

Audiovisual Indigeneities and Cosmopolitics: Shifting Political Grounds in the “New Landscapes of Communication” and Resources of Hope in Mato Grosso do Sul, Brazil

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores how collaborations between Indigenous audiovisual producers from different countries engender political and cultural arenas able to become resources of hope for Indigenous groups facing oppressive local practices. I centred my research on the activism of the Cultural Association of Indigenous Producers, which, since 2008, has cultivated close relations with Indigenous filmmakers from Bolivia and drawn inspiration from Indigenous audiovisual production from Canada. This independent collective is based in Mato Grosso do Sul, the Brazilian state with the second-largest Indigenous population, the largest portion of private lands in the country (92%), and the largest concentration of land for large-scale agricultural and farming operations (83% of private land) (IMAFLOA 2017). This dissertation analyzes how encounters within Indigenous audiovisual production have nurtured deep research and creative explorations on subject and identity formation while propelling societal dreams confronting an increasing control of the land in the region by multinational agribusiness. It also examines how “new landscapes of communication” (Beck 2016, 112) created by the emergence of digital media-sharing platforms such as YouTube and Facebook open arenas for the “symbolic confrontation” (Gruzinski 1990) over the meaning of identities, their (re)presentations and their place in different projects of society, as well as spaces of maneuverability for carving paths for transcending the geontopower of neoliberalism (Povinelli 2016, 31). Anthropological interpretations of *cosmopolitics* present tools for analyzing the antagonistic relationship in Mato Grosso do Sul. Firstly, they draw attention to how political forces are increasingly being “formulated beyond the polis or state form” and how connections, discourses, and actions have been crafted simultaneously inside and outside national borders (Robbins and Cheah 1998, 23). Secondly, understandings of cosmopolitics illuminate political visions lifting the artificial divide between society and nature (Latour 1999, 267). This study is supported by multi-sited fieldwork occurring primarily in Mato Grosso do Sul but encompassing research in La Paz (Bolivia), Montreal (Canada), and online environments. Inspired by Marcus’ search for new paths of connection in differently configured spatial canvas (1995, 98), it follows relationships developed during film festivals and audiovisual workshops that enabled participants to imagine contemporary ways of becoming and being Indigenous.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to all the Indigenous peoples living in the American continent and elsewhere who, within the present battles for resignifying and defining the future of humanity taking place increasingly on virtual landscapes of communication, dare to conceive worlding dreams grounded on solidarity, well-living, respect and harmonious relationships with nature. They show that they are not only possible but the best bet for humanity to thrive.

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I also want to express my gratitude to other Indigenous friends who significantly contributed to my fieldwork in Mato Grosso do Sul. I thank Daniela Jorge João, for her friendship and trust, for the laughter and the beautiful moments with her sisters and cousins: Acsa, Arlane, Élití, Josieli, Lisi and Marli. I want to thank Lenir Flores de Paiva, the founder and president of the Dourados Indigenous Women Association (AMID), who hosted me at the Dourados Indigenous reserve and all the incredible women with whom she connected me. What started as an interview became a friendship filled with laughter, conversations, and pleasant memories. I also want to mention Rafael Gabriel, who made my visit to the Buriti and Água Azul villages possible. I thank these two Terena communities for welcoming me as well as the Guarani-Kaiowá communities of Pirakuá, Nhanderu Marangatu, Guyra Kamby'I, Panambizinho and Te'yikue for receiving me during special events and visits.

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representative. I also want to acknowledge and thank the advice and reading recommendations of Professors Laura Graham and Janet Chernela, whom I had the privilege to meet in 2018.

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PREFACE

I would like to begin with a personal acknowledgement about my relationship to indigeneity as central topics developed in this dissertation concern Indigenous art, activism, and knowledge production. I do not identify myself as “Indigenous” nor as a “settler”: I was born in Brazil and am a “mix” at the intersection of indigeneity, blackness, and whiteness. I grew up listening to my father’s stories about his Indigenous grandmother and great-grandmother. For instance, he remembers his father’s mother fishing with her daughters with an Indigenous fishnet called “*jererê*”. My father says she was Puri, and I did find some information about her Indigenous group a few years ago. In her turn, the grandmother of my father’s mother was a strong Indigenous woman capable of carrying large pots of water in her head without the help of her hands. I remember my grandmother (my father’s mother, who was a nurse and a midwife) treating me when I had asthmatic bronchitis as a kid with a tea that she would prepare from a medicinal tree trunk called “*Camboatá*”. She healed me. Nevertheless, my father’s family also has Black and White ancestry. He has been classified as “pardo” (miscegenated) and has suffered from racism because of his darker skin complexion, wide nose, and very curly hair. My mother, in turn, has a lighter complexion, but she is also a mix of European and African ancestry.

My interest in Indigenous audiovisual production arose from my encounter with Indigenous films at the Fluminense Federal University when I was starting my master’s in anthropology. The films had such a strong effect on me that I proposed to my supervisor, Professor Sidnei Peres, to change my original research project when I saw the announcement of the first national festival of Indigenous audiovisual production in Brazil, the *Video Indio Brasil* festival, in Mato Grosso do Sul, in 2008. He kindly agreed. Thus, my master’s fieldwork focused on conducting participant-observation at the festival and analyzing social and political uses of audiovisual production within a new type of Indigenous activism that was emerging in Brazil. The fact that I am a “mix” helped me when I encountered my Indigenous interlocutors: at first, they thought that I was Indigenous, and even after I clarified the misunderstanding, they said that I did look Indigenous and felt comfortable with me. Conversely, my master’s fieldwork triggered an interest in knowing more about my family’s (hi)stories.

It was within the relationships I established with Indigenous audiovisual producers in Mato Grosso do Sul since this time that my Ph.D. research project flourished. It evolved from questions opened after my master's fieldwork. I noticed that Indigenous filmmaking in Canada was an inspiration for aspiring Indigenous filmmakers in Brazil. Concomitantly, I saw how the political scenario in Brazil became increasingly unfavourable for Indigenous persons. These observations led me to inquire if and how collaborations with Indigenous audiovisual producers from other countries contributed to the Indigenous activism in Mato Grosso do Sul geared towards responding to antagonism against indigeneity -especially from local authorities supporting multinational agribusiness initiatives in the region in detriment of local populations and surrounding ecosystems.

As an anthropologist, I understand my work as listening, seeing, and taking part in different human experiences to reflect collaboratively on how they can help us to answer the greatest dilemmas of our time, such as increasing inequality, environmental crisis, and the play of technology -especially with the growing pervasiveness of social media in politics. All these dilemmas are present in the lives of the Indigenous persons that I met in Mato Grosso do Sul. Although I am not "Indigenous", my background makes me a "bridge", giving me a lived experience about others' discriminatory perceptions of race as well as an opportunity for intercultural awareness and all its multilayered bridging potentials for connecting and collaborating with people from different walks of life.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract.....	ii
Dedication.....	iii
Acknowledgments.....	iv
Preface.....	vii
Table of Contents.....	ix
List of Tables.....	xii
List of Figures	xiii
List of Illustrations	xiv
List of Abbreviations	xv
Chapter 1 -Introduction.....	1
1. Chapter Overview.....	3
2. Fundamental Questions, Goals, and Related Conceptual Frameworks.....	3
3. Entanglements and Connectivities.....	8
4. Plural Conceptualizations of Cosmopolitics	19
4.1. Cosmopolitics as a marker of the reconfiguration of political forces.....	19
4.1.1. Postimperialist Cosmopolitics in Brazilian landscapes.....	24
4.1.2. Indigenous activisms, cosmopolitics and cosmopolitanisms.....	29
4.2. Cosmopolitics as a marker of relationalities with nature.....	30
5. Methodology: Cartographies of Affect.....	37
6. Organization of the Dissertation.....	41
Chapter 2 -Eagles, Condors, Jaguars, Hummingbirds and the Cosmopolitics of Well-Living	44
1. Eagles, Condors and Jaguars.....	48
2. Cosmopolitics of Well-Living.....	53
3. Sowers of Well-Living.....	60
3.1. The film Mosarambihara -Sowers of the Well-Living: resignifying indigeneity.....	63
3.2. Sowers of Indigenous pride, awareness and hope.....	65
3.3 Hummingbirds.....	75
4. Subtle Extermination.....	76
5. Conclusion.....	78
Chapter 3 –Competing Audiovisual Narratives and Cosmopolitics in Uneven Landscapes...	80
1. Audiovisual Narratives at War in New Landscapes of Communication.....	84
1.1 Seed of the land.....	84
1.2. Can you imagine the fear he felt?.....	91
2. “You Are Like a Bugre!” -The Ontology of Threat in Everyday Practice.....	95
3. Cosmopolitical Worlds Separated by Catalysts of Fear	101
4. Flesh and Blood Algorithms.....	105

4.1 Eduardo Bolsonaro saying “truths” to Mato Grosso do Sul’s Indigenous groups.....	105
4.2. President Bolsonaro invoking old conspiracy theories against Indigenous groups.....	109
5. “The Same Worldview”: Neoliberal Cosmopolitics in New Landscapes of Communication.....	111
5.1. Eduardo Bolsonaro, Olavo de Carvalho and Steve Bannon.....	111
5.2. Psychopolitics catalyzing ontologies of threat in the service of alt-right cosmopolitics...	116
6. Conclusion.....	119
Chapter 4 –Cosmopolitic Battles in the New Landscapes of Communication.....	122
1. Medecines, Poison and Pests	123
1.1. Look at the poison!.....	123
1.2. Disappearing medicine.....	126
1.3. Medecines killing pests.....	128
2. Cosmopolitic Battles.....	131
2.1. Neoliberal cosmopolitics honing YouTube’s power to propel societal aspirations.....	131
2.2. Shedding light on the “dark side of the green”	135
3. Conclusion.....	141
Chapter 5 – Turning Sombre Feelings into Pride and Hope: Ontologies of Healing in Hyperlinked Indigenous Communities	142
1. Mokõi Kovoé - We Both Survived	145
2. Jepea’yta -The Ember at the Basis of Fire.....	149
3. Landscaping Hyperlinked Spaces.....	151
4. Negative Representations of Indigeneity	155
4.1. Dissonant worldviews and overflowing affects.....	157
5. Ontologies of Healing	160
5.1. <i>Jepea’yta</i> living in a <i>retomada</i>	169
5.2. Ontologies of healing within permanent danger.....	170
6. Conclusion.....	175
Chapter 6: –Worlding Dreams.....	177
1. Expanding Worldviews: Encounters at Indigenous Circuits of Audiovisual Production.....	177
1.1. Eye-opening moments in Bolivia.....	178
1.2 Expanding perceptions against Indigenous ethnocentrism.....	183
1.3 A Mosarambihara encountering new horizons.....	185
2. Cinema as a Vehicle for Affect, Art, and Dreams	189
3. Societal Dreams Crystallized in Audiovisual Production Pulling Cosmopolitic Collaboration.....	191
3.1. Collaborations within the Mosarambihara - Sowers of the Well-Living Project.....	192
3.2. Collaborations and identifications at the 2017 Workshop for Borderless Cinema.....	193
3.3. Collaborations within RICAA during the <i>Présence Autochtone</i> Festival.....	196
4. Conclusion.....	199

Chapter 7: Towards a Conclusion: Resources of Hope in Cosmopolitical Terrains.....	200
Notes.....	211
Reference List.....	290
Appendices	
Appendix A: Location of Mato Grosso do Sul in Rapport to the Legal Amazon.....	337
Appendix B: Indigenous Populations in Brazil and Mato Grosso do Sul.....	338
Appendix C: Transgenic Industry in Mato Grosso do Sul and Brazil.....	340
Appendix D: Multinational Companies in Mato Grosso do Sul.....	344
Appendix E: Regularized Indigenous Lands in Mato Grosso do Sul.....	352
Appendix F: Pesticide Use in Brazil and Mato Grosso do Sul.....	355
Appendix G: Image Used as Evidence in the Mato Grosso do Sul’s Federal Public Prosecutor’s Office Denunciation.....	363
Appendix H: The Service for Indian Protection and Localization of National Labourers.....	364
Appendix I: “The Paraguayan”: Historiographies Erasing Indigenous Presence in Mato Grosso do Sul.....	366
Appendix J: Order and Progress in the Shadows of the Brazilian Military Dictatorship: Indigeneity as a Threat to National Security.....	376
Appendix K: Biofuel: Necroindustry and Necropolitics in Brazil.....	384
Appendix L: The Participatory Consultation at the Pirakuá Indigenous Land.....	386

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Largest agricultural cultivation areas in Mato Grosso do Sul by product.....	340
Table 2: Area of GM crops by country.....	342
Table 3 Companies exploiting natural resources with foreign capital in Mato Grosso do Sul....	347
Table 4: Genetically Modified characteristic among transgenic crops approved for use in Brazil	355

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Location of Mato Grosso do Sul in rapport to the Legal Amazon.....	337
Figure 2: Agricultural cultivation areas in Mato Grosso do Sul by product.....	341
Figure 3: Brazil -agrotoxin use- quantity used -Brazilian Regions (2015-2017).....	356
Figure 4: Mato Grosso do Sul -poisoning by agrotoxins of agricultural use -municipalities (2007-2014).....	357
Figure 5: Number of pesticides approved by the Brazilian Federal Government.....	358

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Illustration 1: Drawing by Gilearde Barbosa	168
Illustration 2: TEKOHÁ GUASSÚ –O LUGAR ONDE SE É - Painting by Daniela Jorge João.....	210
Illustration 3: Image used as evidence in the Mato Grosso do Sul’s Federal Public Prosecutor’s Office Denunciation	363

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AI-5	Institutional Act nº5 [<i>Ato Institucional nº5</i>]
AMID	Dourados Indigenous Women Association [<i>Associação das Mulheres Indígenas de Dourados</i>]
ANVISA	Brazilian Health Regulatory Agency [<i>Agência Nacional de Vigilância Sanitária</i>]
APIB	Brazil's Indigenous Peoples Articulation [<i>Articulação dos Povos Indígenas do Brasil</i>]
APOINME	Northeast, Minas Gerais and Espírito Santo Indigenous People Articulation [<i>Articulação dos Povos Indígenas no Nordeste, Minas Gerais e Espírito Santo</i>]
APOMS	Organic Producers from Mato Grosso do Sul Association [<i>Associação Produtores Orgânicos de Mato Grosso do Sul</i>]
Aprosoja	Brazilian Association of Soybean Producers [<i>Associação Brasileira dos Produtores de Soja</i>]
ARPIN-SUL	Articulation of the Indigenous Peoples of the South [<i>Articulação dos Povos Indígenas da Região Sul</i>]
ARPIPAN	Articulation of the Indigenous Peoples from the Pantanal [<i>Articulação dos Povos Indígenas do Pantanal e Região</i>]
ASA	Autonomy, Sustainability and Indigenous Audiovisual Seminar [<i>Seminário Audiovisual, Sustentabilidade e Autonomia</i>]
ASCURI	Cultural Association of Indigenous Producers [<i>Associação Cultural dos Realizadores Indígenas</i>].
ASI-FUNAI	Internal Regimen of Advisory of Security and Information [<i>Assessoria de Segurança e Informação em Regime Interno da FUNAI</i>]
BRV	<i>Boîte Rouge VIF</i>
CAIB	Indigenous Audiovisual Coordinating Council Original from Bolivia [<i>Coordinadora Audiovisual Indígena Originaria de Bolivia</i>].
CEFREC	Cinematography Education and Production Center [<i>Centro de Formación y Realización Cinematográfica</i>]
CHIRAPAQ	Centre for Indigenous Cultures of Peru [<i>Centro de Culturas Indígenas del Perú</i>]
CIB	Biotechnology Information Council [<i>Conselho de Informações sobre Biotecnologia</i>].
CIMI	Indigenist Missionary Council [<i>Conselho Indigenista Missionário</i>].
CLACPI	Latin American Coordinator of Indigenous Peoples' Film and Communication [<i>Coordinadora Latinoamericana de Cine y Comunicación de los Pueblos Indígenas</i>]
CNA	Farming and Livestock Brazilian Confederation [<i>Confederação da Agricultura e Pecuária do Brasil</i>]

CNV	National Commission of Truth [<i>Comissão Nacional da Verdade</i>]
COIAB	Brazilian Amazon Indigenous Organizations Coordination [<i>Coordenação das Organizações Indígenas da Amazônia Brasileira</i>]
CPAC	Conservative Political Action Conference
CPMI	Joint Parliamentary Committee of Investigation [<i>Comissão Parlamentar Mista de Inquérito</i>]
CTI	Indigenist Work Center [<i>Centro de Trabalho Indigenista</i>]
DCM	Design and Material Culture Research Group
ECA	School of Cinema and Audiovisual Arts [<i>Escuela de Cine y Artes Audiovisuales</i>]
FAIND	Intercultural Indigenous Program [<i>Faculdade Intercultural Indígena</i>]
FAM	Florianópolis Audiovisual Mercosul Festival + Forum
Famasul	Mato Grosso do Sul Agriculture and Farming Federation [<i>Federação da Agricultura e Pecuária do estado de Mato Grosso do Sul</i>]
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.
FDCO	Centre West Development Fund [<i>Fundo de Desenvolvimento do Centro-Oeste</i>]
FIDA	Forum for Discussing Digital Inclusion in Indigenous Villages [<i>Fórum de Discussão de Inclusão Digital nas Aldeias</i>]
FPA	Parliamentary Front of Agriculture [<i>Frente Parlamentar da Agropecuária</i>]
FUNAI	National Indian Foundation [<i>Fundação Nacional do Índio</i>]
GATI	Training on Indigenous Territorial and Environmental Management [<i>Projeto Gestão Ambiental e Territorial Indígena</i>]
GEF	Global Environment Facility
GM	Genetically modified
GTNM-SP	Torture Never More Group -São Paulo [<i>Grupo Tortura Nunca Mais -São Paulo</i>]
IBAMA	Brazilian Institute of Environment and Renewable Natural Resources [<i>Instituto Brasileiro do Meio Ambiente e dos Recursos Naturais Renováveis</i>]
IBGE	Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics [<i>Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística</i>]
ICL	<i>Instituto Conhecimento Liberta</i>

IMAFLORA	Institute for Forest and Agricultural Management and Certification [<i>Instituto de Manejo e Certificação Florestal e Agrícola</i>]
ISA	Socioenvironmental Institute [<i>Instituto Socioambiental</i>]
ISAAA	International Service for the Acquisition of Agri-Biotech Applications
LISA/USP	Laboratory of Image and Sound in Anthropology of the University of São Paulo [<i>Laboratório de Imagem e Som em Antropologia da Universidade Federal de São Paulo</i>]
MBL	Free Brazil Movement [<i>Movimento Brasil Livre</i>]
MDB	Brazilian Democratic Movement [<i>Movimento Democrático Brasileiro</i>]
MMA	Brazilian Ministry of Environment [<i>Ministério do Meio Ambiente</i>]
MPL	Free Fare Movement [<i>Movimento Passe Livre</i>]
MPF-MS	Mato Grosso do Sul's Federal Public Prosecutor's Office [<i>Ministério Público Federal -Procuradoria da República em Mato Grosso do Sul</i>]
MRL	Maximum Residue Limit
NEPPI	Nucleus of Studies and Research on Indigenous Populations [<i>Núcleo de Estudos e Pesquisas das Populações Indígenas</i>]
NERA	Center for Agrarian Reform Study, Research and Projects [<i>Núcleo de Estudos, Pesquisas e Projetos de Reforma Agrária</i>]
PARA	Pesticide Residue Analysis Program [<i>Programa de Análise de Resíduos de Agrotóxicos em Alimentos</i>]
PIA	Indigenous Posts of Attraction [<i>Posto Indígena de Atração</i>]
PROEX-UFGD	Dean's Office of Extension and Culture of the Federal University of Dourados [<i>Pró-Reitoria de Extensão e Cultura da Universidade Federal da Grande Dourados</i>]
PSDB	Brazilian Social Democracy Party [<i>Partido da Social Democracia Brasileira</i>]
RICAA	International Network of Indigenous Audiovisual Creation [<i>Réseau International de Création Audiovisuelle Autochtone</i>]
SCDC	Secretary of Citizenship and Cultural Diversity [<i>Secretaria da Cidadania e da Diversidade Cultural</i>]
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SESAI	Special Office of Indigenous Health [<i>Secretaria Especial de Saúde Indígena</i>]

SEMAGRO	State Secretary of Environment, Economic Development, Familiar Agriculture and Production [<i>Secretaria de Estado de Meio Ambiente, Desenvolvimento Econômico, Produção e Agricultura Familiar</i>]
SINDIVEG	National Union of Pesticide Industries [<i>Sindicato Nacional da Indústria de Produtos para Defesa Vegetal</i>]
SPI	Service of Indian Protection [<i>Serviço de Proteção aos Índios</i>]
TNC	The Nature Conservancy
TRF-3	Federal Regional Tribunal of the Third Region [<i>Tribunal Regional Federal da 3ª Região</i>]
UFF	Fluminense Federal University [<i>Universidade Federal Fluminense</i>]
UFGD	Federal University of Grande Dourados [<i>Universidade Federal da Grande Dourados</i>]
UNDG	United Nations Development Group
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
USDA	United States Department of Agriculture
VNA	Video in the Villages [<i>Video nas Aldeias</i>]
VIB	<i>Vídeo Índio Brasil</i>
WSF	World Social Forum

CHAPTER 1- INTRODUCTION

I encountered this elsewhere that resembles us so much, and I want to reignite the flame, our Anishinaabe flame. Let us free ourselves from our wounds. [...] We are the children of two worlds, one foot standing on cement, the other standing in wild grass. Some compare us with an apple: red on the outside, white on the inside. I say it is a fruit, sufficiently ripe and mature today to invent itself a new path wearing moccasins.¹
Evelyne Papatie

It was very clear the role that Indigenous cinema had in that place of helping in the process of building a new society, which equates to dismantling an earlier model that was homogenizing, and that made the general population suffer in the hands of few large-scale rural producers, elites.

This made possible social transformation, and cinema also contributed to the reflection and maturity of the general population. This made me also rethink my reality, the hegemonic media presence here in the state [Mato Grosso do Sul], here in Brazil. [...] How can we also use this to strengthen Indigenous cultural values, cultural practices and understand our history and relationship with society? Why has it become today “problematic” -or constructed to be so? This enables us to think about the future, in this context, without letting all the historical violence vis-à-vis the Indigenous peoples be legitimized. Moreover, the cinema could break all this and show reality [...]. This was a big shock for me [...]. I really woke up, and the role of Indigenous cinema became clear for me.²
Eliel Benites

The first epigraph above is Anishinabek filmmaker Evelyne Papatie’s audiovisual³ reflections on her experience travelling from Canada to Brazil to meet the Ikepeng, an Indigenous group living in the Xingu Park, inside the Legal Amazon region in the Mato Grosso state (see Appendix A). Her short film emphasized a feeling of relatedness that does not lie in ancestry, language, country, or culture. Instead, it is based on a shared history of colonization and assigned otherness engraved into the Indigenous⁴ identity, which she describes as originating from the encounter of two worlds and capable of creating new paths for the future. This sense of indigeneity, where feelings and understandings emerge from and through multiple encounters facilitated by various audiovisual productions, is central to my thesis.

The second epigraph comes from the interview I conducted in 2016 with the Guarani-Kaiowá filmmaker Eliel Benites, a founder of the Cultural Association of Indigenous Producers⁵ (ASCURI), an independent collective of Indigenous audiovisual productions based in Mato Grosso do Sul. This Brazilian state, situated below the Legal Amazon’s south edge (see Appendix A), has the second-largest Indigenous population in the country (see Appendix B). Mato Grosso

do Sul means in Portuguese “thick bushes of the south”, which evokes dense forests where jaguars and deer were found as late as the 1960s (Troquez 2006, 44). It has one of the most visited ecotourism sites in Brazil. Now, much of the native ecosystem has been replaced by cattle ranching and endless fields of soybeans as the state has become a global agribusiness hub. According to the atlas *The Geography of Brazilian Agriculture*⁶, Mato Grosso do Sul has the largest portion of private lands in the country (92%) and the largest concentration of land for large-scale agricultural and farming operation (83% of the private land) (IMAFLORA 2017, Freitas et al. 2017, 12; Sanchez 2017; Tatemoto 2017)⁷. Consequently, Indigenous groups in this area have faced violent persecution: between 2003 and 2019, 539 Indigenous individuals were murdered in Mato Grosso do Sul alone (the other 25 Brazilian states combined totalled 828 homicides) (CIMI 2020, 124; 2019, 81; 2018, 84)⁸. Persecution and marginalization are integral aspects of the encounter between indigenous persons and large-scale farmers, and these marginalizing practices and violence are also key to the identity formations I discuss in this dissertation.

In the excerpt, Eliel speaks about his first trip to Bolivia, in 2008, where he attended the 45-day *International Workshop of Documentary Cinema Without Borders*⁹, a joint initiative of Indigenous filmmaker Ivan Molina, then the director of the School of Cinema and Audiovisual Arts (ECA)¹⁰ in Bolivia and Nilton Rocha, a Brazilian journalism professor at the Federal University of Goiás and coordinator of the WebTV project *Magnifica Mundi*¹¹. A partnership with the Catholic Museum Dom Bosco facilitated the attendance of Brazilian Indigenous participants. Eliel described how Indigenous peoples of Bolivia gained control over their self-depiction and contributed to a more inclusive national society as “eye-opening.” He highlights the significance of audiovisual productions for both Indigenous *and* national identities, learnt from beyond his

own Brazilian experiences. The dynamic between national and Indigenous¹² confirms indigeneity as relations that are social, as in the encounters with people from elsewhere, but also affective and psychic, as in the imagined possibilities brought about by audiovisual productions, social media, and through travel.

1. Chapter Overview

My two epigraphs gesture to the diverse ethnographic context of my research. In this introductory chapter, first, I lay out the key questions, research objectives, and conceptual framing of the dissertation. Second, I draw on anthropological discussions about the relationship between Indigenous media and non-Indigenous discourses (including audiovisual ones) to analyze audiovisual production as a tool for exploring identities and subjectivities. Third, I discuss notions of *cosmopolitics* contributing to the anthropological debates about the relationship between Indigenous media and non-Indigenous discourses. I draw on Robbins', Cheah's and Ribeiro's take on cosmopolitics to expand analytical horizons to encompass broader scales of collaborations. I discuss and examine Stengers' and Latour's elaborations of cosmopolitics to analyze Indigenous filmmaking and its link to epistemologies based on *relationality*. Fourth, I present my methodology and how both the theory and the methodology enable each other. Finally, I provide an overview of the chapters that follow in my dissertation.

2. Fundamental Questions, Goals, and Related Conceptual Frameworks

In the edited collection *Indigenous Cultures in an Interconnected World* (2000), Faye Ginsburg, one of the first anthropologists who studied Indigenous audiovisual production, in a

chapter titled “Resources of Hope: learning from the local in a transnational era”, stressed the importance of “local efforts to create new cultural possibilities, and cultural and political spaces that offer countervailing tendencies to globalizing trends” (2000, 37). Ginsburg inspires my question that reverses her logic: can encounters between Indigenous audiovisual producers living in different countries engender political and cultural arenas that are able to present “countervailing tendencies” to local trends and become “resources of hope” for Indigenous groups facing oppressive local practices?

This question became the major compass of my dissertation. To explore it, I centred my research on a case study: the activism of ASCURI, who, since 2008, has cultivated close relations with Indigenous filmmakers from Bolivia and drawn inspiration from Indigenous audiovisual production from Canada. My key interest translated into asking how relationships beyond Mato Grosso do Sul enable ways of responding to the local antagonism towards indigeneity and Indigenous practices that are constituted as incompatible with local authorities’ development projects. Thus, the primary goal of my dissertation is to analyze the emergent relationship between the work of ASCURI’s audiovisual activism, which is fuelled by creative dialogues with Indigenous filmmakers living in Bolivia and Canada, and the discourses about development and progress.

I draw on a body of literature variously engaged with the concept of *cosmopolitics* in developing my theoretical frame. It expands analytical horizons in two dimensions. While the literature including Cheah (1998), Robbins (1998), Ribeiro (2007) and Hodgson (2008) adopted a completely different interpretation than the one encompassing Stengers ([1997] 2010), Latour (1999), Descola (2013) and Blaser (2016), I suggest that both can provide fertile paths of enquiry to examine the relationship in Mato Grosso do Sul between, local self-perceptions of indigeneity

nurtured by encounters with Indigenous filmmakers from other countries, and dominant discourses and actions favouring and justifying large-scale multinational agribusiness, promoting an increasing internationalization of the control of the land in the region.

