politics internationally and particularly its relation to International Human Rights. Chapter four will give a brief account of the history of the emergence of indigenous movements in Brazil and dwell on who are the Indigenous Peoples in focus, situating them within the Brazilian society. In chapter five, I discuss more in detail how Indigenous Peoples in a particular area of the Amazon basin negotiate their autonomy with the Brazilian nation-state based on their own joint federation structure and their international partnership with Horizont300.

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHOD: SITUATING GLOBALIZATION AND INDIGENISM

Identity politics is a trueborn child of globalization. The more similar we become the more different we try to be. Paradoxically, however, the more different we try to be, the more similar we become – since most of us try to be different in roughly the same way worldwide.

Thomas Hylland Eriksen (2007, 146)

This study, as it was briefly introduced above, is about the politics of indigeneity by a group of Indigenous Peoples situated in the Amazon Basin in Brazil, analyzed by means of globalization theory. Namely, the Indigenous Peoples of the Rio Negro and the Federation they formed in 1987: the Indigenous Organizations of the Rio Negro [FOIRN]. The organization was created during a time of structural changes in Brazil and pushed into existence due to the marginalized and vulnerable position several local Indian populations found themselves in at that time. Institutionalizing their fight the way they did, secured their own existence as Indigenous Peoples by making it possible to ratify by official legislature, and before the Brazilian government, their right to maintain their livelihoods and "traditional" lifestyle closely attached to the land (FOIRN n.d.-a).

Prior to this, these indigenous group were facing several problems, especially related to the ideology of progress guiding the Brazilian "dictatorial" regime at that time, which included the integration of the Amazon area into the rest of the national territory as well as the integration of its people. The common political understanding by the majority Brazilian population and political leadership was that Indigenous Peoples had to be gradually integrated into the rest of the national society, participating in its economic life, making sure that Amazonian natural resources were used to create national economic development, which was then understood as the way to overall progress. Subsequently large highways and hydroelectric plants were installed in the area, threatening the lifestyle of Amazonian based inhabitants. Mining companies aspired to establish themselves in the territory of the Rio Negro, which especially yielded dissatisfaction among the indigenous group living in the area.

Then during the 1980s, Brazil underwent a strong economic crisis which provided a fertile ground for the emergence of local Amazon based social movements. FOIRN emerged as a result of this. At that time a new Brazilian democratic Constitution was written, creating an opportunity for Indigenous Peoples to push for their rights to be formally recognized in the

Constitution, and later on to ensure they were respected and treated with justice (see Bicalho 2010).

Nevertheless, the organization did not experience immediate success, on the contrary. In fact, the very establishment of an "umbrella" like organization was a novelty for these indigenous group. Many of them did not understand at the time what a "trans-local" organization was or what it entailed. In fact, the first elected leader of FOIRN, who was also an employee of FUNAI[4], did not take the peoples interest seriously and used his leadership position to keep the group under governmental watch, putting the state interest above indigenous ones (FOIRN n.d. –b). In 1990, FOIRN was hence in a deep crisis. Recognizing the lack of commitment of their first elected president, he was eventually pushed out and replaced by someone who most local people saw as a more legitimate representative. Still, FOIRN existed for several years with virtually no resources after that, having little money or other key infrastructure at their disposal. This situation only changed when a partnership with the Climate Alliance was established and they received financial support, which gradually helped them mobilize their own populations and gradually grow as a strong player in the national game for local rights. My thesis will focus on how the indigenous group of the Rio Negro fought, and still fight for the right to be "themselves" as a cultural and social unit through building international alliances to further their goals. Establishing themselves within a network, while being keenly aware of global discussions and international organization policies, has and still is playing a central role in the politics of indigeneity of the Indigenous group of the Rio Negro, as we are going to see in this thesis.

The dialectics between local and global, then, is an essential theme here. The interconnectedness of today's world provide new opportunities of actions and alliances that work together in unpredictable ways, as is the case of the global alliance in which this particular Brazilian rainforest group itself is but one example of. The Climate Alliance' global goal to fight global warming was and still is intrinsically linked to maintaining the tropical forest habitat of the local Indian groups. One good way to achieve this result, was and is by supporting indigenous group in the area to safeguard the forest and protect it from

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[4] FUNAI stands for the *Fundação Nacional do Índio* (Brazilian National Indian Foundation). It was created by the Law No. 5.371 of 5 December 1967 and it is the official body of the Brazilian state responsible for indigenous policy and representing indigenous interests. Although its mission is to protect and promote the rights of indigenous peoples, the institution have faced several corruption charges and was accused of rather representing the government interests at times (Fundação Nacional do Índio, n.d. –a; FOIRN, n.d.-b).

destructive activities that threatens to make it less sustainable seen from a global climate perspective.

The rest of this chapter will dwell on the analytical apparatus necessary to better understand this relationship between local and global, understood as both a product of and an agent of globalization processes.

2.1 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GLOBALIZATION AND INTERNATIONAL INDIGENISM

There is an enormous amount of academic literature available when it comes to globalization studies. Globalization itself is today '[…] a common central topic in sociology, political science, geography, anthropology, media studies, education, law, culture studies and so on (Eriksen 2007, 4)'. In contrast with its recent popularity, before the late 1980s, even inside the academia, the term was scarcely used. Notwithstanding, in the present, it is virtually impossible to open a newspaper without coming upon it. It is commonly treated as an umbrella word, capable to encompass anything and everything the user chooses to fit in. Therefore, it is important to discuss here what I mean by globalization. My take on globalization and identity politics is mainly built upon Thomas Eriksen conceptualizations and understandings presented in his book *Globalization: the Key Concepts*. Other like-minded authors such as Dicken (2011), Rigg (2007) and Vertovec (1999) will also be made relevant in order to in a complementary way understand "globalization" processes and to aid and to shape the meaning of this otherwise fuzzy term.

The prevailing confusion attached to the term might be a result of our need to theorize and fit things into boxes in order to understand them. Yet, the processes and outcomes that can be fit into the globalization box are of incredible proportions. Therefore, I agree with Rigg (2007, 12) that there is a meta-narrative of globalization, however it does not mean it refers to a unique singular process. Without a particular context, the word is empty of meaning (Eriksen 2007, 1).

Granted that, when it comes more specifically to identity politics and Indigenism, Ronald Niezen book *The Origins of Indigenism: Human Rights and the Politics of Identity* is the main source of support. However, it is important not to think about identity politics detached from globalization, since it is unequivocally embedded within globalization processes.

Eriksen (2007, 12) is categorical when maintaining that "Divisive and exclusionary identity politics is a trueborn child of globalization, but so is transnational solidarity". Niezen (2003) and Vertovec (1999) make similar ideas. This assertion is of major importance for my own research, accounting for the *transnational* partnership between the Brazilian Indigenous Group "the Rio Negro Ethnic Group" and the transnational NGO "Horizont3000". The former performs an exclusionary identity politics whereas the latter provides a basis for transnational solidarity, which lays down the groundwork for enabling indigenous Amazonian based groups to empower themselves and make their voice heard.

Before I look further into the concept of transnationalism in relation to globalization, I will briefly ask a more fundamental question: What, after all, is "globalization"?

2.1.1   After All, What is Globalization?

There seem to be a consensus among authors that the term globalization is often a misused one and it needs to be employed with caution. Hence, to avoid confusion, it is important to clarify and demystify some assumptions about globalization.

First of all, let me try to better explain why the term gained the popularity it has today. The post-war years saw the growth of a myriad of transnational corporations and companies whose limits were not strictly confined to their nation-state but still mostly halted by the protectionism of communist states. It was a time of important technological advances, especially with the television, which could be in theory watched by anyone everywhere, providing shared frames of reference and mutual knowledge in a global scale (Appadurai 1990). Yet, what ultimately explains the recent popularity of the term is the end of communism and with it the economic isolation of the Eastern bloc. Capitalist economic system was in the post-Cold War world overreaching the whole globe and with it, its modus vivendi and cultural values typical from capitalistic economies. In this new world the advent of the internet and cellphones and their democratization, the possibility of instant communication and information transfer changed even more the way people interacted with each other. The consciousness about living in a global and variegated world became common to a vast amount of people. In addition, another factor, the emergence of identity politics, became a global event. With the striking awareness of 'the other' prompted by the technological advances, the fear of homogenization became a common worry, giving birth to

the politics of difference in which the politics surrounding the Rio Negro Ethnic Groups is one good example.

Remarkably, groups of people everywhere seemed to be concerned about their identity, as the compression of space brought by globalization threatened their nationalistic, ethnic, religious and/or territorial uniqueness. It became one of the leading themes in the international agenda in the turn of the 21. Century and it is also the most important dimension of globalization in relation to the emergence of for example Brazilian indigenous movements fighting for autonomy (Eriksen 2007, 1-4).

Steven Vertovec refers to this process as "transnationalism". In his article *Conceiving and researching transnationalism*, published in the periodic *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vertovec defines transnationalism as "multiple ties and interactions linking people or institutions across the borders of nation-states" (Vertovec 1999, 447). He also points out intensity and simultaneity as the term's hallmark. "Globalization" itself can thus for our purposes be defined along the lines of Dicken's who makes a good point about it worth considering:

> Globalization, therefore, is not an inevitable end-state but, rather, a complex, indeterminate set of processes operating very unevenly in both time and space. As a result of these processes, the nature and the degree of interconnection between different parts of the world is continuously in flux (2011, 8).

How distinct is it though, compared to previous epochs like for instance *le belle epoch* of 1890-1914?

2.1.2   Modern Globalization is Distinct in a Qualitative Way

Indeed, based in quantitate and aggregative data the world was a more connected place in the sense of the volume of trade and immigration flows during the half a century before the IWW than it is today. However, such statistical data are not the only parameter one should consider when comparing it to modern globalization. Notwithstanding, there is significant contest around this point, which the extremes are exemplified by what Dicken (2011, 4) already mentioned has labeled as hyper-globalists and sceptical internationalists, and Eriksen (2007, 6) has labelled globalizers and sceptics, respectively. Before I zoom more narrowly into the relationship between globalization processes and indigenous revitalization processes, I will dwell briefly with this key debate within globalization studies.

The hyper-globalists hold that globalization is the new world order and it will ultimately take over the world, reaching out to every single geographic area. From this follows the idea that the world is becoming "flat", in every sense of the word. Consumer tastes and culture for instance are being homogenized and becoming one and the same due to global corporations and standardized global products. Assuming further that globalization is an unstoppable powerful force, the hyper-globalists to the left identify globalization as the reason for the world's biggest problems, such as current inequality within and among states, major environmental problems and for eradicating the local and the traditional. Due to this negative position towards globalization they advocate against it, believing the solution would be to go back to the local and to put an end to the world's global interconnectedness.

Conversely, the hyper-globalists to the right believe globalization is the way to bring the greatest benefit for the greatest number of people; it only has not happened yet because the world is not fully globalized, but they do see it as an end state of affairs. Globalization for them is a synonym to neo-liberalism in which free and efficient markets worldwide should be promoted, which would eventually improve life conditions everywhere (Dicken 2011, 4-5).

Both approaches hold different political positions as far as globalization is concerned but they are in consonance when it comes to agreeing about its growing force and seeing the world as a borderless place, where the local has more or less ceased to matter. While their view is on one level justifiable, they nevertheless mainly take in consideration the quantitative or economic facet of globalization focusing on the global market. Eriksen (2007, 11) warns against this narrow take on globalization, saying that "(t)he global spread of human rights ideas is no less a feature of globalization than the global financial markets". The "sceptical internationalists" on the other hand find the idea of a growing world economy since the second half a century to be highly exaggerated[5]. Hirst and Thompson (*apud* Dicken 2011, 6), representatives of such a position, argue that we merely have an "international" economy. They also contend that the nation-state still is the most important political unity, compared to the "globalizers" who hold that the nation state no longer represent a significant actor or a

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[5] Findlay and O'Rourke (2009) clearly prove this point in their book *Power and Plenty: Trade, War and World Economy in the Second Millennium*. They dive into detail into the trends and data of the long nineteenth century (1815-1914) and clearly demonstrate in terms of statistic evidence that the world was incredibly and escalating interconnected during the last half of the century before the First World War, a trend that was never recouped considering the speed and the degree economic integration was happening then. The authors are of the take globalization started already during the mercantilist period. However, it was shallow globalization and the degree of deep interconnectedness we have are not comparable to even some decades ago. The present state of globalization we live, according to Eriksen (2007, 3) begun with the end of the Cold War in 1989-91, and there is considerable qualitative changes from the world today than before this mark.

meaningful economic unit. In Eriksen's opinion both sides of the debate exaggerates the one aspect of globalization they themselves perceive as meaningful and draw their conclusions too hastily based on their own one dimensional convictions (Eriksen, 2007).

Admittedly, globalization is not new. However, globalization as we know it is certainly new. The sceptics base themselves mainly on quantitative evidence while the most pronounced characteristic of globalization today I will argue is of qualitative matter. Furthermore, I think it is fair to argue that global integration during the nineteenth century was mainly "shallow" compared to global integration today, which in my opinion is deeper and more complex. *Transnationalism*, I argue, is one good example of that.

2.1.3   There is a Narrative of Indigeneity

When it comes to the case of Indigenous Peoples, it is evident that there is more to globalization than processes of homogeneity. Indigenous Peoples have recently managed to survive and stand out in their difference, opposing predictions of their upcoming demise. Still, they are not the same people the colonizers met on their arrival centuries ago, as if they have remained in a static immutable state since then. Clifford (2013, 14) notes that those who wear the badge of indigeneity today most often have arrived to their recent home from someplace else, something which more often than not is under communicated in the politics of it all.

This choice of narrative is not innocent, but emblematic to how Indigenous Peoples play out their politics of indigeneity in the global society. They selectively incorporate and reject elements of modernity to use them in their favor while at the same time sometimes acting as if they were the same primordial people of once. One thing seems quite sure, though: "Traditions are recovered and connections made in relation to shared colonial, postcolonial, globalizing histories" (Clifford 2013, 16).

The use of narratives to exercise political power is not exactly a novelty as the renowned anthropologist Eric Wolf cleverly expounds in his book *Europe and the People without History* (1997). He reveals Western history is often expressed in a teleological manner, as if it had a genealogy. The way this history is told is not a mere innocent act, but it is based on 'victories' and made up by 'winners'. In a simplified way, the Western (hi)story goes as follows: "(A)ncient Greece begat Rome; Rome begat Christian Europe; Christian Europe

begat the Renaissance; the Renaissance begat the Enlightenment; Enlightenment begat political democracy and Industrial Revolution" (Wolf 1997, 5). In this history, other people histories, of success or not, is not according to Wolf worth telling, as if nothing meaningful went on in the rest of the world. In this Western teleological tale, the Indigenous Peoples are peoples without history (Wolf 1997, 5). Only now, they have realized the power narratives can have, making sure to register them in a similar way Western societies have done, selecting parts of the story and reworking it in their favour.

Wolf (1997) brings attention into this kind of historical selectiveness, especially because if a narrative becomes popular it can be disguised as the whole truth. The author's main assumption in his book is that the world is intrinsically interconnected. Therefore, to divide it into static categories and then fail to assemble them back, it is to ignore the ongoing dynamics and linkages, seeing the world by the optic of a single locality, which would not be a good representation of the entirety of the world, considering it is constituted by the sum of ongoing interconnected processes, which in turn I argue makes out globalization.

Moreover, to see an entity as bounded and isolated, as often can happen in the fieldwork based anthropological research method practice, can bring out a false sense of confidence which should be avoided, because there are more to reality than just the observable world. Villages, communities, nation-states are in fact made by porous membranes that do not constitute a solid barrier between inside and outside worlds (Wolf, 1997). This does not mean globalization is not situated and cannot be analysed by a local perspective, but that it cannot be detached from the global, a point taken into account in this thesis.

2.1.4   There is a Geography to Globalization

Considering the above, one can conclude that globalization does not produce merely homogenization, neither does it reach out to all corners of the world in the same all encompassing fashion and with the same consequences. However, it is still a contested point in the overall social science literature whether or not it produces homogenization, heterogenization, or both. My paper follows the lead that it in fact does both. Rigg (2007, 11) makes a good point of reflection that illustrates this idea:

How can we reconcile the surface contradiction between the emergence of a world worn flat by the indefatigable forces of globalization, and a world where localities and localism are gaining in significance and where difference and complexity are becoming ever more pronounced and powerful?

One similar way to argue the same point is to say that there is a "geography" to globalization, which is to say that globalization does not play out the same way and with the same intensity in all possible spaces. In addition, that the outcomes of globalization are not the same everywhere. Therefore, I pose it is vague and abstract to talk about globalization without situating it within concrete local-global contexts. Doing the latter makes one appreciate better that "it" in fact can lead to both homogenization or heterogenization depending on where you look (Dicken 2011, 6-7; Rigg 2007, 4). By the same token, Eriksen (2007, 6) suggests that the term 'glocalization' would better describe what is going on in the world today. Glocalization, refers to the local "agency" aspect of globalization processes, that is the many creative and purposeful local counter reactions to homogenizing tendencies, exemplified by for instance localities giving special preference to local food as an active local response to homogenization processes and that ends upstrengthening local identity. In other words, this responses instigates new local trends of heterogenization. According to Eriksen, it is the tension between the two constitutive trends of globalization - homogenization and differentiation - that makes up much of global reality today (Eriksen 2007, 143).

Thus, rather than contending that the local is influenced in the same way by global and unstoppable forces, and that globalization is a one way relationship in which the global influences the local but not the other way around, portraying the local as helpless victims of globalization processes, I am suggesting along with Dicken that "(…) the local and the global intermesh, running into one another in an all manner of way" (2011, 7). It follows that localities can both shape and react to global processes. Rigg (2007, 11) makes an important remark regarding the matter: "Globalization operates at all scales. It is not that the global is in the processes of erasing the local but that globalization processes can be seen operating at the local scale (and at all other scales up to the global)". Similarly, Eriksen (2007, 10) is of the opinion "(…) that the interpersonal 'globalization from below' is much more encompassing and more important in shaping the world than often assumed". Concerning the authors' emphasis on the importance of the local for the totality of processes making up today's globalization, I will adopt a local lenses to answer the research question: How Brazilian Indigenous group fight to maintain their traditional local identity while paradoxically using

global institutions and often standardized social and cultural forms to further their own local interests?

The implication of such approach is that it makes an effort to take into consideration the force of human agency. It is this agency that to a large extent makes sure that globalizing forces does not wipe out the local, in fact rather in some cases re-energizes it. Agency is per se selective and makes sure that things happen for reasons that are also motivational. Globalization can thus also mean new opportunities and channels of action, leading to transformation. This manner of perceiving globalization can be labelled as grassroots globalization, which is: "(…) an attempt by marginalized groups and social movements at the local level to forge wider alliances at their growing exclusion from global neo-liberal economic decision-making" (Rigg 2007, 20). Global alliances is a fundamental part of the Brazilian Indigenous Peoples' fight for survival. Global networks enable them to send a centrifugal response to centripetal globalizing forces that might hinder their way of life. Both directions of globalization forces are important parts that makes up its totality, and it is a constant ongoing process that shapes and re-shapes our world. Such "grounded" understanding of the processes involved and their impacts on peoples' lives is of big importance when one engages in globalization analysis (Dicken 2011, 8) from an anthropological perspective in particular, but also from several other social science perspectives.

2.1.5 Globalization and the Politics of Identity

Eriksen (2007, 14) identifies localization as one of the main characteristics of today's globalization: "It *standardizes, modernizes, deterritorializes* and, by dialectical negation, *localizes* people, because is only after been 'globalized' that people become obsessed with the uniqueness of their locality". This means, the more the barriers of separation among us become less obvious, the more people seek to create and belong to bounded entities, be them nation-states, religious, cultural or interest groups (Eriksen 2007, 142; 145).

Identity movements are one example of the trend towards "glocalization", the localization, or particularization of the global. They were a common phenomenon in the turn of the millennium, which witnessed societies all over the globe targeting their right of self-determination in order to strengthen their collective sense of uniqueness. Globalization

provides a scenario in which previously isolated entities were exposed to different cultures and made them comparable in a way disputes were triggered, therefore Eriksen (2007, 145) contends these identity movements are a modern event, encouraged by the intensified contact made possible by globalization. It does not only create tension, but it can also trigger global sympathy to local/international causes otherwise unknown without the technological advances of recent globalization that made possible the instantaneous spread of information and ideas (Appadurai 1990).

Moreover, despite happening in a multitude of locations, identity movements have some features in common. For instance, they all involve competition for scarce resources; they all embrace a common historical, mythological or/and symbolic narrative that ties them together; they consider themselves the first-comers in a particular geographic location and whoever came later as invaders. Still, they comprise movements of different natures. They can be of religious or ethnic character; separatist nationalist movements; oppressed minorities pursuing equal rights and/or autonomy; or even majority groups seeking to subjugate minorities in what they claim is their territory. The most important distinction being if they constitute identity politics from above or from below. Identity politics from above can be states demanding homogeneity or engaging in ethnic cleansing, and from below, minorities demanding rights of secession or autonomy, which is the case for the Amazonian indigenous movements (Eriksen 2007, 3; 144-145).

Politics from below is not unique to the Brazilian reality: "In the Americas, various minority movements, from indigenous group to African Americans, have with increasing success demanded cultural recognition on equal rights. In sum, politics around the turn of the millennium has to a great extent meant identity politics" (Eriksen 2007, 144). The politics of indigeneity, stand out among identity politics in general.

2.1.5.1   Indigenism as Identity Politics

Indigenism, the Politics of Identity of Indigenous Peoples, differs from the ones of nations and migrant minorities because territorial autonomy and self-determination are their main political goals, and it is no different when it comes to the Rio Negro Indigenous group. According to Eriksen (2007, 147) "(i)ndigenous peoples are usually defined as ethnic groups associated with a non-industrial mode of production and a stateless political organization".

Niezen (2003) considers the absorption of these groups by bounded nation-states as the reason of revolt of Indigenous Peoples, since they lost their sovereignty to entities alien to them. With the processes of building a state comes the necessity of standardization. The modern nation-states as we know them were not always there and state building was a process that happened worldwide, as the standard way the world organizes itself (Eriksen 2007, 51).

Standardization is one of Eriksen's key concepts that pertain to the dimensions of globalization. The author regards national economies and nationalism as the first propeller of standardization and therefore, as a pre-condition for globalization. After all, the modern states actively sought to promote internal uniformity in order to maintain its borders. Thanks to the nation-state, language, law, measurements, formal education, political parties, the notion of citizenship, monetary economy and so on became standardized locally. Those are all common attributes to any modern state and therefore credible for comparison worldwide. It was not always this way, and there are still remote pockets not affected by this leveling standardizing force, but it is indeed the minority of the world and they feel the pressure of standardization, which is the case for Indigenous Peoples. Nonetheless, all these standardization processes initiated in the national level continue to take place. Now, the standardization of many of them take place in a global level. For instance, the growing number of people learning English as a foreign language can be considered as the standardization of language in a global scale, continuing becoming a common and understandable language anywhere in the globe. Another example is the advent of international law and universal human rights: a set of rights that should be valid in any political unity of the globe. Globalization can be perceived in this way, borrowing Eriksen's interpretation, as a way of organizing heterogeneity (Eriksen 2007, 10; 51-53).

2.1.5.2 International Human Rights and Indigenism

Hence, not surprisingly, the trend towards standardization was felt by Indigenous Peoples worldwide. As the state imposes uniformity, Indigenous Peoples persist and fight for autonomy within the borders imposed on them. And they have found support in a not so obvious arena: the transnational one.

Cultural differences has become a topic of priority within the international agenda. Not different from globalization, the term 'indigenous'[6] has only acquired its meaning and popularity in the recent decades. A search for the term thirty years ago will lead to virtually no similarities to the meaning it has today, namely, a category of human society. The category embodies groups that allegedly share the same origins, similar habits and the same history of oppression and subjugation. It refers to primordial identities, associated to 'tradition' as in opposition to 'modern'. It is curious indeed that in the current state of affairs and defying predictions, this group did not cease to be or did not get 'homogenized' even after centuries of globalization. It does go against the already refuted notion that globalization leads to homogenization. Instead, indigenous group everywhere have adapted and found a third way. They went through a processes of "glocalization" (Niezen 2003, 2-3).

Niezen (2003, 3) considers this "third" way invented by Indigenous Peoples a new kind of global political entity, comparable to the advent of nationalism in the nineteenth century. He poses that even if in a small scale, this movement: "(…) has the potential to influence the way states manage their affairs and even to reconfigure the usual alignments of nationalism and state sovereignty". They do so mainly by indigenous internationalism. Globalization has provided them with a transnational arena for political engagement. As a way of example, Indigenous Peoples from all over the world meet regularly in groups that can range up to several hundreds of individuals in order to discuss the development of their human rights standards. In this regard, Eriksen (2007, 64) argues "that the spread of human rights ideas and practices was one of the most spectacularly successful forms of globalization in the twentieth century". This is an important fact, since it provided a common international lexical understanding, which minorities can exploit in order to debate and uphold their rights, backed up by an international legal framework. The United Nations itself, within the framework of international human rights, has provided a locus for arbitration and discussion of politics between minorities and their nation-state (Niezen 2003, 4).

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[6] An extract from a report of the United Nations' International NGO Conference on Discrimination against Indigenous Populations in the Americas refer to all this population as an 'ancient people'. Niezen (2003, 2) draw attention to the use of 'people' in the singular to point out how this diversified and multifold of ethnicities, each of them with their distinctive and particular culture are all put into one category and they were also speaking with one voice. Later, a further acknowledgement of their diversity led to the usage of 'Indigenous Peoples' as the accepted terminology. Still, it is a term that refers to one category of 'people', invoking a primordial common identity for all these people who maintain a 'traditional' lifestyle, mostly attached to the land and their modus vivendi. Startling, the same terminology refers to indigenous peoples from Asian, northern Europe, Africa, the Americas, and the South Pacific, as the same common entity, imbued with the same political leverage (Niezen 2003, 2-4). Again, I would say this is another example of globalization organizing heterogeneity.

Similarly, also endorsed by International Governmental Organizations, the term Indigenous Peoples has become an official one. For instance, the International Labour Organization (ILO) has a convention "Concerning the Protection and Integration of Indigenous and Other Tribal and Semi-Tribal Populations in Independent Countries" (1957). Such international recognition helps to strengthen Indigenous Peoples' international identity and serve as a logic for unification. Certainly, regardless of their differences, these groups at least have in common "(…) the notion that they have all been oppressed in similar ways for similar motives by similar state and corporate entities" (Niezen 2003, 4).

Henceforth, endowed with the international right of self-determination, they have found partners worldwide willing to assist them with their quest for autonomy. Paradoxically, the same globalization that promotes standardization and homogenization they fight against enables them to reach out to the global arena as a way to uphold their rights, backed up by official intergovernmental organizations. As Eriksen (2007, 147-148) emphasizes:

> Many Indigenous Peoples have been assisted in their quest for self-determination by transnational agencies and even global organizations such as the World Council of Indigenous Peoples (WCIP), levelling pressure on nation-states from a transnational or supranational point of leverage.

This transnational partnership consists of a network response to globalization, and clearly illustrates how globalization is not a one-way street. The emergence of a multitude of transnational NGOs aiming to change the status quo, just as Indigenism, is a recent offspring of globalization. Their main concern tend to be global causes such as environment, human rights, planning or immigration, making out a new form of international solidarity. Their lobbying is only possible due to a shared international grammar which the recognition transcend national borders, challenging even the organization of nation-states (Vertovec 1999, 453).