As I discuss in the fourth section of this chapter, Robbins and Cheah lift the analytical bias towards the divide between national and international by providing a new canvas to escape the myopia of methodological nationalism -which tends to trap the sensible into “state-constructed borders” (Beck 2006, 27). They draw attention to the ways political forces are increasingly being “formulated beyond the polis or state form,” and privilege the perception of how local activisms and political stances are increasingly crafted simultaneously inside and outside national borders, gravitating around other referents than national development, especially with the growing importance of the internet in contemporary politics (1998, 23, 31). In this perspective, *cosmopolitics* sheds light on how both sides of the antagonistic relationship I am analyzing in Mato Grosso do Sul are shaped by larger global dynamics. Here, we might note the significance of Eliel coming to see and re-imagine himself and his future horizons through a network of encounters and experiences with the audiovisual that transcend the local specifics of Mato Grosso do Sul.

Stengers and Latour’s interpretation of *cosmopolitics* as an invitation to deontologize the distinction between nature and society and conceive politics within the relationality between people and their surroundings (see this chapter’s fourth section), in turn, lifts the artificial divide between society and nature. Stengers brings a valuable methodology that she designates as the *ecology of practices*, “a tool for thinking through what is happening” by “conferring to a situation the power to matter in its particular way” (2005, 185, 192). It provides a perspective to examine

the circulation of audiovisual works within online social networks and media-sharing platforms and the ways these virtual milieux reverberate in sites such as Mato Grosso do Sul.

Additionally, I propose a third expansion of the analytical frames accorded by cosmopolitics. With the growing pervasiveness of the internet in contemporary politics, perceptions of the local become increasingly shaped by narratives produced in the virtual, more precisely in what Beck designates as “new landscapes of communication” (2016, 112) (see Chapter 3). In my dissertation, this “landscape” is a multiplicity of YouTube, Facebook and (more recently) Instagram postings, catalyzed by the proliferating use of smartphones, and in which, and through which, Indigenous identities, aspirations and struggles are made and contested, celebrated and marginalized. An essential feature of this virtual landscape is its multi-temporal quality and the ways perceptions from previous decades and centuries coexist with emergent, unfinished new ideas and modes of being, as in a starry sky, where the light of each star is an image of a different time coexisting in the same place. I highlight the increasingly blurred distinctions between geographic and virtual spaces by addressing how the former are becoming “hyperlinked” with meanings coined online along with societal projects developed in different places and times. I pay particular attention to how Indigenous and non-Indigenous discourses crafted through social media impact Indigenous communities and Indigenous media production in Mato Grosso do Sul. The interweaving discursive actions within new landscapes of communication resonate with Stengers’ “ecology of practices.”

I use the term *discourse* following Hall’s (1996) conceptualization of it as a system enabling people to interpret their lived realities and make their societies intelligible. Drawing on Hall’s conception, Yon explains:

Discourse is defined as a collection of statements and ideas that produces networks of meanings. These networks structure the possibilities for thinking and talking and become the conceptual framework and

the classificatory models for mapping the world around us. Discourse shapes how we come to think and produce new knowledge and facilitates shared understandings and engagements (2000, 3).

This definition opens possibilities for understanding how and why both Indigenous activist discourses and antagonistic discourses tied to agribusiness have shifted in Brazil with the growing presence of audiovisual works in digital communication platforms such as YouTube, Facebook, Instagram and WhatsApp, producing dynamic, multilayered, multi-sited and multi-temporal “conceptual frameworks”.

In ASCURI’s case, it disseminates its audiovisual works predominantly online on the collective’s YouTube channel¹³ and Facebook page¹⁴, but some videos are also present on its website¹⁵. On the other side of the spectrum, YouTube videos, such as the one recorded by President Jair Bolsonaro defending the perspective of agribusiness farmers against Indigenous peoples in Mato Grosso do Sul¹⁶ (which I discuss in Chapter 3), and the ones recorded by a constellation of neo-conservative right-wing YouTubers reinforcing his views illustrate the use of audiovisual production at the service of so-called Brazilian “patriotic” perceptions. The importance that these communication channels acquired became evident upon Bolsonaro’s election in October 2018. A few days following it, he recommended in his Twitter six YouTube channels as trusted information sources¹⁷ while discouraging Brazilians from believing in the mainstream media. On the day he took office, his favourite YouTubers received full access to the event, while mainstream journalists had restricted entry and were obliged to arrive seven hours earlier to wait in a room with no chairs nor food (Savarese 2019; Deutsche Welle 2019)¹⁸.

If ASCURI’s activism draws on interactions with Indigenous filmmakers from Bolivia and Canada, contemporary “nationalistic” discourses are generated through collaborations with social actors living in other countries. For instance, two of the six channels recommended by Bolsonaro defined their goals as translating political content¹⁹ from English right-wing sources (one is based

in Portugal). Another channel belongs to Olavo de Carvalho, a Brazilian who has lived in the United States since 2005, who draws inspiration from alt-right sources and became close to Steve Bannon, the 2016 campaign strategist for the former American President Donald Trump (Bulla 2019)²⁰. He became a “philosophical reference” for the Bolsonaro family²¹, as I discuss in Chapter 3. Finally, another channel belongs to Bernardo Küster, who is based in Brazil but declares himself to be a student of Olavo de Carvalho²².

These competing multi-local and multi-national collaborations bring a new perspective to anthropological research on the relationship between Indigenous filmmaking and the non-Indigenous mainstream representations pervasive in the sites where it is developed. I call attention to these new perspectives with which my dissertation is engaged in the next section.

3. Entanglements and Connectivities

Current anthropological debates about expressions of indigeneity indicate that they take shape in tandem with the development discourses and representations about modernity in the places where Indigenous and non-Indigenous persons interact. Ginsburg notes that Indigenous audiovisual production is often entangled with concerns related to the representational practices of local mainstream media and local political and historical processes and considers it “crucial” to examine them (2000, 27). Anthropologist Anna Tsing sharpens this point, noting that emic perspectives of indigeneity emerge in dialogue with dominant national discourses: “forms of indigeneity in a particular place cannot be divorced from the histories of national classification and management [...] the conditions for collaboration have everything to do with the national contours of the discourse on ‘indigeneity’” (2007, 39).

Anthropologist Mario Blaser and fellow interdisciplinary scholars De Costa, McGregor

and Coleman highlight the rationale driving this argument, namely that Indigenous groups must grapple with the logic of political, economic, or scientific institutions because they occupy a disadvantaged position in these power relations. When negotiating with such interlocutors, they are “forced to engage with the categories imposed by those institutions to be heard and understood” (Blaser et al. 2010, 11).

Paradoxically, anthropologists Jackson and Ramirez suggest that this engagement can empower Indigenous persons to manage their interactions with others. For instance, they presented the case of the Yanacona, who, knowing that their recognition depended on having a distinct cultural identity, “sought to demonstrate, verbally and non-verbally, that they possessed and lived an Indigenous culture” (Jackson and Ramirez 2009, 536-521). Terence Turner, one of the first anthropologists to write about Indigenous audiovisual production in Brazil and whose work became a reference for my research, discussed similar observations. He highlighted that the Kayapo performatively displayed their cultural distinctiveness when they were filming with their cameras. In the lecture “Defiant images –the Kayapo appropriation of video (1992)” that he delivered during the Third International Festival of Ethnographic Film, he argued that:

For a people like the Kayapo, the act of shooting with a video camera can become an even more important mediator of their relations with the dominant Western culture than the video document itself. One of the most successful aspects of the series of dramatic Kayapo political demonstrations and encounters with the Brazilians (and other representatives of the Western World system such as the World Bank and Granada Television) has been the Kayapo’s ostentatious use of their own video cameras to record the same events being filmed by representatives of the national and international media thus ensuring that their camerapersons would be one of the main attractions filmed by the other crews (Turner 1992, 7).

In *The Skin of the Film, Intercultural cinema, embodiment and the senses* (2000), Laura Marks highlights the positive aspect of using dominant discourses’ logic. She draws on Deleuze’s and Guattari’s argument that discourses restrict what can be said while equally enabling it by presenting a language to utter (Marks 2000, 28). Thus, emerging thoughts, even the ones sowing seeds of social and political change, need to work with the terms of the established discourses to

“find expression”. However, Marks observes that they concomitantly must depart from them: “political (indeed any) change must be effected in a sort of dance between sedimented, historical discourses and lines of flight, between containment and breaking free” (2000, 28). This argument suggests that audiovisual production may enable Indigenous producers to engage with dominant discourses while opening space to transcend them.

Comparably, if Indigenous efforts for using representations over-determined by culture invoke the ontological evidence calcified in them, they can also play with the logic of etic categories (Blaser et al. 2010, 11). They can create “powerful emergent lines of flight that will open them to the outside” (Marks 2000, 28). An example is Glauser’s interview with an Ayoreo leader: “If somebody says, ‘you are Indigenous’, [...] I say ‘yes’ [...], but the person asking does not know what Indigenous I am” (2011, 26). Jackson and Ramirez noted that the Yanacona have also engaged creatively with the discourses’ ambivalences framing their recognition (2009, 537).

For Marks, intercultural cinema is a fertile terrain to engage in these explorations as it “works at the edge of an unthought, slowly building language in which to think it”; she notes that the “already sayable, against which intercultural cinema struggles, is not only official history but often also identity politics, with their tendency toward categorization” (2000, 29).

Stuart Hall’s theorizations on identity and audiovisual production within the relationship with dominant discourses complement these observations. He suggests that rather than “an already accomplished fact” or “an identity grounded in the archaeology,” identity is a “‘production’ which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation” (Hall 1990, 222, 224, 236). The implication for audiovisual production, then, is that it becomes “not [...] a second-order mirror held up to reflect what already exists,” but a tool for exploring identities (Hall 1990, 235). In this matter, Hall wonders:

What is the nature of this ‘profound research’ which drives the new forms of visual and cinematic representation? Is it only a matter of unearthing that which the colonial experience buried and overlaid, bringing to light the hidden continuities it suppressed? Or is a quite different practice entailed - not the rediscovery but the production of identity [?] (Hall 1990, 224).

In August 2016, when I interviewed²³ Denis Bellemare, then director²⁴ of the Indigenous institution *La Boîte Rouge VIF* (BRV)²⁵, based in Chicoutimi, Québec, he shed light on some directions this “profound research” can take to break away from dominant discourses. He described an effort to go beyond “cultural mimicry” and use creativity as a “motor driving action-research.”²⁶ In this context, audiovisual production becomes a “practice of research that is defined within the action”, including by the Indigenous participants²⁷. It inquires into how memory can be a “creative power for projecting a future” rather than “a mode of mimicry where you do not excavate the creative richness” of your heritage: “we dig, like an anthropologist, but in creation, we dig. What does emerge?”²⁸ This methodology for audiovisual exploration not only privileges the research process of identity evoked by Hall but gives the potential for a “form of representation which is able to constitute us as new kinds of subjects, and thereby enable us to discover places from which to speak” (Hall 1990, 236).

The BRV and ASCURI crossed paths in 2013. Gilmar Galache, one of the founders of ASCURI, worked with the BRV during a workshop in a Guarani community in Rio de Janeiro. He became friends with an Innu facilitator, and, in 2016, when I spent some weeks with Gilmar’s family, he asked me to assist with translation during a Skype conversation, in which he invited him to come to Mato Grosso do Sul to see ASCURI’s work. Their collaboration in 2013 was part of the cooperation program *Towards an international network of research and partnerships for the empowerment of Indigenous individuals and communities -Canada/Brazil-2013-2016*²⁹. The BRV developed it in cooperation with two Brazilian institutions: The Laboratory of Image and Sound in Anthropology of the University of São Paulo (LISA/USP)³⁰ and the Indigenist Work

Center (CTI)³¹. During the project, Innu filmmakers visited Guarani communities in Brazil to share experiences and support audiovisual training. Subsequently, Guarani filmmakers went to Innu communities in Québec. The experiences in Brazil and Canada were portrayed in the four-minute film *Guarinnu* (Leblanc 2016), which alternated glimpses of both trips infused with comments gesturing to shared perspectives. The short film was screened at the 2017 Montréal First Peoples' Festival. The festival program described it as “a poetic essay on brotherhood between Indigenous peoples across the Americas” (Festival Présence autochtone 2017).

It is noteworthy that the action-research methodology driving the BRV projects is not limited to filmmaking but encompasses other activities within the research group Design and Material Culture³² (DCM) initiatives, from which the BRV sprang. As explained by Élisabeth Kaine, who is of Huron-Wendat origin, and who founded and heads both institutions, the principles orienting their work is that it is through “actions” that it is possible to generate “scientific knowledge useful for understanding and changing the social reality of individuals and social systems”³³ (2018, 6). She specifies that the DCM and the BRV follow the paradigm of the “participative action-research”, which “places dialogue at the center of its actions aimed at bringing about positive change on the field”³⁴ (Kaine 2018, 6). This dialogue rests on the *concertation approach* developed within this work, which is defined as “aiming to build a vision, goals and actions collectively [...] through dialogue” (Kaine et al. 2016, 30). In this respect, this methodology seeks to “empower people not only to become more involved in decision-making processes but also to take actions that improve their well-being”³⁵ (Kaine et al. 2016, 16).

When I interviewed Bellemare, he stressed that they never arrive in the field with pre-formatted training workshops but begin their work by asking questions: “what would you like to express? What are the values important to you?”³⁶ Furthermore, the *concertation* seeks to spark

“an egalitarian relationship between the social actors involved in a project.” It acknowledges “the legitimacy of each member’s participation and their own identity,” and this dialogue “enables pinpointing pressing questions as well as searching for answers collectively.” Thus, it sits on the conviction that it is crucial to “remain open to the position of the Other to understand and put into perspective one’s thought.” The overall aim of this “participatory” or “collaborative” approach is, thus, to “make decisions considering the needs and interests of everyone”³⁷ (Kaine et al. 2016, 30). Therefore, the creative production rooted in cultural memory fomented by the DCM and the BRV is deeply imbricated in the type of relationships within which it blossoms. In speaking to these relationships and action research, theory and method are two parts of a whole: theory also emerges through action, as I explain below.

This methodology resonates with Stengers’ conceptualizations of the *ecology of practices* “as a tool for thinking through what is happening” (2005, 85). Its aim is “giving to the situation the power to make us think” by “conferring to a situation the power to matter in its particular way,” in contrast with a generalizing rationale seeking to use the particular situation as an illustration (Stenger 2005, 185, 192). The first move towards an *ecology of practice* is approaching it “as it diverges, that is, feeling its borders, experimenting with the questions which practitioners may accept as relevant” (Stengers 2005, 84). Thus, an ecology of practices refrains from the ambition to define practices “as they are” preferring instead to approach them “as they may become” (Stengers 2005, 186). For Stengers, the ecology of practices embodies Deleuze’s call for “thinking par le milieu,” which implies operating “without grounding definitions or an ideal horizon” as well as “with the surroundings” (2005, 186). The last point suggests that the reflective exercise needs to stay imbricated with its context, without going “beyond the particular towards something we would be able to recognise and grasp in spite of particular appearances”

(Stengers 2005, 187). In light of Stengers' interpretation, action research through Indigenous audiovisual production becomes a tool for thinking and finding pathways for becoming, based on an ecology of audiovisual practices tied to the concerns emerging in particular surroundings but nurtured within larger spaces for Indigenous intercultural dialogues. Using the compass of my fieldwork, I explore different aspects of this suggestion later as a potential pathway for transcending local relationships with antagonistic dominant discourses while remaining immanently related to the ecology of practices expressing Indigenous epistemologies.

The aforementioned observations reinforce the argument that Indigenous understandings are not created in a vacuum (Cruikshank 2005, 256). Conceptions about indigeneity emerging from intercultural audiovisual production crystallize Indigenous persons' efforts to think about their place in local and broader arenas by creatively engaging with their worldviews, as well as other Indigenous and non-Indigenous ones composing the "surroundings", including representations saturated by culture. In doing so, they create a "conception of identity which lives with and through, not despite, difference" (Hall 1990, 235). In this perspective, "cultural identities" become "the unstable points of identification or suture, which are made within the discourses of history and culture. Not an essence but a positioning" (1990, 226). Thus, it incarnates a response to a *place* assigned by an unsymmetrical historical and dialectical relationship with national institutions of power. Therefore, the politics of identity is also "a politics of position" of "differential points along a sliding scale" within a "regime of representation," which is always "a regime of power" (Hall 1990, 225-226, 228). Against this conceptual backdrop, indigeneity emerges as not an innate, unchanging a-historical condition or an archaeological object that can be re-presented in its pristine form, but as a process and a relation, a "becoming" within "regimes of representation." This "becoming", while constituting a

form of immanence emerging not bounded by the logics of representation, can crystallize through audiovisual production as a “public image” (as I discuss later) where Indigenous filmmakers craft representations of indigeneity in their own terms. In this respect, the work of audiovisual productions, in the context of a “new landscape of communication,” I argue, is key to both this “becoming” and the public image representing it.

Anthropologist Hodgson reiterates this argument suggesting that indigeneity is fundamentally *political* and relates to how a group situates itself vis-à-vis the power relations of local arenas (2008, 215-226). My project expands this arena of power relations to call attention to the trans-local and the global. Muehlebach also echoes Hall’s argument indicating that indigeneity is increasingly becoming a marker of a particular political, economic, and cultural marginalized standpoint within nation-states (2003, 251). Thus, territorial precedence lost its primal importance and became “one of the possible variables mobilized when Indigenoussness is asserted” (Muehlebach 2003, 250). Delugan supported this idea affirming that a definition of indigeneity linked to “geographic or cultural fixity” was “narrow” (2010a, 83). This caveat prevents the legitimization of xenophobic claims surfacing in Europe against immigrants on the grounds of the “indigeneity” of Europeans. For instance, a *Guardian* news report flagged that far-right lobbyists in England were trying to “hijack” the terms “Indigenous” and “aborigines” and to use them to refer to “the English, the Scots, the Welsh and the Irish” to gather support for their anti-immigration views and agendas (Mackay and Stirrup 2010)³⁸.

Preventing the essentialist pitfall of *cultural fixity* is Yon’s concept of *elusive culture*, where *culture* is a “process.” Within this culture-making, individuals “engage the complex ways of belonging and becoming” and rework the discourses which orient their social practices in their everyday experiences (Yon, 2000, 123, 126, 134). Yon stresses two crucial references for culture-

making that are in constant negotiation and cannot be divorced. The first is the concept of *root*, alluding to fixed origins (Yon, 2000, 92). In the context of indigeneity, it evokes the land and the connection with the ancestors and their worldviews. The second is *route*, defined as being “the various trajectories, interactions, and networks through which [one is] connected” (Yon 2000, 64). Yon’s observations on *root* and *route* expand James Clifford’s problematization of the relationship between the concepts where “roots always precede routes.” (Clifford 1997, 3). It opens the possibility for seeing how trajectories and interactions reverberate in the relationship with the land and the perception of oneself. This perception privileges the understanding of Hall’s *cultural identity*, as “a matter of ‘becoming’ as well as ‘being’”:

It belongs to the future as much as to the past. It is not something which already exists, transcending place, time, history and culture. Cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories. But, like everything which is historical, they undergo constant transformation. Far from being eternally fixed in some essentialised past, they are subject to the continuous ‘play’ of history, culture and power. Far from being grounded in mere ‘recovery’ of the past, which is waiting to be found, and which when found, will secure our sense of ourselves into eternity, identities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past. (Hall 1990, 225)

In this perspective, identities constitute crystallizations of social relations, snapshots of how people perceive themselves and are perceived by others. Once the identification processes calcify into a noun, it produces a set of relations to this label.

The corollary is that for Indigenous groups living in different sites, the “Indigenous” label calcifies different meanings and positionings in the national arena, according to the historical specificities of each context. My research analyzes how encounters between different understandings of indigeneity, propitiated by audiovisual production, spark waves of debates, creating new conceptualizations of Indigenous identity and the role Indigenous persons play in the places where they live in the face of similar challenges.

This line of inquiry enables the pursuit of a deeper understanding of “the processual ontology” of contemporary indigeneities, which refers to the dynamic ways persons embrace and

frame their identity in relationship with categorizations about indigeneity framed by non-Indigenous social actors, as I discuss in my ethnographic observations (Fisher and O'Hara 2009, 17). In this perspective, Brubaker and Cooper designate as forms of “connectivity” the social relationships established centred on a category, such as “indigeneity”, which contributes to reproducing it and fortifying it (2000, 20). Seigworth and Gregg’s conceptualizations open fruitful paths to gauge such connectivities. They bring awareness to the importance of examining “forces of encounter”, which they label as *affects*. They propose as a definition that affects comprise:

a supple incrementalism of ever-modulating force-relations -that rises and falls not only along various rhythms and modalities of encounter but also through the troughs and sieves of sensation and sensibility, an incrementalism that coincides with belonging to compartments of matter of virtually any and every sort [...] At once intimate and impersonal, affect accumulates across both relatedness and interruptions in relatedness, becoming a palimpsest of force-encounters traversing the ebbs and swells of intensities that pass between “bodies”. [...] Bindings and unbindings, becomings and un-becomings, jarring disorientations and rhythmic attunements. Affect marks a body’s belonging to a world of encounters or; a world’s belonging to a body of encounters but also, in non-belonging, through all those far sadder (de)compositions of mutual in-compossibilities. (Seigworth and Gregg 2010, 2)

The investigation of these “force-relations” also illuminates how they engender emergent affective intensities of becoming³⁹. If ASCURI was founded officially in Mato Grosso do Sul, in 2012, the two Indigenous filmmakers who conceived it, Gilmar Kiripuku Galache and Eliel Benites, point to the cinema course in Bolivia in 2008, mentioned previously, as the watershed event that shifted their perspective on filmmaking, provided insights for their understanding of indigeneity and inspired the creation of the collective. While the concrete results of the workshop were audiovisual works, the experience went beyond producing films or being exposed to them, as I describe later. It encompassed encounters leading to transformative relations (in-person and virtually) against the backdrop of the new field of communications. In his master’s thesis (2017), Gilmar offered a glimpse on how the event deeply affected his life and trajectory as a filmmaker:

In the last year of my undergrad studies, in 2008, I was invited to take a film course in Bolivia, and went without thinking twice, 45 days in the Bolivian desert of Pacajes, in an Aymara village called Condor Iquiña, living and breathing what would come to be the reason for my existence, the Audiovisual. There I had the opportunity to meet one of the most important people of my life, the Quechua filmmaker Ivan

Molina, who revolutionized Indigenous cinema in Bolivia and has had a great influence on what we have built here. (Galache 2017, 12)⁴⁰

Gilmar's and Eliel's trip to Bolivia was an outcome of their participation in the introductory audiovisual production workshop of the first national festival of Indigenous audiovisual production in Brazil: the *Vídeo Índio Brasil* (VIB), which occurred in Mato Grosso do Sul in 2008. Another inspiring encounter for ASCURI with Indigenous filmmakers living in other countries happened during the second VIB festival also in Mato Grosso do Sul, in 2009, when Indigenous filmmakers from *Wapikoni Mobile* were invited to present twelve of their films and to meet the participants of the audiovisual production workshop, as I address later.

*Wapikoni Mobile*⁴¹ is a travelling Indigenous audiovisual production studio launched during the 2004 Montreal First Peoples' Festival and founded by filmmaker Manon Barbeau, the First Nations of Québec and Labrador and the Council of the Atikamekw Nation Youth Council (Wapikoni Mobile 2019). It is precisely this non-profit organization that trained Evelyne Papatie, cited at the beginning of this chapter, and promoted her encounter with the Ikepeng.

During the celebration of the ten years of Wapikoni Mobile at the 2014 Montreal First Peoples' Festival, Barbeau organized the symposium *When Cinema Builds Bridges*. Its purpose was to "lay a basis for an international network for Aboriginal audiovisual creations, allowing for long-term exchanges, developing co-productions and joint creations between partners from different horizons as well as a broader circulation of works" (Wapikoni Mobile 2014; Festival Présence autochtone 2014). This event, which I attended, was the launch of the *International Network of Indigenous Audiovisual Creation (RICA)*⁴². Participants included founders of Indigenous audiovisual production institutions from countries such as Bolivia (CEFREC⁴³), Brazil (*Video nas Aldeias*⁴⁴), Chile (CLACPI⁴⁵), Mexico (*Ojo de Agua*⁴⁶), Norway (*NuorajTV*⁴⁷) Peru, (CHIRAPAQ⁴⁸) and Canada (*Wapikoni Mobile* and ImagineNative Festival⁴⁹).

The presence of *Video nas Aldeias* (VNA) in this network is relevant because its work was the primary inspiration for the introductory audiovisual production workshop of the VIB festival, as its organizer told me. Besides, one of the two Indigenous professors of the workshop, Divino Tserewahú Tsereptsé, is one of the first and most successful filmmakers trained by VNA. Also noteworthy is that he went to the cinema course in Bolivia with Gilmar and Eliel. Another link between Canada and Brazil at the 2014 Montreal First Peoples' Festival was the presence of the BRV. Its short film, *Mbya I Piragui* (2012), screened during the festival, resulted from previous work with Guarani communities in Brazil.

I call attention to these various multi-sited encounters and connectivities between Indigenous filmmakers living in different countries to illustrate the importance of expanding the anthropological perspectives about the dynamics between local Indigenous expressions and mainstream discourses propelling representations about indigeneity at the sites where Indigenous media producers live, outlined at the beginning of this section⁵⁰. Accordingly, I suggest that dominant discourses framing indigeneity in Mato Grosso do Sul also include growing interactions between collaborators from other countries. Their actions elaborate conceptual frameworks that serve broader agendas in the name of “patriotism” and affect Indigenous groups at these sites, as I discuss later. While this dissertation focuses primarily on Brazil’s case and more specifically on the dynamics in Mato Grosso do Sul, this point invites us to look beyond local and national contexts by broadening our theoretical lenses to incorporate the cosmopolitical, as I address in the next section.

4. Plural Conceptualizations of Cosmopolitics

4.1. Cosmopolitics as a marker of the reconfiguration of political forces

I hope I won't be offensive, with my demonstration, to the protocol of this house, but I believe that you cannot remain silent; you will not be able to be oblivious to this aggression driven by economic power, greed, ignorance of what it means to be an Indigenous people. [...] Today, we are the target of aggression that intends to hit the essence of our faith, our confidence that there is still dignity, that it is still possible to build a society that knows how to respect the weakest, that knows how to respect those who do not have the money to maintain an incessant defamation campaign, that knows how to respect a people who have always lived in spite of all wealth. A people who lives in straw-covered houses and sleeps on mats on the ground should not be identified in any way as a people who is an enemy of Brazil's interests, an enemy of the nation's interests, and who jeopardizes any development. The Indigenous people have irrigated every hectare of Brazil's eight million square kilometres with blood. You are witnesses of this⁵¹.

Ailton Krenak

The quotation above is part of the Indigenous leader Ailton Krenak's speech at the Constitutional Assembly in 1987. Widely broadcasted by the media, it became iconic: dressed in a white suit, he slowly painted his face black while addressing the National Congress⁵². On February 6, 2020, Krenak conceded an interview to the journalist Bob Fernandes for the Educational TV of the Bahia state⁵³. The interview was posted on its Facebook page⁵⁴, YouTube channel⁵⁵, as well as on Fernandes' YouTube channel⁵⁶. Looking back at his historic speech, the Indigenous writer, who is the 2020 recipient of the Brazilian prize "Intellectual of the year"⁵⁷, remarked that the terms of the dynamics between Indigenous groups from Brazil and the social actors controlling the politics in the national arena have changed:

At that time, the public campaign and the dispute were about what would be established in the Constitution's text. It was no holds barred: the newspapers, the media of the time, the corporations, they played heavily disqualifying totally the experience of Indigenous peoples and the historical rights of these peoples to claim a place within the concert of Brazil, and I had to denounce it in the tribune. Today, the place that justifies this campaign is no longer the same: the dilution of this capitalist scheme that disputes natural resources on the planet today has no address.

[Fernandes]: It is much broader...

[Krenak]: It is diffuse, and I wouldn't be able to address any plenary, any assembly in those terms today.⁵⁸ (Krenak and Fernandes 2020)

In the interview, Krenak flags the shift of political dynamics he observed between 1987 and 2020, noting that the political forces currently impacting policies in Brazil are not circumscribed to the country but have escaped the boundaries of a national political project. This remark points to the relevance of analytical concepts such as the notion of cosmopolitics advanced by Robbins and Cheah.

In Robbins and Cheah 1998, *cosmopolitics* was a “neologism” intending to direct attention to “the field of the cosmopolitical” (1998, VII). Cheah defines the cosmopolitical as a mutating and global field of political forces (modulated by cultural and economic ones), which emerges from a “turning point where moral politics or political morality needs to be formulated beyond the polis or state form, the point at which ‘the political’ becomes, by moral necessity, ‘cosmopolitical’” (1998, 23, 31, 2006, 23). Robbins showed how *cosmopolitics* draws awareness to this force field: “the neologism *cosmopolitics* is also intended to underline the need to introduce intellectual order and accountability into this newly dynamic space of gushingly unrestrained sentiments, pieties, and urgencies for which no adequately discriminating lexicon has had time to develop” (1998, 9). Applying the cosmopolitical concept to the internet milieu implies considering the latter as a political force field within and beyond nations where different ecosystems coexist.