2.2   METHODOLOGY

The discussed meanings and understandings on globalization presented earlier on, consists of the result of a literature research done around the theme of globalization and Indigenous Peoples. It also represents the locus in which this research is situated, that is to say, the way the world is perceived by me and whereby I base my assumptions in the analysis that follows.

This research involves qualitative methodology. Therefore, it follows the concession that knowledge is partial and situated; ergo the world is made up by competing social constructions or discourses that can be institutionalized in some contexts and taken as being true. Accordingly, qualitative data is my main tool of analysis, namely by conducting an in-depth, intensive approach instead of an exhausting statistical numeric one (Dwyer & Limb, 2001). My research is mainly based on the gathering of secondary data, which is information already gathered for another purpose different than this particular research, however it is accessible for others profit (Clifford and Valentine 2003, 67). This approach was mainly chosen due to time and financial limitations I have as a master's student. This does not mean, however, that primary data will be completely excluded.

In fact, I had the chance to get in contact with Horizont3000 personal, the organization that stepped up in support of FOIRN in 1993, summing more than twenty years of partnership. I had a Skype interview with one of the organization's members, which I conducted by means of an informal conversational interview and I received relevant documents regarding their partnership. The interview was fruitful and gave me a good insight on the proximity the organization kept with the Indigenous Peoples in scope The employee in question spoke perfect fluent Portuguese and Spanish, and having a delegation visit to Brazil to meet up with partner leaders and see closely the results of the partnership in the following month, i.e. May 2016. I was also provided with a link I would have missed if only based in secondary data, this is, how this seemingly isolated group from remote regions of the Brazilian Amazon suddenly stepped in this international partnership. It was a curious fact indeed considering the small relevance and lack of infrastructure FOIRN had at the start of the alliance. However, a professor from Kassel University during a visit to the area had told FOIRN members in 1989 about the Climate Alliance for the first time, and the alignment of their goals. Later, the Austrian anthropologist Dr. Georg Grünberg, who was doing a study in São Gabriel da Cachoeira, came in contact with the Indigenous Peoples of the Rio Negro during the IV Congress of the Coordinating Body for the Indigenous Peoples Organization of the Amazon Basin (COICA). He then, recognizing the difficult situation FOIRN was facing, recommended it for the newly created Climate Alliance, which had available funds from Austrian government to invest in international cooperation. It is important to point out that both the Horizon3000 employee and Grünberg stressed how the cooperation was a *de facto* one, meaning it was not a one sided North-South cooperation, but rather a partnership that goes both ways. The Indigenous Peoples of the Rio Negro help to further the Alliance goals,

and the Austrian side also learn with indigenous ways and knowledge, therefore, the element of equality and respect is present.

In addition, I got in contact with Grünberg by electronic mail. He promptly replied and provided his own account on how he encountered FOIRN members. He also recommended ISA as the main source for research regarding the indigenous group of the Rio Negro. ISA is a holistic civil society organization in Brazil that also happens to be part of the coalition between FOIRN and Horizont3000. Its main mandate is to defend social assets and rights related to the environment, cultural heritage, human and indigenous rights. The institute is known for making consistent research within these themes and Grünberg himself has been part of their research team. He has had some of his work published by the institute, including some parts in the series of books *Povos Indígenas do Brasil* (Indigenous Peoples of Brazil) which I use as reference. These series of books are a very important record of the Brazilian Indian, that started to be published in 1980 by *Centro Ecumênico de Documentação e Informação* (CEDI), precursor of ISA. This series consists of the most complete existing collection of the recent and current history of Indigenous Peoples living in Brazil, with its latest edition in 2010.

Moreover, my goal with this research is to provide a thoughtful contribution to the existing literature on globalization and indigeneity, also bringing awareness to the main issues the Brazilian Indigenous Peoples of the Rio Negro face and the ways they cope with an increasingly globalized world, hoping to provoke a good impact and promote further discussions on the subject.

3 NGOS AND THE POLITICS OF INDIGENEITY: TRUEBORN CHILDREN OF GLOBALIZATION

3.1 THE GLOBALIZATION OF POLITICAL IDEAS

International Indigenism, international NGOs and international human rights are both products and agents globalization. Some claim globalization is opposed to human rights, especially those who take it for granted as a synonym of neoliberalism. Prudently, Eriksen (2007, 6) argues otherwise: "It is only thanks to the globalization of political ideas that local communities and organizations can argue effectively against them and canvas for support from transnational NGOs and governments overseas". Indeed, globalization and the shared global grammar it provides, increase local groups' awareness of global dialogues taking place and bestow them with a variety of channels and opportunities to take part in these dialogues. In fact, one important mechanist indigenous group use to aid and support their cause is to denounce violations of human rights (Eriksen 2007, 64). Human Rights can produce leverage from above since states appeal to international law and organizations to legitimize their own policies and delegitimize others, and, in a like manner, local groups can delegitimize their national state for not following the international treaties they have previously ratified (Nye 2005, 168-169).

Human rights have emerged as a global ethics with the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 and the purpose to avoid the atrocities committed during the IIWW would be ever repeated. It is based on the assumption that every human being has innate rights independent of their religion, race or nationality. Due to the vast reach United Nations has today, the universality attained by those rights implies that they can be invoked by anyone anywhere in the globe. Arendt (1989, 335) cleverly affirms that we are not born the same, but we become the same if there is a legal apparatus that states so. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights can be understood as such a instrument. Also, she comments that humans decide to become equal as members of a group in order to guarantee reciprocal equal rights. This affirmation can be applied to the case of Indigenous Peoples, who reaffirm themselves as members of this selective "indigenous" group as a way to guarantee allegedly natural rights, which in their case is the collective right of self-determination and the their traditional

land. However, if no institution were available to secure and reinforce these "natural" rights, they would not exist at all.

Hence, the watch for human rights violations is an important worldwide development. It has considerably spread out, and states may face retaliation officially coming from Intergovernmental Organizations or from the civil society, when they do not comply with them. It is used today even as a pre-condition for rich countries to donate aid to developing ones (Eriksen 2007, 64; Nye 2005).

Because human rights represent a universal set of values, it can appear to some as a homogenizing instrument. However, "glocalization" comes into action locally and the way people relate to human rights at the local scale varies considerably. There is different emphasis in which values are the most relevant, certain groups may focus only in a few of them in benefit of their politics. It is no different when it comes to indigenous group, where the emphasis is centred in anti-discrimination and the right of self-determination, which is closely entangled with their main goal: secure their land and habitat to maintain their traditional livelihoods (Eriksen 2007).

Notwithstanding, the existence of universal human rights may be perceived as a threat to some local cultures. Acknowledging that, UNESCO published in 1995 the report 'Our Creative Diversity'. Regarding this document Eriksen (2007, 64) comments: "(it) simultaneously favours cultural diversity and the protection thereof and a global ethics based on a shared recognition of human rights (emphasis in original)". It is a tentative to remediate the contradiction between local and global, stating the importance to preserve uniqueness, and at the same time officially allowing it to exist. Still, both Eriksen (2007, 64) and Niezen (2003, 27-28) make a reservation, stating the contradiction is still there. The latter argues there is an area of overlap between cultural relativism and ethnical universalism, and in similar manner among collective and individual rights that is commonly not discussed, as if they were perfect distinct instruments.

3.1.1 International Indigenism

Granted that, the acquisition of specific collective rights is a result of the international movement of Indigenous Peoples pushing for their singularity and the right to preserve their livelihoods. They do so based on claims of cultural preservation and self-determination backed up by legal channels build upon liberal individualism. The United Nations has thence become a privileged forum for the discussion and support of Indigenism, as the world's primordial people. There are roughly 300 million people around the globe who fits this category, summing up to 4.000 societies that have chosen to keep their traditional lifestyle, closely attached to the land. It consists of such a great variety of people that it is indeed a wonder that they can all fit into this one category (Niezen 2003, 2; 4; 27).

The category "Indigenous Peoples" as an identity and legal term has only gained substance from the 1980s onwards. In some sense, the indigenous identity emerged from these formal institutions, providing the conceptual origins and the practical approach for an indigenous international identity. The proof of this is that the first time the term 'indigenous' was used by the ILO in 1957[7] the population they referred to had no or little self-identification as such. In addition, the legal framework being developed on their behalf did not involve their participation, revealing an autocratic regime. Furthermore, the awareness that other people have been oppressed worldwide just the same way as they have been by their dominant society and globalization centrifugal force was a development only made possible by the frail emergence of indigenous organizations and communication networks on the 1960s and 1970s. Contrary to ethnonatinalism, Indigenism is deeply founded in international networks (Niezen 2003, 4; 9; 30).

The emergence of this new international identity is closely attached to globalization processes: inspired on global political ideas, supported by the United Nations and embodied by peoples spread out worldwide that feel oppressed in a similar way and found in globalization a way to fight the current establishment. They mainly play out their politics of difference through a common invented narrative that serve the purpose of their endeavor.

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[7] The term was included in the ILO Convention no. 107: "Concerning the Protection and Integration on Indigenous and Other Tribal and Semi-Tribal Populations in Independent Countries. At this time scholars still had the view indigenous people were 'primitive', reflecting the view they were subjects to be developed rather than agents with their own will (Niezen 2003, 4).

Those people had their identities weakened while engulfed and marginalized by dominant nation-states and as a response they found new ways to reconstruct themselves based on narratives not always coming from within. Therefore: "(Indigenous Peoples) is a category of human society first invented through human rights reforms, then adapted, internalized, personalized and collectively transformed by 'Indigenous Peoples' themselves with conviction and occasionally strident passion" (Niezen 2003, 11). Their common history is a myth, invented and reinvented through new narratives linking their past of oppression to the current situation they found themselves in, making Indigenism a global identity reinforced by the multifold of colours and contours of variegated localities, that when summed up make up the Indigenous Peoples of the world. This also explains their recent worry not only to orally tell their narratives, but to make sure they are recorded, written and when possible, endorsed by formal legal systems. Indigenous Peoples have cleverly borrowed and adapted features of majority societies in order to maintain their tradition, this fact being the cornerstone of the revival of indigenous identities (Niezen 2003, 10-12).

3.1.1.1   The Specific International Rights of Indigenous Peoples

Today, the main relevant international instruments dealing with indigenous rights are the ILO Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention no.169 of 1989 and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), adopted by the United Nations in 2007[8]. Those instruments bequeath them with specific human rights, namely the right of self-determination and as holders of collective rights (Norwegian Embassy n.d,). As mentioned, these advancements were a by-product of international Indigenism, whereby indigenous leaders energetically fought to employ universal human rights to further their own interests, striving for states' and international organizations' recognition of their inherited rights of self-determination (Niezen 2003, 3; 27).

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[8] As an illustration of the increasing indigenous participation on the international scene we have some important benchmarks. In 1974, for the first time the United Nations Economic and Social Council granted consultative status for an indigenous NGO. In 1981 the Working Group on Indigenous Populations of the Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities allowed the participation of indigenous leaderships in all the debates. The working group was in operation until 2006 and the indigenous participation provided the draft for the future declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples. The focus stayed on the rights for land and non-discrimination. There is a straight link between discrimination and indigenous rights since genocide, slavery and apartheid were identified as part of the multifaceted aspects of discrimination and those are at the same time the worst crimes described by international human rights law. They consist of some of the expressions of discrimination indigenous peoples face and has historically faced (Telles, 2007).

When broadly defined, self-determination is the right of a people to form its own state. However, the concept is problematic since it can be interpreted in different ways and it is difficult to pin point which secessionist movements are legit and call for international involvement. It involves questions such as what makes a people a nation and others not, and how to fix state boundaries. As Niezen (2003, 10) argues : "[…] if too many claims are made, what happens to any one group's chances of success? Ethnic groups are like auditioners for a drama on the world's stage". Hence, not surprisingly some people's secessionist movements receive international support and others are ignored, depending in the international context and the actors involved. Self-determination as a confusing moral principle due to its incongruity with state sovereignty and the partiality of international decisions, often reflecting the goals of main international powers. Furthermore, less than 10% of the countries in the world has a homogeneous population, ergo it would be a chaotic situation if all of them decided to create their own bounded entity called state (Nye 2005).

Other way to exercise the right of self-determination, aside from claims of statehood is if groups negotiate for autonomy within the state they find themselves engulfed. Thus they can coexist within the same national borders with enough autonomy to deal with issues related to their geographic location and way of life (Nye 2005, 162-164). This alternative was the one broadly chosen by Indigenous Peoples and this is the main way indigenous movements stand out from ethnic ones, since the latter identify themselves in antagonism to other ethnicities with competing claims to statehood (Niezen 2003, 8).

Moreover, beyond securing their rights in the international arena by means of specific instruments, in order to safeguard them locally they associate themselves with other pertinent international themes, such as environmentalism and climate change and other relevant transnational actors, i.e. NGOs, so they can have an advantage point from above. Global political ideas such as Indigenism, human rights and climate change allows the existence of an international forum of discussion and political engagement that Indigenous Peoples astutely take part in. Indeed, Castells (2008, 78; 81) recognizes the space of discussion of global affairs as a new public sphere substantialized by a global civil society, since a growing number of issues faced today are not only global in their manifestations but also in their possible solutions.

3.2   THE EMERGENCE OF TRANSNATIONAL NGOs

A public sphere is a forum for communication and exchange of ideas of a given society directed to policy making, both governments and civil society dialogue by means of this open channel of communication. Civil society is the organized articulation of values and concerns of groups within the society. When we talk about a global public sphere or a global civil society is a repercussion of the global flow of ideas we experience today. Debates once restrained to the national scale have acquired global proportions. Hence, public affairs are now public debated thanks to the existence of global channels of communication. Politics are constantly migrating to an international arena due to the interconnectedness of the world today and of its problems. For instance, international social justice and global warming cannot be tackled only by local political action. In addition, there is a growing structure that enables political action in a global level, mainly through global communication networks (Castells 2008, 78; 82).