Stengers noticed that this use of the term *cosmopolitics* followed a completely different inquiry path than hers, as I discuss later. She considered that this literature was “playing it in a major key” instead of in a minor key, as she preferred (Stenger 2005, 192). The first approach implies pinpointing an encompassing theoretical schema, able to establish a central conceptual stage, from which there is “no possibility of getting away,” “a stake defined by an ‘either/or’ disjunction” (Stengers 2005, 186). In contrast, the “minor key” goes back to “thinking par le milieu” without generalizing definitions and considering “surroundings” (Stengers 2005, 187).

I appreciate Stenger’s concern for alerting us to the trap of entering a sterile game of significations by establishing analytical grids to stabilize the sensible. These concerns have been developed in Harney and Moten’s theorizations opposing the colonialist tendencies of academic categories to concepts such as the *undercommons of enlightenment*, conveying that life slips

through the cracks of academic schemes and opens paths for immanence and transcendence (2013, 26, 29). Manning advanced these reflections by drawing on Deleuze's and Guattari's concept of *minor* and designating the *minor gesture* as "gestural force that opens experience to its potential variation [...] from within experience itself" (2016, 1). It constitutes an affirmative operation embodying a generative potential: "it affirms the field in its transformation, and it affirms the way this transformation emboldens the in-act of experience in the making. [...] The affirmative cut of the minor gesture catalyzes a reordering." (Manning 2016:201). Thus, it constitutes a theory refraining from holding a constricting categorization standpoint.

Considering this discussion on *minor key* theory, *undercommons* and *minor gesture*, I beg to differ from Stengers. While Robbins and Cheah's concept of cosmopolitics is supposed to "underline the need to introduce intellectual order and accountability", arguably a "commons" task of classifying, it does not fulfill this intention. Indeed, it does not classify cosmopolitical forces. Instead, it expands analytical horizons to unsettle the normativity of what Beck designated as "the framework of methodological nationalism," which divides the world into "state-constructed borders" and translates the sensible (including political forces) into these terms (Beck 2006, 27). Beck explains that the problem is that cultures, economic exchanges, environmental and terrorist threats do not obey state borders and that actions and communities are not necessarily based upon territories but on shared interests or identifications (2006, 18-19, 43). Methodological nationalism fails to grasp the breadth of social relations, symbols and circumstances that cut across its territorial ontology (2006, 27). Instead, it translates (and distorts) them into the idiom of nationalism to normalize them into "a form that fits the established categories" (2006, 40). A prominent example of this argument is the Iraq war:

[It] was the first war against a global risk, the risk of terror, which was fought against a state. Only in this way could the risk be (ostensibly) controlled [...] Non-state terrorism is made digestible by the state by the fact that terrorism is first associated with rogue states, which are suspected of tolerating or fostering it

and can, second, be defeated through the conventional means of state–against–state warfare (Beck 2006, 40).

This example also sustains Beck’s argument that “the units of ‘international relations’” such as the nation-state, that to him are “fetish concepts,” are increasingly becoming hollow because problems affecting nations can no longer be remediated solely in the national arena (2006, 37). Keck and Sikkink develop a similar idea when they point to the “increasingly artificial divide between international and national realms” that does not correspond to the contemporary reality where “multiple channels of contact among societies [...] blur [...] domestic and international politics” (1998, 4, 29).

To make sense of the conflation between national and international, Beck suggests that we “de-ontologize” and historicize this imaginary of the world divided by nation-states (2006, 17, 2016, 38). The first step is to see the limitations of the logic “either/or” present in attributes integrating the analytical tools of methodological nationalism such as the terms *national* and *international*, which form “an exclusive, total unity” (Beck 2006, 62). As Beck specifies, “the opposition between national and international is fundamental: there is not just an internal national, but also an external international recognition of societies and states” (2006, 28). The second step implies substituting this logic with the rationale “both/and”: “the ‘either inside or outside’ that underlies the distinction between national and international is transcended by a ‘both inside and outside’” (Beck 2006, 33). It enables acknowledging “multiple spatial, temporal and practical both/and realities to which the national perspective remains blind.” Thus, this exercise frees reflective efforts from the limiting grid of methodological nationalism.

I found Beck’s argument compelling. It shows the necessity of finding new lenses for understanding how discourses and practices in Mato Grosso do Sul are tied to projects of society revolving around other referents than concepts of local or national development. In this respect,

Cheah and Robbins' elaborations on *cosmopolitics* are helpful not only to draw awareness to the increasing inadequacy of methodological nationalism but also to see relationalities obscured by it, organized around referents other than the national. They offer fruitful possibilities for seeing the play of these distinct referents and the political forces they drive in Mato Grosso do Sul and Brazil. I argue that these referents correspond to other projects of society and uses of lands cutting across nationalistic endeavours.

Robbins and Cheah left open the understanding of what the cosmopolitic forces consist of, except for the fact that they draw on a type of "political morality" coined "beyond the polis or state form." This loose definition leaves room for the dynamic potential of continuous unfolding collaborations along with different projects of society. Such world instantiations can follow very distinct political standpoints, as it can encompass, at the same time, political forces and collaborations propelling transnational neoliberal projects in Mato Grosso do Sul (as I discuss in the following paragraphs), as well as Indigenous political activism inspired by societal dreams grounded on well-living, as I discuss later in this work.

4.1.1. Postimperialist Cosmopolitics in Brazilian landscapes

Anthropologist Gustavo Ribeiro defined *post-imperialism* by stating:

Especially in the period 1980-2000, transnational corporations, flexible capitalism and neoliberal recipes generated new forms of surpassing national control. This is a kind of transnationalism marked by an intense time-space compression (Harvey, 1989), i.e. by a technological command of space and time that distances itself more and more from the political and administrative forms of exerting power associated with modern imperialism and from the colony in its strict sense of occupation of a foreign land. The relative climax of the nation-state goes hand-in-hand with the relative decadence of its controlling power set in motion by transnational capitalism.

In order to exert their power, transnational corporations do not require direct territorial control by a metropolitan State. Post-imperialism is how I call this juncture in which nation-states have to deal with transnationalism, a superior level of integration. Already in the 1970s, Samir Amin (1976: 191) called post-imperialism the most advanced phase of capitalism, characterized by the concentration of power in transnational corporations and by their control of the "technological revolution" (p.189). (Ribeiro 2005,8)

In the same work, Ribeiro designates *post-imperialism* as a form of “organizing economic and political life and constructing cosmopolitics” (2005, 8). He defines *cosmopolitics*, drawing on Robbins and Cheah 1998, as “discursive matrices intrinsically related to political interpretation and actions of global reach” (Ribeiro 2007, 14). This understanding of post-imperialism as a form of cosmopolitics opens paths to scrutinize the growingly pervasive play of the political and economic power exerted by multinational corporations within flexible capitalistic modes of actions that surpass national control and antagonize Indigenous groups in Mato Grosso do Sul.

Ladislau Dowbor, who worked in development planning in African, European, and Latin American countries, including Brazil,⁵⁹ share insights on how the pervasiveness of large-scale multinational oligopolies -including agribusiness related- has been set in motion in the countries where they act. In 2018, Dowbor granted an interview (posted on his YouTube channel⁶⁰) about his book *The Age of Unproductive Capital -New Architectures of Power* (2018). He argued that since 2013, large corporations within and outside Brazil have taken unprecedented control of the country’s politics and choked the national economy by steering and shaping the National Congress’ decision-making⁶¹ (Dowbor 2018). Concomitantly, private financial investors have drained taxpayer money⁶² (Dowbor 2020a; Dowbor 2021a).

Dowbor traces this problem to the ever-larger sizes and revenues that corporations obtain through mergers and acquisitions to compete in an aggressive market (2018, 23). This process creates hypergiant groups such as BlackRock, whose revenue reached 14 trillion dollars. This observation, he argues, obliges us to “adjust our concepts”: “what changes when corporations become more gigantic than States themselves?” (Dowbor 2018, 34). In this respect, “looking at the 21st century through last century’s lens does not help”:

What used to be fragmented deformations, punctual penetrations by lobbies, corruption and revolving doors between the private and the public sectors have expanded and, by osmosis, are turning into articulated political power. The public interest seldom emerges but when it does, it is only after

prodigious efforts by popular movements, fragile protests in the alternative media, rare independent politicians, and civil society organizations. Corporate power has become systemic, capturing one by one the various dimensions of expression and power, thereby generating a new dynamic or a new architecture of power. [...] Today, the money and pressure from corporations permeate the decision-making process everywhere. (Dowbor 2018, 78-79)

Dowbor notes that the merger process often leads to the formation of multinational oligopolies, increasing the power of corporations over the nation-states where they act:

In general, in the main productive chains, the race ends when there are few companies that, instead of fighting, discover that it is more convenient to articulate and work together for their own and their shareholders' benefit. Not necessarily, of course, for the wellbeing of society. Controlling a productive chain in a structured and hierarchical way naturally generates a great economic, political, and cultural power. Through the huge flow of resources, it has an economic power greater than the GDP of many countries. Its political power is through the appropriation of much of the State apparatus. Its cultural power is due to the culture of consumption and behavioral dynamics created by the global mass media through heavy advertising campaigns. (Dowbor 2018, 23)

The corollary is that this situation enables a “global free-for-all”:

With national government capacity fragmented into 200 nations, any regulation or planning of what is taking place on the planet seems to be out of our reach. [...] There are trillions of dollars in the hands of private groups whose field of action is the planet, while the capabilities of global regulation barely crawl. The global power that really exists is largely in the hands of giants that no one elected, and over which there is less and less control. (Dowbor 2018, 37)

Dowbor uses the term “economic galaxies”⁶³ to refer to how some corporations control thousands of other companies, often located in different countries, while acquiring a strong political presence in the places where these companies act (Dowbor 2021b, 28). The outlook of the largest “galaxy” came to picture in the first research on planetary corporate control: the survey “The Network of Global Corporate Control” conducted by the Swiss Federal Institute for Technological Research in 2011 (Vitali et al. 2011; Dowbor 2018, 20; 2020b,51; 2021b,45). The study selected the 43,000 most prominent corporations within a database of 30 million companies and analyzed their economic weight, financial flows, and network of connections and control. It identified that 737 corporations control 80% of what Dowbor designates as the “corporate universe”⁶⁴, referring to the control over the value of all transnational corporations (Vitali et al. 2011, 4; Dowbor 2020b, 51; 2018, 21; 2021b,45). The study specified that this network of corporations has a “bow-tie” structure. Its center is a strongly connected core of 147 corporations

that control approximately 40% of the economic value of all transnational corporations of the world, via “a complicated web of ownership relations”, whereas these 147 top holders have nearly full control over themselves and are mainly financial intermediaries (75% of this core group) (Vitali et al. 2011, 4; Dowbor 2018, 22; 2021b, 45; 2020b, 51).

This realization instantiates a way of articulating economic and political power over the planetary territory using other references than the national. It remaps the world, dividing it not into nations but sectors controlled by oligopolies, such as agribusiness, mining, or communications. In this respect, Robbins and Cheah’s conception of *cosmopolitics* opens the possibility of seeing the workings of the political forces propelled within this new power architecture. It illuminates how oligopolies are steering and shaping decision-making on the use of the lands from Mato Grosso do Sul, competing for the control of the lands with local Indigenous groups, as well as the control of the dominant discourses and narratives that justify a particular use of the land along with a project for society.

An emblematic multinational oligopoly acting in Mato Grosso do Sul is the transgenic industry (see Appendices C and D). It is articulated with a stark increase in land use in the south of the state to grow and process soybean, corn, and sugarcane for biofuel production and the transnational trade of commodity crops (see Appendix C, Figure 2). This area is precisely where most Guarani-Kaiowá communities live (see Appendix B), which leads to Indigenous communities being expelled to the outskirts of their land, sometimes being forced to live along the sides of federal highways (see Appendix E).

Politicians in Mato Grosso do Sul support the growing presence of the transgenic industry oligopoly (see Appendix D) and justify it as crucial to local and national development (see Chapter 4). However, as public defender Marcelo Novaes argues in an interview for Bob

Fernandes' YouTube channel in April 2020⁶⁵, the political and economic favours imposed by this industry corrode Brazil's autonomy. Concomitantly, they establish transgenic monocultures in the country as a material basis for a series of multinational financial capital negotiations⁶⁶ supporting the new power architectures flagged by Dowbor and Ribeiro. Novaes shows how tax exemptions⁶⁷ conceded to the pesticide sector in Brazil, and the weakening of regulations⁶⁸ (see Appendix F) jeopardize the country's sovereignty⁶⁹ by leading to "the privatization of profit and the socialization of loss"⁷⁰ (Novaes and Bombardi 2020). The revenue loss creates urgencies used to justify "incentives" to foreign investments, such as the December 2019 bill proposal for allowing foreigners to purchase land and properties for agribusiness activities with areas corresponding to up to 25% of each Brazilian city⁷¹ (Agência Senado 2019a).

The accumulation of large profits, mostly untaxed, allows the agribusiness industry to invest in propaganda and capture political power in Brazil. The Parliamentary Front of Agriculture (FPA) website⁷² shows that 245 out of the 513 federal congress members and 39 out of the 81 senators integrate this agribusiness lobby bloc (FPA 2020). According to the journalistic observatory of agribusiness *Keeping an Eye on Ruralists*⁷³, the lobby has received at least BRL 760 thousand per month in funds from 38 agribusiness associations supported by national and multinational companies⁷⁴ (Arroyo 2020). It estimates that congress members and senators elected by supporting Bolsonaro are 71% of this bloc (Bassi 2019⁷⁵). FPA members such as the Brazilian president son Eduardo Bolsonaro, elected in 2018 as the Member of Parliament with the largest number of votes in the history of Brazil⁷⁶, post videos online pushing an agenda antagonizing environmental causes and Indigenous rights in Brazil -including videos addressing specifically Indigenous groups in Mato Grosso do Sul (see Chapter 3).

4.1.2. Indigenous activisms, cosmopolitics and cosmopolitanisms

Robbins and Cheah's understanding of cosmopolitics as a political force cutting across and beyond states also opened a pathway for exploring the intersections between cosmopolitics and Indigenous activisms. For instance, Hodgson draws on Robbins to designate Indigenous activism as "one form" of "cosmopolitics", and cosmopolitics as a "domain of contested politics located both within and beyond the nation that is inhabited by a variety of cosmopolitanisms"⁷⁷ (Hodgson 2011, 216; 2008, 215, 225). This view of Indigenous activism through this theoretical understanding became possible because recent anthropological interpretations have dislodged beliefs⁷⁸ that previously prevented cosmopolitanisms from being compatible with indigeneity. As Werbner showed, anthropological debates dismissed the postulates that cosmopolitans had no commitment to place⁷⁹ and were undoubtedly part of economic elites⁸⁰ (2012, 153, 154, 156).

In turn, Ribeiro's definition of cosmopolitics as "discursive matrices" linked to "political interpretation and actions of global reach" also opened the possibility to see engagements with the rhetoric of Indigenous rights as a channel of "interpretation and promotion of cosmopolitics" (2007, 14-15). Thus, Ribeiro's conceptualizations of cosmopolitics, presenting "post-imperialism" as one instantiation of it, and providing grounds for envisioning Indigenous activism as another, opens the possibility for seeing the audiovisual discursive matrices forming at both sides of the dynamics in which ASCURI is engaged as different "cosmopolitic forces" that are disputing the lands of Mato Grosso do Sul to implement different world projects. Furthermore, Ribeiro's notion of cosmopolitics brings to the surface the immanent potential of the act/experience that becomes crystallized in the audiovisual discursive component as a visible tip of the iceberg -which is also a form of practice, as Brazilian philosopher Silvio de Almeida argues (Almeida 2020⁸¹). This dissertation examines how these sides composed of networks that are not necessarily new nor

proportional in terms of power within local and broader arenas, are navigating through audiovisual production the fertile ground of the internet, which is catalyzing increasingly rapid seismic political shifts in Brazil.

Conversely, the sheer act of audiovisual production and internet engagements is also catalyzing cosmopolitic networks. I make the case that, within the new communication landscapes carved by Internet access, mass communication overflows national borders in unprecedented ways since the online environment allows multinational collaborations in the production and consumption of content. This scenario contrasts to radio and TV channels, for instance, which were determinant for creating “imagined communities” calcifying a shared sense of national identity, as Benedict Anderson argued ([1983] 2006). The corollary is that the new landscapes of communication could potentially fuel, shape and reshape “imagined communities” concomitantly within and beyond nations pulled together by affects vis-à-vis specific world projects. Ribeiro’s notion of cosmopolitics, then, can be useful to illuminate moral and political forces bred through these circuits of affects and relationships: attachments to societal projects realigning positionings and becomings. It can help to understand, for instance, why contemporary nations are becoming so polarized by social media, while a multinational “alt-right” community (as I discuss in Chapter 3) and “libertarian” free-market groups (see Chapter 4) seem to be emerging concomitantly with a multi-sited ecologically driven community -encompassing Indigenous initiatives (see Chapter 2).

4.2 Cosmopolitics as a marker of relationalities with nature

I did not feel out of place. Their land already existed somewhere in me. I felt profound inner peace. The forest’s soul lay within everyone’s heart. A country of the spirit, vibrant and alive, a land of giants flowed in our veins. Anishinabek, at every moment, you were there, in me, in my pride of being Anishinabekwe. I encountered this elsewhere that resembles us so much, and I want to reignite the flame, our Anishinaabe flame.⁸²

Evelyn Papatie

In this excerpt of the short film *Des Forêts de Kitcisakik Aux Forêts De Xingu* (2008), Papatie evokes a perception of interconnectedness with nature that she shared with the Ikepeng. When I asked Eliel in 2016 if he had noticed anything in common between the Guarani-Kaiowá worldview (and practices) and the ones of the Indigenous audiovisual producers he encountered during his trips to Bolivia, he pointed to their relationship with nature and the way they see nature as *acting* in the world. He noted that the caveat is that the Guarani-Kaiowá have a more substantial relation with the sun and the forest, whereas the people he met in Bolivia have it with the mountains. A similar remark emerged when I interviewed Ivan Molina in Bolivia in 2016. Having met Indigenous peoples from diverse parts of Latin America and Canada in various audiovisual production workshops and collaborations, he declared that this relationship with nature is one distinctive feature about Indigenous peoples:

Each people has differences. Each people has its contribution. Each people has its way of seeing its relationship with itself and with Mother Nature, which is where I believe there is a common ground more or less between all of them. Above all, the relationship with Mother Earth, Mother Nature, comes first, and then human relationships come, right? And I think this is very important. There is a dimension of relationships with nature, with Mother Earth, thus, where we depend on the fact that we are part of it, and then the relations between human beings come. I think that this happens in a large part of the peoples⁸³.

The emphasis on the relationship with nature is akin to the perception of *cosmos* advanced by anthropologist, sociologist and philosopher Bruno Latour. He developed his approach by deontologizing the distinction between “nature” and “society” and shedding light on the political process implicit in it (1999, 304). He argued that both integrate a unity that was forcedly divided: “once theory has made its analytical cut, once the noise of the breaking bones has been heard [...] the difference between theory and practice is no more given than the difference between [...] nature and society. [...] It is a unity that has been fractured by the blow of a powerful hammer” (Latour 1999, 267). In this perspective, *society* constituted a “fairy tale of social relations, from which all nonhumans have been carefully enucleated” (Latour 1999, 193).

Descola, in turn, revealed the political character of this division, affirming that this view – known as “*naturalism*” – has attributed to “nonhumans” the position of “objects” and derived from the interest humans have to control them (2013, 396). In contrast, Latour stated, we live in *collectives*: associations of humans and nonhumans (1999, 193). Thus, instead of *society*, he suggested the term *cosmos* to designate a reorganization of the collective able to transcend the imposed division and thus to escape the “politics of modernism” by acknowledging the agency of nonhuman *actants* (Latour 1999, 240). This cosmos filled with its ontological weight is not a rearrangement of society dissociated from a political agenda. Instead, its political character was acknowledged through the term *cosmopolitics*, which Latour defined as “the new politics that is no longer framed inside the modernist settlement of nature and society” (1999, 305).

As Latour remarked, he drew on Stenger’s interpretation of cosmopolitics (1999, 16, 290, 297, 305). Stengers argued that the concept marked the “(re) invention of politics” since it preserved “the ‘political’ character of the construction,” emphasizing that “every proposition, no matter how utopian, if it is part of our tradition, draws from the inventive resources associated with that tradition” (2010, 355). More specifically, she noted in a previous work that her concept of *cosmopolitics* is tied to the fact that “each achievement in the ecology of practice, that is, each (always partial) relation between practices as such, as they diverge, must be celebrated as a ‘cosmic event’, a mutation which does not depend on humans only, but on humans as belonging, which means they are obliged and exposed by their obligations” (Stengers 2005, 192). Concomitantly, Stengers clarifies that these obligations come from a sense of belonging that creates attachments calcified in a feeling of indebtedness and responsibility towards a particular surrounding (2005, 190). She notes that “attachments are what cause people, including all of us, to feel and think, to be able or to become able” (Stengers 2005, 191). She completes the argument by

presenting what would correspond to Latour's politics of modernism, which is a denial of responsibilities towards specific attachments:

The problem is not with attachment; the problem may be that some of us, those who call themselves 'moderns', confuse their attachments with universal obligations [...]. Latour famously wrote that 'we have never been modern', we are just 'modernisators', breaking and destroying attachments without another thought. (Stengers 2005, 191)

Other anthropologists have increasingly used Latour's and Stengers' perceptions of cosmopolitics to discuss Indigenous perspectives of nature (De la Cadena 2010; Pimentel 2012; Blaser 2016; Bold 2019; Fernandes Moreira and Ramírez Colombier 2019; Tola 2019; Troncoso 2019). However, Gustavo Ribeiro warns against the risk of an excessive banalization of "agency" when anthropologists use this perspective *methodologically*, attempting to seek "agency ability" in everything (Fleischer et al. 2016, 60-61).

While the focus brought by Latour's *cosmopolitics* on human connectedness with nature sheds light on an intense center of gravity for the Indigenous discursive matrices I encountered in my fieldwork, other concepts coined within this semantic universe, such as "nonhuman", seem to undermine this perspective's richness. As Ribeiro suggests, the term classifies animal and natural life in opposition to humans, developing a very anthropocentric notion (Fleischer et al. 2016, 61).

One outcome of bringing nature into the realm of social relationships, belongings and attachments is to create a perception of the world where everything is interconnected (Descola 2013, 396). Indigenous leader Lee Maracle, involved with feminist activism movements beyond borders, reiterates this argument:

Isolating our spiritual beliefs from feminism, transnationalism, globalization, and what we 'know' is a Western practice based on a compartmentalized paradigm of 'quarantine, isolate, and study' [...]. Nothing is disconnected –NO THING. Whatever happens to the Earth reverberates in the world, affects us, and joggles out thinking in a certain direction. Violence to Earth, violation of women, and globalization are all connected; to struggle for one and pay no attention to the rest of the humanization process would be a waste of time. (Fiola 2013, 167)

Maracle challenges the dominant epistemology, its interpretation of reality and societal progress by proposing a methodological path for knowledge building based on relationality.

Blaser, De Costa, Mc Gregor and Coleman's elaborations on *relationality* are useful for understanding the differences between these epistemologies. Citing eight published works⁸⁴, they highlighted that most Indigenous cosmologies spring from the idea that "relationships constitute the very fabric of reality: without relations, there is no world of life" (Blaser et al. 2010, 8). They drew on Descola and Latour (among others) to oppose the "modern" scientific epistemology, which isolates and classifies constraining Indigenous groups into the position of "savage" while supporting white supremacy claims, for instance. Instead, they promote a perception of Indigenous knowledge that "stress relations and processes" and are "built upon relationships" that include nature. These relationships are "spiritual, often extending back to ancestors and into the future to those yet born" (Blaser et al. 2010, 8).

In this respect, Blaser, De Costa, Mc Gregor and Coleman flag that many analysts fail to understand the dimensions of Indigenous peoples' demands because they overlook that their efforts for classifying them originate from reliance on "modern" epistemology. As a result, they tend to reduce Indigenous peoples' claims for land, for instance, into solely political or economic terms, failing to acknowledge the spiritual and emotional dimensions (or, if they do, reducing them to aspects of "culture"). On such occasions, it is crucial to consider relationality as an interpretive grid. This opens the possibility for "view[ing] the intricate webs of relations that constitute all that is known" and for contemplating how multi-sited processes "reconfigure the constitutive relations of the web of life" (Blaser et al. 2010, 9).

This is precisely what made up the collective exercise undertaken during the World Peoples' Conference for a World Without Walls⁸⁵, which occurred in Bolivia on June 20 and 21, 2017. The

conference was headed by the then Bolivian President Evo Morales (who is Indigenous) and had delegations of 45 countries, including Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, France, Germany, Great Britain, Iran, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Russia, San Salvador, Spain, South Korea, Switzerland, United States, Uruguay, and Venezuela. The Plurinational Communication Agency of Bolivia broadcasted it live on its website and Facebook page. Two Indigenous reporters alternated comments in Spanish and Indigenous languages while transmitting the main talks. They stated that, as Indigenous communicators, they aimed to support the event, which they were proud of, and make it accessible to all the world's peoples. This granted me the possibility to watch the conference from my computer in Toronto.

At the conference, the centrality of relationality animated an effort for collectively imagining a society where the web of life would be in evidence and prioritized. Recurrent references to nature's elements as *beings* served as a compass for the perspective of the world without walls being presented. The first was an Indigenous ritual, conducted by the Plurinational Council of Spiritual Guides composed by Indigenous elders (men and women), to salute the *Pachamama* (Mother Earth) and ask her to be present at the conference. The ritual was performed in several Indigenous languages and, in the end, in Spanish:

Come all over the world, on all continents, to the multiverse, to the entire universe. There are no borders for the Pachamama, no walls, just as the sun illuminates all [...] May this conference [...] show to the world our hearts, our thoughts and, above all, the voice of Mother Earth.⁸⁶

The conference indicates ways that Latour's *cosmopolitics*, as politics coined outside dichotomous divisions between nature and society, can take shape, as I analyze in Chapter 2.

The debates on cosmopolitics initiated by Latour and Stengers attribute to *cosmos* and *cosmopolitics* different referents from Robbins and Cheah's debate. I do not seek to resolve this impasse by adjudicating one to be right and the other wrong or forcing a conciliation between

both to find an encompassing synthesis. Instead, I chose to acknowledge that *cosmopolitics* is a plural concept. I explore how these two interpretations of the term illuminate new analytical tools for reflecting critically on serious dilemmas of our time (which are especially manifest in Mato Grosso do Sul), such as increasing inequality, environmental crisis, and the play of technology - especially with the growing pervasiveness of social media.

While Robbins and Cheah suspend the analytical bias of methodological nationalism for the scrutiny of contemporary political dynamics, Stengers and Latour suspend the analytical bias of the division between society and nature. Therefore, I opted for the generative dialogical space opened between these debates. Both contribute to expanding the perspective on how relationalities (including with nature) can be articulated to broader than local referents, especially with the growing importance of social media where audiovisual works circulate.

In this dissertation, I explore these dynamics by focusing on the relationship between Indigenous activism in Mato Grosso do Sul (imbued with relationalities ignited by experiences with Indigenous filmmakers from Bolivia and Canada) and large-scale multinational agribusiness. Following Robbins and Cheah, I argue that these antagonistic sides are part of two colliding (but asymmetrical) cosmopolitic forces disputing lands in Mato Grosso do Sul and harnessing the potential of social media through audiovisual production. The *cosmopolitical* concept, with its wide “field of political forces,” offers possibilities for seeing grounds for audiovisual collaborations tied to identity positioning and political activism, but not necessarily locked to the “political-geographical division of space of nation-states” (Beck 2006, 32). Instead, it can accommodate a series of scales⁸⁷ (rather than define one), enabling one to see *surroundings* (using Stengers’ term) fastened by attachments linked to other references, such as dreams brewed within an affective ecology of activism and projects for society tied to opposed standpoints.

Concomitantly, I follow Stengers' elaborations of *cosmopolitics* and *ecology of practices*, flagging the importance of focusing explorations on the relationalities (or lack of relationalities) with surroundings within these specific political forces as “a tool for thinking through what is happening”. As discussed, I make the case that such relationalities between people and their surroundings increasingly include dialogues between geographical and virtual spaces, as perspectives of local surroundings are ever more fashioned by discourses circulating online. Thus, I argue that surroundings are increasingly “hyperlinked” with meanings woven online oriented by different projects of society. Audiovisual production becomes a tool for, on the one hand, continuous unfolding collaborations always in a state of emergence, and, on the other hand, for representation, for building public perceptions, as I discuss throughout this work.