Thus, along the same lines, Vertovec (1990, 447) in his attempt to 'disentangle' the term globalization suggests a cluster of themes, and 'Globalization as a site of political engagement' is one of them. Political activity in the transnational scale has become a common trend of recent globalization and its main representatives are transnational NGOs. Their number has escalated since the end of the IIWW. Vertovec (1990, 454) highlights among them what he calls 'Transnational Social Movement Organizations' [TSMOs]: NGOs seeking to change the status quo, instead of simply complying with it. In general, they work to further changes in the areas of the environment, human rights, planning and migration. Those are transnational issues with corresponding transnational recognition and awareness today. Information provided by Vertovec (1990, 454) give us a glimpse on the distribution of international themes among TSMOs in 1993: 27% of them are concerned with human rights, representing the big majority; 14% with the environment; 10% with women's rights; 9% with peace; 8% with world order and other diversified issues; 5% with development and other 5% are specifically concerned about ethnicity and self-determination.

Indeed, when analysts refer to a global civil society today they are mainly talking about transnational NGOs, or using Vertovec nomenclature, TSMOs. They can be partially financed by public institutions and governments, but as a whole they are private organizations

and therefore, according to Vertovec (1999, 454), less likely to reflect the status quo of hierarchy and power. Not different from indigenous movements: "Often they affirm values that are universally recognized but politically manipulated in their own interest by political agencies, including governments. In other words, international NGOs claim to be the enforcers of unenforced human rights" (Castells 2008, 84). The neutrality of those organizations are a disputed point, notwithstanding, when it comes to national or global civil society NGOs are important actors, with the power to change and influence business practices, states and intergovernmental organizations policies. Recent research shows that NGOs and NGO networks are indeed playing an active role in the formulation and implementation of many international decisions and policies today (Brown et al. 2000, 8; 19).

This trend is aided by the fact that NGOs, more often than not, receive benefits from their home countries, including tax benefits and easy access to credit. Governments do that to strengthen their own democracy or even as a support service to tackle national and global problems relevant to them. In addition to governmental support, resources for NGOs come from a number of other channels such as private business, intergovernmental organizations and international foundations, facilitating international action (Brown et al. 2000, 11, 12).

These civil society agencies operate in all scales and in all matter of issues. The end of the Cold War intensified globalization processes, and it can be noticed with the escalating number of NGOs that emerged since then, with its numbers quadruplicating in the 1990s. It is a phenomenon closely attached to the globalization of political ideas and the growing consciousness about the wider world. Commonly, international NGOs have its origins attached to national issues, but thanks to the increased complexity of local matters, invariably entangled with the global, these organizations started to seek out for global solutions and found that these solutions can be also relevant for other localities around the globe. Hence, their impact could be felt not only by the civil society of their home country, but also by civil societies elsewhere. These NGOs ground themselves on core social values that are relevant to human beings of the whole society of nations, such as social justice (Brown et al. 2000, 11, 12).

Another common tendency among NGOs is their involvement in developing countries. They launch their activities from industrialized countries and establish networks with the latter. Alliances with national and local members of a country's civil society are especially

important for NGOs who focus on international advocacy and policy analysis. The linkage between local and global goals allows that to happen, and it is especially a common occurrence for those concerned with environment, human rights or corruption. Brown et al. (2000, 11) particularly points out that the emergence of widespread linkages among NGOs and other actors concerned with environmental issues over the last three decades has increased exponentially. This is thanks to the complexity and intense interconnectedness of today's global and local issues (Brown et al. 2000, 9; 10; 14).

Coalitions with international allies to influence national and international policy-makers are increasingly customary. Indeed: "In both top-down and bottom-up alliances, the processes of globalization have built awareness of alliance possibilities, enabled easy exchange of information, and contributed to personal contact among key actors" (Brown et al. 2000, 17). Consequently, international social movements speak with powerful voices, and this power is beyond doubt enhanced when local groups are backed up by foreign governments and transnational NGOs (Brown et al. 2000, 14).

3.2.1   The Climate Alliance and Horizont3000

Enjoying the support of its national government, this is precisely the case of the Austrian Organisation for Development and Cooperation, Horizont3000 (former *Institut für Internationale Zusammenarbeit - IIZ*). It is funded by the public donors Austrian Development Cooperation, European Union and Climate Alliance Austria. The latter channels public funds from Austrian municipalities and provide political support in the national level consisting of an important coalition for this NGO.

The NGO target developing countries and its main activities are in the monitoring and implementation of projects in Latin America, Africa and Oceania, together with training and sharing of expertise with local marginalized groups. Horizont300 is currently involved in as many as 150 different projects spread out in 12 countries. Around 20% of all the projects are within the sector of human rights and civil society. It works closely with minority groups of the target countries, especially focusing on women, children, disadvantaged rural people, and most relevant for this study, Indigenous Peoples.

Moreover, in alignment with international tendencies, to fulfil its goals the organization has established a series of international networks, working together with other like-minded organizations in the targeted countries. Therefore, it consists of a civil society organization that extends its reach to the global public sphere while linking themselves with other civil society organizations. Its main strategy is in fact the very establishment of connections with other actors and work on the local improvement of their organizational structure. The strengthening of national civil societies is in itself one of the organization's goals and it does so by empowering local disadvantaged groups, so they can make themselves heard. Empowerment is closely related to the right of self-determination since it is a process in which individuals acquire abilities and access to possibilities, enabling them to act on their own behalf and to shape their own life and that of their communities. This way they can take place in political dialogues relevant to them, in the national and global scales. This partnership is made up by top-bottom and bottom-top of multidirectional processes (Horizont3000 n.d. –a; Horizont3000 n.d-b).

Due to the proximity the partner organizations have to their target groups, there is a higher chance of success. Together they work to enforce human rights and fight against human rights violations, especially by strengthening individual and group awareness as right holders and keeping a constant watch in the local situation. It is also part of their mandate to provide assistance and help for victims of human rights violations; approach authorities and local governments to make sure they are following their duties regarding human rights; and work on advocacy and lobbying in order to improve legislation and good governance. This is the work that Horizont3000 does in one of the countries it has established partnerships, Brazil. It cooperates with five different civil society organizations in Brazil, being *Instituto Socioambiental* (ISA) and *Federação das Organizações Indígenas do Rio Negro* (FOIRN) the pertinent ones for this study. The next chapter will dive into the national and local levels so we can understand the Brazilian context in which FOIRN is embedded. However, before that I am going to talk about another essential member of this partnership, The Climate Alliance (*Klimabündnis*).

3.2.1.1   The International Coalition: Climate Alliance, Horizont3000 and FOIRN

The partnership between FOIRN and Horizont3000 is also part of a broader project involving a multitude of networks that form the Climate Alliance. The name is a short version for "Climate Alliance of European Cities with Indigenous Rainforest Peoples". This partnership stands out because it is based on the unlikely link between European municipalities and Amazonian Indigenous Peoples, in association to pursue the global agenda of fighting climate change. The partnership with Indigenous Peoples takes place through the Coordinating Body for the Indigenous Peoples Organisation of the Amazon Basin (COICA)[9], in which the Indigenous Peoples of the Rio Negro are embedded. The Alliance considers the partnership with the Indigenous Peoples as a defining feature of its identity.

The Climate Alliance was founded in 1990, primarily as an initiative of Austria, Germany and Italy. Today it counts with the membership of 1.700 cities, municipalities and district members, spreading its reach within as many as 25 European countries. They welcome the membership of NGOs as associate members, and this is the case of Horizont3000. Its reach cut across several scales, starting with the participation of private local citizens in Europe and extending its reach to other foreign civil societies.

With the overall goal of fighting climate change and reducing greenhouse emissions, they have recognized the important role protecting tropical rainforests plays into this enterprise. Therefore, local authorities chose to act in solidarity with the Indigenous Peoples of the Amazon Basin. In addition, the municipalities' members have made important local commitments, such as reducing CO_2 emissions by 10% every five years and to reduce by half their per capita emissions by 2030 in comparison to 1990. Thanks to the recognized success of the network, municipalities gained credibility as important political agents. Since 2000, they have been working closely with European political bodies and municipalities seek to implement European Union initiatives for climate protection. Subsequently, the organization started to have a sit in the United Nation Climate Change Conferences, presenting their work and encouraging new actors to get engaged to make a change. It is of their belief that a global

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[9] COICA is a umbrella organization institutionalized in 1986 as a result of international Indigenism. It is responsible for the international coordination of other national organizations of nine different countries within the Amazon region, so they can all operate in a coherent way in order to achieve their common goals. In turn, the organization representing Brazil Coordination of the Indigenous Organizations of the Brazilian Amazon, COIAB, which FOIRN is part, making COICA a complex organization of organizations going from the micro to the macro levels (*Coordinadora de las Organizaciones Indígenas de la Cuenca Amazônica* [COICA], n.d.).

change of lifestyles is necessary to diminish the consequences of global warming; hence they question development projects that do not take the environment in consideration.

Moreover, when it comes to the global scale, the municipalities' members work to raise awareness for the protection of tropical rainforests. They lobby for local governments not to purchase tropical timber originated from harmful logging or commodities resulting from illegal agriculture or mining, maintaining the importance of the sustainable use of natural resources, while supporting initiatives of indigenous partners. Thanks to the increased complexity of local matters, invariably entangled with the global, this organization pursues global solutions for global problems that can be felt at the local level. Its increased political relevance has helped to show that actions for sustainable energy and climate protection on the local level are possible and it makes a powerful community for climate change mitigation (Climate Alliance (n.d.); Climate Alliance, 2014; Climate Alliance, 2015).

All in all, it confirms Rigg's (2007, 21) affirmation that: "[…] when we look at the local we are getting an insight into far more than 'just' the local and are being inevitably drawn, through the networks and circuits that link people and activities, into other scales. The same is true when we purposively look at higher scales". This is without a doubt the case of the Indigenous Peoples of the Amazon and the Climate Alliance, attached in a way either way you look you will find its counterpart. The Indigenous Peoples of the Rio Negro are embedded in an intricate system of relationships, escalating from the micro level of the indigenous villages, organized as members of FOIRN, which in turn is part of COIAB, member of COICA, partner of the Climate Alliance, which Horizont3000 is associated. This is not to say the communication between the most micro and macro actors of this complex network has to go through all these scales to take place.

In fact, the connection between FOIRN and the Climate Alliance was established by a single person, the Austrian anthropologist Georg Grünberg, who considers FOIRN the most prominent indigenous organization in Brazil today. Their first contact took place in 1992 during the IV COICA Congress in Manaus, capital of the Brazilian state of Amazonas. The Climate Alliance was then a newly formed organization with available funds coming from the Austrian government to invest in international cooperation. Grünberg became familiar with FOIRN need for support and made a recommendation. In 1993 FOIRN, CEDI (today ISA) and IIZ signed a protocol for common cooperation, giving birth to the partnership. The anthropologist stresses the cooperation was not based in immediate goals and deadlines but it

has a long term approach, giving more importance to the processes involved. Hence, it is rather surprising, considering the innovative approach to this alliance, how successful it has been (G. Grünberg, personal communication, April 13, 2016).

Next chapter will seek to provide a context for understanding the life situation of the Indigenous Peoples of the Rio Negro and the concrete identity work at hand.

4 THE MEDIO AND ALTO RIO NEGRO

In this chapter, I focus in the national and local scales. In addition to historical context, an overview of the Brazilian social reality and circumstances for the emergence of indigenous movements is provided in which the Indigenous Peoples that comprise FOIRN are identified.

4.1 CONSTITUTION OF THE BRAZILIAN POPULATION OVERVIEW[10]

Brazil is a country of continental dimensions, comprising 8.515.692, 27 km² of area. It is a Federation constituted of 27 states (including its Federal District Brasília) and 5.565 municipalities. For most of its history, the country was a colony of Portugal, and Portuguese is its only official language (Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística [IBGE] 2012, 11).

The Portuguese colonizers arrived in the land we today call Brazil in 1500, during the capitalist mercantilist period. When they arrived, they found out that peoples with subsistence livelihoods were already living there. The Portuguese disregarded them as savages and uncivilized and appropriated their land. Brazil remained a colony of Portugal for the next 300 years. During the colonial period, political and economic powers were one and the same and it belonged mainly to landowners. They represented Brazilian dominant class and their interest was put above all other social stratum, although they only consisted 2% of the population. This situation persisted until Brazil's independence in 1822. However, Brazil's economic dependence to international markets prevailed and the established International Division of Labour persisted. The country's economy was tied to big economic centres, especially the United Kingdom, which the Portuguese crown owned a big sum of money. Its economy was concentrated on the exportation of commodities, especially coffee, cotton, rubber, cocoa and sugar, all of which used African slaves as main workforce until slavery was forbidden in 1888, Brazil being the latest country in America to do so. The independence did not mean a rupture with the colonial past, since the ties to the international marked lingered and the power was still concentrated by the landowners, a fact the persists and reflects the country's internal dynamics until today (Brum, 1999, p.121;123;130;132).

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[10] Some of the information contained in this topic is based on a previous paper I wrote "The Disregard for Minority Rights in Brazil – The Struggle for the Right of Health of Local Indigenous Peoples", December 2015.

Moreover, due to Brazilian colonial history, major part of its population is consisted of three major ethnic groups: Indigenous Peoples, black Africans and white Portuguese. During the first three centuries after Portuguese arrival, these groups were the responsible for shaping Brazilian multi-ethnical population. They ended up mixing with each other, despite the constant disputes among themselves. This miscegenation eventually gave birth to a new 'people'. The miscegenation that took place in Brazil during this time can be explained mainly due to three factors. First, the Portuguese diversified background. Due to Portugal geographic location in Europe, its port was a common stop for navigators. It was also a destiny for migrants from Asia and Africa for generations, including the Moors that remained in the Iberia Peninsula for centuries. Since they were a mixed people themselves, the Portuguese were more open to miscegenation and tolerant towards other ethnicities than other closed European groups. Secondly, because of its dangerous nature, and Brazil being a colony of exploitation rather than for settlement, the great navigations were restricted to male individuals. The lack of European female partners encouraged the relationship between indigenous women and colonizers. This led to generations of bastard children, who initially had indigenous mothers and later, with the start of slavery in the seventeenth century in Brazil, African ones. Thirdly, Portugal was a relatively small kingdom, with the population only 1.2 billion in the 1500s. The Portuguese population alone would not have been able to populate and secure the new country from other ambitious European powers. Therefore, in order to secure their land, the process of miscegenation in Brazil was actually encouraged by the Portuguese crown.

The relationship between Portuguese men and indigenous women led many of them to convert to Catholicism, so eventually they could get married. However, this was not very common and some Portuguese men had in fact multiple indigenous 'wives' at the same time. Another factor that led the conversion of Indigenous Peoples to Catholicism was that they were a common target for missionaries. Jesuits preached that by converting the locals they would be also saving them. Some simply had no choice and were catechized by force. Hence, with time, Catholicism became popular among Indigenous Peoples and many of them share the faith until today. The same effort was not made to convert African slaves, since the Church did not consider them as people and therefore the marriage to Christian men was forbidden. This might sound like absurd today, yet the Pope Paul III in 1536 issued a bill declaring that the Indigenous Peoples of the Americas were real human beings, in case of

confusion, and so they could not be enslaved and abused (Brum, 1999, p.140-146; Santos, 2005, p.74).

In Brazilian more recent history Arabs, Japanese and other groups of European migrants also joined the national composition, furthering the processes of miscegenation. Thus, Brazil has gone through the greatest process of miscegenation the world knows of. The Brazilian government state building policies also promoted intermarriage among different ethnicities, and sought by that to create a national unity (Brum, 1999, p.140-146).

According to Brazil latest census, Brazilian population in 2009 was around 192 million. Roughly, according to the terminology used by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics, the population was divided as following: 92.5 million were white; 84.7 million brown; 13.3 million black; 1.3 million yellow and 817.000 Indigenous Peoples. Moreover, brown refers to the mix between black and any other race, whereas yellow refers to the population of Asian origins, mainly Chinese, Japanese and Koreans. Therefore, the indigenous population represented 0.4 percent of the total population (IBGE 2010, p.26; 49; 51; IBGE 2012, 54).

4.2   BRAZILIAN INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

It is estimated the number of Indigenous Peoples living in Brazil before Portuguese arrival was comparable to the whole European population at the time, with estimations ranging from 3 to 5 million inhabitants. Remarkably, this number reduced sharply from 1500 until the 1990s, with many indigenous group becoming extinct. This population was victim of several atrocities, including slavery, genocide and culturicide. Unfortunately, this is not a singular event when it comes to Indigenous Peoples as noted by Eriksen (2007, 147): "(…) We may say that states have traditionally subdued indigenous group through genocide (extermination), ethnocide (their enforced assimilation into the majority) or culturicide (the destruction of group culture, if not necessarily group identity)". Brazilian Indigenous Peoples died because of slavery, new diseases brought by the Europeans or simply murdered if they chose not to cooperate with the colonizers. Presumably, up to 95% of the 100 million original Indigenous Peoples of the Americas died because of diseases brought by Europeans during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Bittar, Aguiar, & Torres 2008, 1195; Brum 1999, 142-143; Fundação Nacional do Índio n.d. –a; Nye 2005, 193).
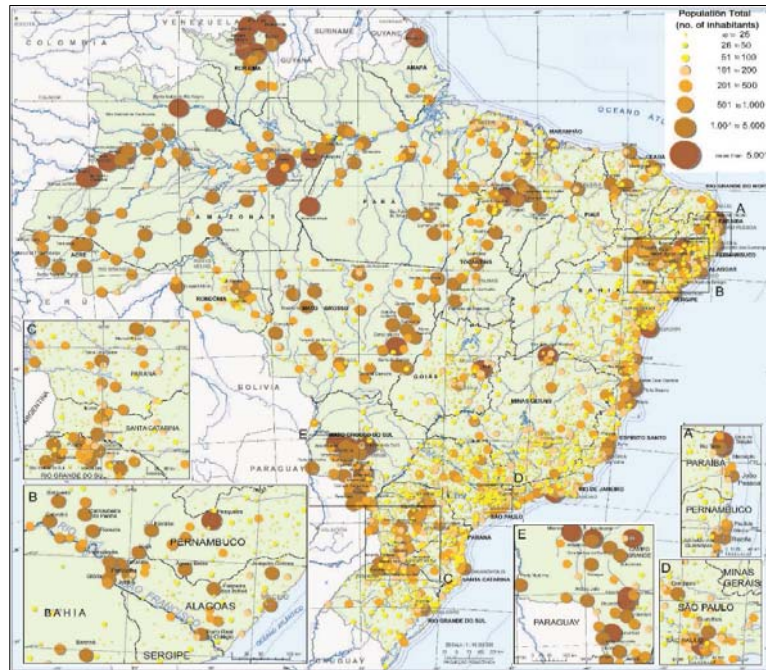
Figure 1: The Distribution of Indigenous Peoples in Brazil, 2010 (IBGE, n.d.-a)

The decrease on the Brazilian indigenous population started to take a turn in the 1990s. The percentage of indigenous population in Brazil doubled in the following decade. It is an intriguing fact, since comparing to the general population their growth was roughly six times higher. This factor cannot be understood at face value. The reason for the unprecedented growth might be explained due to the number of people that started to conceive and declare themselves as indigenous and as an early result of indigenous movements.

The current definition of Indigenous Peoples according to Brazilian law is as follows:

> (...) anyone whose origins dates back to pre-Colombian ancestry and both identify themselves and is identified as belonging to an ethnic group with distinct characteristics from that of the national society " (Brazil. Law no.6001 of 1973, free translation)

"Indigenous community" is defined as follows:

> (...) a group of families or indigenous communities, whether living in complete isolation from the state in relation to other sectors of the national community, whether having intermittent or permanent contacts, without, however, being integrated" (Brazil. Law no.6001 of 1973, free translation).

In order to be classified as indigenous[11] by the national census, it is enough if a person declares himself/herself as one. Thus, depending on the national context a person can feel more or less willing to embrace their indigeneity. During the 1990s due to a pressure from the civil society and also due to international constrains a number of affirmative policies started to be substantiated by the national government, which might have influenced their choice (IBGE, 2012).

Furthermore, as for today, Brazilian Indigenous Peoples are diverse and spread out among all states in the country, present in 448 municipalities and summing up to 4.774 communities that can be fixed inside or outside official indigenous land. When it comes to their livelihoods, 63.8% live in rural areas, amounting 502.783 individuals, whereas the rest 315.180 live in urban areas. This goes against the national trend, since 84.4 % of the general population live in urban areas in Brazil (IBGE, n.d-a).

The Brazilian census recently categorized 305 different indigenous ethnic groups, speaking 274 languages. All these languages are in risk of being extinct due to the small amount of people still speaking each of them. The most common division when it comes to categorization of the Indigenous Peoples in Brazil is based on the linguistic branch they belong to. There are four major macro linguistic groups: *Tupi-guarani*; *Macro-jês* or *Tapuias*; *Aruaques* and *Caraíbas*. It is important to note that as much as 17.5 % of this population does not speak Portuguese at all. Moreover, there are 69 groups still isolated or that the only contact they have made to the rest of the society was through other indigenous group already contacted. There are also groups still demanding and waiting for their recognition as indigenous by FUNAI, the Federal Indigenous Agency (Fundação Nacional de Saúde 2002, 4; Bittar et al. 2008, 1196-1197; Fundação Nacional do Índio, n.d. –a; Fundação Nacional de Saúde 2011, 21).

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[11] By means of clarification, groups of African ancestry also hold similar livelihoods to indigenous peoples in Brazil; however, because they do not have a post-Colombian ancestry they are not included in the national definition of indigenous.

4.2.1 The Brazilian Indigenous Movement

During the colonial period in Brazil religious institutions were responsible to engage with indigenous policies. This scenario only changed in 1910, after a 400 years gap the government finally took responsibility for it, in this year the *Serviço de Proteção aos Índios* (Service for Indigenous Protection) was created with the mandate to protect and integrate Indigenous Peoples into the rest of the national society. In 1967 the responsibility for the service switched to FUNAI which is now the official institution for indigenous policies in Brazil. However this institution have gone through several corruption scandals and its popularity among Indigenous Peoples is still low. It was known to hold a parochial view towards their peers, demonstrating a lack of respect towards their culture and perceived superiority from the non-indigenous population (Fernandes, Nóbrega, Marques, & Cabral, 2010; Meira & Pankararu, 2010, p.138).

The situation of neglect by official national channels and the favorable national and international context pushed towards a fledgling indigenous mobilization. Internationally, the postwar world proved to be a fertile ground for the emergence of major social movements, especially those opposing, racism, discrimination and genocide. Notably the beginning of the 1970s saw the emergence of several international movements. Organizations such as Cultural Survival, Survival International and the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs advocated towards the rights of Indigenous Peoples and influenced intergovernmental organizations policies (Bicalho 2010, 103; Santos 2005).

In recent history, in this same decade in which the Brazilian Indigenous Peoples started again to feel especially threatened due to a Brazilian state program, the Plan for National Integration came into play. The plan, allegedly targeting the 'progress of the nation' involved the implementation of economic projects and roads in the Amazon, ravaging territories of Indigenous Peoples, some of which were still in isolation and would for the first time come in contact with the rest of the national society (ISA n. d.-a).

The circumstances and obstacles Indigenous Peoples faced at the time was not only generally unknown by the country's public opinion but also among researchers, anthropologists and specialists. Therefore, even been the responsible to formulate public policies to improve their situation, the government had no reliable figures to base themselves at nor any real interest in

preserving indigenous cultural heritage. This situation started to change in the 1970s and in 1977 an emblematic seminar took place in the country "Surviving Indigenous group of the South", the first of its kind, which discussed the advancements of indigenous rights. Other important seminar sponsored by foreign anthropologists and the organization Cultural Survival Inc. followed 1980 and such seminars became commonplace. In 1983, the seminar "Indigenous Societies and the Law, an Human Rights Issue"[12] discussed Brazilian multiethnic society and the right of preservation of indigenous identity and culture, opposing the Brazilian Indigenous Statute of 1973 which emphasized the need of indigenous gradual integration in the rest of the society, reflecting an evolutionary and teleological view of human society, as if the indigenous group were at an inferior stage of evolution than that of the industrialized "modern" society. This meeting was important because it challenged the view that Brazil was a single homogeneous and harmonic nation-state as the government wanted to portray. These discussions were essential to later shape the way Indigenous Peoples were treated in the Brazilian democratic Constitution of 1988[13] (Fernandes et al. 2010; Santos 2005). What was happening in Brazil was no different from what other Indigenous Peoples faced internationally: the feeling of been endangered due to nation-building policies and modern capitalism forces (Clifford 2013). The claim of recognition as a people and the right to maintain their ways before the Brazilian government became a prerequisite for the achievement of any other rights.

Not surprisingly, Eriksen (2007, 145) makes a pertinent statement about this point when asserting that identity politics always involve the competition for scarce resources:

> 'Resources' should be interpreted in the widest sense possible and could in principle be taken to mean economic wealth or political power, recognition or symbolic power. What is at stake can be economic or political resources but the recognition of others has been an underestimated, scarce resource, as well as meaningful social attachments where one is in command of one's own life to an acceptable degree.

Therefore, all the indigenous populations of Brazil wanted access to these scarce resources. This initiative did not come from governmental channels but from civil society national and

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[12] Name of the meeting in Portuguese: Sociedades Indígenas e o Direito – uma questão de direitos humanos (Santos 2005, 75).

[13] The Federal Constitution secured important instruments in favour of indigenous peoples, especially in recognition of their right to the land they have traditionally inhabited and a mandatory consultation in case of economic activities established in their land including the need of a previous authorization to exploit natural resources in indigenous territory (Santos 2005, 76).

international organizations and epistemic communities. Hence, for the purpose of averting this situation of neglect a diversified group of volunteers including lawyers, doctors, researchers, photographers and missionaries that supported the indigenous cause decided to start collecting information of the existing indigenous group in the country to support their cause (Fernandes et al., 2010). This work was part of a CEDI's project, the organization which would later be in the coalition together with FOIRN and Horizont3000. This work was part of a CEDI's project, the organization that would later be in the coalition together with FOIRN and Horizont3000. This work was of extreme importance because in the 1970s solid information on Brazilian Indigenous Peoples was virtually nonexistent. After gathered this information was then inherited by the so-called Indigenous Peoples of Brazil Program that contains a vast directory on the reality and territory of Brazilian Indigenous Peoples. The program has been sponsored by international actors such as the Norwegian Embassy and Caritas International (ISA n.d.-a). A governmental sponsored database on Indigenous Peoples in Brazil only came to be in 1999 (Fernandes et al. 2010).

In the Brazilian 1988 Constitution, the Indigenous Peoples managed to secure their first big victory towards the state. There is a chapter entitled "Dos Índios", conceding the recognition by the Brazilian state of their existence as a people, as well as assuring their right to biological and cultural perpetuation, assistance to education and health, and to traditionally occupied lands[14] (Santos 2005, 76).

When it comes to the development of state bureaucratic institutions related to indigenous rights many structural changes took place, always struggling to deal with the issue of representativeness and legitimacy to deal with indigenous issues (Fernandes et al. 2010).

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[14] There is a chapter "Of the Indians" - ensuring the rights for the recognition by the Brazilian state of their existence as a people, guaranteeing them their biological and cultural perpetuation assistance to education and health, and rights to traditionally occupied lands (Santos 2005, 77).