5. Methodology: Cartographies of Affect

My dissertation draws from my multi-sited fieldwork that took place in Mato Grosso do Sul, Brazil; La Paz, Bolivia; Montreal, Canada; and was complemented with observations of events on video-sharing platforms such as Facebook and Youtube⁸⁸, including a virtual attendance at a conference. Fieldwork in Mato Grosso do Sul occurred from January to July 2016, where I built upon the connections that I established over the period of doing my master's research there in 2008. In Montreal, fieldwork engagements with audiovisual producers in the context of the Montreal First Peoples' Festivals started in 2010 and continued in 2012, 2014, 2016 and 2017. This multi-sited approach offers a path to escape the myopia of an excessive focus on geographic spaces and to map research through other referents for connections, delineating “a differently configured spatial canvas” (Marcus 1995, 98). Thus, it constitutes a suitable methodology for inquiries on cosmopolitics and online relationalities.

The configuration of my research “sites” was inspired by what anthropologist Himpele designated as “circuits of indigeneity,” which refers to “widely dispersed and mobile networks of collaboration that extend to Indigenous media organizations⁸⁹” (2008, 203). Himpele labels productive alliances within these circuits as “nodes” containing “wide-ranging engagements” (2008, 203). He invites researchers to analyze them by exploring “the web of social and cultural connections and historical intricacies” (Himpele 2008, 203). Attuning Himpele’s call to Seigworth and Gregg’s theorizations on force-relations and affects and to Brubaker and Cooper’s concept of *connectivity* translates into inquiring about the affects within these “wide-ranging engagements” that articulate connectivities through audiovisual production. In this perspective, my research site’s mapping consists of doing a cartography of affects delineating social terrains composed of relations woven through audiovisual production. I became imbricated in this chain of relations, and the blurring of ‘here’ and ‘there’ was intensified by my multiple returns to Mato Grosso do Sul and to Montreal, where I attended the Montreal First Peoples’ Festivals and related symposia and debates five times (2010, 2012, 2014, 2016 and 2017). This multi-sited and multi-temporal perspective sharpened an awareness of my role as an anthropologist and the ways I established connections with others conducting fieldwork.

I opted for spending more time in Mato Grosso do Sul, first, because ASCURI’s work happened predominantly in Brazil, and secondly, because I directed my focus to the ways meanings built within these circuits of indigeneity were signified in the Brazilian arena, in dialogue with dominant discourses. Therefore, in January 2016, I travelled to Mato Grosso do Sul to reignite dialogues with ASCURI’s members. I conducted a qualitative investigation into significant events. For instance, in April 2016, I attended the *Autonomy, Sustainability and Indigenous Audiovisual Seminar (ASA)*, organized by ASCURI with the presence of Indigenous

filmmaker Ivan Molina, the main collaborator from Bolivia. On the same occasion, an internal meeting of the collective occurred (also including Molina's participation), and ASCURI invited me to witness it. In May 2016, I attended the *Mosarambihara -sowers of the well-living* workshop at the Indigenous village *Pirakuá*. Besides, I spent some weeks with one of ASCURI's founders and his family while they were preparing for the workshop.

I conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews⁹⁰ and attended short-duration events at five Guarani-Kaiowá communities⁹¹, two Terena⁹² and at the Indigenous Reserve of Dourados (where Guarani-Kaiowá and Terena families live). My primary location was in Dourados (a city close to Guarani-Kaiowá communities) at the "House of the Winds -Cultural and Ecological Network" (*Rede Cultural e Ecológica Casa dos Ventos*). This collaborative house for integrated eco-arts education hosted events with the participation of Indigenous filmmakers. Fabiana Fernandes, its founder, is a photographer and filmmaker who shot several films about local Guarani-Kaiowá families, including some of the participants in the production.

In July 2016, I accompanied Guarani-Kaiowá ASCURI member Gilearde Barbosa (Geeh) to Bolivia to take animation and cinema courses. He was invited by Ivan Molina, then director of ECA. I followed his learning experience and interactions with Bolivian filmmakers and cinema students through participant observation and conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews. During one conversation, Ivan showed me an invitation he had received from Wapikoni Mobile to attend a conference reuniting the RICAA as a part of both the 2016 *Montreal First Peoples' Festival* and the *World Social Forum* (WSF). It required an RSVP since the places for the free event were limited but encouraged invitees to "share the information within their networks."⁹³ As Molina could not attend, he forwarded me the invitation, adding that I could bring the word about ASCURI's and ECA's work. Thus, in August 2016, I conducted participant observation in the

festival, the international conference, and related events at the WSF and semi-structured in-depth interviews with different participants and contributors.

I remained in contact with ASCURI by email and WhatsApp upon returning to Toronto and followed video postings on YouTube and events broadcasted live on Facebook and YouTube by Indigenous filmmakers. Concomitantly, I paid special attention to the radicalization of political discourses in the Brazilian arena and their reverberations affecting Indigenous peoples. This polarization has been catalyzed by the increasing space that social media has gained in official discourses, as well as through collaborations between social actors living in different countries. This focus illuminates how contemporary “nationalistic” discursive matrices in Brazil are anchored in representations produced within and beyond the Brazilian arena.

Finally, with respect to methodology, I call attention to how my multi-sited fieldwork, encompassing and mirroring an engagement with Beck’s new landscape of communication, impacts my writing. My focus on this “landscape” departs from historical anthropological debates about indigeneity as “ecology of practices” tied to the literal land. I show how ASCURI participants must simultaneously manage their relationships with their local environment, the Internet milieu and the audiovisual works that bridge these two worlds. The videos that are produced and circulated, and the relations and imaginaries they invoke, are crucial aspects of the “new landscape”. Accordingly, I provide an analysis of selected videos that are central to mapping this ‘landscape’ and its affect. In the case of ASCURI, the trans and multi-national Indigenous collaborations arise from travel and physical encounters at workshops and festivals beyond Mato Grosso do Sul. However, they are increasingly gearing towards online collaboration (especially in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, which intensified this process). In my analysis and writing, I weave my multi-sited fieldwork experiences with the virtual online environments

observations to call attention to the cosmopolitical influences that are shifting and shaping local ways of being Indigenous in Mato Grosso do Sul. I make generous use of epigraphs in my writing as a way of fore-fronting Indigenous voices and ethnographic insights that variously constitute the canvas (Marcus 1995) of the “new landscape.”

6. Organization of the Dissertation

Following this introductory chapter, my dissertation is organized as described below: Chapter 2 begins with multi-sited audiovisual snapshots expressing ways that Indigenous persons from different countries have disseminated and exchanged experiences about the effects of global warming, pollution, and industrial agribusiness in their relationship with ecosystems. They nurture a cosmopolitic debate (in both Robbins and Cheah and Stengers’ senses) on indigeneity and “well-living”, a notion that I repeatedly came upon during my fieldwork as a horizon for hope and societal aspiration. I end with the analysis of the *Mosarambihara* -Sowers of the Well-Living Audiovisual and Agroecological Workshop as a local crystallization of this cosmopolitic force grounded on societal dreams rooted in the concept of well-living.

In Chapter 3, I argue that ASCURI’s members’ access to other Indigenous experiences, which have crystallized as a distinct relationship with the dominant discourses circulating in the countries where the Indigenous interlocutors live, encouraged ASCURI to generate counter-narratives contesting accounts related to them pervasive in the local mainstream media. I analyze competing audiovisual narratives coined by ASCURI and by the rural union of Caarapó and broadcasted on YouTube to examine the relation at play in Mato Grosso do Sul between antagonistic cosmopolitic discourses: narratives driven by cosmopolitic forces (in Robbins and Cheah’s sense). I show that while ASCURI engages with this relationship of antagonism, it also

transcends it, invoking the ecologies of practice determining the “*Guarani Kaiowá way*” of living in the land. Concomitantly, I map the affects produced by narratives triggering the political ontology of threat occurring in the region (Massumi 2010). I address how the configuration of virtual communication landscapes and the way digital footprint has been used to propel specific political propaganda favoured anxieties that have been used to propel negative notions about indigeneity to benefit large-scale multinational agribusiness. In this regard, I explore the concept of *psychopolitics* (Byung-Chul Han 2017). This discussion instantiates my conceptualization of the “hyperlinked space” where derogatory representations of indigeneity prevalent in everyday life in Mato Grosso do Sul are catalyzed by online narratives (including audiovisual ones), which mobilize adjectival signs indexing threat to indigeneity in the region to activate fear and distrust. Here, I present a dimension of ASCURI’s work pertaining to the coining of representations as a production of a public image that asserts their right to define their indigeneity in their own terms.

Chapter 4, in turn, addresses a different way in which encounters between Indigenous audiovisual producers living in different countries fostered responses to local antagonistic discourses and circumstances. It motivates the reframing of specific terms related to their circumstances as an effort to rewire the hyperlinked space of Mato Grosso do Sul to reimagine the geographical site through terms in line with Indigenous ecologies of practices and societal aspirations rather than representations aligned with what Ribeiro designated as a post-imperialist cosmopolitics, which promotes multinational agribusiness interests.

Chapter 5 examines how ASCURI speculative fabulations using concepts from Indigenous ecologies of practices offer spaces of maneuverability for an ontogenesis of contemporary indigeneities in Mato Grosso do Sul. These new representations reverberate on the way local Indigenous youth see themselves bringing healing and hope. This becomes another form of

rewiring the hyperlinked space of Mato Grosso do Sul, where derogatory representations of indigeneity propelled by dominant discourses (including social media) have negatively affected the local Indigenous youth. I analyze the opposition between the new affectively charged instantiations of indigeneity coined by ASCURI, such as *Jepea'yta* (the always alit ember), with non-Indigenous derogatory concepts such as *bugre*.

Chapter 6 examines how encounters and dialogues established between Indigenous audiovisual producers living in different countries have expanded epistemological horizons to imagine collectively new societal dreams. Using cinema as a vehicle for affect, art and dreams, they engage in collaborations within Indigenous audiovisual workshops, creating what I designate as a form of cosmopolitic force. This point marks a departure from the antagonistic relationship with local dominant discourses and veers towards enacting difference and the opening of multiple future potentialities.

In the concluding chapter, I argue that the Indigenous audiovisual collaborations in which ASCURI took part became an exercise of collective thinking and deep reflection, opening new horizons for the future and repositioning indigeneity in relation to these new perspectives. In the making of subjectivities through artistic processes, Indigenous audiovisual producers delved into different Indigenous cultural reservoirs and ecologies of practices. The creative works they engendered allowed for the blossoming of imaginaries that promote healing for local Indigenous youth. By the same token, Indigenous audiovisual works circulating in the new landscapes of communication reflect, produce, and propel multiplex conceptual frameworks invoking perceptions of indigeneity linked to relatedness with nature, which frame political dreams and cosmopolitic forces by creatively reimagining indigeneity and the position it occupies in them.

CHAPTER 2- EAGLES, CONDORS, JAGUARS, HUMMINGBIRDS AND THE COSMOPOLITICS OF WELL-LIVING

[Images showing a foggy greyish sunrise by the ocean and the sunlight gradually illuminating an Indigenous village covered by snow, with some black birds on poles, roofs and the snow on the floor]: When I was a child in Kuujuaq, I recall very clearly there was a yellow substance blanketing the ground. We did not know what it was. We woke up, and the land was yellow. Later we learned it was acid rain coming from southern industries. [Inuit leader Sheila Watt-Cloutier talks to the camera]: The toxins were airborne, carried by clouds and wind, and they dropped on our land. We see the world's pollution, and we know it's transported like this. These toxins migrate northward in the air, and because of our cold environment, they get locked here. That's how it is. Sheila Watt-Cloutier (Nobel prize nominee)

When *Pai Kuará* [the sun] left with his mother to live in Heaven, he left the Fire for the Bushes People. However, the gift had its price: taking care of the Rivers and Forests so that everyone can have access to this resource. Today, *Panambizinho*¹ has almost nothing of its original forest because of the planting of soybeans and corn by the non-Indigenous Settlers, who stole the traditional lands throughout Mato Grosso do Sul. Nevertheless, the People of the Bushes take care of what is left and look for ways to recover the True Forest². ASCURI

[Behind a fence, a tree trunk with the upper part cut stands in front of two small buildings. A song plays]: Subtle extermination. I don't want to die [close-up of the tree]. I don't want to serve. [an Indigenous young man tattoos with *Jenipapo* dye³, geometric figures in the arm of a white one] I want to smile, live what I believe in. Let's ascend Brazil with the green of *Jenipapo* [...], with the white of peace, the *tauá* clay, [...] the red of the annatto that runs in our veins, it's life, it's history in me [close up of a red annatto powder in a clay container]. [...] Let's leave aside the ambition that kills and destroys the soul and poisons our nation⁴. Coisa de Índio/ Cine Sin Fronteras Workshop⁵

In this chapter, I address the experience exchanged in the context of Indigenous audiovisual filmmaking that fuels multi-sited debates and engagements with a cosmopolitic of “well-living”. This is a concept that is recurrent in Indigenous conversations I have encountered. In subsequent sections, I discuss how the debates reflect on contemporary indigeneity and its place in Mato Grosso do Sul.

My first epigraph is taken from the Inuit film *Qapirangajuq: Inuit Knowledge and Climate Change* (Kunuk & Mauro 2009⁶). The film alternates the observations of Inuit elders from four communities with images of melting glaciers, thinning ice, changes in animal behaviour and different ways that global warming has impacted Inuit life. Its world premiere, which I attended, occurred at the 2010 edition of the world's largest Indigenous film festival: the *ImagineNATIVE*

Film + Media Arts Festival in Toronto, followed by a discussion with Kunuk and Mauro. It was streamed live online through a video webcast at the Inuit media digital platform *Isuma TV*⁷. Viewers could ask questions to the filmmakers through a live Skype call-in option, and some callers were Indigenous persons from Canada and Australia⁸. In the audience, a filmmaker from Greenland declared that the screening inspired him to make a similar film with the elders of his community and suggested that this should be a worldwide Indigenous initiative:

Maybe this needs to go all around the world, maybe with this Skype thing and the Internet, Indigenous peoples all over the world should make, should document the elders on the climate change, because this is the first time I have understood and felt what the climate change is, even though I live in Greenland. [...] You showed it to me in such a wonderful way, so I just wanted to congratulate you, and hopefully, people around the world can start to make films on their own in this way of communicating with the elders and having their knowledge on the film. (IsumaTV 2010a)

According to Isuma TV, over 1500 viewers from different countries saw the event (IsumaTV 2010b)⁹. This Indigenous digital platform, which can be accessed freely from anywhere, has an interface available in Inuktitut, English, French, and Spanish and contains a “world” section with over 7800 Indigenous videos in over 70 languages¹⁰. *Qapirangajuq: Inuit Knowledge and Climate Change* is also available for online streaming¹¹.

The second epigraph is the description of the 12-minute film *Panambizinho -The fire that never extinguishes*¹² (2014), available on ASCURI’s YouTube channel. It voices critical perceptions about the effects of large-scale agribusiness in the region. The film, which was submitted to the *ImagineNATIVE* Film + Media Arts Festival in 2016, focuses on local elders’ knowledge, especially ancient techniques for making fire and on recent environmental changes:

It was recently that the White brought matches and showed them to us, but in the past, it was *Ke’yrsu* [The Sun] who showed the fire, *Ke’yrsu Pa’i Kuara*. [...] The fire came from the stones. Two stones knocked together with the *puky*. After they were ignited, cotton was placed. [...] Then, we stayed close to the fire. This is how the real Kaiowá lived! The Whites exhausted firewood. [...] The non-Indigenous people extinguished the forests. They wiped all out. They ended with the ancient trees, like the *Kambari’y* and the *Tembeta’y*¹³. (ASCURI 2014a)

The film is structured as a conversation between a female spiritual leader and her daughter about how their ancestors used specific types of firewood and made fire with stones, while her grandson

(ASCURI member Ademilson Kiki Concianza) was filming the interaction. In this perspective, the fire that never extinguishes became the knowledge Kiki now carried with him and his camera. Interestingly, the music ending the film is *Electric Pow Wow Drum* (2011)¹⁴ from the Indigenous Canadian electronic music group A Tribe called Red¹⁵, which mixes pow wow drums and vocals with hip-hop, moombahton, reggae and dubstep-influenced dance music.

The last epigraph is an excerpt from *Subtle Extermination* (2017), a videoclip created during the second *Workshop for Borderless Cinema*¹⁶. The event was organized by ASCURI and the School of Cinema and Audiovisual Arts (ECA) from Bolivia, with the partnership of the Cinema and Audiovisual Course of the Fluminense Federal University (UFF). It took place between July 4 and 23, 2017, at UFF, in Niterói (in the state of Rio de Janeiro). Approximately forty participants, Brazilians and Bolivians, Indigenous and non-Indigenous persons, were grouped into small filming crews of 5 to 6 students, followed closely by one instructor from ASCURI, ECA or UFF. Indigenous participants from Brazil were Guarani-Kaiowá, Guarani-Mbya and Terena. Indigenous persons from Bolivia were Quechua and Aymara. Each crew was assigned the creation of a short film until the end of the event and was free to choose a location. The result was seven short films and fourteen “Human Rights spots” (clips between twenty seconds to one minute addressing human rights issues, created as part of the exercises leading to the short films). *Subtle Extermination* can be accessed on ECA’s YouTube channel¹⁷.

All the epigraphs mentioned include audiovisual *ecologies of practices* of Indigenous activism as they bring a mosaic of voices exposing the effects of climate change and industrial (including agribusiness) activity that Indigenous persons observed in the surroundings with which they relate. In this perspective, they become snapshots for thinking about and “thinking through” what is happening (Stengers 2005, 185). They invoke an epistemology of Indigenous worldviews

based on a relationality illustrative of Stenger's and Latour's interpretation of cosmopolitics and an embodied knowledge premised upon an epistemology of the senses (Marks 2000, 122, 129). These ecologies of practices highlight changes in natural surroundings and in ways of being Indigenous, as Inuit elder Elisapee Ishulutaq remarks in a *Qapirangajuq: Inuit Knowledge and Climate Change* scene:

Those beautiful glaciers, it seemed they would never melt. But they've mostly disappeared. We used to get ice from nearby glaciers for drinking water. All the glaciers by the shore are now gone. [...] Our environment is changing. And so are Inuit. All of us are changing.

The evident "thinking through what is happening" demonstrates the inadequacy of excessive focus on borders, as Inuit leader Mary Simon argue:

Scientists talk about climate change with studies on pollution and toxins, whereas Inuit discuss the effects as they occur within our lives. Our whole world is changing. What alarms me is the potential and global damages. On the topic of environment, Southerners focus on borders, which prevents them from getting connected. When Inuit talk environment, we are one. [...] [Images of melting glaciers and an Inuit girl playing by the beach] These big money makers in the world are all contributors to climate change. It is not necessary to chase after money. [Simon talks to the camera:] As Inuit, we never used money, and we always had good food and were healthy. That's what is most important.

Ultimately, the circulations of *Qapirangajuq: Inuit Knowledge and Climate Change* and ASCURI's productions and collaborations within the *Workshop for Borderless Cinema* prompt alternative ways to engage with natural surroundings beyond divisions between nature and society (Stengers and Latour) as well as beyond the logic of state borders (Robbins and Cheah).

Below, I analyze how some encounters between Indigenous filmmakers from different countries have affected ASCURI members and inspired reflections on contemporary indigeneities. I then examine how these conversations are part of a larger Indigenous debate on *well-living*, which I argue is a cosmopolitic force (in both Robbins and Cheah, and Stengers and Latour's sense) that crystallized into the *Mosarambihara -sowers of the well-living* audiovisual and agroecological workshop, which I attended in Mato Grosso do Sul.

1. Eagles, Condors and Jaguars

When I interviewed Guarani Kaiowá filmmaker and ASCURI founder Eliel Benites in Mato Grosso do Sul in 2016, I asked him to talk about his encounter with the Indigenous filmmakers from Wapikoni Mobile, the audiovisual project based in Québec. Eliel presented it as an inspiration for conceiving ASCURI. He explained how he met the filmmakers during the second *Video Indio Brasil* festival. They came from Canada to this event in Mato Grosso do Sul to present some of their works and talk to the Indigenous students of the Basic Audiovisual workshop he was participating in. He mentioned a film that had really resonated with him and which he found amusing: *The City*¹⁸ (2007), a short-length fiction directed by Anishinabek filmmaker Abraham Côté. The film, Eliel described, depicted an Indigenous character running from “the city”. For Eliel, Wapikoni Mobile had a “differentiated language”¹⁹, escaping the aesthetic of hegemonic films as he explained that one difference he noticed about the film was that it did not necessarily have a “happy end” or a predictable one, in which heroes are rewarded, and villains punished²⁰. In this case, “the city” seems to catch up with the Indigenous character and his family, which to Eliel, relates to his own experience.

The City begins with an Indigenous character sitting by a river in a forest. His eyes are closed, and he looks tense. While suspenseful instrumental music plays, flashes of red city lights appear, then a car speeds in the rain, passing blurred stores. His face contracts further, suggesting that he has been haunted by these scenes. The last image in his mind is a young woman with a baby. The character opens his eyes concerned, runs and canoes in a rush, still haunted by flashes of the city, while he attempts to reach the woman and the baby, who are calmly waiting for him in a wood cabin in the forest. Gradually, the cabin is filled with non-Indigenous objects: metal pots, a phone handset, a computer, a fan, toys, a TV, a DVD player, and DVDs. The woman sits on the

sofa and starts to watch TV news. The man arrives and urges her to escape with him, while she keeps paying attention to the TV until he ultimately manages to leave with her and the baby, who cries. They run into a green valley until they eventually stop and look back in despair. Slowly a rainy city view comes into focus, concomitantly with a strident firetruck siren sound.

Marks calls attention to the ways that multisensory experiences can be condensed into audiovisual works and excavate the memory of the senses while “creating new conditions for new stories” (2000, 2, 5). She writes, “images are always both multisensory and embodied”, opening the path for a “minefield of embodied memory” (Marks 2000, 73, 152). This embodied memory, MacDougall complements, is often a mix of the sensory and the verbal, offering the past in fragments and flashes, in what seems to be a “hodge-podge” of images, sounds, unspoken words and physical sensations (1999, 231). In this perspective, the flashes of “the city” in Côté’s short film evoke not merely representations of the city but encode the main character’s *relationship* with it, which is explicit in his haunting memories. It produces what Deleuze designates as “affection-images” that resonate with Eliel’s embodied experiences (Marks 2000, 28). As MacDougall specifies, these “affection-images” refer to the expression of a “quality of experience” (attached to the different aspects of a “movement-image”²¹), which produces a sense of identification when the subjects watching the film perceive and experience themselves in accord with the “quality” of the lived state depicted (MacDougall 1999, 81-82).

Another identification occurred with the film *Quiero ser libre, sin dueño*²² (Ovando, 2005), screened at the *International Workshop of Documentary Cinema Without Borders* in Bolivia in August 2008, attended by Eliel Benites and Terena filmmaker and ASCURI founder Gilmar Kiripuku Galache. The film’s title translates to “I want to be free and without an owner”. It exposes the plight of Bolivian Guarani persons trapped into slave-like work conditions through

debt-bondage at their traditional territories occupied by wealthy farmers, mainly corn growers. Its structure alternated the testimonies of Guarani men, women and children telling their experiences working in the farms, with the ones of landowners of the region. Ivan Molina participated in its production. There was no overarching narration or audible questions conducting the film, but a patchwork of voices reiterating information about themes such as exploitation, violence, and even the selling of Indigenous workers:

[A guarani woman fills with stalks of grain a bag that a Guarani child is holding, while a teenager and a man are working in the background]: There are some people that take the [Guarani] families. They use us, they make us work for free, and furthermore, they sell us like animals, or like fruits, like oranges.

[Landowner, talking to the camera]: We paid the debt he had [at the other farm], and he came to work here.

[Guarani man, talking to the camera]: Yes, I have a debt. I had an account [at the farm] [...], and he came and committed to paying all my debt.

[Landowner, talking to the camera]: But since he didn't have anything to work, instead of decreasing the debt, it increased a bit²³. (Ovando 2005)

Gilmar recounts in his master's thesis that the film left a strong impression on him. He observed that it particularly struck a chord with Eliel: "Eliel also found himself in this film, much more than I did because he heard for the first time a movie in his language"²⁴ (2017, 59). Besides the language, the life stories presented triggered feelings of connectedness with Ivan: "it was super striking because it was the same problem we have in Brazil, which brought our spirits very close"²⁵ (Galache 2017, 12). Eliel thus found language in a film screened in Bolivia to make sense of his experiences back home in Brazil.

As Marks notes, intercultural cinema often allows the "excavation of sources of recorded history and memory" (2000, 21). MacDougall adds that transcultural films centred on memory rely on an interplay of referents and their correlatives: they draw upon a "distinctive repertoire of signs", which he designates as "signs of survival" (1999, 232-233). Eliel's familiarity with the language and the circumstances of Indigenous debt-bondage work in large rural properties, also present in Mato Grosso do Sul, allows him to plunge into the viewing experience and access the

“geological layers” composing the film’s internal history, igniting the individual and collective histories and social knowledge encoded in his body (Marks 2000, 152, 195, 230).

A comparable process of identification occurred when the filmmaker from Greenland watched the Inuit film on the elders’ knowledge about climate change. The intersections that the lived experiences of the communities participating in the film had with his own resonated with him, allowing him to “understand” and “feel” for the first time what climate change is. It brought to focus circumstances present in his experience, but that had only become “seeable” after the film highlighted and emotionally charged them. Thus, the film’s presentation of the embodied common experiences opened the potential to transform real-world relationships²⁶. Elders’ talk of disappearing ice in the artic enabled a way of ‘seeing’ climate change in more familiar places.

During the 5th *Revisioning the Americas through Indigenous cinema* conference at the 2014 Montreal First Peoples’ Festival, these embodied common experiences were discussed. For instance, in the session *Meeting between North and South within Indigenous cinema*, Guillermo Monteforte (who is non-Indigenous but is the founder of Ojo de Agua, an audiovisual project based in Mexico) and Kevin Papatie, an Anishinabek filmmaker trained by Wapikoni Mobile, shared their memories and reflections on their encounters with Indigenous peoples living in other countries. Monteforte’s talk highlighted how Indigenous peoples in Mexico and Canada had faced similar challenges regarding mining companies and fracking. When they realize this, he explained, it creates a sense of relatedness between these peoples. It is crucial for him to have open communication routes with Indigenous peoples from other countries to brainstorm intelligent ways to deal with common issues and strengthen local communities. For example, he continued, when a mining company arrives in an Indigenous community, it promises that it will generate wealth and benefits locally. However, if this community is in contact with other Indigenous

groups who have experienced the consequences of the activities of the company, they will know beforehand the difficulties posed by the interaction. They will be able to make better-informed decisions. Audiovisual production, he added, is a great medium to circulate Indigenous communities' perceptions to convey not only information about risks but also the emotions triggered by the experience.

The sentiments noted were shared by Kevin Papatie, recognizing that “battles of different Indigenous groups are similar.” His work enabled visits to Indigenous communities in Bolivia, Mexico, and New Caledonia, gaining him “new political awareness” and the realization that “the encounter between North and South” is the meeting between “beings that are similar: eagles and condors”. Gilmar used the same terminology in our conversations in Mato Grosso do Sul in 2016, with an addendum: besides the eagle and the condor was the jaguar. He explained that the condor symbolizes Andean Indigenous peoples, the eagle, North American ones (including those living in Canada), and the jaguar represents Brazilian ones: when they meet, they will be able to bring light and solutions to contemporary challenges. In his master’s thesis, Gilmar mentioned this point and specified it is part of Aymara cosmology, which he discovered during his cinema course in Bolivia: “the Condor, the Eagle and the Jaguar would be the forces that would show a path to deal with the darkness that our planet is entering” (2017, 12-13). This perspective served as an inspiration for the creation of ASCURI (Galache 2017, 13).

Kevin and Gilmar’s identifications with the “eagle” and the “jaguar” categories (respectively) mobilized multiple layers of classifications. On the one hand, they were ignited by the recognition of a common positioning, a place of otherness assigned not only by a historical colonial process but also by an unsymmetrical and contemporary antagonistic relationship with agribusiness and extractive industries acting in their surroundings. On the other hand, the “eagle”,

the “condor”, and the “jaguar” became identities intrinsically attached to a dream for the future, a sense of hope to coin a different project for society. In this perspective, these labels gained a distinct meaning related to current circumstances and became a layer of the Indigenous identity marking a commitment to be a force propelling the planet to a better future. This engagement resonates with ASCURI’s emphasis on the pursuit of a present and future premised upon *well-living*, as I discuss in the next section.