4.2.1.1 The Federation of Indigenous Organizations of the Rio Negro, FOIRN

Before the foundation of FOIRN, an articulation between the diverse indigenous group in the region already existed in the upper part of the Rio Negro, yet it was in 1987 The Federation of Indigenous Organizations of the Rio Negro was created, as a result of the II General Assembly of the Indigenous Peoples of the Rio Negro, conceived by indigenous of the *Tukano* group (FOIRN n.d.-c).

The main issue discussed in the assembly was land demarcation. It became an important theme for their survival due to the military government program of integration from 1970. It was a governmental aim to build infrastructure in the Amazon area and encourage the establishment of economic activities. The effects of this plan started to be felt between 1972 and 1975, period when FUNAI headquarters was established in the area and military personal arrived together with workers to build the highways BR-307, linking the cities of São Gabriel of Cachoeira and Cucuí, whereby the majority of the population are Indigenous Peoples, and build parts of the major highway BR-210[15], cutting through Yanomami territory. The prospect of access to these unexploited remote regions started to attract gold miners with several installations of mining companies in the 1980s, including São Gabriel da Cachoeira, home town of FOIRN headquarters (FOIRN n.d.-c; ISA 2002).

Overall, it confirms the link identified by Clifford (2013, 16): "Indigenous presence and globalization neoliberalism both emerge in the 1980s and 1990s, and they are evidently linked in important ways." The change brought by these economic driven developments caused revolt among local people. During the II General Assembly of the Indigenous Peoples of the Rio Negro, local leaders, some speaking in broken Portuguese, openly spoke against mining companies establishing in the area without previous indigenous consent. They demanded the recognition of their right to the land as "original peoples", and consequently for the need of such companies to ask for indigenous permission to be there. The assembly counted with roughly 300 participants together with the presence of anthropologists, sociologists and politicians. Among the several discussions, the idea to create a federation for the indigenous organizations emerged. In the last day, the assembly elected the first president of the organization, Edgar Rodrigues (FOIRN n.d.-c).

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[15]The "BR-210" is one of the major federal highways in Brazil, with the total extension of 2.454 kilometers cutting through the Brazilian Amazon (Guimarães and Winter, 2010).

Until their association with the Climate Alliance, FOIRN had a hard time due to the lack of resources and of an efficient leadership. In 1990 they elected a more engaged leader, Braz de Oliveira França. In 1993, he travelled with a delegation to Austria and signed together with IIZ the terms of their partnership, constituting a hallmark for FOIRN institutional strengthening (FOIRN n.d-b).

Today FOIRN consists of five coordinating bodies that brings together circa of 90 grassroots organizations representing communities distributed along the Rio Negro river region. It encompasses around 750 villages, roughly summing up 35.000 Indigenous Peoples. This is a significant number, comprising approximately 10% of all Indigenous Peoples in Brazil. They are present in an area of 11.6 million of hectares, including the cities of São Gabriel da Cachoeira, Santa Isabel do Rio Negro and Barcelos (FOIRN n.d.-c).

4.2.1.2   Who are the Indigenous group of the Rio Negro?

The indigenous group of the Rio Negro is not fully comprised of people of the same ethnicity, but is rather classified this way due to their geographic location along the middle and upper parts of the river 'Rio Negro', localized in the Northwest area of the Brazilian Amazonia state, overreaching to Colombia and Venezuela borders. This area contains the biggest ethnic/linguistic indigenous diversity and density of the Amazon rainforest. These groups are categorized within four linguistic families, namely *Tukano Oriental*, *Aruak*, *Maku* and *Yanomami* that make out 27 indigenous ethnicities, of which 23 are members of FOIRN. Some actually don't speak any of these languages, but what is called "Common Language" which is not an original language, but rather an evolution of the "Tupinambá"[16] language, introduced in the area by Jesuits who sought to standardize communication between the numerous indigenous ethnicities. It estimated that the original speakers of the four language groups have been living in the area for at least two thousand years. The map below gives a better idea of the way these populations organize themselves within the area, mainly based on their ethnolinguistic groups (FOIRN n.d.-b; FOIRN n.d.-d; ISA 2002).

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[16] "Tupinambá" was the primary language used between Europeans and Indigenous Peoples. It has evolved from the "tupi-guarani" linguistic branch and used to be well known among a variety of indigenous ethnicities, until it became a punishable offense to speak it in 1757, and those who dared could face the death penalty (Bittar et al. 2008, 1197).
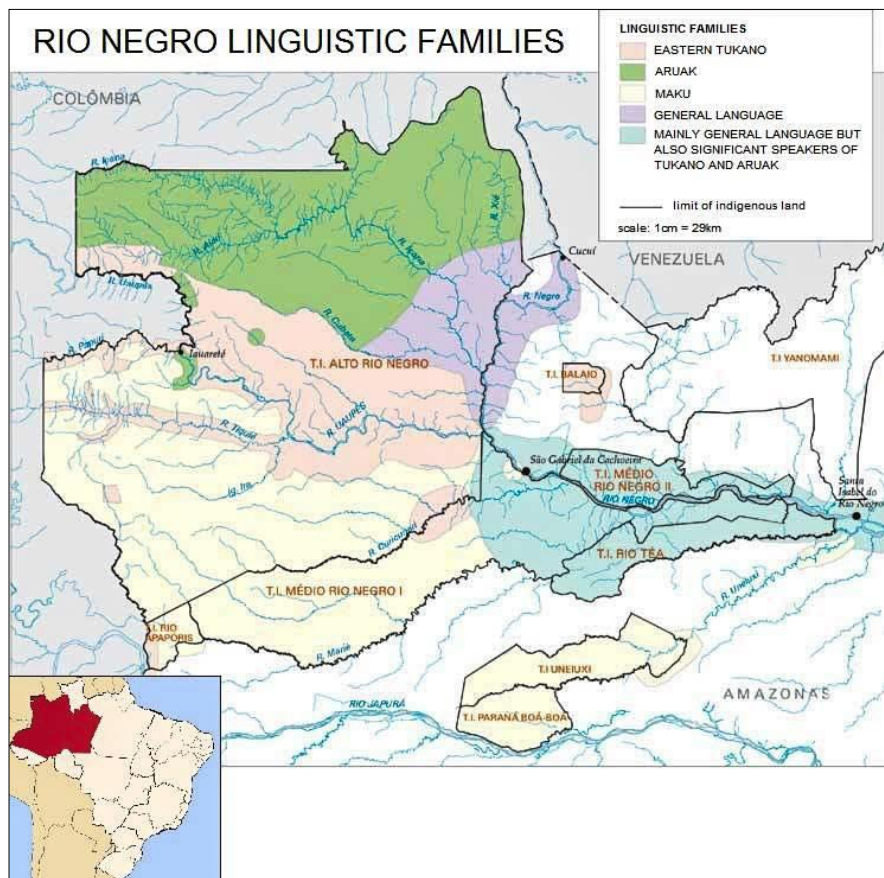
Figure 2: Distribution of Indigenous Ethnolinguistic Groups within the Rio Negro Region.
Note: Figured adapted from ISA webpage (ISA, n.d. –a)

Even though all these groups comprise their own distinct unities, they share multiple similarities and significant cultural traits, making out a larger cultural system characterized by the articulated relationships they maintain with each other, exchanging goods and by intermarriage (Grünberg 2004, 36). Due to the common interaction among ethnicities, it is common for Indigenous Peoples in the area to speak several indigenous languages, in addition to Portuguese and Spanish, the latter because of their proximity to the border of Spanish speaking countries. They organize themselves based on their language kinship and territorial continuity. The main characteristics they have in common have to do with their myths, livelihoods, traditional architecture, material culture and view of the world. The similarities are more obvious within the groups *Tukano Oriental*, *Aruak* and to some extent the *Yanomami*. This happens because these groups are settled along the shores of rivers and therefore they are known as 'people from the river'. However, the indigenous group of the

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Maku family have some distinct characteristics, since they do not live along the rivers, but inside the deep jungle. Therefore, they mainly divide themselves as 'River People' and 'Forest People' (FOIRN n.d.-b; ISA 2002). Via the table below one can appreciate the multitude of ethnolinguistic groups compounding each linguistic family and their main area of occupation, yet they can overlap, especially when urban centers are taken in consideration.

Ethnic Linguistic Groups	Linguistic Family	Main Area of Occupation

Tukano
Desana
Kubeo
Wanana
Tuyuka
Pira-tapuia
Arapaso
Bará
Siriano
Makuna
Tatuyuo/Yuruti*
Barasana/Panenoá)
Taiwano/Eduria*
	Eastern Tukano
	(Tukano)
		River Uaupés;
		River Tiquié;
		River Papuri;
		River Querari;
		Upper Rio Negro
		    (Including the municipalities of Santa Isabel
		        and São Gabriel da Cachoeira);
		Along the Highway BR 207
		        (São Gabriel-Cucuí);
		River Curicuriari;
		River Apapóris and Traíra;
		Vaupés and Guaviare Departments (Colombia).

Baniwa Kuripako Baré Tariana	Aruak	Rivers Içana, Ayari and Cuiari; River Xié; Negro River (Including the municipality of Santa Isabel); Middle course of the River Uapés; Guainia Department, Colombia; Amazonas state, Venezuela side.

Hupda
Yuhupde
Dow
Nadöb
Kakwa*
Nukak*
	Maku	Region in between the Tiquié, Uaupés and Papuri Rivers;
		Right bank of the affluents of the River Tiquié
		    and Rivers Apapóris e Traíra;
		Proximities of the city São Gabriel until the estuary
		    of Rivers Curicuriari and Marié;
		Rivers Uneuxi and middle Japurá;
		River Téa;
		Vaupés and Guaviare Departmens, Colombia.

Yanomami	Yanomami	The Basin of Rivers Padauiri, Marauiá, Inambú, Cuauburi (North of Negro River).

* Ethnicities living in Colombian territory. The Tukano group especially, maintains cross-border relationships with their Brazilian relatives, practicing bartering, common rituals and intermarriage.

Table 1: The Rio Negro Indigenous Peoples by Ethnolinguistic Groups. *Note*: **Data adapted from FOIRN webpage (FOIRN n.d.-e)**

The 'River People' *Tukano Oriental* inhabit mainly the Uaupés Basin and its tributaries rivers: *Tiquié, Papuri, Querari, Iauiari e Japú.* Today there are more than 200 communities and villages with a population about 6.000 people. Almost half of this population live in *Iauaretê.* The indigenous population of this region is divided in around 15 language groups

and are exogamic. This is, they only marry people of different language groups and their genealogy is patrilineal, children maintain the ethnicity of their father's. The ethnicities belonging to this group are: *Arapaço, Barasana, Bará, Desana, Cubeo, Karapanã, Makuna, Miriti-Tapuia, Siriano, Tariano, Taiwano, Tatuyo, Tukano, Tuyuka e Wanano* (FOIRN n.d.-b).

The *Aruak* family are build up by: *Baniwa, Coripaco, Baré, Werekena e Tariana.* They are not all concentrated in the same region. The *Tariana* stand out among them since they have established a matrimonial link together with the *Tukano*, consistently practicing intermarriage. This led to social-political alliance and nowadays only a small number of indigenous still speak the language *Tariana.* A single ethnic group does not necessarily occupies the same area. It is common to find representatives of the same ethnic group in different and distant regions from each other. For example, the *Tukano* are found in the whole extension from the middle Rio Negro to the upper *Papuri* and *Tiquié* rivers (FOIRN n.d.-b).

The River People organize themselves within communities, this is, small villages that substitutes the once used 'communal houses'[17] which were big huts where many families lived together. Now a community is usually made up by of a group of houses, a chapel that can be catholic or protestant, a school and sometimes a health center. Every community has a leader, always a male, whose duty is to encourage the people to engage in community work and other chores. He provides guidance, rather than giving orders. He is also the main interlocutor for the community when it comes to dialoguing with outsiders. Both *Tukano* and *Aruak* have a great ability to navigate along rivers and their own techniques of fishing and agriculture (FOIRN n.d.-b).

The Forest People, composed by members of the linguistic group *Maku* are divided in four ethnicities: *Hupde, Yuhup, Nadëb e Dow.* They live far away from navigable rivers, which can entail as much as 3 or 4 hours walk. Their main livelihood activities consists of hunting and collecting fruits. They do cultivate cassava but in a much smaller scale than the other

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[17] Regarding the communal houses or *Malocas*, they were well known constructions due to their beauty and grandiosity, with measurements of 30x40 meters. However, they were 'forbidden' by the first bishop of São Gabriel, who claimed they were sources of 'immorality and laziness' and that in order to become 'civilized' every indigenous family should have their own house, changing the way many indigenous groups used to live in the area. Religious groups were responsible for indigenous education at the time and they tried to indoctrinate indigenous children to oppose traditional rites and beliefs, portraying them as a sin. In the 1950s virtually all *Malocas* were destroyed. Only in the 1992 with the emergence of indigenous movements in Brazil some indigenous groups of the *Tukano* ethnicity rebuild their communal houses as a symbol of their identity revival. Since then "the *Malocas* movement" took place, with many indigenous groups proudly rebuilding their "Malocas" (Ricardo 1996, 136).

groups mentioned. Their villages are small, usually made up by twenty or thirty people and no more than six families. They have their own myths, different from the Rive People. Because of their isolated location they have managed to maintain their own traditional ways unchanged. Hence, some rituals forbidden by missionaries, once practiced by the 'people of the river' are still practiced by this group, for instance the cult of *Jurupari,* a mythological character (FOIRN n.d.-b).

Been now aware of who are the Indigenous Peoples of the Rio Negro, the next chapter will address how they changed their ways since the partnership with Horizont3000 was established and what were their main achievement within the Brazilian nation-state.