2. Cosmopolitics of Well-Living

The concept of *well-living* is central to ASCURI’s work. For the Indigenous collective of audiovisual production, it draws on the Guaraní-Kaiowá concepts of *teko porã* -a good/beautiful knowledge leading to the “apex of life” and *teko araguje* -the complete well-being, which is deeply linked to a good relationship with nature and its spirits (Galache 2017, 14). Both concepts are rooted in specific knowledge (*teko*). On the one hand, it ensures the observance of a respectful and spiritual rapport with nature. On the other hand, it fosters collective practices and social connections that strengthen the Indigenous communities. These connections are vital to returning to the *ñande reko* state, a harmonious balance with its “way of being”²⁷, which depends on the harmonious balance of nature. Elsewhere, the concept of *ñande reko* itself was also translated as “well-living” by ASCURI members²⁸ (Benites et al. 2016, 3).

The concept of *well-living* was at the forefront during the *World Peoples’ Conference for a World Without Walls*, occurring in Bolivia in 2017, broadcasted live on Facebook and presented by two Indigenous reporters (as mentioned in Chapter 1). In particular, the talk of Ecuador’s ex-State Secretary for the Presidential Initiative for the Construction of a Society for Well-Living, Freddy Ehlers, was particularly enlightening as he developed a rationale for the concept. It

constitutes a compelling instance indicating some ways in which Latour's *cosmopolitics*, framed beyond divisions between nature and society, can materialize, as well as an example of a cosmopolitic force, in Robbins and Cheah's sense, propelling a societal model driven by Indigenous dialogues within and beyond state borders.

For Ehlers, *well-living* is grounded on three principles. The first is *harmony with nature* and awareness of our place in it:

We say that we are part of nature. It is not true. We are not part: we are nature. That is the fundamental difference: we are ants, and we are stars, we are a river, we are air, we are an atom of the universe, each one of us. [...] We are the same. Harmony with nature is number one²⁹

The way he referred to the ancestral ceremonies commemorating the Andean-Amazonian New Year, which marked the start of the conference that day, corroborated this point. He implied relations of kinship with nature: "Many of those present here were also at 6 am today, with fire, water and human presence to receive the brother Sun"³⁰.

The second principle was "harmony with other human beings". Ehlers defended this point advocating for the "rescue of the community"³¹ and the harmony with those around (family, neighbours). They needed to be combined with a more profound sense of kinship with humanity:

As this great brother Pepe Mujica [a former president of Uruguay] said [...], we cannot talk about well-living until we know that the black African woman, who walks three, four hours every day to get water for her house, is our sister, our daughter, our mother. We are universal beings.³²

This point was based on the idea that "the unity of life is one". In this perspective, this sense of kinship and solidarity to him transcended nationality: "I always say I am a Bolivian who was born in Quito, and I am a Mexican who was born in Quito, and I am a Colombian, I am African, and I am a European born in Quito"³³.

However, being universal did not void local roots:

As Edgar Morin, the great French philosopher, says in his book *Earth Homeland*: "our homeland is the earth." [...] The small homeland is where we were born, where grandparents are, where our dead are, where our food's aroma is, where our songs and our small identity are. And the other one is universal³⁴.

I found it interesting that he cited Morin because I interviewed Edgar Morin in 2009. He told me that Indigenous and ethnic minorities faced with the economic globalization of the world would tend to unite more and more, which was precisely what was happening at this conference. On the one hand, it gathered Indigenous peoples from Latin American countries (among others), and on the other hand, the people officially representing Canada were two Mohawk leaders, and the person representing the United States, Opal Tometi, was a founder of *Black Lives Matter* and the Executive Director of the *Black Alliance for Just Immigration*.

Sealing this connection was the fact that most speakers referred to each other as brothers and sisters. It was typical for representatives of Bolivian grassroots social organizations to call then-President Evo Morales “Brother President” in the same way that Morales referred to the Pope, who sent a blessing note for the conference, as “Brother Pope Francisco”. When Tometi started her speech greeting “sisters and brothers”, she received an enthusiastic ovation from the crowd. This way to refer to others was repeatedly justified by the argument that we are all offspring of Mother Earth and underscored the same notion as Ehler’s statement that the “unity of life is one”.

Concerning Tometi, it is noteworthy that her talk also stressed the importance of recognizing the interconnectedness and interdependence of all human beings:

I am here today in the spirit of Ubuntu, a southern African philosophy. It means: ‘I am because you are and you are because I am’, and this philosophy reminds us of the interconnected nature of our being and the interconnected nature of our entire humanity.

Tometi’s speech, therefore, was aligned with Ehler’s second principle for the concept of well-living. However, her talk did not imply the same entanglement between human society and nature. She asserted that she was there to represent Black people marginalized by the racism and social exclusion pervading the United States: “every 28 hours an unarmed black person is killed by a police officer, a security guard or a vigilante”. This stance corroborated Morin’s point that both

unity and diversity were two sides of the human condition and that it was a mistake to tilt to either of these sides (Castilho da Silva 2009, 130). Ehlers also presented a similar argument: “we need to be national beings, but also universal at the same time”³⁵. To illustrate his point, he borrowed writer José Martí’s metaphor: people should be like trees with deep roots in the places where they are born but with “universal branches to drink of all the cultures of the world”³⁶. This argument, akin to notions of a “rooted cosmopolitanism” (Appiah1998, 91), gains a new dimension considering the possibilities of access opened by the internet (which enabled me, for instance, to connect with this conference in Bolivia). In this sense, each person’s physical and cultural singularities and allegiances can coexist with a limitless cosmopolitical potential for encountering and connecting with geographically distant perspectives. The caveat is that Ehlers remarked that his statement did not have a consumerist connotation because the third principle supporting *well-living* was linked to a personal sense of internal harmony.

Ehlers presented this point as a corollary of the previous ones. If humans *are* nature and depend on harmonious relationships with others to attain well-living, only by moving closer to nature and others can a person reconnect with oneself and adjust one’s internal tuning-fork to *feel* in harmony: “we are migrants of ourselves [...] because we have moved away from nature because we have moved away from other human beings”³⁷. From this perspective, he explained, happiness was not in consumerism but *solidarity*. However, he warned, one should not expect to achieve constant happiness as some seemed to seek: “if there is a tragedy, it is difficult to be happy, if there is poverty, it is difficult to be happy, but we can be in peace, and that is the essence, we can be in peace in any circumstance”³⁸.

Gudynas’ analysis of how well-living incorporates concepts and sensibilities from multiple Indigenous worldviews suggests that it crystallizes a dialogue centred on conceiving alternatives

to mainstream ideas of development, such as the one taking place at the World Peoples' Conference for a World Without Walls (2011, 445, 2015, 203). Stressing that it is a plural endeavour established within collectivities of "extended" or "relational ontologies", Gudynas traces its emergence to diverse "Indigenous traditions in South America", noting that it was integrated into the Constitutions of Ecuador and Bolivia (2011, 442; 2015, 202-203). In Bolivia, it appears as *vivir bien*. It draws from ideas and sensibilities populating the worldviews of several Indigenous peoples, such as the Aymara (whose notion of *suma qamaña* corresponds to a fullness of life in community and with Nature) and the Guarani, from which Gudynas cites the concepts of *ñande reko*, *teko kavi* (the good life), *ivi maraei* (the land without evil) and *qhapaj ñan* (the path to the noble life) (2011, 442, 443). Ranta adds the Quechua contribution in Bolivia with the notion of *sumak kawsay*, similar to *suma qamaña* (2018, 16). In Ecuador, one key influence for the concept of *buen vivir* is the concept of *sumak kawsay* from the Kichwa people, who has the same origin as the Quechua (Gudynas 2011, 442).

Gudynas argues that although well-living is an umbrella concept with diverse interpretations depending on different historical, cultural, and ecological backgrounds, all its roots share notions that enable the delineation of its borders (2011, 441). It makes up a "platform where critical views of development are shared" and a conceptual space for reframing development by imagining other alternatives for thriving as collectives (Gudynas 2011, 445):

All positions consider alternatives not as an instrumental fixing of current strategies, but as a replacement of the very idea of development. Therefore, this is a platform also in a literal sense, because it provides the ground to move towards alternatives to development (Gudynas 2011, 445).

In this respect, Gudynas stresses that these efforts spring from ethical standpoints that reject utilitarian values, especially "the reductionism of life to economic values and the subsequent commoditization of almost everything" (2011, 445). Another common understanding

is that the concept overflows the non-Indigenous ideas of *quality of life* or *well-being* because it embraces a broader notion that emphasizes cohabitation with others and Nature.

Gudynas observes that some critiques of *well-living* accuse it of a utopian attempt to return to an idyllic Indigenous past. An example can be found in Caria and Dominguez's article "The future of an illusion: the ideology of 'Buen Vivir'" (2014). The authors criticize the disconnection between discourse and practice in the implementation of *Buen Vivir* in Ecuador, one argument being that it corresponds to "the fantasy of returning to an ancient (and supposed) state of plenitude whose most important aspect is not the content, its characterization, but the enjoyment that is experienced when living such fantasy³⁹" (Caria and Dominguez's 2014, 152). Gudynas challenges this perception (in general terms, not regarding the Ecuadorian initiative), arguing that proponents of the well-living do present precise proposals and practical strategies:

These include reforms in legal forms, introduction of environmental accounting, tax reforms, dematerialization of economies and alternative regional integration within South America. These proposals show that many different and even complex instruments can be handled under the BuenVivir framework. (Gudynas 2011, 446)

In this respect, well-living makes up a "platform to explore and build alternatives beyond European modernity" that can nevertheless adopt selectively certain positions rather than others. While Gudynas considers it to be "post-capitalist" and "post-socialist", he acknowledges that *well-living* has a bridge to social justice standpoints and scientific knowledge:

Buen Vivir will not stop building bridges and will not reject the use of Western physics and engineering to build them, but the ones that it will propose may well have different sizes and materials, will be placed in other locations, and certainly will serve local and regional needs and not the needs of global markets. (2011, 446)

One fundamental difference vis-à-vis Eurocentric modernism, which includes both capitalism and socialism, is that it centres its idea of "improvement" not on the notion of *growth* but on *balance* while placing natural elements on an intricate web of relationality with humans, where connectivities blossom into affects and solidarities.

Gudynas observes that the quest for well-living outside the logic centred on the pursuit of non-ending profit driving the world economy is not restricted to Indigenous groups. It encompasses people who criticize this economic system's increasingly irreconcilable problems, such as rampant inequality, environmental destruction, and the deterioration of social safety nets, which simmer deep tensions in different spots of the planet. In this respect, Gudyna calls attention to critical studies on development such as Arturo Escobar's debates on post-development⁴⁰, as well as the bodies of literature on deep ecology and biocentric perspectives⁴¹, for instance (2011, 444). These efforts form a broader circuit of solidarity within and beyond nations, incarnating a form of cosmopolitic force (following Cheah, Robbins and Ribeiro's interpretation of the concept), which arise to counter the increasingly globalized cosmopolitic circuit invested in converting the planet into commodified signifiers.

This battle of competing cosmopolitics has increasingly been supported by audiovisual production in Brazil and its dissemination online. In this perspective, ASCURI becomes a piece in this interplay of voices and experiences forming each cosmopolitic force. Its workshop *Mosarambihara -Sowers of the Well-Living*, combining audiovisual and agroecological practices, constitutes an emblematic example of ecologies of practices indicating concrete ways in which a project of a society grounded on *well-living* can take shape.

It is important to note the existence of other Indigenous notions comparable to "well-living", such as the concept of *miyupimaatisiun*, upheld by the Cree in Canada, which anthropologist Naomi Adelson translated as "being alive well" (Adelson 2000). Adelson opted for what she designated as an "awkward translation" to make the term "stand out" in English and differentiated it from non-Indigenous perceptions about "living well" or "well-being". By doing so, she brought to light the singularity of the concept -in a similar way that the Indigenous concept

of “well-living” also does not fit into these non-Indigenous perceptions. “Being alive well” rests on the idea that health is linked to social relations, to “robust connections to the physical and spiritual northern landscape”, healthy land and a strong cultural identity (residing on a way of “being Cree”) (Adelson 2000, 14-15, 26, 121). In this respect, *being alive well* is more determined by the “practices of daily living” -including social phenomena and relationalities with the land than bodily functions (Adelson 2000, 36). For instance, it refers to hunting and eating proper food, securing warmth and strength (Adelson 2000, 36, 121). While there are evident intersections with the notion of *well-living*, *being alive well* seems crafted within a very different context. In this dissertation, I opted for focusing on *well-living* as it is the concept I encountered in my fieldwork, and as the fact that it is coined within dialogues between Aymara, Guarani, Kichwa and Quechua groups highlights an example of an Indigenous debate taking place within and beyond borders. Nevertheless, eventual connections and intersections with similar concepts could offer fruitful possibilities for future research. In the meantime, I circumscribe my analysis to well-living initiatives and particularly to ways ASCURI embodies and enacts such ideals in their audiovisual and agroecological workshops.

3. Sowers of Well-Living

We have roots; we are seeds; we have memory; we make history; we build the future with the suffering of the present.
Jorge Gomes (Pirakuá’s Leader)

The *Mosarambihara -sowers of the well-living* workshop⁴² took place between May 8 and 12, 2016, at *Pirakuá*, a Guarani-Kaiowá village in Mato Grosso do Sul. Over sixty people participated -mostly students from *Pirakuá*, but also six students from nearby Guarani-Kaiowá villages⁴³. As Eliel explained in his opening remarks to the students, the workshop name had two interpretations corresponding to two distinct goals. On the one hand, it designated sowers of good

seeds, alluding to the introductory education on agroforestry, offered during the workshop to the Indigenous youth of the community, for revitalizing the ecosystem of the region and for growing food sustainably, combining academic and Indigenous knowledge. On the other hand, it signalled efforts for sowing new and good ideas to strengthen the community.

Both goals catalyzed each other. The agroforestry/environmental education, for instance, constituted one of the “good ideas” to be cultivated and offered a new horizon of possibilities for ensuring a sustainable future for Indigenous communities and resisting the large-scale agribusiness dominant model of the region. It contained a seed of hope for reversing the environmental degradation of local ecosystems and enabling sustainable subsistence cultures for local families. Doing so brought new perspectives able to dissolve the hard strata of despair and hopelessness sedimented in local Indigenous communities, as I discuss in Chapter 5. Conversely, the dissemination of “good ideas” about indigeneity and its role locally had the potential to increase the community’s engagement in activities promoting its connectedness and well-being, including agroecological practices. At the end of the workshop, the audiovisual component resulted in a video discussing the experience and disseminating these “good ideas”.

The methodology ASCURI conceived for the Mosarambihara workshop was based on knowledge exchange combined with audiovisual technical training. In the practical aspect of agroforestry education/resource management, some activities were led by Indigenous elders and others by non-Indigenous academic researchers. For instance, Guarani-Kaiowá spiritual healers guided a walk in the forest nearby to observe the region’s honeybees. During this walk, in which I participated, they explained about local bees, their hives, the trees of the forest, and answered questions, while the Guarani-Kaiowá students from *Pirakuá* and nearby villages observed the hives and took notes. Concomitantly, Guarani-Kaiowá young members of ASCURI were filming

the event. At one moment, one of the spiritual healers, who lived in the forest, took us to his place and showed us a little bottle where he collected medicinal honey, which he gave us to try. A doctor in Entomology and Biodiversity from the Federal University of Grande Dourados (UFGD) attended the walk and contributed with complementary information: Brazil has over 400 species of bees responsible for the pollination of up to 90% of the species of plants. In Mato Grosso do Sul, he mapped 200 species of bees and highlighted that Indigenous areas were the most preserved and probably had the largest number of pollinators species. He explained that one of Brazil's biggest challenges is the loss of pollinators since they are crucial for growing crops: "we have [...] conservation plans of the order of millions of dollars trying to preserve them"⁴⁴.

The audiovisual recording was part of the training and critical thinking formation of young ASCURI Guarani-Kaiowá members, including three from Pirakuá. It constituted another layer of learning during the activities. Notably, ASCURI organized two workshops (one for Terena and one for Guarani-Kaiowá students) centred only on audiovisual production before the Mosarambihara workshops linked to agroforestry (which also took place in three other Guarani-Kaiowá communities, as I discuss later). The Terena happened at the Cachoeirinha village in August 2015, whereas the Guarani-Kaiowá took place at Pirakuá in September 2015, and both had the participation of Quechua filmmaker Ivan Molina. Participants created short films portraying "their views on what is land, culture, tradition, language, Indigenous quotidian, medicinal plants, forest and agriculture" (ASCURI and Projeto GATI 2016, 9)⁴⁵.

For the students attending the May 2016 Pirakuá workshop, the fact that people were filming the Indigenous elders while they were conveying their expertise brought value to the knowledge shared. For instance, upon seeing the professional cameras ready to film a storytelling activity about the importance of the white corn, some students would also take their cellphones to

film the elders. Besides, for the young men and women filming, their cameras became a motivation to approach elders, who, in turn, were receptive. Here the act of filming reveals and crystallizes “new history as it is being formed, the new combination of words and things that cannot be read in terms of the existing languages of sound and image but calls for new, as yet unformulated languages” (Marks 2000, 31). This new history encompasses some local Indigenous youth’s renewed interested gazes on their indigeneity and the strengthening of intergenerational social relationships, fortifying and replicating the sense of community identity suggested by Brubaker and Cooper’s concept of “connectivity”.

3.1. The film *Mosarambihara -sowers of the well living*: resignifying indigeneity

The film synthesizing the Mosarambihara project allowed the Indigenous social actors to construct a narrative about indigeneity on their own terms. In contrast to local dominant narratives attaching it to derogatory ideas (as I discuss in Chapters 3 and 5), they associated it, instead, with an ecological ethos that encompasses sustainable resource management but is fundamentally based on a mode of relationality with nature. In *Mosarambihara -sowers of the well-living*⁴⁶ (2016), these associations are especially apparent in Eliel’s interventions, which are reinforced by the moments presented in the film. Eliel introduces the project, stating that:

Mosarambihara’s goal is to train young Indigenous people to be new Indigenous leadership, able to act in their reality, for contributing to the sustainability, the social and the familial organization of their community, in an active way, for building a differentiated proposal for the improvement of their village. This differentiated proposal relies heavily on environmental recovery, on the relation Indigenous persons have with nature and on social organization⁴⁷. (ASCURI 2016a)

In this respect, Eliel acknowledges that the concepts of *sustainability*, *agroecology* and *agroforestry* were foreign to Guarani-Kaiowá but argues that even though their perceptions are different, they are intrinsically related to practices akin to these non-Indigenous concepts.

The sustainability theme is quite different and strange for us. Today, we are more familiar with the concepts of agroecology, agroforestry, organic production. These are actually strange names that are now widely used, but we have been practicing them for thousands of years, for millennia. Thus, we have deep experience [...] So today, resuming our culture is the very sustainability not only of production but also of life. So, sustainability is life; it is the rhythm of life⁴⁸. (ASCURI 2016a)

The film shows some moments of the workshop, such as the sowing of traditionally cultivated trees, like the *Pupunha* (an Amazonian peach palm). Guarani-Kaiwoá professor Ismael Martins also mentions in the film the cultivation of white corn and potatoes using organic fertilizers such as jack beans (*feijão-de-porco*). Eliel stressed, however, that their focus was not on producing per se, nor on controlling nature to maximize results:

We don't have this posture of dominating nature like non-Indigenous people, [who treat] nature like "natural resources". For us, it is not: it is our home, our place, our life. It is not a resource to be spent. It is not a resource to be consumed because nature has another time: its rhythm is slow. So, humans have another time: an accelerated time, a capitalist one, a time of results, of months and years, whereas nature takes decades⁴⁹. (ASCURI 2016a)

Instead, the goal is to "constantly seek nature's perfection" by "seeking balance"⁵⁰. Eliel explained: "the Indigenous subject is part of the network of local ecology. The Guarani-Kaiowá experience, the life, the attitude, is the strengthening of the network of nature, of this balance"⁵¹. Thus, he argues, human beings need to *adapt* to nature. This is what he considers the "beginning of a sustainability process, of effective recovery"⁵² People must "change their attitude, culture and way of relating to nature"⁵³ for sustainability is a way of life, "the rhythm of a life"⁵⁴. For adapting to nature, one needs to develop a "sensitivity" to seeing and hearing it. It is the practical experience -one's relationship with nature- that produces Guarani-Kaiowá knowledge:

Knowledge doesn't come only from the paper: it comes from this sensitivity of seeing all that surrounds you, seeing beyond what is obvious, what is routine. For example, what is the wind? The wind's way of being tells us a lot. There is a wind that brings rain. Sometimes the weather looks good, but when the wind arrives, the person who knows it knows that it will rain [even when] there are no clouds yet. This is a Guarani Kaiowá sensitivity. This is experience. The wind tells a lot, birdsongs tell a lot and today, people don't notice this anymore⁵⁵. (ASCURI 2016a)

The collective exercise of thinking about contemporary ways of being Indigenous in Mato Grosso do Sul crystallized in the film "Mosarambihara -sowers of the well-living" indicate some

forms in which audiovisual production has served as a “profound research” tool (returning to Hall’s terminology) for exploring and organizing a narrative about local indigeneity and its contemporary roles and possibilities. The film’s title is particularly telling as it emphasizes a new identity layer acquired by the Indigenous participants who take part in the project. In this perspective, the film and the workshop are not only claiming the right to define indigeneity for non-Indigenous audiences but also -and, perhaps, above all- for the local Indigenous youth, as I discuss below (this discussion will be deepened in Chapter 5).

3.2. Sowers of Indigenous pride, awareness and hope

- I have a question for you [to the group]: who are you? [To a person in the class]: Who are you?
- I’m Guarani
- Where are you from?
- From Tekohá Amambai
- Are you Terena?
- Guarani.
- But why Guarani?
- Because I was born this way, my essence is this way; my being is this way. [Another Guarani student claps hands] [...].
- Are you guys sitting here because you have a class? Because you are obliged to sit here or because you feel that you need to be here? [...]
- Are you also Guarani?
- I’m Quechua.
- Quechua?
- Quechua, my people is from Bolivia⁵⁶.

Ivan Molina and Guarani-Kaiowá students

The dialogue above was part of filmmaker Ivan Molina’s talk during the Autonomy, Sustainability and Indigenous Audiovisual Seminar (ASA) organized by ASCURI to present their work and to invite Guarani undergraduate students from the Intercultural Indigenous Program (FAIND) of the Federal University of Grande Dourados (UFGD) to participate in the Mosarambihara project. I had the privilege to witness this event, which took place from April 14 to 16, 2016, at UFGD, in Dourados. While I discuss other aspects of the event later, I would like to stress this moment as emblematic for presenting indigeneity as a reason for *pride* (which I

discuss further in Chapter 5), countering local discourses that view Indigenous peoples in a very negative light, as I explain in the next chapter.

Similarly, the first activity of the Pirakuá workshop encouraged students to be proud and assertive about their Indigenous identity. They received a kit comprising a white tissue bag with the Mosarambihara symbol: a black *baracá*, a Guarani-Kaiowá musical instrument used in traditional rituals. It included a small red notebook, a pencil and a *baracá* stamp, supposed to be used by the students to show that they are “firm with the identity” and state “that the person is a Kaiowá”⁵⁷. In this perspective, the kit became a marker of identity. However, the identity also implied a responsibility: “you will get the stamp [showing] ‘I am a *Mosarambihara*, and I need to disseminate this to other people, to sow the seeds of what I learnt by telling others’. This is Mosarambihara thinking”⁵⁸. During his introductory remarks, Eliel urged the students not to be shy. In the Guarani language, he reminded, the term for *word* is *ñe’ẽngue*, which also means *power*. Therefore, speaking is a strength for the Guarani.

This mindset was reinforced by the exhibition of Indigenous films praising the Indigenous identity, cultural practices, and beliefs during the screening section that occurred on the last night of the workshop. Most of the films presented were from ASCURI, including one shot in that exact location. The workshop participants and the elders featured in the film seemed pleased to see it projected on a wall. In *Pirakuá, The Guardians of the Ápa River*⁵⁹ (2014), Argemiro Escalante, a spiritual leader from Pirakuá, presents through storytelling and traditional spiritual songs, the perceptions that have prompted the Guarani Kaiowá to respect and to take care of the waters of the Ápa river and the native forest that surrounds it. He walks in the forest and emphasizes a mode of relationship with nature based on reverence and respect: “to bathe in the river; you must do the *Jehovasa*, respect the river, because this life is sacred”⁶⁰. In this respect, he shows how the

Guarani-Kaiowá see nature filled with beings with spirits (rather than objects to be owned and used), and he establishes a reciprocity relationship: “*Yryvera* is the owner of the waters. If you abuse the waters or throw garbage in them, you will be sick!”⁶¹ (ASCURI 2014b).

This reciprocity is akin to Eliel’s argument that the Guarani-Kaiowá integrate the local ecology and are interdependent with it. The last scene of *Pirakuá – The Guardians of the Ápa River* expresses this idea. Escalante sings a sacred song, standing in a stone close to a waterfall in the forest; however, he is not the image’s focus. In the panoramic angle, he appears as a small figure in the corner, and his powerful singing entangles with the sounds of the forest.

Another aspect of the film praising Indigenous knowledge is the focus on Guarani designations. Escalante presents the Guarani names assigned to different forest spots, based on continuous observation of the places and the animals inhabiting them: “This place is *Salto Ka’i*, as it was called before, because there was the *Ka’i u’y* here, a wild monkey who killed people. This is his house, that is why it is called *Salto Ka’i* (the monkey’s jump) [...] Here is the stone house where the *Bugiu* monkeys danced [...] There were jaguars living in the caves, there were big bats, large grasshoppers.”⁶² Similarly, the film also includes Guarani Kaiowá leader Jorge Gomes’ talk explaining the meaning of *Pirakuá*, paired with images of the youth playing in the village: “I want to tell the story about the meaning of *Pirakuá*. The name *Pirakuá* means where fish spawn. Here is where the fish are born, and hence, they never end because the fish have their burrows; that is why it is called *Pirakuá*. Here they spawn”⁶³ (ASCURI 2014b).

Finally, an additional way that the film values Indigenous knowledge is Escalante’s emphasis on the urgency of transmitting his knowledge to the next generations:

My father was my teacher. As long as I am alive, I want to convey what I learned to the next generations so that this knowledge does not end. My brother *Lídio* and I keep this knowledge, so it does not end⁶⁴. (ASCURI 2014b)

Besides the screening of the films, another activity addressing the history of Pirakuá and bringing representations of indigeneity in a positive light for the youth was a theatre play about Marçal de Souza (the initial scenes of the play appear in the *Mosarambihara -sowers of the well-living* film but taken from a Mosarambihara workshop in another Guarani-Kaiowá community). It occurred on the morning of the third day of the workshop. I cannot stress enough Marçal de Souza's importance for the Indigenous persons I encountered during my fieldwork in Mato Grosso do Sul: there were constant references to his story. He is considered one of the greatest "spokesperson of the Indigenous community"⁶⁵ of Brazil (Rocha 2008). He is seen as a hero and inspiration, and his presence is noticeable in the innumerable tributes to him in the region. For instance, the *Marçal de Souza Tupã'i Center for the Defense of Citizenship and Human Rights* was created at the end of the 1980s to promote civil, social, political, economic, environmental, and cultural rights. Also noteworthy is that the first urban Indigenous village in Mato Grosso do Sul, created in 1995 in Campo Grande, was called *Marçal de Souza Village*.

*Tekohá -Life and Death Ritual of the small god*⁶⁶ of the *Imaginário Maracangalha* Theater Company⁶⁷ started with a parade where everybody was invited to participate, leading the group to an open space where everybody formed a circle. Two young Guarani-Kaiowá members of ASCURI - Kiki and Michely- were filming while another, Geeh, was taking pictures (as well as the photographer accompanying the group). Other students were filming from their cell phones. The play was introduced as telling a sacred Guarani story, "the history of the great Guarani leader Marçal de Souza"⁶⁸ They started the narrative by explaining that he was born in Mato Grosso do Sul in 1920 and was named *Tupã-i* in Guarani, which means *small god*⁶⁹. He only chose his "white name" -becoming Marçal de Souza- when he was ten years old.

A clear reference to debt-bondage slavery came next: in that time, Indigenous persons were captured with lassos to work gathering *mate* leaves. If they tried to resist, they were killed. An actor impersonating a farmer intervened: “the Indians did receive for their work, but obviously with some deductions” Another one confronted him: “Is it fair to work as slaves in the land that belonged to them in the first place?”⁷⁰. Interestingly, they created parallels between the oppression Indigenous people endured with the one suffered by black people, underprivileged workers, and women.

The performance also highlighted how Marçal’s embrace of his Indigenous identity ignited in him a deep love and commitment to the Indigenous causes:

I discovered that we had great wealth, a very precious wealth that was our culture, our belief, our social organization. Since then, a very profound love for my Indigenous people was born. Since then, I have decided for the rest of my life to live all my life among my brothers, to feel their suffering, their life. And I decided in my heart to work, at least for the recovering of our culture, our belief, our social organization that only we understand⁷¹.