5 THE TRANSNATIONAL PARTNERSHIP: HOW FOIRN PLAYS OUT THE NEGOTIATION FOR AUTONOMY WITH THE BRAZILIAN NATION-STATE

5.1 THE MAIN CHALLENGES

Brazilian nation building efforts in the Amazon region had a great impact in indigenous life, especially from 1970s onwards, inflicting a series of challenges for its inhabitants. Due to the proximity of the Rio Negro area to Brazilian national borders, the government was very reluctant in recognizing the area as indigenous land. In fact, in the 1970s and 1980s it strongly opposed the establishment of indigenous land within a distance of 150 km of international borders, considering it a matter of national security. Additionally, the government stated that some areas of the Amazon categorized by them as "Flonas" should be under state supervision and military control. Economic interests were also strongly involved, since the Amazon area is rich in natural resources and the military government saw its economic exploitation as a way for Brazil to grow economically, disregarding the people that there inhabited. The indigenous of the Rio Negro are settled in areas close to Venezuela and Colombia and the government stance clearly affected their livelihoods. Big mining companies received governmental sanction to establish themselves in the area while the government built infrastructure to make the economic activities possible, together with the establishment of military bases, all part of a 1985 project, entitled "Projeto Calha Norte". The project understood that populating the Brazilian Amazonian border areas was the best way to guarantee and safeguard the territory, since the area has a low population density. According to the government, the development of the area was essential to secure Brazilian borders and natural resources, indigenous opinion on the matter being rather disregarded (Ricardo 1996).

Fortunately, in the 1990s, Brazil went through a democratization process and there was a change on the overall political attitude. The Brazilian population were extremely discontent with the previous authoritarian government and the economic crisis the country faced. Huge demonstrations stormed the streets and the government could not afford to repress and ignore social movements anymore (Bicalho 2010).

Brazil now had democratic institutions with its own mandate and authority, independent of the central government, including the Public Prosecutor's Office (*Ministério Público Federal*), which brought by a renewed trust in the government. Considering the incipient

indigenous movement managed to guarantee in the new Constitution the rights of self-determination and to traditionally occupied land to Indigenous Peoples, they had now the legal framework they needed backing up their fight.

In the Amazon Basin, indigenous assemblies sponsored by FOIRN became a common event and the spill over of its political influence was felt by local communities, once reluctant to embrace their indigenous identity. These communities changed their attitude towards their 'indigeneity' due to the strength of indigenous movements in the area and the recent recognition by the Brazilian state that Indigenous Peoples were endowed with specific rights. FOIRN was operating like a bridge among the Indigenous Peoples in the area and motivated a renewal of indigenous identity. The indigenous assemblies had become a locus of expression of indigeneity and brought together Indigenous Peoples living in a variety of styles. Some lived in the urban centers, the biggest one been São Gabriel da Cachoeira with approximately 40.000 inhabitants of which roughly 80% are indigenous, and others living in indigenous communities with different levels of engagement in economic activities other than subsistence ones.

FOIRN's leader, Braz de Oliveira França, felt the need to explain in one of these assemblies in 1990, that to embrace their indigenous identity did not mean the indigenous living in the cities had to go back to living in villages, but rather to recognize their common origins as one "people" so they could freely choose how to govern their lives. For indigenous group living more isolated, the awareness and participation on the movement only became possible in a later stage. Some of them, such as the *Maku* group, are still in state of isolation, trying to avoid any association with non-indigenous group and living in the middle of the dense forest. Others have felt disappointed with their upsetting experiences working with non-indigenous 'civilized' people and went back to their traditional subsistence lifestyle. Most of which worked in circumstances of almost slavery, usually in activities such as mining or rubber extraction, receiving in exchange for their work only a place to stay and food (Ricardo 1996, 123; 125; 129).

Therefore, FOIRN main goal since foundation was the demarcation of an unified indigenous land in the Rio Negro and consequently the expulsion of gold miners and military personal in the area, when they behave in disagreement with indigenous ways (Ricardo 1996, 133).

5.1.1 FOIRN Start to Show Some Results

In October and November 1993 two representatives of FOIRN, went on their first trip to Europe where they signed the partnership documents together with Horizont3000, establishing a long term commitment. Delegation visits to the Austrian headquarters became a common occurrence and has been happening ever two three years since then (Österreichische Entwicklungszusammenarbeit; Horizont3000 2003, 40-41). During the first visit, the delegation took part in a multitude of events organized by the Climate Alliance, in the Netherlands and Austria. In the Netherlands, they participated in an assembly of the Climate Alliance in the city of Enshede. In Austria, during a month they visited all municipalities' members of the alliance, encouraging them to fund social projects in the Amazonian region. After the trip, FOIRN received financial support for the first time since its creation in 1987, which was a big endorsement for the federation. Necessary improvements were then made in the areas of communication and transport in the area, targeting the integration of indigenous communities and to create awareness of their fight for land demarcation among more remote indigenous group, oblivious of their fight, especially the *Yanomami*, *Kuripaco* and *Kubeu* ethnic groups (Ricardo 1993, 133; 134).

Moreover, with the financial support FOIRN could establish new headquarters in the city of São Gabriel da Cachoeira, sit of the organization administration. Next to it, was also built a traditional *Maloca*, or communal house, once branded inappropriate by missionaries. The *Maloca* is then a symbol of cultural revival, indigenous autonomy and pride. It is also a common cultural element to all Indigenous Peoples inhabiting the middle and upper Rio Negro (FOIRN n.d.-f). Indigenous of the ethnicity *Tukuya* went to the city just to supervise the construction of the *Maloca* that took two months. Indigenous from all organizations members of FOIRN came to the inauguration party, where there were performances of traditional music and dance. ISA also provided support for the event and was responsible for a photographic exhibition with historical pictures from the region took by the first anthropologist to make registries of the area, Theodor Koch-Grünberg, in 1905-1906. After the event, documents relating to the Rio Negro within ISA possession were donated to FOIRN and the *Maloca* became an indigenous cultural center. The participants of the event also held demonstrations in the city and used the opportunity to make their fight public (Ricardo 1996, 134; 136).

Figure 3: A typical "Maloca", a symbol of the indigenous cultural revival in the Rio Negro (FOIRN n.d.-f)

In 1995, the IV FOIRN Assembly took place. In the occasion, the book series "Narradores Indígenas do Rio Negro" (Rio Negro Indigenous Narrators) was released, with the aim to gather original manuscripts made by the Indigenous of the Rio Negro. Its first edition contained the most important myths of the *Dessana* ethnic group. It interesting to note that the targeted public for the book were the Indigenous Peoples themselves, with 2.000 editions distributed among schools in the region. This can be understood as a way these people work out their identity politics, retelling their old myths and traditions in order to reinforce the local indigenous identity and create the sense of belonging. It also states the importance of FOIRN and its international alliance for the cultural revival in the area:

> [There is] a close relationship among the organization 'itself' and the ethnic reaffirmation, this is, to be indigenous, or 'original people', today, it is also to be associated with an indigenous organization. In the dialogue between its 'leader' and the 'people', in a ritual context of an indigenous assembly of the organization, new pillars of the ethnic identity are wrought (Ricardo 1996, 125, free translation)

After the success of the inauguration ceremony, once again FOIRN's leader Braz França was invited by the Climate Alliance and Horizont3000 to visit Austria. The trip happened in in May 1995 and its main goal was to assess the newly established partnership. Regarding the

partnership, FOIRN's leader commented at the time that the interests of European municipalities and the Indigenous Peoples of Brazil were perfectly aligned; asserting that by guaranteeing indigenous rights the preservation of the environment was also assured (Ricardo 1996, 137).

The assessment identified some main accomplishments of the two years of partnership. Namely, the strengthening of the organizational structure of FOIRN, the construction of its headquarters and cultural center, the acquisition of boats for indigenous transport, small projects of sustainable livelihoods in the communities and most importantly, the establishment of a radio broadcasting system in the area. Overall, the political and financial support received had brought new life to FOIRN, which just before the alliance was about to cease its activities due to the lack of resources (FOIRN, n.d.-b; Ricardo 1996, 138).

5.1.1.1 A Radio Broadcasting System in the Rio Negro

The establishment of a radio broadcasting system was an important innovation in the area. In 1994 the structure for the radio system started to be installed, starting up that year with 21 radio stations. They were controlled by indigenous group, making instant communication among them possible. Today this structure has more than 100 radios. Nonetheless, the task was not an easy one, it involved navigating towards the not so calm Rio Negro to get to the communities, some of which were many days away from the headquarters in São Gabriel by boat an by feet (FOIRN n.d.-b; Ricardo 1996, 138).

After a lot of hard work FOIRN managed to set up the radio network in the region, powered by solar electricity. It then linked circa of 400 communities and 25.000 Indigenous Peoples in a vast area spread around 130.000 km². Before this development, there was no available means of communication among the federation's members. FOIRN consolidated a routine in which daily calls would be made from the headquarters to every linked radio station, in order to know if there was anything to be reported or discussed. The network was used to further the indigenous movement: to arrange meetings, make denounces of violations, ask for help when necessary or simply as a way to engage in trivial communication among the members, keeping a sense of unity, with communication between communities becoming a common trend. For some Indigenous Peoples who migrated to urban centers in the region it was the only way of contact with their home communities (Ricardo 1996, 138).

5.1.1.2 The Expansion of the Regional Indigenous Movement

ISA also installed headquarters in São Gabriel do Rio Negro at the end of 1994. Before that, for been an already well structured civil society organization, it helped FOIRN with training and technical support, within the framework of the Climate Alliance, since ISA was also a member (Ricardo 1996, 155).

Due to the good reputation FOIRN acquired due to its achievements after the partnership was established, other organizations also sought to join. Its political success created a spill over effect in the region, fostering the creation of other organizations and made the indigenous movement in the area stronger, with a more significant bargaining power towards the government. Notoriously, in July 1995 a group of 170 trained Indigenous health agents joined FOIRN, after creating their own professional organization, in a project sponsored by the World Bank to establish a health center for the region. The membership itself became a powerful token for the indigenous movement. A multitude of other indigenous organizations emerged during the 1990s, following a trajectory that went from the upper Rio Negro to the middle part of the river (Ricardo 1996, 139-140).

In the middle region, below the city of São Gabriel, indigenous group were more commonly engaged in economic activities and had clearly gone through some miscegenation. Therefore, they were more reluctant to embrace an indigenous identity. When they decided to join the indigenous prominent movement that started in the upper part of the river, they were criticized by some ethnicities of doing so just so they could enjoy financial benefits coming from international funds, been accused of having no real interest in land demarcation (Ricardo 1996, 141).

Nevertheless, the mobilization for land demarcation in the middle Rio Negro started in a later moment then in the upper part (which started during the 1980s with organizations that would later give birth to FOIRN). Only after FOIRN had already established itself as a strong organization in the area, groups from the middle region chose to join. First, these groups went through a process of identity revival and efforts to portray themselves as indigenous. Becoming indigenous was evidently a strategy of survival for them, their efforts to integrate with the rest of the capitalist society was a frustrated one, since they could only get them minor unstable jobs, living in marginalized conditions. In addition, due to their lack of official education they were easy victims of exploitation and abuse. The stance of the

authorities at the period was that the groups living in the middle Rio Negro were mestizo fishermen, part of the population classified as "brown" by the Brazilian census. FOIRN membership proved to be a pre-condition to exert their indigeneity (Cabalzar & Ricardo 1998; Ricardo 1996).

5.1.1.3   Land Demarcation

The request for land demarcation in the middle Rio Negro was made after the one for the upper. FOIRN, already in 1990, based in the rights secured in the Constitution filled a petition together with the federal justice demanding the recognition of the Upper Rio Negro area as indigenous land and to revoke the "Flonas" that passed through their claimed territory of 8.150.000 ha. Braz França claimed then that the military did not conceive Indigenous Peoples living in the "Flonas" as endowed with their own capacity of decision, rather maintaining a tutelage view towards them (Cabalzar & Ricardo 1998, 106-107). This custody stance is not all surprising, considering that the Brazilian Civil Code, before the Constitution regarded Indigenous Peoples as beings with "relative civil capacity", which meant they had no complete autonomy to engage in civil activities by themselves, similarly to the rights of an underage towards the law (Santos 2005, 80).

Counting on the strengthening of the indigenous movement and the more favorable political context, in June 1992, FOIRN sent a letter to the Brazilian president requesting the immediate recognition of their land and the end of the150 kilometers restriction from the frontiers for the delimitation of indigenous land. It also denounced the predatory activities of the mining companies in the area, since despite promising the local people that they would help to improve the region and further indigenous rights, they did not enjoy any benefits with their establishment, on the contrary. Roughly, four thousand men were spread in the region whom had brought with them guns and alcoholic beverages. There was no public authority to supervise the area, making Indigenous Peoples living in local communities especially vulnerable. They were victim of violence, with several cases of women been abused and indigenous communities sacked (Ricardo 1996).

The indigenous complaints and demands were forwarded to the Public Prosecutor's Office and after a year with no answer, in August 1993 the office issued a recommendation for the Federal government to review the issue of land demarcation in the area. It conceded that the

Indigenous Peoples of the upper Rio Negro were entitled to the contested land and the following unconstitutionality of the "Flonas" and mining enterprises, since they were established without previous indigenous consultancy. However, nothing changed. The government still appeared reluctant to concede since it would open a precedent for more similar requests and also because it was a common event that military operations took place in the areas that overlapped the claimed indigenous area. Thence process was shelved after forwarded to the Ministry of Justice (Cabalzar & Ricardo 1998, 106-107).

Sill, both the institution of the headquarters and the radio system in the Rio Negro brought the public and governmental attention to the emergence of the indigenous movement, opening the doors for a dialogue with governmental representatives, that now acknowledged the leaders of the movement and were willing to hear what in fact they wanted (FOIRN, n.d.-b). Hence, due to the institutional strength FOIRN had acquired and its insistence for land demarcation, in 1995 the Minister of Justice, Nelso Jobim, decided to have a meeting with the indigenous leaderships, in FOIRN headquarters, when he promised to review the matter himself (Ricardo 1996, 120-121; 133, Cabalzar & Ricardo 1998, 108).

After that, the Minister consulted high rank military personal on the matter and negotiated the conditions in which they could still engage in activities of national defense in indigenous land. Acknowledging their wiliness to cooperate in national matters and that the indigenous movements would not resign, the minister saw no legal way out of the situation and finally decided to recognize the land rights of the Rio Negro Indigenous Peoples, submitting a proposal for the delimitation of the area (Cabalzar & Ricardo 1998).

As had been mentioned, the movements for land demarcation on the middle and upper Rio Negro happened in different moments. Hence, they represented different processes in the Ministry of Justice. The legality of constituting indigenous land in the upper Rio Negro was already established in 1993, for the middle Rio Negro it happened in 1994. For the latter an anthropological report had recommended the establishment of three contiguous areas (Cabalzar & Ricardo 1998, 109).

Official homologation of the land required anthropological reports in the middle and upper Rio Negro area. Archaeological evidence proved that Indigenous Peoples had been in the region for at least 570 years, this is, before the formation of the Brazilian nation-state; it also stated the preservation of the surrounding natural environment as essential for such

indigenous group to maintain their "ancestral" livelihoods (Cabalzar & Ricardo 1998; Ricardo 1996, 155).

The final decisions came from the Federal government during the period of December 1995 and May 1996. It was determined the permanent possession of five contiguous lands to the Indigenous Peoples of the Rio Negro. The areas are situated in the Upper and Middle Rio Negro in the cities of São Gabriel da Cachoeira, Japurá e Santa Isabel (Cabalzar & Ricardo 1998, 111). The five lands and their extension are as follow:

Homologated Indigenous Land	Extension (km²)
Alto Rio Negro	79.993
Médio Rio Negro I	17.761
Médio Rio Negro II	3.162
Rio Apapóris	1.069
Rio Téa	4.118
TOTAL	106.103

Table 2: Homologated Indigenous Land by Name and Extension (ISA, 2002).

After the homologation, 80% of the municipality of São Gabriel da Cachoeira became official indigenous land, in consonance with the vast majority of its population, indigenous from different ethnic backgrounds. In the municipality of Santa Isabel of Rio Negro, approximately 60% of the population are indigenous, also in the municipality of Barcelos a significant portion of the population is indigenous. The Indigenous Peoples of the area are not static, as some may assume, but rather dynamic. They often migrate from their communities to urban centers, and the other way around, and intermarriage between distinct ethnic groups is a common tradition, some happening in a transnational scale, since the communion between Indigenous Peoples in the area extend itself to the groups living in Venezuela and Colombia (FOIRN n.d. –d)

The decision did not please many sectors of society. In the state level, the government of the state of Amazonas, where all the lands are situated, took legal actions contesting the homologation of all five indigenous lands, believing the changes would prevent economic developments in the area. In addition, the municipality of São Gabriel da Cachoeira also contested the decision. ISA provided lawyers to deal with the litigations and since in the higher stances of law there were no grounds to stop the demarcation they won the cases.

Finally, they got an conclusive authorization for the physical demarcation of the land (Cabalzar & Ricardo 1998, 111).

FOIRN was a key actor in the demarcation process and the homologation of the land was a big victory of their political engagement and for the Climate Alliance. Overcoming all the political and administrative difficulties and the conflicts of interests, now it was time to negotiate how the physical demarcation itself would happen. FUNAI called a meeting that took place in FOIRN's headquarters where FOIRN made recommendations and discussed the practical aspects of the matter. FUNAI accepted the recommendations of just delimiting the external border of the contiguous five lands and to involve indigenous participation in all stages of the enterprise. FOIRN was responsible for the information dissemination towards other indigenous group and the use of indigenous work for the task.

The physical demarcation itself was a very complicated process and without the disposition of FOIRN an ISA to help and financial resources provided by their international partnership, it would not have been enough resources and wiliness from the state no complete the action. To visit the whole area was a great job that FOIRN and ISA took for themselves. They did so in the extension of a year, counting with 21 working groups. All indigenous communities within the lands to be demarcated were personally informed of what was going on and that now they were the official "owners of the land" (Cabalzar & Ricardo 1998, 111-114).

After this accomplishment FOIRN main engagement was to come up with a long-term ethno -developing project including the whole area, making sure to count with the engagement of all its members to protect and use its resources in a fruitful and sustainable way (Grunberg 2004, 37).

5.1.1.4   Other Accomplishments of the Transnational Partnership

There were many other positive repercussions of the international partnership between FOIRN, ISA and Horizont3000. With funds from the Climate Alliance all the necessary infrastructure for the installation of a indigenous network of communication in the Rio Negro area was established and it is maintained, including radio stations and communal boats.

In 1994, Wayuri, a magazine written by indigenous of the Rio Negro started to be published targeting international audience, providing stories and newsletters of the developments in the

Amazon Basin. The magazine was distributed among the municipalities' members of the Climate Alliance, keeping alive the reality of Brazilian indigenous politics among European climate policy agents. In 1996, a representative of the Austrian Development Cooperation agency (*Österreichische Entwicklungszusammenarbeit*), who had provided funds for the Climate Alliance in Austria, visited the Austrian Foreign Ministry to talk about its cooperation with FOIRN, manifesting the importance of the protection of the Amazon area and its Indigenous Peoples for the fulfillment of climate change goals and the overall success of the partnership (Österreichische Entwicklungszusammenarbeit; Horizont3000 2003, 44-45). As Grünberg (2004, 35) points out, the region of the Rio Negro has a poor soil and if extractive activities took place in the area it would certainly lead to destructive outcomes. The Amazon forest works as a huge climate machine, with a high production of oxygen and working as a windmill, moving the masses of air in the whole South America. Without this forest, the climate of the world would reach a huge imbalance with serious global consequences. Therefore, the harmonized ways the Rio Negro ethnic groups deal with the environment prevent such outcomes. They believe there is a permanent dialogue between the environment and the people, seeing them as equals and not as "owners". This way of perceiving the surrounding environment and the knowledge of ecological systems and intelligent use of resources are an important heritage for humankind, which is worth preserving.

Based in such perception, in 1999, the Austrian foreign ministry would express its official recognition and support of the projects of cooperation in the Rio Negro Amazonian region (Österreichische Entwicklungszusammenarbeit; Horizont3000 2003, 44-45). In 1996, for the first time art from the Rio Negro Indigenous Peoples was sold in a bigger scale, based on an agreement between the Brazilian shop Tok&Stok (A Brazilian expensive version of IKEA) in São Paulo. In 1998, to congratulate FOIRN in the big accomplishment of the land demarcation, for first time an Austrian partner from the Climate Alliance delegation payed a visit to the Alto Rio Negro, which would also become a common occurrence, illustrating the proximity and constant dialogue of the partnership (Österreichische Entwicklungszusammenarbeit; Horizont3000 2003, 44).

In addition, in 1999, thanks to Horizont3000 advocacy on the rights of Brazilian Indigenous Peoples it was broadcasted in the Austrian TV the film "Cachoeiras - A trip to the Amazon Indians on the Rio Negro", as a way to make their efforts public. Also in the same year it was established the first fishing station in the River *Tiqué* as an activity of local sustainable

development, part of FOIRN ethno-development efforts (Österreichische Entwicklungszusammenarbeit; Horizont3000 2003, 45).

There were also advancements in the area of education. In 2000, there was an official recognition of indigenous curricula in the pilot schools of the *Tuyuka* and *Baniwa* ethnic groups. By the same token, the First Research Conference took place in São Gabriel, starting a incipient discussion towards the harmonization between Western and Indigenous knowledge. In 2001 an cooperation between an Austrian school and a Brazilian indigenous one, *Volksschule Bruck an der Leitha* and *Escola Poani*, was initiated. It was the first time a European education partnership with an indigenous nation took place (Österreichische Entwicklungszusammenarbeit; Horizont3000 2003, 45)

Moreover, the partnership has also financed and supported indigenous presence in international conferences and events relating to the environment or other relevant issues for Indigenous Peoples. The latest example is the representation and participation of ISA and FOIRN in the COP21. André Baniwa, indigenous of the Rio Negro spoke denouncing Brazilian government violations on indigenous rights, making especial reference to the ILO 169 convention and demanding Brazilian governmental demarcation of all indigenous lands, a right that has been legally secured but delayed now for 22 years (ISA 2016). This is a great example of how the international partnership helps to push the Brazilian nation-state both from above and below, in order to force national and local developments and supervise if state actions are in accordance with national and international laws, guidelines and moral principles.

As one can see, the Austrian civil society partnership with FOIRN is a holistic one and without a doubt has helped to keep the Amazonian indigenous movement energized in Brazil. FOIRN has found in its partnership with the Climate Alliance a way to play out their politics of indigeneity and instigate a regional cultural revival, keeping their once threatened existence alive.

6 CONCLUDING REMARKS

In way of conclusion, one can note the selectiveness that makes out today's indigenous movements. Selectiveness in the sense that being indigenous is similar of being a member of a club, which the rights for entrance are not safeguarded by birth. To enjoy the alleged innate "original" rights of being indigenous one need to engage in the politics of indigeneity. The most common way to do so is by association, joining organizations, federations, being part of global alliances and networks and by doing so, be recognized as indigenous. The politics of indigeneity are played in all scales: local, national and global, which in turn interplay among themselves. These scales are not solid entities, but rather porous, with local influencing the global as much as the global influences the local, sometimes cutting right through the national level, embodied by the nation-state – a central characteristic of transnational relations.

Because of local indigenous circumstances of marginalization in their national societies and the generalized condition of feeling misrepresented and neglected by the nation-state that had engulfed them, indigenous grassroots movements emerged in several countries especially in the 1980s and 1990s. By virtue of this similar feeling of oppression, mainly brought by the standardizing forces of the nation-state and globalization centrifugal forces, Indigenous Peoples got together to exert a centripetal force in return: from the local to the global. They realized the power narratives can have and started telling their (hi)stories for any audience that would hear. The resonance was perceived in all scales, with the outcome to have recognized rights ratified and enforced by official channels. If there were no indigenous movements there would be no guaranteed "original" rights, secured either by intergovernmental or governmental institutions.

When it comes to the Indigenous of the Rio Negro, first they had their rights secured by international law, especially by means of the ILO-convention 169. This instrument by itself had little power, but it provided the legal framework civil society agents needed to push for the recognition of internationally established indigenous rights now in a national scale, what the Climate Alliance members, FOIRN, ISA and Horizont3000 have succeeded on doing. Based on the right of self-determination, the Indigenous of the Rio Negro claimed for land demarcation before the Brazilian government. Therefore, the nt was pressured from processes

coming from below and processes coming from above, i.e. respectively the movement of Amazonian based indigenous communities and NGOs anchored in international law.

FOIRN asserted their right to be indigenous and to have autonomy as a nation of people in Brazil through a transnational alliance network concerned with climate change, a global issue that perfectly aligned with their own local struggles. Therefore, even though it might appear as paradoxical for indigenous groups seemingly isolated and associated to traditional ways of life to find a way to survive by means of transnational connections, in a closer look it is not. This is the case thanks to the intense interconnectedness of matters and ideas that characterizes recent globalization and the new channels of action provided by it. Hence, at the same time globalization may bring about homogenization, be that in the form of a global standardized economic system, language, laws or consumer tastes, it does not mean in the most local scales there are mere passive subjects of these processes. Localities have the power of agency and can in turn shape these processes in a way that suits their own interests, epitomized here by the politics of indigeneity performed by the local Indians from the Rio Negro, in a true exercise of glocalization. Making use of globalization they managed to secure their land, to provide necessary infrastructure for their livelihoods, to engage in new economic activities and above all, to revive their threatened way of life, preserving the right to maintain their languages, traditions, ways of education and so on and by doing so, challenging the standardizing forces of their own nation-state and of globalization itself.

They selectively choose to embrace and adopt ways typical from the majority of the modern industrialized societies while choosing what to maintain from their ancestral traditions, in a constant dialectical exercise. FOIRN has shown how the Indigenous Peoples of Rio Negro cleverly adapted to the globalized world and used it in their favor without compromising their indigeneity. They now participate in global debates, such as their participation in the COP21 or Climate Alliance forums, and know how to make their voice heard in a global scale, sharing for instance their expertise engaging with the environment in a sustainable way or botanical knowledge, backed up by a multitude of international allies. It clearly illustrates how grassroots globalization have a big overlooked power.

Moreover, for further research I would suggest a topic that was out of the scope of this research and I found suggestive, namely if it is in fact favorable or profitable for indigenous peoples to play out their politics of indigeneity and maintain their difference or they are in

fact paying a high price for this choice. Albeit the success of their politics of difference, at least in Brazil Indigenous Peoples indicators when it comes for instance to education or health are still much lower than those of the rest of the national society. Is it a trend that can feasibly be reverted by the forces operating on the nation-state or is it a permanent condition of affairs? It for sure a point worth discussing.

As the limitations of this research, I can cite many. Due to time, money and practical restraints I mostly made use of secondary date to arrive to the conclusions stated here. This influence on the distinctiveness of this enquiry, since I make use of sources already created by other people for different purposes. Secondary sources have already been interpreted by other people and can be more subject to bias, possibly diminishing the reliability of the research when compared to a thesis based mainly on primary data. By means of using reliable authors and serious organizations and institutions as sources I tried to avoid that outcome. In addition, the complexity of relations and networks discussed here deserve a much deeper analyzes than the one I could make, I was only able to scratch the surface on the myriad of processes and networks linked to the Indigenous of the Rio Negro, a group of peoples very complex and different from each other that for pragmatic reason I had to treat as a single actor, making a generalization that might not be representative of all its members.

Granted that, I hope to have contributed in the discussions on transnational relations and local and global processes of globalization, as well as showed how the local scale is not a mere victim of modern globalization.

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