They also mentioned how Marçal de Souza was persecuted during the military dictatorship government in Brazil, which lasted from 1964 to 1985. Consequently, he was transferred to *Te’yikue*, where he denounced the illegal sale of wood, which resulted in his arrest as an intimidation from the local authorities. They also stressed his participation in the 8th Indigenous Chiefs Assembly, in the Rio Grande do Sul estate, in 1977:

The time has come to raise our voices for the survival of our people who used to be a lighthearted, happy people. We are a people that once had a homeland, and today, we have no more homeland. Our laws are made by people from above who say that we have rights, and we do have rights, but only on paper. Where are they in reality? I have a scar in my life and my heart that neither time nor centuries will manage to erase. [...] The time has come when we alone will not be able to do anything. We must unite, arm in arm, and loudly raise the voice of our ancestors who were coldly slaughtered. The time has come for us Indians to take the reins of Indian affairs. Perhaps this is our last chance, and we are on the right track⁷².

At this point, the group mentioned persons murdered while committed to Indigenous people’s cause. Among them was Oziel Gabriel, a 35-year-old Terena shot by the police in 2013, when the federal police came to the Indigenous Land *Buriti* (where an ASCURI member lives and which I visited). Although it had been officially declared as Indigenous, a former Member of Parliament

who had a farm in the area was disputing this decision and managed to mobilize the Federal Police to remove the Indigenous people (Hermanson 2019, Grupo Globo -MS 2016)⁷³.

Also cited was Simeão Vilhealva, a young Guarani-Kaiowá man shot in the head by farmers in August 2015 on the *Ñanderu Marangatu* Indigenous Land. Located just beside Pirakuá, it is where Marçal de Souza was buried. The violence against the Indigenous community occurred right before the audiovisual workshop in Pirakuá mentioned earlier, and some of the Guarani-Kaiowá students produced a short film during the workshop denouncing it, as I discuss in Chapter 3. Even though the 9,241 hectares of Indigenous land was homologated in 2005, the local farmers had continuously challenged the decision, prompting the Federal Police to remove the Indigenous community. In the next ten years, the Indigenous group was confined to 100 hectares after staying camped in only 26. On August 22, 2015, they entered an area inside their territory, occupied by five farms. This unofficial occupation of their land is what they call a *retomada*, a term that can be translated as the “retake” of the land. The response of the farmers was to organize, during a rural syndicate meeting, the removal of the group (CIMI 2016a, 13; EFE News Agency 2015; Klein 2015b)⁷⁴. After spreading rumours that the Indigenous group was planning to set the nearby city on fire (CIMI 2016a, 13), the farmers managed to co-opt people in 40 sport utility vehicles (SUV) to expel the Indigenous group (Klein 2015b).

In September 2015, a public statement representing, among others, the Articulation of Indigenous Peoples of Brazil, the Brazilian Association of Anthropology, the Indigenist Work Center (CTI), the Torture Never More Group (GTNM-SP) and the Indigenist Missionary Council (CIMI) demanded the immediate investigation of the farmers and politicians involved in the attack. It denounced that the people who arrived at the Indigenous land had fire weapons and were wearing bulletproof vests. It also addressed the rumours, revealing that a Member of Parliament

used images of a fire incident in Paraguay to fuel them and that politicians and farmers were declaring that the Indigenous group had set rural properties on fire and were planning to invade the nearby city. It also criticized that farmers tried to claim Simeão was dead before they arrived.

It ended with a condemnation of the government's omission:

It is not acceptable for the Democratic State of Law to live along with paramilitary groups acting freely to persecute Brazilian citizens as if we were in the colonial period and if they could declare war on Indigenous peoples, [who are] not only the first inhabitants of this continent but an integral part of the present Brazilian nation. (Mobilização Nacional Indígena 2015)⁷⁵

Returning to Marçal's story, the theatre play mentioned his most famous speech: an encounter with the Pope recorded widely by the media and available in documentaries and books about him⁷⁶. It was delivered in 1980, still under the rule of the military regime, when he was chosen to meet Pope John Paul II in the Amazonas state, representing the Indigenous peoples of Brazil (Brasil 2014, 20; Ramos 1998, 253):

Holy Father, I am a representative of the great Guarani tribe, and why not say, Holy Father, of all the Indigenous nations that inhabit this country; this country so large for a few people and so small for us. Our lands are taken, our territories are invaded; our leaders are coldly murdered by those who take our ground, which represents our own life and our survival in this Brazil, called a Christian country. Holy Father, take our outcry, our voice to other territories because our people, our Indigenous nation, is disappearing from Brazil. People say that Brazil was discovered. Brazil was not discovered, Holy Father. Brazil was invaded and taken from the native peoples. This is the true story. I leave here the appeal of 200 000 Indigenous people who live and fight for their survival in this country. People say that you are the representative of Christ here on Earth, but if Christ were to come down here, on Earth, today, He would have harsh criticisms to say to his representatives. And you, Holy Father, what will you say? What will you say, Holy Father?⁷⁷

Subsequently, they highlighted one of his most famous quotes: "I'm a person marked to die, but for a just cause, we die"⁷⁸, and related the events that led to his murder. In 1980, Marçal de Souza found 30 families living on the Ápa riverbanks (Rocha 2008). This land, covered with a dense forest, was coveted by a rural producer whose lands bordered the area, but Marçal was advocating to get the recognition that the location was an Indigenous land and denounced the intentions of the landowner (Brasil 2014, 216). In 1983, Marçal was offered a bribe of 5 million *Cruzeiros* to remove the people from the region, but he refused (Ramos 1998, 253; Rocha 2008).

A few days later, at night, two men knocked on his door, claiming that the father of one of them was sick. Marçal, being a nurse, agreed to help them and was shot five times, dying on the spot (Ramos 1998, 253; Prezia [2006] 2011, 78; Rocha 2008; Brasil 2014, 216). The crime was witnessed only by Marçal's partner, nine months pregnant. To Laerte Tetila, who wrote a book about Marçal, the fact that one shot was directed to his mouth is a sordid symbol of the criminals' intention to silence him (Rocha 2008). The play also emphasized he was shot in the mouth in an attempt to shut the "thunder voice" of "the toothless of honey lips"⁷⁹. They ended, showing the negligence and corruption of the local policemen responsible for investigating Marçal's case: "the police did not manage to arrive at the crime scene alleging lack of car fuel"; "the first judgment took place ten years after the crime and the indicted was acquitted for lack of evidence". The play ended with a sentence repeated indefinitely: "impunity is more painful than death"⁸⁰.

The land Marçal died defending was precisely Pirakuá. Marçal's life and death brought important victories for this community: it became the first Guarani-Kaiowá victory over rural producers and was officially recognized on December 23, 1993 (Sposati 2015). At the end of the play, the theatre company explained they were presenting it in different parts of Brazil and that it was an honour to perform it in Pirakuá for the first time. They opened the floor for questions and comments. The first to talk was Jorge Gomes, the chief of Pirakuá. He asked the group to show him a flag with Marçal's picture used in the play. Then he started a reflection saying that every Indigenous leader is currently at risk, like Marçal: they are the first to be killed. This makes him angry, but he added that he was not afraid to die for getting their rights. Simeão Vilhealva died, he continued, but his people now are in the land. He poured his blood into defending the rest of his people. Then he urged Indigenous and non-Indigenous organizations to record on film what was happening and added that he did not know if when Marçal de Souza was alive, anybody was

prepared to register the happenings so that the information could be disseminated to those who do not know Marçal. The children of Pirakuá and maybe even the younger leaders, he continued, are only getting to know Marçal today, but he was such an important person. He shed light on what was necessary: the demarcation of lands. This part of Gomes' talk seemed to make a case for the importance of writing/audiovisual recording to document, denounce and disseminate information about injustices against Indigenous groups.

Another critical idea was when Gomes compared Marçal to a tree:

When he fell, he had already sown several seeds. Again, the seed flourished. In their heads, the farmers said: 'let's take Marçal down and end the problem'. [...] Then, the seed blossomed even more. [...] Marçal de Souza is like this Cedar tree [...] that started to spread several seeds. So, Marçal was an important tree.⁸¹

Then he reflected on the idea that there is a solidarity network among Indigenous leaders:

When a leader is threatened, everybody is threatened because we are a network of leaders. The leaders are like an electric energy current. [...] All the leaders were very shocked, very sad when they [the shooters] took Marçal de Souza down. When they took him, I was in Dourados, and for me, there was much sorrow that day.⁸²

He then completed the idea by saying that the leaders sow the seed, but when they get old, their children will continue to reach others or *record* the happenings, and the seed will flourish again. After Gomes, Gerson, another leader whose father knew Marçal de Souza, congratulated the theatre group and said it was imperative to listen to stories and that they were courageous to take them to other parts of Brazil. He ended by saying that he felt very emotional.

Following this second talk, ASCURI member Urbano presented himself to the group as the Pirakuá youth representative, saying he was very touched by the play. He reflected on the current situation of the Guarani-Kaiowá youth: some people in the *Dourados* reserve are getting lost with alcohol, involving themselves with things that do not help them, nor the future of their people. In contrast, Simeão Vilhealva, a young warrior, was murdered protecting his people, “a 22-year-old that died for my rights”⁸³. He added that he had already travelled to take part in

meetings discussing Indigenous rights and that the death of Simeão Vilhealva would produce more seeds and raise more young leaders to fight for Indigenous peoples, their rights and for equality because, he added, “we Indigenous persons, we are human beings, and we need to show we are human beings”.⁸⁴ He explained that, for him, there was no difference between races or ethnicities: what is important is to fight to defend the rights of each person. Urbano thanked the theatre group for presenting the play there and said he hoped it could bring awareness, so the youth and the professors dare to ask, “why did Marçal de Souza die?” He ended by welcoming the group, stressing that Marçal was murdered precisely for Pirakuá. He was essential for its demarcation and for inspiring new leaders not only to present their issues but also to film their people: “Marçal’s words are alive, while his body is in the land, his words are sowing”⁸⁵.

The last person to talk was Eliel, who was moved by Marçal’s history and stories of the Guarani-Kaiowá struggles and difficulties: his history is part of a broader one of many years of fighting and resisting. He praised the way the group summarized Marçal’s trajectory, highlighted the encounter with the Pope and stressed the importance of telling the story:

The new generations may no longer know the reality of all this trajectory, and you bring it through the theatre language, all this history, this injustice, that as you added at the end, still happens today: murders of children, teachers, women, and much more, which happens and is not often mentioned in the news. Every day, injustice happens, every moment. [...] Injustice is much bigger and much deeper every day with children, women, leaders, youth, Guarani-Kaiowá men, spiritual leaders. Marçal is an example for everybody and, at the same time, an inspiration for us to resist. The only option for the Guarani-Kaiowá is resistance. One cannot escape this path. It is the only way⁸⁶.

Eliel elaborated on what this resistance is and on “the main strength of the Guarani-Kaiowá”: “today, our traditional knowledge, our cultural values and spirituality are a weapon”⁸⁷. He congratulated the group and suggested that they present the play in the formation program for Indigenous professors from the UFGD or in the meeting of Guarani leaders, the *Atyguaçu*. Fernando, the founder of the theatre group, expressed the willingness of the group to contribute

whenever they could and reaffirmed this idea on the last day of the workshop, which was recorded by ASCURI and appeared in the film about the Mosarambihara program:

You can count on us more times, ok? We believe that this union can transform and still rescue the world from what is being lost. What the money destroyed our union may be the last way out. As Marçal said, [we need to] join hands with hands, arms in arms and fight for our ancestors⁸⁸ who died so that the new generations continue alive and in much better conditions.⁸⁹

The recording of parts of the theatrical performance and the different impressions it generated among the audience was made part of ASCURI's resources posted on its YouTube channel, thereby adding to the "new landscape".

3.3. Hummingbirds

The collective creative audiovisual endeavours during the workshop highlighted the relevance of art in the making of "well-living", a cosmopolitic force involving a debate between Indigenous persons living in different countries, which exceeds "methodological nationalism" and is driven by a type of relationality with natural surroundings.

In the theatrical performance about Marçal de Souza, one scene, without words, particularly captured my attention. Right after the moment that Marçal realized the value of Indigenous culture and committed to fighting for Indigenous rights, four actors held *taquaras* (native south American bamboos), attached to a large red tissue and moved the tissue like if it was a flying hummingbird, with Marçal at the centre dressed in a cape in the same colour shaking his *maraca* (a rattle) and blowing an Indigenous whistle. This scene resonated with the announcement at the beginning of the play: "We will tell a story that is Guarani. A sacred story that has the hummingbird, a story that was not told in the pages of newspapers: the story of the great Guarani leader Marçal de Souza"⁹⁰.

The reference to the hummingbird returned when Vander Nishijima, then the regional coordinator of the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI) in Dourados, briefly visited the workshop. He witnessed a sowing lesson, referring to it as an “exchange of knowledge, of experiences, of good practices that work, showing that another world is possible, without pesticides, without violating the environment; on the contrary, living with the environment and extracting from it the foods”⁹¹. He praised ASCURI for the effort and advocated that this experience should be transmitted to other communities as well, so that the dialogue and the exchange of experiences continued, despite the sombre political environment. What gives hope, he continued, is “to know that you are seeds, that you are here giving an example”⁹². He ended his talk with a metaphor from sociologist Herbert de Souza⁹³:

When a vast forest caught fire, all the animals ran away. The lion, the king of the animals, was the first. When he was running, he saw a hummingbird flying in the opposite direction, towards the fire, with a little bit of water in his beak. The lion said: ‘What do you think you are doing?’ The hummingbird replied: ‘I am doing my part’⁹⁴.

Nishijima concluded that “no matter how small our gesture, we want to cause change, and it depends on us”⁹⁵. Nishijima referred to the “small gesture” as giving strength to a trajectory of “struggle against big capital, against the large land ownership”⁹⁶.

4. Subtle Extermination

I began this chapter by discussing audiovisual ecologies of practices of Indigenous activism reflecting an “embodied knowledge” resulting from an “epistemology of the senses” (Marks 2000, 122, 129). I presented multi-sited snapshots of Indigenous films and experience exchanges within workshops and conferences.

The snapshots materialize some effects that Indigenous persons observed in their surroundings regarding developments driven by perpetual economic growth justifying predatory

multinational industrial agribusiness activities. In this respect, the snapshots offered a glimpse of what are often “blind spots” for non-Indigenous persons invested in these societal development models. These blind spots, evidenced by Indigenous audiovisual accounts of yellow snow, melting glaciers, and forests transformed into soy cultivations, evoke the “subtle extermination” of ecosystems and Indigenous modes of life referenced in the audiovisual piece quoted in the fifth epigraph opening the chapter.

This video also indicates that the path to having more inclusive models of society is not by forcing an Indigenous-non-Indigenous dichotomy but by creating circuits of solidarity involving Indigenous and non-Indigenous persons mobilized by a common dream for society. This is a cosmopolitic force, driven by discourses and ecologies of practices of “well-living”. While I explore this subject further in Chapter 6 (which also addresses some aspects of the Mosarambihara project), it is essential to acknowledge this discourse (also present in Nishijima’s speech). In the *Subtle Extermination* video, the white and the Indigenous characters appear first, side-by-side, looking ahead in silence. Then the Indigenous character proceeds to tattoo the white one’s arm with *Jenipapo* dye, drawing Indigenous geometric patterns. During the Mosarambihara workshop at Pirakuá, I had a comparable experience when *Aianukê*, an Indigenous woman from the *Waurá* people who came from Mato Grosso to attend the workshop, offered to make a *Jenipapo* tattoo on my arm, as a sign of friendship. This experience charged my perception of the *Jenipapo* tattoo references in the video with a “haptic visuality”. It became for me “a familiarity with the world that the viewer knows through more senses than vision alone” (Marks 2000, 187). It allowed me to read the layer of meaning brought by the juxtaposition of these images to the song’s lyrics in the video. “Let’s ascend Brazil with the green of *Jenipapo*” becomes an invitation to Indigenous and non-Indigenous friendship and collaboration for achieving common goals by taking part in this

cosmopolitics of well-living. The invitation is reinforced by the rest of the refrain that refers to the white of peace -white like the *tauá* clay- and the red of the *annatto*, all elements of Indigenous body paintings.

The message of the video clip grounds the experience as it acknowledges and denounces the historical (and ongoing) violence of the Indigenous-non-Indigenous encounter. This is especially evident in a moment in the end when the singer denounces the violence against Indigenous peoples:

A people whose thought, belief, the sacred [is] totally ignored. [His voice is superposed to several scenes: bare feet walking in the dirt; headdresses with feathers and colourful patterns; Indigenous musical instruments besides a necklace made with white seeds.] A rich, tragic history [a clay container with a plant concoction appears], drawn from struggles, conquests and massacres [a rattle with pink and yellow feathers appears on the floor], a true genocide [a delicate plant with tiny white flowers growing on a rusted metal fence appears]. And what are they doing with what was ours? Mother *Pindaé* exploited... [A cut tree trunk appears with trash on the hollow space inside] They transformed everything that *Ñanderu* created, in the name of progress [the videoclip ends with a sunset in the water and a ship passing by]⁹⁷. (Taller Internacional de Cine Documental “Sin Fronteras - Brasil 2017” 2017a)

5- Conclusion

One goal of this chapter was to inquire into how Indigenous audiovisual production and experience exchanges between Indigenous filmmakers from different countries have fueled cosmopolitic debates and engagements. I presented a multi-sited mosaic of Indigenous audiovisual productions showcasing and disseminating -in festivals, workshops and on the internet- a relationship with natural surroundings that operates beyond divisions between nature and society, privileging balance and respect. This mosaic highlights how interconnected are the harmful effects of actions geared to promote societal development through an extractive, objectifying relationship with nature, as Inuit leader Mary Simon observed. These snapshots that I have provided evidence that the transformations in the natural surroundings set in motion changes in ways of being Indigenous through shifting ecologies of practices.

Concerning ASCURI, I have focused on how encounters with Indigenous filmmakers from Canada and Bolivia affected and inspired its members to reflect on their indigeneity and its place in Mato Grosso do Sul. These efforts crystallized, for instance, into the Mosarambihara -Sowers of the Well-Living audiovisual and agroecological project. I argued that it is a part of a broader Indigenous debate on *well-living*, emerging from a multi-sited conversation involving the Guarani, the Aymara, the Quechua and the Kichwa, living in countries such as Brazil, Bolivia, and Ecuador. I argue that these multi-sited conversations constitute a cosmopolitic force in both Robbins and Cheah, and Stengers and Latour's sense.

In the next chapter, I address the clash between the large-scale transnational agribusiness present in Mato Grosso do Sul with Guarani-Kaiowá families living in Caarapó, in the south portion of the state, through a case study of a violent removal attempt in 2016 of 40 Guarani Kaiowá people from an area officially delimited as part of the ancestral territory "Dourados Amambaipaguá I". I argue that this situation evidences the clash between two cosmopolitic societal projects (while acknowledging the vast power asymmetry between them). I call attention to how audiovisual representations are utilized to produce different 'realities' and consider the significance of Masumi's notion of the *political ontology of threat* and Byung-Chul Han's concept of *psychopolitics* in the creations of these different realities.

CHAPTER 3: COMPETING AUDIOVISUAL NARRATIVES AND COSMOPOLITICS IN UNEVEN LANDSCAPES

I want to address the people from Mato Grosso do Sul, a state where I lived for three years. [...] Five rural producers in the state were arrested for defending their land, for fighting to secure their private property. We know how all this happens, who stimulates the Indians and what is the purpose behind this type of action. After the Constitutional Amendment nº81, private property has become relativized. [...] Since I arrived in the House of Parliament in 1991 [...], I have fought a lot against the demarcation of Indigenous lands and especially the Yanomami: twice the state of Rio de Janeiro for approximately 9,000 Indians. It's a big risk, right? Sooner or later, these large areas will become new countries; after all, these lands are in rich environments. [...] To our brothers from Mato Grosso do Sul, these five farmers who are there, whatever I can do for you, I will. I acknowledge your work for the private property and how you righteously defended yourselves as well as the way part of the judiciary unfairly ignored you. Besides putting food on our table, you are proprietors; you are the owners of this land that cannot be invaded, no matter if by the Indians or those of the landless movement, whoever. [...] Faith in God, let's work here, all united against this injustice against five rural producers of our Brazil¹.

Jair Bolsonaro

[Bolsonaro]: I'm arriving in Campo Grande, Mato Grosso do Sul. I will spend two days here, talking to the people, saying that Brazil can be cured, we can look for a way to save our Brazil. I know that 2018 is still far away, but we will withstand, God willing, okay? The people is wonderful, and we have everything here that no other country in the world has. [...] It is my commitment, now as part of my campaign, since we are in the state where agribusiness speaks loudly, you can be sure that from 2019 on, the rural producer's business card for the Movement of the Landless Rural Workers will be a 762 cartridge!

[People cheering]: Legend! Legend! Legend! Legend! Legend! Legend!

[Written text]: TEI'YKUE VILLAGE, CAARAPÓ -MATO GROSSO DO SUL. At 279 km from Campo Grande, farmers from the region formed an armed militia and attacked the Tei'ykue Kaiowá and Guarani retaken lands [*retomadas*]. They were emboldened by Bolsonaro's visit to the capital five days earlier. The result was the death of health agent Clodiodi Aquileu Rodrigues de Souza; a child hit in the abdomen with lethal ammunition, and several professors hurt by rubber bullets.

[While the text is on the screen, a Brazilian hip-hop song starts]: This goes to my Brazilian brothers! We are one, nigga. Respect. The daily war, we need to be ready for it².

ASCURI

In this chapter, I show how online communication platforms have opened arenas for the symbolic confrontation (Gruzinski 1990) over the interpretation of events. They form “new landscapes of communication”, which “create and maintain public visibility by opening and defending spaces” (Beck 2016, 112, 127). I examine the relationships incited by representations circulating in the hyperlinked space of Mato Grosso do Sul -especially the “ecology of fear” and distrust they trigger. First, I contrast the reconstitution of the June 14th moments presented by ASCURI in the film *Yvy Reñoi, the Seed of the Land* broadcasted on Youtube and Facebook with the one offered by the Caarapó rural union's version, transmitted on June 16th, 2016, at the

agribusiness portal “Agricultural News” and its YouTube channel. Second, utilizing Massumi’s (2010) concept of “political ontology of threat,” I show how negative representations of indigeneity draw upon historically sedimented notions of *bugre* to exacerbate perceptions of local Indigenous groups as “threatening.” Third, I call attention to how the use of algorithms in social media establishes an uneven terrain for the competing audiovisual narratives. I demonstrate how “new communication landscapes” in Mato Grosso do Sul make “local trends” with which Indigenous audiovisual media dialogue less and less local. As they become hyperlinked and infused with discourses produced in international collaborations, they transcend geographic bonds to become cosmopolitical, in Robbins and Cheah’s sense of the term.

My first epigraph is part of a video circulated in October 2017 by Jair Bolsonaro on his social media and reproduced by media outlets from Mato Grosso do Sul on their websites and YouTube channels (Dourados News 2017; JD1 Noticias 2017; Brito 2017; Laguna Informa 2017)³. In the video, he defends farmers accused of leading over 100 hired shooters in an attack on June 14th, 2016, against approximately 40 Guarani-Kaiowá people who had moved from *Te’yikue* to an adjacent area, officially delimited as part of the ancestral territory “*Dourados Amambaipaguá I*” by the president of the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI) on May 12th, 2016 (Tavares 2016; MPF-MS 2016a; Bedinelli 2016; CIMI 2017, 43)⁴. This process was completed almost ten years after it began, on November 12th, 2007 (Tavares 2016; Bedinelli 2016). Its slowness was due to the judicial maneuvers of the farmers with properties in the region. The official recognition in 2016 triggered new legal actions, which prompted the Indigenous families to occupy an area corresponding to one of the 87 farms installed in the Indigenous territory (CIMI 2017, 82; Xapuri Socioambiental 2018)⁵. ASCURI founder Gilmar Kiripuku Galache explained that the Indigenous families decided to “retake” their land on June 13th after seeing the farmers

continually halt its demarcation because *Te'yikue* is overcrowded (2017, 81). The same day, according to the investigation of the Mato Grosso do Sul's Federal Public Prosecutor's Office (MPF-MS), the five farmers defended by Bolsonaro in his video articulated in a local producers' WhatsApp group a meeting in the headquarters of the *Coamo Agroindustrial Cooperativa*. Among exchanges circulating in this online group since the end of May were messages insinuating that "around 600 Indians" were planning the "invasion of all neighbouring farms in the village"⁶, which contributed to the promptitude and aggressiveness with which producers responded to the call (Carvalho 2019). In the morning of June 14th, 40 pickup trucks with over a hundred armed men assembled there and left together to remove the approximately 40 Indigenous persons from the new "retaken" area (Carvalho 2019).

This situation is a tragic and emblematic crystallization in Mato Grosso do Sul of the clash between two diametrically opposed aspirations for these lands, following distinct societal envisionings -one guided by multinational agribusiness and the other by Indigenous ecologies of practices with the land. Significant indications are Coamo being the biggest agro-industrial cooperative of Latin America, and the main responsible for the lease of Indigenous lands in the south of Mato Grosso do Sul to cultivate soybeans for selling products such as animal feed to Europe. As the Federal Public Prosecutor Marco Antônio Delfino declared, "there is an international production chain that feeds on Indigenous blood"⁷ (Castilho and Carvalho 2019). On the Indigenous side, in turn, as I discuss later in this chapter, ASCURI founder Eliel Benites declared that the group wanted to "retake" that land to bring back their forest and animals so that the Guarani-Kaiowá can "live well" in "their way". As I have argued in previous chapters, these aspirations and societal envisionings articulate a network of collaborations that can be designated as *cosmopolitic forces* (following Cheah, Robbins and Ribeiro's interpretation).

This “cosmopolitical” battle over land in Mato Grosso do Sul increasingly extends to the interpretation of related facts. My second epigraph is an excerpt from the 15-minute film “*Yvy Reñoi, the Seed of the Land*”⁸ (ASCURI 2016b) on ASCURI’s YouTube channel. Guarani-Kaiowá persons recall what they experienced and show the cameras gunshot wounds, burnt motorcycles and the destruction resulting from the June 14th farmers’ militia attack, also known as the “Caarapó crime”. Gilmar declared that ASCURI’s motivation for their film was to “show the version of the community about the facts because the local media was affirming that the death of the Indigenous person occurred because he was run over”⁹ (2017, 82). While the June 16th, 2016 report of the leading local newspaper did not mention how Souza was killed, it offered the president of Caarapó’s rural union’s perspective as it was based on his meeting with “part of the Dourados’ press and the local press to talk about the case”¹⁰ (Caarapó News 2016; A Gazeta News 2016). It informed that the union had sent an official statement to the media covering the case. In this respect, ASCURI contested these dominant reports about the Caarapó crime by creating an audiovisual narrative and broadcasting it on YouTube and Facebook.

This discussion addresses the central question of this dissertation because it is within the encounter between ASCURI founders and Bolivian Indigenous filmmaking that they first started to question the hegemony of mainstream media discourses in Mato Grosso do Sul and see that audiovisual production could strengthen the local-level societal relationships that had been constructed by everyday discourses as “problematic”, as Eliel Benites explained when I interviewed him (see the epigraph opening this dissertation’s introduction). He observed that Indigenous films helped shed light on Bolivia’s Indigenous peoples’ adverse circumstances and contributed to their empowerment. Benites wanted to delegitimize the historical violence against Indigenous peoples in Mato Grosso do Sul by showing and disseminating their perspective on

social media. Eliel's reflections suggest how looking at the experiences of Indigenous groups from other countries, engaged in a different unequal relationship with the dominant discourses of their living spaces, inspired ASCURI to create countervailing perceptions for mainstream narratives about them and the events affecting them. This dimension of Indigenous audiovisual activism is about having control over one's image, building a public image on one's own terms. Thus, it is more related to representation than to immanence (differently from other aspects of ASCURI's work discussed in other chapters).

1. Audiovisual Narratives at War in New Landscapes of Communication

1.1 Seed of the land

[A helicopter flies over an Indigenous gathering on a sunny day. A row of at least ten pickup trucks appears in the camera and advances slowly. Some men release firecrackers, and another points a gun standing in the open back of one truck. While these images appear on the screen, a Brazilian hip-hop song is playing]: I see a multitude of blind people only coveting the land. / They want the jewels of the crown, forces and borders change. / Everyone wants to be king. They conspire for the time that does not wait. / Empires fall with new kings. Times become warlike. / Street bleeds, tension triples. / I saw a shirt with a drawing of the world written: This is for those who get ahead first.¹¹

The hip-hop song opening the film, *Guerra* (*war* in Portuguese), was composed by MC Marechal, a rapper from Rio de Janeiro, in the context of the violence and poverty of the favelas. Its juxtaposition with the images of the arrival of the farmers' militia to "*Dourados Amambaieguá I*" produced new associations and identifications through shared experiences of oppression. These images became a different incarnation of the "coveting of the land" and the "tripled tensions", infusing the lyrics with new *signifiers*. The song, in turn, brought the context of urban protest transcending Brazilian borders: some performances compared the marginalization exacerbated by neoliberal politics in Rio to other localities: "in Chile, there is war, nigga; in Michigan, there is war, nigga"¹² (Mc Marechal 2015). This idea resonates with the play of post-imperialism cosmopolitics described by Gustavo Ribeiro.

Marks coined the expression “skin of the film” to highlight the potential that audiovisual works have for touching the audience through its “emotionally contagious” quality by creating meanings through their materiality (the disjunction between sound and image, for instance), forming “new history” that calls for “an as yet unformulated language” (2000, XI, XII, 31).

The *Yvy Reñoi -the Seed of the Land* narrative relied on juxtapositions of cellphone videos taken during the attack accompanied by the group’s testimonies. It begins with a Guarani Kaiowá man explaining that the people who attacked them arrived in the morning and set off fireworks. At this moment appear cellphone images of firecrackers exploding, a man standing in the open back of one truck pointing a gun and another man coming closer to the first holding a gun. The explanation continued: “And, at the same time that they were setting off fireworks, they were shooting at us with fire guns”¹³ (ASCURI 2016b). The ASCURI recorded images return: the Guarani Kaiowá man shows where people, including a 10-year-old, were shot and motorcycles were destroyed and burnt. Between the accounts, ASCURI included cellphone videos with fragments from the moment: one showed a shovel loader tractor approaching while Guarani-Kaiowá women scream. In another moment where the tractor is still advancing, four Guarani-Kaiowá carry a body of a young man: 23-year-old health agent Clodiodi Aquileu Rodrigues de Souza, who was later declared dead from two gunshots¹⁴.

Subsequently comes a moment in the evening, where a Guarani-Kaiowá man talks to five police officers. One holds a flashlight directed to the Guarani-Kaiowá man, while another records the moment with his cellphone: “This is my people’s decision: we are going to bring the body and do the funeral on this farm! [cheering]. The police will follow our people’s decision here. And we are going to stand vigil over the body in the place where he was killed. For justice, territory and freedom!”¹⁵ (ASCURI 2016b).

Next, a Guarani-Kaiowá young man describes the death of Clodiodi Rodrigues de Souza, stressing how the media coverage about the case was misleading:

Clodiodi fell in front of us, and we started to cry; this was when I noticed the farmers didn't come to talk but kill. They started to curse at us. [...] All the media, TV and newspapers, said Clodiodi died run over by a car. This never happened. How could he die run over if he had two bullets in his body? There were professors shot; everybody who was here saw how the gunmen shot the Indigenous persons. Like if we were a... Not even a dog is treated that way. But they did this to us¹⁶. (ASCURI 2016b)

Concomitantly, the film showed moments of the young man's funeral, when the pickup truck of the Special Office of Indigenous Health (SESAI) transported the coffin with a group of Indigenous men holding a Brazilian flag with red stains. *El País* interviewed the superintendent of the hospital where Souza, four other men and one 12-year-old boy were taken after being shot that day. He declared "to be absolutely sure" that all of them were wounded by gunshots and added ironically: "Some people said they were wounded by rubber bullets. But if rubber bullets have the effect we saw in our patients, then we must talk about rubber bullets" (Bedinelli, 2016)¹⁷. This does not mean that some gunmen did not also use rubber bullets. The person who described Souza's death was hit by one, as he showed to the camera.

After the collective reconstruction of the occurrence comes a sequence focused on the pain experienced over the loss of loved ones: "I feel pain; I feel desperate about what happened [...] Clodiodi was dear to us [...]. He said to us that one day he would die for this land here."¹⁸ (ASCURI 2016b). However, the group did not take the position of helpless victims; their stance was that no matter what, they would never give up the lands: "This land is ours! It has the colour of my skin. [...] This land is not just mine, but it belongs to all the Guarani-Kaiowá. We are going to die here because of our land, and we are going to stay here"¹⁹ (ASCURI 2016b). A Guarani Kaiowá woman, surrounded by kids, stressed that their strength resided in staying together in the land and keeping their ancestral traditions:

The farmer entered our land; they stole us. Now they killed our family member; therefore, we are retaking our land. We, men and women, we got together, as one heart, to be victorious. We hope that we

will find justice for the kid killed by the farmer. [...] Here, many people were already killed because the non-Indigenous people are strong. Many of our families were hurt. Many of our kids were hurt; this is our biggest concern. [...] And with the rural producers, nothing happens; they don't get hurt. [...] They have weapons and shoot at us. The farmers say that we are the ones who have weapons; they put the blame on us. And the farmers go out free. We only have *cudgels*; *Mbaraká* and *Xirú* [maracas and a cross for spiritual purposes]. This was how our ancestors fought. Until today we follow this way, carrying it on. We are here because of the kids we lost. [...] And now we will carry on, isn't it true, my people? We will carry it forward like warriors! Victorious with the Kaiowá and Guarani strength.²⁰ (ASCURI 2016b)

This attitude captured by the film resonates with Ivan Molina's emphasis on the necessity of pursuing *positioning* in addition to giving *visibility* to abuses against Indigenous peoples. When I interviewed him in Bolivia, he indicated that seeking *visibility* is essential and includes denouncing the constant violations of Indigenous rights by shedding light on the moments when they happen, which he considers a crucial role for Indigenous cinema. However, seeking *positioning* constitutes a step further: it is to demand respect and to take a leadership position:

To give visibility is only seeing what they are doing, but not involving nor marking territory. Visibility is that. But I also have to go for positioning. What does *positioning* mean? For me, it means that this is mine. [...] Positioning is very important. As Rigoberta Menchú said, as long as the Indigenous peoples and original nations of the world do not have a public image, we will remain clandestine, we will remain under the carpet, and that needs to be changed.²¹

Ivan developed further this reasoning in an interview broadcasted live²² in October 2020 as part of the opening of the first *CineFlecha* exhibition²³, an online event making available for fifteen days, eighteen audiovisual works from Indigenous filmmakers and audiovisual collectives from Brazil, as well as his film from Bolivia, *Quillpa*²⁴ (2019). Molina argued against the use of the term “resistance” for labelling contemporary Indigenous activism:

You said that this is a space that speaks of resisting. I think that nowadays, after more than 500 years of the invasion of Spain, Portugal [...], it is more than 500 years of resisting. My question is whether we will continue to “resist” or we have the right to live too. [...] Enough of resistance; we have the right to live too. I am not only talking about Indigenous peoples but of everyone. I think that our countries have neither the freedom nor the autonomy to make their own road. [...] There is a film director in Bolivia who I greatly admire for his proposal and commitment. His name is Jorge Sanjinés. There is a film, “the clandestine nation”²⁵. It speaks precisely of this, that many peoples, many nations are clandestine. I think there is no more time to “resist”: now is the time to say that we are clandestine and that this life and this planet are for us too -not in the sense of land ownership, but that we also belong to this land, with all our rights. And I think that cinema has every possibility of providing what you say: Indigenous peoples and all marginalized clandestine societies can have a public image to talk about their rights²⁶. (Rede CineFlecha et. al 2020)

Molina places *positioning* beyond the discourse of “resistance” because, for him, *positioning* asserts the power to generate new discursive spaces instead of “resisting” the established ones. Thus, Molina is refusing here the term *resistance* because it implies centring Indigenous lives’ purposes around responding to non-Indigenous actions instead of living on one’s own terms. Eliel, the last person to speak in the film *Yvy Reñoi, the Seed of the Land*, goes in this direction when he advocates for occupying the land in the *Guarani Kaiowá way*:

This retaking of our land is for all the shamans, companions and professors. We need to use our land again, but in our way, using the land to live like in the old times, with happiness, dancing and singing to bring back our forest, our animals: fish, the birds and all the peccaries, the deer. So that all come back again. So, we can live well, in peace, but in our way.²⁷ (ASCURI 2016b)

Eliel invokes a perception of the Guarani Kaiowá identity corresponding to a crystallization of particular social relations with nature. Returning to Hall’s argument about identity being “not an essence but a positioning”, Molina’s and Eliel’s statements refuse to let the *place* assigned by the unsymmetrical power relations with non-Indigenous society define their indigeneity. Instead, they mobilize other references and social relations to assert it. Audiovisual production provides the possibility for establishing a public image defined in terms outside the Indigenous-non-Indigenous dynamics. Here, it gains a generative storytelling power, becoming a place where Indigenous persons can reflect on themselves, their troubles, and their dreams. It is noteworthy that recent Brazilian anthropological debates have adopted a play on words that gestures to a departure from *resistance* in favour of a generative discourse: to “resist” becomes to “(re)exist”. For instance, the name of the first *CineFlecha* exhibition was: “(Re)exist and heal”, as anthropologist Nadja Marin brought to Ivan’s attention during the live interview.

Eliel’s last statement in *Yvy Reñoi, the Seed of the Land* resonates with this idea of healing through a “re-existing” by achieving a mode of existence consonant with the Guarani Kaiowá “way”. While the film does not provide a direct reference for explaining its title, Eliel’s words

place this mode of existence as a seed able to bring back the forest and the animals that live on it. Arguably, in this perspective, they would act as a seed for that *dream for society* in that land. In this logic, the person killed by the farmers' militia and buried there is also a seed of that dream, reigniting the group's tenacity in staying at that site.

In the film's last seconds, the hip-hop song returns while an image of a dirt road blocked by Indigenous persons appears. They stand at its sides while two National Force police cars slowly pass through, with other cars behind:

I double what the enemy wants without regret. / Do you want to kill me? I make you feel it inside! / Every time I rhyme, I put my soul in all parts of the lyrics, as if I were writing on your horns with the bayonet tip. / It is the war, nigga [the front of a burnt car appears] / We are the war, nigga [the back of the burnt car appears showing it is a police car] / We live the war, nigga [a burnt truck appears]²⁸ (ASCURI 2016b)

To "make one feel inside" could correspond to wreak havoc on the material means for the agribusiness project to advance, as a blunt defiance to it.

In fact, the pictures displayed during this sequence refer to the aftermath of the attack when a military police car arrived at the scene requested by one farmer. The father of the murdered Guarani-Kaiowá health agent led a group to surround the vehicle and remove the policemen. They assaulted them with kicks, punches, and strikes with wood sticks and set the car on fire, as well as a truck with machinery nearby (Freitas 2016; Freitas 2020)²⁹. While the police officers did not suffer serious injuries, they were held hostage for two hours, being released after a Tactic Force Team intervened (Pavão 2016³⁰; Freitas 2016).

The farmer's militia attack was denounced by the Mato Grosso do Sul's Federal Public Prosecutor's Office (MPF-MS) and by Tauli-Corpuz, the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (MPF-MS 2016b; Tauli-Corpuz 2016, 18)³¹. In the MPF-MS denunciation to the Federal Justice of Dourados, in October 2016, the five rural producers, supported by Bolsonaro in this chapter's epigraph, were charged with "formation of armed militia,

qualified homicide, attempted qualified homicide, bodily injury, qualified damage and illegal constraint”³² (MPF-MS 2016b). The investigation was based on 187 hearings, 49 expert reports, judicially authorized surveillance of private telephones and analyzes of social networks’ messages content. It concluded that the farmers “organized, promoted and executed the attack against the Te’ýikue community on June 14th”³³ with approximately 40 pickup trucks, three shovel loader tractors and over a hundred people -many in possession of fire guns. The denunciation was supported, on the MPF-MS website, by an image whose subtitle informed it had been extracted from a YouTube video (MPF-MS 2016b). The picture (see Appendix G) suggests that the MPF-MS analyzed and used the images caught on camera by the Indigenous community attacked as evidence, which is telling of the power such images can acquire in the quest of the respect of Indigenous rights. Nevertheless, in 2020, the five accused farmers were free awaiting trial, whereas the father of the Guarani-Kaiowá health agent was sentenced to 18 years in prison (Freitas 2020).

Forty-eight hours after he left the hospital, a Guarani-Kaiowá man shot during the attack had his house in Te’ýikue invaded by at least three masked men, but he managed to escape with his wife and daughter when they saw the men approaching (CIMI 2016b; Dourados Agora 2016; ISA 2016)³⁴. On July 12th, armed men driving a shovel loader tractor and four trucks approached the same group attacked on June 14th and began firing (CIMI 2017, 63-65). These attacks add up to lugubrious statistics: in 2016, at least seven cases of violence against Indigenous groups related to conflicts over territorial rights in Brazil occurred in Mato Grosso do Sul, whereas in the other 25 states together, five cases happened³⁵ (in five different states) (CIMI 2017, 64-65). ASCURI flagged the continuity of these attacks in the final credits screen of *Yvy Reñoi*, the *Seed of the Land*: “In the years that followed, new attacks were recorded throughout Mato Grosso do Sul.

Now the violence tends to increase. Our fight goes on³⁶”. These violent acts are publicly justified by representations portraying local Indigenous groups as threatening to the locals of Mato Grosso do Sul and to the specific model of society propelled by large-scale multinational agribusiness, as I discuss in the following sections.

1.2. Can you imagine the fear he felt?

On June 16th, 2016, *Notícias Agrícolas* (Agricultural News) broadcasted on its webpage and YouTube channel an interview with Carlos Eduardo Marquez, then the president of the Caarapó rural union, about what happened on June 14th. *Notícias Agrícolas*, created in 1999 as an extension of the agricultural news TV from Campinas (in São Paulo), has become a significant source of information for farmers, reaching over 8.5 million views per month. In 2004, it became a web TV, and in 2008, it gained a YouTube channel described as “the communication channel of agribusiness”³⁷, which has reached close to 11 million views in 2018 (*Notícias Agrícolas* n.d.; *Notícias Agrícolas* 2017).

The interview appeared under a headline stating that “many facts needed to be clarified”. The supporting text added that “rural producers were questioning the version broadcasted by the mainstream media” and that “the rural union deplored the distortion of the facts, considering that it did not have an impartial coverage of the occurrence”³⁸ (Horta and Albuquerque 2016). I am detailing Marquez’s explanations to show how his narrative slowly builds a scenario where the Indigenous group is linked to the notion of *threat* and indulges in unjustifiable violence.

The interviewer began by inviting the audience “to go to the facts” and asked Marquez, “what actually happened”³⁹. Marquez proceeded to explain the incident:

What happened was that on Sunday, the Yvu farm, which borders the Indigenous village -a village that was demarcated in the ‘40s, therefore obviously the areas at the side of it are areas that have remained

outside the village- this farm of 300 hectares was invaded on Sunday. On Monday, the region producers met and arrived in the morning [on Tuesday] to take out the Indians. There was no conflict: there was verbal conflict -of yelling, of firecrackers. This did indeed happen. The Indians returned to their village as it was bordering it. [...] There is the municipal road that connects Caarapó to another municipality: Laguna Carapã, which passes in the middle of the Indigenous village; they were revolted and blocked the road. As they blocked the road, there were vehicles inside the village perimeter. In fact, there was a truck loaded with a harvester machine. Of course, the driver -nobody knows, nobody saw, nobody can talk because the road was blocked- he got scared and ran over an Indian. Nobody knows if the Indian passed in front of the truck... What I know is that it ran over and killed an Indian⁴⁰. (Horta and Albuquerque 2016)

The interviewer intervened: “So this Indian was not shot dead as some versions are saying,

Kaká?” Marquez replied:

No, negative, there is no way [...] If there was another Indian shot dead in the village, nobody knows, nobody saw it because the village was locked. There was also a police vehicle in the location that had a flat tire: the Indians held hostage the five police officers. There is a photo of the Indians on the internet: they stripped their clothes. They were beaten with a machete. At great cost, an authority managed to release. The Indians set fire to the police car...⁴¹ (Horta and Albuquerque 2016)

The interviewer asked for clarification, and Marquez elaborated more on his explanation:

I heard that a protestant minister inside the village managed to get the Indians to free the police. They left without their clothes, without police vests and without their weapons: everything stayed in the village. And after this event, they returned to invade ten more properties around the village; they set fire to sugarcane plantations, killed the cattle. Small rural producers that have small holdings of 10 to 15 hectares were expelled from their properties... They are all here in the city now with no place to stay⁴². (Horta and Albuquerque 2016)

From this point on, some pictures sent by Marquez were displayed on a screen: “We see the Federal Road Police in the car.” Another picture was showed: “We see this truck you mentioned to us with the harvester machine, which is this board with the harvester on the top, but the harvester is catching fire. What does this image mean? Did the Indians set the harvester on fire?” Marquez confirmed: “Yes, the Indians were the ones who set the harvester on fire. They were the ones who did it after the running over. Now, the running over, nobody knows, nobody can tell how it happened [...]” The interviewer then showed empathy for this alleged nervous truck driver: “The road was blocked, and the driver tried to get out somehow of that perimeter that was blocked, and that’s where the accident happened”⁴³ (Horta and Albuquerque 2016).

The use of the term “accident” to refer to the alleged running over reinforced the idea that it was unintentional, and this perception made the narrative drift away from any understanding of the occurrence being a “crime”:

Marquez: He didn’t know, he was in the middle [of the road] already, and he didn’t know they had blocked it. They blocked both entrances, and the village headquarters is right in the middle of the area. And the driver was locked up there too.

Interviewer: So, this driver is an important witness to be heard, right?

Marquez: He is very important, and he ran away from the place. I don’t know how he managed to escape, but he did escape. I don’t even know the driver’s name yet. And the truck is still there.

Interviewer: It is even justifiable, right? Can you imagine the fear he felt under pressure?⁴⁴ (Horta and Albuquerque 2016)

It is noteworthy that Marquez dodged the interviewer’s comment that the truck driver constituted a key-witness by claiming he “escaped”, even though this argument contradicted his point that the road was blocked. However, he justified his response with a subterfuge he would continue to appeal to whenever the fragility of his narrative’s coherence was exposed: it is impossible to know what happened because nobody *saw*. Therefore, he could not explain the facts with total accuracy or coherence. This was precisely what he claimed next when the interviewer asked more directly about the death of Souza:

Interviewer: So, the Indian who is in the media, the 26 year-year-old Clodioldo Aguires Rodrigues do Santos, he did not die from shot wounds, as some versions are saying, he was run over?

Marquez: I can’t tell you which Indian that the truck ran over. Nobody knows. The village is locked. [...] I know that an Indian arrived with shot wounds in the hospital, shot dead in the belly. Now, who did this, we can’t say because we don’t know. I know that there was a death because of the truck. But we don’t know which Indian the truck ran over because nobody enters the village, nobody knows.

Interviewer: Wait a minute, let’s get this straight: the Indian who died, it was because he was run over. However, an Indian also arrived with shot wounds in the hospital, right?

Marquez: That’s right. Except that the Indian who arrived with the shot wound was utterly out of the time frame. So, we still have no way to look at the evidence. When the police investigate, the evidence will prove that the Indian who arrived with shot wounds was dead a long time ago. There is no relation to the time frame when the occurrence happened there.⁴⁵ (Horta and Albuquerque 2016)

If Marquez’s account was sustainable because it systematically relied on the fact that “nobody saw”, the film produced by ASCURI changed this equation as it provided glimpses of the moments when the gunmen arrived at the *Yvu* farm to remove the Indigenous group. Thus, it

provided a perspective from “within” the allegedly “locked” and impenetrable Indigenous village, allowing one to dispel rumours.

The next photo showed a police car completely burnt, and the interviewer inquired if the police officers held hostage were in this car. Marquez confirmed: “Yes, police officers who had a flat tire and who also did not know what had happened. They were in there... If they had known, they wouldn’t have entered the village. They were also caught by surprise”⁴⁶. Here, Marquez suggested that the Indigenous actions were so threatening that even police officers would avoid being anywhere near them had they known what was “happening”. The following picture showed numerous police cars, conveying the idea that the situation needed to be controlled by a large amount of force and that the only safe way for police presence was to have as much backup as possible. Marquez explained that the National Force had arrived but was waiting for the Federal Public Prosecutor and the end of Souza’s funeral, adding that in the meantime, the National force was going to another farm “because the Indians are in there; they looted everything. There are families there”⁴⁷ (Horta and Albuquerque 2016).

In the last picture, the interviewer notes smoke and asks about it. Marquez replies: “the Indians set fire to the cane fields circumventing the farms [...] and cornfields as well”⁴⁸ (Horta and Albuquerque 2016). While Marquez’s statements purged the farmers’ actions of any intention to harm, he portrayed the Indigenous community of Te’yikue as revengeful, unpredictable and violent. Besides invading farms, they allegedly were setting fire everywhere, taking police officers hostage, exterminating herds, and looting small properties whose owners had no other place to stay. This constellation of signs of danger carried the potential to awaken a strong emotional reaction in the website’s intended audience since these actions of violence embody some of the agricultural producers’ worst fears.

The similarity of the arguments advanced by Marquez and by the farmers involved in the Ñanderu Marangatu case is striking. In the latter, as discussed in Chapter 2, one congressman relied on images of a fire incident in Paraguay to support politicians' and farmers' claims that the Indigenous group of Ñanderu Marangatu had set on fire local rural properties and were planning to invade the nearby city. Another similarity with Marquez' declarations was that the farmers claimed that Simeão Vilhealva, the young Guarani-Kaiowá man shot in the face, was dead before they arrived (Mobilização Nacional Indígena 2015). As in the Caarapó crime case, ASCURI produced a short film: *Retomada Ñanderu Marangatu* (2015) and posted it on its YouTube channel⁴⁹. It combined cellphone images, videos and testimonies of the community recalling how rural producers attacked the Guarani-Kaiwoá families and shot Simeão. It also asserted the community's positioning of never giving up the land even if they had to die.

While the film provides evidence dismissing the farmers' narrative, it may not defuse the affects serving as a justification for the extreme violence perpetrated against Indigenous groups. The representation of Indigenous groups as "threatening others" strikes a chord with the non-Indigenous inhabitants of Mato Grosso do Sul because it invokes a widespread sense of fear and suspicion brewed through everyday "ontologies of threat".

2. "You Are Like a Bugre!" -The Ontology of Threat in Everyday Practice

Minorities are not born but made, historically speaking. In short, it is through specific choices and strategies, often of State elites or political leaders, that particular groups, who have stayed invisible, are rendered visible as minorities against whom campaigns of calumny can be unleashed, leading to explosions of ethnocide. Arjun Appadurai⁵⁰

The filmmaker, photographer and cultural producer Fabiana Fernandes, born and raised in Dourados to a wealthy family of cattle ranchers, recalled that during her childhood, she would often hear the word "*bugre*"⁵¹. The term, a designation used to refer to Indigenous persons in the

region, was used to criticize her when she did not behave well: “Every time I was dirty or had done something wrong, my parents, my housemaids would say: ‘you are like a *bugre*!’ It was bad. I was punished because I had acted like a *bugre*”. It is noteworthy that this theme emerged during the interview because I had witnessed a disagreement between her and a non-Indigenous man, for he had used the term *bugre* to refer pejoratively to someone else.

The first anthropologist to identify *bugre* as a derogatory designation for Indigenous groups in Mato Grosso and Mato Grosso do Sul was Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira (1957). He noted that officers of the Service of Indian Protection (SPI) used it and that the perception of indigeneity encapsulated in the term led to actions geared to control them rather than promote their social-cultural well-being, as the institution was supposed to promote (although many authors argue that its central role was to control Indigenous persons and transform them into agricultural labours, as Appendix H shows) (Cardoso de Oliveira 1957, 174). Anthropologist Gilberto Azanha also observed that the designation was employed as a sign of disapproval and contempt vis-à-vis the Indigenous groups of Mato Grosso do Sul (Miranda 2006, 68). In turn, Ferreira cited recent statements where it appeared infused with distrust, collected in interviews that she, Brand and Almeida conducted with rural producers, as part of the studies developed by the Nucleus of Studies and Research on Indigenous Populations (NEPPI)⁵²: “When my father arrived here, there was no *bugre* [...] If we said “*bugre*”, everyone would run and hide in fear. [...] the critter is wild⁵³ (2007, 49). Contempt also appeared in the intervention of the sister-in-law of the interviewee: “What about the food of the *bugre*, compadre!?! The food of the *bugre* is *candango*-mouse, it is rats, it is fruits, it is, it is... critters, and they have a fish that they catch at the water’s edge. And the critter likes to fish *mofa*, so they fished it a lot⁵⁴” (Ferreira 2007, 50).

Guisard noted that *bugre* originated in medieval Europe as a pejorative term flagging a person as “heretic”, “sodomite”, or “a treacherous infidel”; later, it was adopted by the Portuguese colonizers to designate Indigenous persons (1999, 92-93). He noticed the frequent use of it in his research site, the city of Cáceres in the state of Mato Grosso, which prompted him to conduct interviews and group discussions to identify how the concept was present in the local imaginary. He argued that in the region, it had lost its “heretic” and “sodomite” connotations while keeping the “absolute disqualification those terms contained⁵⁵” as a marker of otherness and exclusion (Guisard 1999, 94). However, the “treacherous infidel” use persisted, with new layers of meaning, such as ideas related to being “lazy”, “vagabond”, “foreign”, “radically other”, “unfit”, “deficient”, “violent” and “rowdy”⁵⁶ (Guisard 1999, 94). Some answers Guisard highlighted as typical were: “the real *bugre* is the one from the bushes, the one who is hidden, more aggressive and recalcitrant”; “the *bugre* who is in the city is more docile, he can be hardworking, but he is treacherous”; “the *bugre*, you cannot trust him”⁵⁷ (1999, 94).

Fabiana Fernandes discussed how the sense of distrust and fear towards Indigenous persons triggered by notions such as *bugre* surfaced in her family with an intensity capable of overriding the ability to see them, akin to Beck’s concept of “cultural blindness” (2009, 162):

The Indigenous persons knock on the door of the mansions to ask for things. This happens daily. It’s not once per year: it’s every day. I was here giving you the interview; I looked, and an Indian was passing by. We do not see them, but they are here. They are from here. They clap and ask for food. They ask for bread: “-is there any old bread?”; “-No, kid, there isn’t any old bread”. Every time an Indian knocked on my door when I was a child, my mother, the housemaids, the babysitter, the cook, the pool guy, any of them, if I was playing in the street or the backyard and an Indigenous family knocked, the first thing they would do would be to bring me inside the house: “Go inside; I’ll go there and answer”. “The Indian is dangerous, the Indian is bad”, that’s what I learned when I was a kid. And we always stay away. We do not get involved. One cannot get involved⁵⁸.

This excerpt exemplifies what Massumi (2010) calls an “affective fact”⁵⁹ akin to the sense of menace created by the rumour circulated on WhatsApp of the looming invasion of the region’s farms by allegedly 600 Indigenous persons (2010, 52).

Massumi argues that “what is not actually real can be felt into being” (2010, 54). Fear becomes “an actual mode of existence” for threat, and “this actual reality is affective” (Massumi 2010, 54). He explains this concept using the example of a loud fire alarm: it is a compelling imperative to react even if there is no fire. It is a “sign-event”, which is an actual experience (Massumi 2010, 64)⁶⁰. The corollary is that action occurs because the sign-event commands the body to break its previous feelings and to transition to a new one⁶¹. He concludes: “everything takes place between the activated body and the sign of its *becoming*”⁶². Further, “mass affective production of felt threat-potential engulfs the (f)actuality” (Massumi 2010, 61, 65)⁶³.

The lack of contact⁶⁴ with Indigenous persons amplifies such reactions, rather than dissipating them: it allows such demeaning representations to be the only narrative⁶⁵ available for the local “cultural imagination” (Furedi 2006, X). Furedi argues, this distancing has serious implications: firstly, it inhibits any possibility for empathy to form⁶⁶. Secondly, it fuels a sense of distrust (Furedi 2006, 133)⁶⁷. Thus, the concept of *bugre* stands for itself as a sign whose mere presence indexes threat. It is so deeply ingrained in local mindsets that the adjectival *bugre* (wild, violent, untrustworthy) stands before the Indigenous subjects -or their tangible bodily presence, to become a sign that can groom an ecology of fear.

In Mato Grosso do Sul, the distancing between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people sealed by the fear cultivated by prejudices ensures that the narrative portraying Indigenous groups as invaders, violent and non-trustworthy finds a fertile soil and resonates with the local population, further instilling these feelings. The corollary is that the affects of many locals towards the Indigenous groups of the region come less from the lived interactions and more from representations reinforced in online environments.

This chapter has called attention to how Indigenous audiovisual works can break this cycle of distance nurtured by distorted fears triggered by racist representations. In the battle between the narratives describing what happened on June 14th, the “new landscapes of communication” created by YouTube and Facebook enable Indigenous persons to circulate narratives⁶⁸ not covered by the local media to audiences broader than those in direct contact with them. In this respect, online environments multiply the arenas where different voices can be present, allowing them to expose what Beck designates as “relations of definition”, which he equates to “relations of domination” (2009, 22, 24; 2016, 114).

ASCURI shared an earlier⁶⁹ version of *Yvy Reñoi, the Seed of the Land* on its YouTube channel, on June 23rd, 2016, and Facebook, on June 24th, getting thousands of views, and bringing attention to the problem. It served as a source of evidence for news reports such as CIMI’s (cited in the first section of this chapter) denouncing the violent removal attempt of the Guarani families, and for the Mato Grosso do Sul’s Federal Public Prosecutor’s Office (MPF-MS), leading to the arrest of the five rural producers responsible for organizing the militia that attacked the Indigenous families in Caarapó. In this respect, cameras became “weapons” for defending the community, and images “ammunition” (Beck 2016, 114, 127). In her psychology Ph.D. research on Guarani use of social media (including people living in different Brazilian states, Argentina, Bolivia and Paraguay), Macedo confirms and broadens this observation. She highlights that many Guarani decided to enter and participate in social media precisely to denounce violence against Indigenous communities and violations of rights, leading her to conclude that the most prevalent use of social media among the Guarani was political, focusing on Indigenous social and land rights (2016, 171, 176, 258). She notes that the social media most used by the Guarani is Facebook, followed by YouTube and WhatsApp (Macedo 2016, 115, 182, 253).

The significance of this presence online can be seen in the emblematic example of the circulation on Facebook of the letter of the Guarani-Kaiwoá community of Pyelito Kue (Mato Grosso do Sul). In 2012, the community announced their “collective death” after receiving an eviction order from the Federal Justice. The letter was interpreted as a “collective suicide” note and went viral, stirring up commotion inside and outside Brazil. It originated the online campaign “Somos todos Guarani Kaiowá” (We are all Guarani Kaiowá), in which non-Indigenous Facebook users added “Kaiwoá” to their names. As a result of this mobilization, the Federal Regional Tribunal of the Third Region (TRF-3) revoked the eviction and allowed the Indigenous group to stay in the area until the demarcation process was completed (Bezerra 2012; Dias Carneiro 2012; Carvalho 2012; G1-MS 2012; Passarinho 2012; Macedo 2016, 113-114)⁷⁰.

Conversely, the new landscapes of communication also broaden Indigenous persons’ access to other experiences. Macedo highlights that they allow Indigenous users to learn about other Indigenous communities’ lived experiences and struggles, and while it can be difficult to visit them physically, social media becomes a tool for supporting each other and collaborating (2016, 188, 189). Online environments also open the possibility to catch a glimpse of occurrences that would be inaccessible to them. This was the case of ASCURI, who had access to a Facebook live-stream⁷¹ broadcasted by Eduardo Bolsonaro glimpsing into his father’s visit to Mato Grosso do Sul (replicated by several YouTube channels⁷²). As shown in this chapter’s epigraph, ASCURI integrated fragments of a YouTube video reproducing this Facebook live stream, thereby weaving into its film evidence supporting its argument that Bolsonaro’s visit to the area emboldened the farmers to resort to violence against Guarani-Kaiowá families. While the growing diversity of media communication platforms has brought concrete positive outcomes for the Guarani-Kaiowá,

there are technological limits to the extent to which the “relations of domination” may be exposed and politicized in favour of other voices to which I turn below.

3. Cosmopolitical Worlds Separated by Catalysts of Fear

The political scientist and journalist, Giuliano da Empoli, explains in his book *Les ingénieurs du Chaos*⁷³ (2019) that social media such as Facebook, Instagram and YouTube do not commit to being an information broadcasting source; instead, they follow a business model built to optimize *engagement* (watch time) and privilege commercial goals such that the message’s resonance becomes more important than truthfulness (Da Empoli 2019, 166-167, 171). Embedded algorithms in such platforms tap on perceived interests and fears to formulate recommendations (as is the case of YouTube) or organize content in the user’s page (as in Facebook) (Da Empoli 2019,163; Han 2017, 61-62).

The power of these customizations is enabled by unprecedented measurability: habits, preferences, emotions, and opinions become trackable and able to be mobilized to a degree never seen through the participation on social media and on the internet (Da Empoli 2019, 154). German philosopher Byung-Chul Han argues that the implications are that online communication platforms have inaugurated the era of “digital psychopolitics”, as Big Data became a “highly efficient psychopolitical instrument” providing an increasingly comprehensive and precise knowledge of a person’s interests, emotions and patterns of thoughts (2017, 11). For instance, a 2015 study resulting from the collaboration of the University of Cambridge’s Department of Psychology with the Stanford University’s Department of Computer Science suggests that the digital footprint of Facebook users, such as the “likes” they leave on the platform, can serve as input for computer models to formulate personality judgements more accurate than those coined by the users’ close friends and family⁷⁴(Youyou et al. 2015, 1037).

The corollary of content tailoring is that “the version of the world that each of us sees is literally invisible to others. [...] Each of us walks in our own bubble, within which some voices are heard, but not others and some facts exist but not others”⁷⁵ (Da Empoli 2019, 189). Thus, if we seem crazy to each other, “it is no longer our opinions on the facts that divide us, but the facts themselves”⁷⁶ (Da Empoli 2019, 189). This point highlights a challenge for Indigenous narratives aiming to reach a broader audience because audiovisual platforms cluster content fuelling a negative confirmation bias while muting other perspectives.

A 2019 New York Times news report⁷⁷ discussed the consequences in Brazil of an artificial intelligence system engineered for YouTube in 2015⁷⁸. It observed that 70% of watch time on the platform was driven by the technology (Fisher and Taub 2019, 1). As it was designed to maximize the time spent on YouTube, the system emphasized content sparking strong emotional responses, exposing users to videos successively more extreme, tapping on conspiracy theories triggering fear, doubt, and anger that the audience would probably otherwise never find (Fisher and Taub 2019, 1; Esteves 2020, 2⁷⁹). This never-ending stream creating a radicalization pipeline difficult to leave received the nickname of “rabbit hole” (Esteves 2020, 3; Fisher and Taub 2019, 3). In this regard, social media scholar Tufekci considers that YouTube is “one of the most powerful radicalizing instruments of the 21st century” (Fisher and Taub 2019, 2).

A Harvard research team, who partnered with a researcher from the National Taiwan University to inquire whether the far-right meteoric popularity rise on YouTube in Brazil had been catalyzed by its recommendation system⁸⁰, concluded that “after users watched a video about politics or even entertainment, YouTube’s recommendations often favoured right-wing, conspiracy-filled channels” (Berkman Klein Center 2019; Fisher and Taub 2019, 4). A 2020 research team from the Federal University of Minas Gerais and the Polytechnique School of

Lausanne (Switzerland) provided quantitative evidence supporting this point. They probed over two million video and channel recommendations on YouTube worldwide from May to July 2019. They concluded that users progressively and consistently migrated from moderate to extreme content and that YouTube's algorithm recommends far-right videos that would not be easily reachable (Ribeiro, Ottoni et al. 2019⁸¹; Esteves 2020, 1).

The algorithm also aims to kindle new interests. Fisher and Traub cite the case of a 16-year-old Brazilian interested in guitar tutorials. He was directed to the channel of Nando Moura, a YouTuber who is an amateur guitar teacher and creates content on heavy metal but also disseminates conspiracy theories. Nando Moura is one of the six YouTube channels Bolsonaro recommended on Twitter in 2018, mentioned in Chapter 1. The teenager became hooked on far-right videos and started to produce videos himself (Fisher and Taub 2019, 1).

Chaslot, who worked on the team designing YouTube's recommendation engine, addressed its logic during the Disinfo Lab conference in 2019⁸². He explained that the more content is sensational, divisive and approaches the boundaries of what is permitted under social media policies, the more engagement it obtains (Chaslot 2019; Maack 2019). This problem is heightened in Brazil because most cell phone companies in the country offer affordable plans with limited data for surfing on the internet while giving unlimited access to social media and special promotions for viewing video applications such as YouTube⁸³. As a result, the users have limited chances to confirm the sources of the profuse flow of information they receive daily.

The corollary is that the recommendation system unites marginal channels, creating echo chambers and an audience for them (Fisher and Taub 2019, 4). If videos defending conspiracy theories do not have credibility on their own, when they are strung together, the sensation is that multiple unrelated sources are uncovering the same dreadful truth. Anthropologist and law

professor Debora Diniz observes, in this regard, that “it feels like the connection is made by the viewer, but the connection is made by the system” (Fisher and Taub 2019, 6). The implication is that narratives stimulating fear against Indigenous groups gain disproportional dimensions.

The importance of YouTube cannot be understated in the new landscape of communications. The analysis software *Alexa* indicates that this video viewing and sharing platform is the second most visited website in Brazil and worldwide, the first one being the Google search engine (Alexa 2021b; Alexa 2021a). The 2018 research *Video Viewers*⁸⁴ promoted by *Think with Google* inquiring on how Brazilians viewed audiovisual content from 2014 to 2018 reveals that the time they spent watching videos has steadily grown since 2014. While TV content viewing increased by 13%, online audiovisual content watching grew by 135% (Marinho 2018, 1). Consequently, in 2018, YouTube already had the second-largest share of audiovisual viewing in Brazil, coming only three percentage points behind Brazil’s leading TV channel (*TV Globo*). It is noteworthy that YouTube’s share (15%) substantially surpassed Facebook (6%), Netflix (4%), WhatsApp (4%) and Instagram (3%). The research highlighted that Brazilians use YouTube “to get information about what is happening in Brazil and the world” and that nine in ten Brazilians use YouTube to study (Marinho 2018, 2-3).

I have elaborated on metrics and algorithms because these developments have opened unprecedented economic and propaganda opportunities for spreaders of hate (Da Empoli 2019, 170). As algorithms have been fine-tuned to privilege commercial purposes, they transform these landscapes into advertisement platforms where those who have more money can propagate their ideas. For instance, Facebook and Instagram encourage anybody to pay to boost any post, and YouTube also allows to promote videos on its platform.

The network of oligopolies propelling “post-imperialist” cosmopolitics uses its overwhelming financial power to promote agendas such as the one incarnated by multinational agribusiness in Mato Grosso do Sul. They fund politicians in Brazil who advocate for extractivist forms of neoliberalism as a suitable model to ensure Brazil’s development while negatively portraying defenders of alternatives for engaging with local lands (such as the Indigenous advocates for responsible relationalities with land).

Accordingly, neoliberal discourses contribute to the ontology of threat in Mato Grosso do Sul associating indigeneity with sentiments of fear and distrust. For instance, Jair and Eduardo Bolsonaro talk about Indigenous groups from Mato Grosso do Sul by clustering together negative perceptions of indigeneity from different contexts, constituting them as antagonistic to progress and modernity. Below, I analyze emblematic examples of how this process specifically affects Indigenous groups in Mato Grosso do Sul focusing on the video *Eduardo Bolsonaro says truths to Indians from the Mato Grosso do Sul conflict*⁸⁵ posted by Eduardo Bolsonaro in October 2015 on his YouTube channel⁸⁶ and Facebook page⁸⁷.

4. Flesh and Blood Algorithms

4.1 Eduardo Bolsonaro saying “truths” to Mato Grosso do Sul’s Indigenous groups

Eduardo Bolsonaro’s video presented his speech during a Human Rights Commission Public hearing to find a resolution for the impasses with Indigenous peoples in Mato Grosso do Sul. The text introducing the video had the title “INDIANS VICTIMIZE THEMSELVES IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS”. It suggested that participants at the negotiation table were “Indians -or pseudo-Indians- since many come from Paraguay- and their defenders”; that in the testimonies, “only victimization was reported” as in “claims” about farmers forming militias to exterminate

Indigenous children, and that “henchmen raped their girls and women”⁸⁸ (Bolsonaro 2015). This comment casts doubt not only on the veracity of the accusations against the farmers but also on the Indigenous identity itself. The suggestion that many Indigenous persons from Mato Grosso do Sul are “pseudo-Indians” because they are supposedly Paraguayans posing as “Indians” invokes a very recurrent argument in Mato Grosso do Sul, which denies indigeneity and Brazilianness simultaneously (see Appendix I). In this respect, it acts as a dog whistle referring to the negative representations already populating the place, later reinforced by references from other contexts.

While Eduardo Bolsonaro mentions he contacted a farmer and a Member of Parliament from Mato Grosso do Sul to obtain information about “the local situation,” he built some of his arguments using unrelated YouTube videos:

Because here, I have heard a lot of people saying that “they are killing our children”. What about the images that arrive on our YouTube of the Indians themselves burying their disabled children? This is a crime, this is infanticide, or this is homicide! Welcome to Brazilian society⁸⁹. (Bolsonaro 2015)

Images of Indigenous persons placing an Indigenous child in a hole they dug in the dirt were used to “confirm” his argument. It is noteworthy that there is no information about the Indigenous group in the video nor the place they live or the time the images were recorded. Thus, Bolsonaro dismisses denunciations of violence against Indigenous children in Mato Grosso do Sul by using extreme YouTube images from an unrelated source to support the claim that Indigenous groups are “playing the victims” when they supposedly cause harm to their children.

Eduardo Bolsonaro’s video recurrently draws on the conflation of different contexts, as in mixing up information from a totally different circumstance as when he mentions that “In Raposa Serra do Sol, 3% of the area is occupied by farmers: they were thrown out like animals”⁹⁰ (Bolsonaro 2015). This Indigenous land is in Roraima, Brazil’s northernmost state, within the Legal Amazon region. This case is totally different from the situation in Mato Grosso do Sul, the Brazilian state with the largest proportion of private lands and the largest concentration of land for

large-scale multinational farming, as mentioned in Chapter 1. In contrast, regularized Indigenous lands occupy only 1.6% of Mato Grosso do Sul (see Appendix E). However, excluding the Kadiwéu land, demarcated between 1899 and 1900 as a recognition of their contribution in Brazil's defence during the war against Paraguay in 1864, the remaining 28 regularized Indigenous lands (including Indigenous reserves) correspond to only 0.18% of Mato Grosso do Sul's area⁹¹ (Silva 2014, 103-105, 119). Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the Kadiwéu land has been invaded by cattle farmers since at least the 1950s, as the 1967 report elaborated at the request of the Brazilian Internal Affairs Minister⁹² informs. It includes an official letter from 1962 from Lieutenant Colonel Moacyr Ribeiro Coelho, the SPI president from 1961 to 1963, denouncing it as a "frontal abuse" and a "true crime"⁹³ (Ribeiro Coelho 1962, 6236-6237; Guimarães 2015, 39).

This example counters Eduardo Bolsonaro's main statement in the video he posted justifying the violence against Indigenous people in the region:

To say that invasions [by the Indigenous people] are in fact a 'reoccupation' [in Portuguese: *retomada*]. Gentlemen, those lands are there with the farmers, bought from the State by legal means, 20, 30, 40, 50 years ago. You really think you are going to enter these lands [...] and then everyone will leave: "thank you, sorry; I'm going to leave here so that you can occupy, bye"? Then people say that "justice is slow, so let's enter forcibly". So, since it is by force, eye for eye and tooth for tooth, then you cannot complain about the conflict⁹⁴. (Bolsonaro 2015)

The Kadiwéu example (which is far from being the only one as Appendices E and H show) breaks Bolsonaro's generalizing argument placing Indigenous persons in the position of *invaders* and farmers as *threatened law-abiding citizens*, which provides a rationale justifying violence against Indigenous groups as a form of defence. Nevertheless, I am not saying that there are no farmers who bought lands in the region legally and with the best intentions.

Like Marquez, Eduardo Bolsonaro also supports his arguments with pictures and videos provided by Mato Grosso do Sul farmers:

The photos of the burned tractors, who burned it? Did the farmers themselves burn? The video I received with FUNAI... With Indigenous people inside the FUNAI car... [...] entering inside the property of a

farmer who was desperate! [...] Because he knows that if an Indigenous person goes in there, it will take years to get that Indigenous person out of there. And the worst is the support of the National Force: if the police are supporting someone, it is the Indians rather than killing them. Where in the world would the federal police, if it is killing an Indian over there, come in with rubber bullets? If the goal is to kill, first, they will not enter with a rubber bullet; they would enter with a real firearm!⁹⁵ (Bolsonaro 2015)

During his speech, the video displayed pictures of burnt shovel loader tractors and an excerpt of a video where FUNAI officers bring an Indigenous family in a pickup truck and are met by infuriated farmers⁹⁶. The video did not provide any explanation about the context.

Eduardo Bolsonaro finished his argument appealing to a representation that took root since the 19th century in Brazil, associating the consolidation and the progress of the Brazilian nation with the farmers' work (see Appendix I). Concomitantly, he insinuated that there are people/institutions using the Indigenous groups to take the riches of others:

So, Mr. President, I ask for a little of serenity and say that the truth is the following: for Brazil to grow and to continue moving forward, it has to be praised by work and not divided [by those who] want to take the riches that belong to others. Let's make the farmers' voice heard here too. Also, because I don't know how come that so many Indians manage to get here if they say they are so isolated from society. They take a plane and come here. Who is paying for all this?⁹⁷ (Bolsonaro 2015)

Also reinforcing the suspicion against Indigenous groups and those supposedly “behind them” is his generalization that the “Indians” claim they are “isolated from society”, which he presents as a contradiction to the fact that many travelled to the House of Commons. He builds his argument based not on the facts pertaining to the Mato Grosso do Sul's case but on vague notions of indigeneity pulled from different contexts to fit it. He disregards the fact that there are over 300 Indigenous peoples in Brazil and that the “uncontacted” ones live far from the state: there are approximately 114 registers of uncontacted groups in the Legal Amazon, according to the FUNAI website (accessed in 2021) (FUNAI 2021a)⁹⁸.

The moment Eduardo Bolsonaro inquires into who is paying for plane travels is illustrated in the video by a picture of Kayapo leader Raoni Metuktire drinking Coca-Cola. Metuktire's advocacy for preserving the Amazon Forest gained national and international fame and the

support of environmentalists and celebrities such as Sting, with whom he visited 17 countries in 1989⁹⁹ (Reuters 2019a; Harris 2019). As there is no Kayapo in Mato Grosso do Sul, the only purpose of the picture was to associate Bolsonaro's question with conspiracy theories related to Indigenous groups becoming a gateway for international interests in the Amazon Forest, to which his father also subscribes. Below, I discuss how President Jair Bolsonaro's video addressed to Mato Grosso do Sul's farmers cited at the beginning of this chapter has also drawn on conspiracy theories formulated in the 1980s.

4.2. President Bolsonaro invoking old conspiracy theories against Indigenous groups

Jair Bolsonaro's video excerpt addressed to Mato Grosso do Sul farmers, opening this chapter, is a telling example of how he reproduces the concerns over Indigenous lands compromising Brazil's sovereignty: "I have fought a lot against the demarcation of Indigenous lands and especially the Yanomami: twice the state of Rio de Janeiro for approximately 9,000 Indians. It's a big risk, right? Sooner or later, these large areas will become new countries; after all, these lands are in rich environments". While distrust towards Indigenous groups finds roots in his military upbringing during the Brazilian military dictatorship, which considered indigeneity as a threat to national security (see Appendix J), the Yanomami land reference waves to the 1990s' conspiracy theory portraying its demarcation as a "sham" led by the "Christian Church World Council" to give way to the foreign domination of the Brazilian Amazon by creating independent Indigenous nations under the tutelage of the United Nations (Barreto 1995, 31)¹⁰⁰.

This rumour tapped on the derogatory campaign that the newspaper *O Estado de São Paulo* launched in August 1987, when its Sunday edition headline announced: "The Indians in the new Constitution -a Conspiracy against Brazil". Its accusation targeted the Indigenist Missionary

Council (CIMI), who was advocating for including the designation “Indigenous Nations” in the Constitution (Lopes 2011, 114, 118). This demonization of the Catholic Church fuelled a fiery debate accusing CIMI of serving as a “figurehead” for foreign interests, suggesting that these alleged interests aimed to obstruct competition for mining explorations in Brazil by prohibiting mining activities in Indigenous lands. The newspaper affirmed that CIMI was a representative of the “Christian Church World Council”, an institution whose existence was never proved¹⁰¹. Thus, the proposal for the adoption of the “Indigenous Nations” designation would have the goal to influence the elaboration of the Constitution to implement in the country the concept of “restrict sovereignty” for later giving way to an “internationalization” of Indigenous lands¹⁰² (Lopes 2011, 114; Ramos 1998, 177, 272). In September 1987, a Joint Parliamentary Committee of Investigation (CPMI) scrutinized these allegations, concluding, two months later, that the denunciation was “of dubious origin and without foundation¹⁰³” (Lopes 2011, 115).

Nevertheless, this concern is alive in common sense, providing justifications for Mato Grosso do Sul’s government to investigate CIMI as late as 2016 and for Bolsonaro to publicly say in the state that he considers Indigenous lands to be a “crime”¹⁰⁴, which reiterates the local representations of indigeneity as a threat (Marques and Rocha 2015). Furthermore, the catalyzing power of YouTube, Facebook and WhatsApp propel Bolsonaro’s views to ever-larger audiences.

An example was his pre-campaign speech, in April 2017, posted on YouTube:

Where there is an Indigenous reserve, there is wealth beneath it. We have to change this! But we don’t have, today, more autonomy to change this. So much of our nation has been given away that we have reached this point. But our country is about to change. [...] If I get there [become Brazil’s president], if it is up to me, every citizen will have a firearm inside the house, there will not be a centimetre demarcated for Indigenous reserves or for *quilombola* [descendants of African slaves who managed to flee slavery]! With partnerships, we will rescue this Brazil¹⁰⁵. (Bolsonaro 2017)

In fact, the social media’s amplification of Bolsonaro’s inflammatory discourses were determinant for his election in 2018, as he only obtained widespread popularity after the rise of

far-right audiovisual echo chambers, where, for instance, the popularity of YouTube's far-right content exploded, priming an ever-growing number of Brazilians for his message¹⁰⁶ (Fisher and Taub 2019, 4). Social media offered an ideal milieu for him to thrive because the only added value they require is to "never be boring", and this rule favours those who engender every day "a coup de théâtre, like the cliff-hanger of a television series that forces the audience to stay glued to the screen to see the next episode"¹⁰⁷ (Da Empoli 2019, 170). In this respect, Bolsonaro's controversial and often offensive declarations¹⁰⁸, which have also been used exhaustively by TV channels to hook the audience, found fertile soil online. His YouTube channel has over 3.3 million subscribers¹⁰⁹ and his Facebook over 14 million followers¹¹⁰. Another factor contributing to Bolsonaro's online popularity on the communication landscape is that the president's weekly address is only broadcasted as weekly "lives" streamed on YouTube, Facebook and Twitter¹¹¹.

The implications for Indigenous groups of Bolsonaro's election were sombre. While he has opposed the demarcation of Indigenous lands since he entered politics in 1991¹¹², the presidency gave him unprecedented powers to stop Indigenous land demarcations and open access for mining and agribusiness initiatives¹¹³. Bolsonaro's proclivity for benefitting multi-national agribusiness oligopolies over local Indigenous groups is also linked to the effect that the new communication landscapes had on him. While online communication platforms propelled Bolsonaro's polemic statements to ever-larger groups, they also significantly shaped his and his family's perceptions of the world, aligning it with discourses and standpoints coined in different parts of the planet to promote a neoliberal agenda benefitting large corporations.

5. "The Same Worldview": Neoliberal Cosmopolitics in New Landscapes of Communication

5.1. Eduardo Bolsonaro, Olavo de Carvalho and Steve Bannon

During an interview with a *Revista Piauí* reporter, Eduardo Bolsonaro admitted that social media had profoundly influenced his family's perspectives about the world. The reporter confirmed this information with Eduardo Bolsonaro's university friends and professors who declared to find intriguing his metamorphosis over the years and not to recognize the agreeable person who had never defended extremist positions before: "When I read his speeches in the newspapers and social media, it's like a character I don't know, because the Eduardo Bolsonaro student was normal, polite", declared a previous professor¹¹⁴ (Bilenky 2020, 22). Eduardo Bolsonaro attributes his new worldview to Olavo de Carvalho, which he discovered after his eldest brother, Flavio Bolsonaro, came across Carvalho's YouTube videos around 2011¹¹⁵:

Olavo opens your eyes. If you just read the big media, you will have a worldview. If you can get out of this, read authors like Olavo, and start to enter the internet world, where several profiles have a lot more likes and retweets than journalists with big structures behind them, you will discover another world. (Bilenky 2020, 9)¹¹⁶

The 73-year-old Brazilian self-educated speaker (he dropped out of school in Grade 8¹¹⁷) has lived in rural Virginia, in the United States, for 15 years. With over 1 million subscribers on his YouTube channel, over 500 thousand followers on Facebook and 700 000¹¹⁸ on Twitter, he is an emblematic example of how social media has favoured polemicists. He broadcasts his views on his YouTube channel in a combative but intimate tone filled with swear words and rants. An *America's Quarterly* journalist noted that he "makes his listeners feel like they're sharing an intimate secret" (Winter 2018, 4)¹¹⁹. In fact, as Brazilian comparative literature professor João Cezar de Castro Rocha observed, Carvalho has openly discussed, in a book he wrote in 1995, techniques for mass manipulation through "contradictory stimulation" in order to "change the personality and the convictions of a man" in five steps, and Carvalho highlighted the potential of the internet to achieve this goal in "national, continental or planetary scale" through a planned control of the information flow¹²⁰ (Carvalho 1995, 78-79; Rocha 2021, 67).

Carvalho's videos and posts on social media range from challenging climate-change theories¹²¹, claiming that vaccines "kill" or "drive mad"¹²², that smoking is not harmful¹²³, and LGBTQ causes are "incompatible" with democracy¹²⁴ (Carvalho 2009, 2015, 2016a, 2016b, 2016c). During an interview, he declared that "thousands and thousands of Islamic agents are coming in through the Amazon" (Winter 2018, 5). Carvalho translates to Portuguese-speaking audiences many conspiracy theories circulating in the United States, including the belief that Barack Obama's birth certificate is fake¹²⁵ (Carvalho 2008). A reporter from The Washington Post who interviewed Carvalho in 2019 noticed he had been greatly influenced by ideas popular in rural Virginia (McCoy 2019, 1, 2)¹²⁶.

Eduardo Bolsonaro was so impressed with Carvalho that he travelled to Virginia in 2017 to meet him and broadcast this encounter on social media¹²⁷ (McCoy 2019, 13; Bilenky 2020, 10). He credits Carvalho for his father's election: "We couldn't have won the election without Olavo. [...] There would be no President Bolsonaro" (McCoy 2019, 1). Carvalho agrees he was responsible for the spark igniting the sudden popularity of Bolsonaro: "I created the hunger for different ideas. [...] There was no thirst. I created it" (McCoy 2019, 1). Although they had only met online¹²⁸, Carvalho did not doubt his influence over Jair Bolsonaro, as he declared in a 2018 interview: "Look, I think the person he listens to most is me" (Winter 2018, 2; McCoy 2019, 3).

Attesting to this influence, Bolsonaro displayed on his desk Carvalho's book *The Minimum You Need to Know to Not Be an Idiot*¹²⁹ (2013) during his election night victory speech (broadcasted from his house as a "live" on social media). There were only three other books: The Bible, the Brazilian Federal Constitution and Winston Churchill's *Memoirs of the Second World War* (1948) (Winter 2018, 2; McCoy 2019, 1). Furthermore, as mentioned in Chapter 1, Carvalho's YouTube channel was one of the six recommended by Bolsonaro as information

sources more reliable than mainstream media. Another token of Carvalho's pull was Bolsonaro's selection of Ernesto Araújo as his foreign minister, following the 73-year-old recommendation. Araújo had a blog named *Climate change, a Marxist conspiracy* where he wrote about the alleged "criminalization" of heterosexual intercourse, red meat, and oil (Winter 2018, 3)¹³⁰.

Carvalho's influence paved the path for an increasing alignment between the Bolsonaro family with far-right and neoliberal perceptions. It led Bolsonaro to convert to "small government" ideas, which bridged the path for connecting with others abroad, such as an investment fund director who organized Bolsonaro's trip to the United States in 2017 (that included a conference debate with Olavo de Carvalho¹³¹) and considered Bolsonaro to be "viable for occupying the presidency of Brazil"¹³² (Bilenky 2020, 11).

In January 2018, Eduardo Bolsonaro posted on his YouTube channel a video recorded during another trip to the United States, explaining the "global warming hoax" and defending the United States' exit from the Paris agreement (Bolsonaro 2018a)¹³³. Becoming a close advisor of his father, he has contributed to shaping the president's discourses (O Globo 2019)¹³⁴. A third trip to the United States in August 2018 culminated with the encounter with Stephen K. Bannon, the former chief strategist of American president Donald Trump and former vice president of Cambridge Analytica, an American firm outgrown from the Strategic communications Laboratories (rebranded as SCL Group), a government and military contractor which uses data mining for behavioural research. As Eduardo Bolsonaro's tweet about their meeting reveals, they realized they shared "the same worldview" and committed to "join forces"¹³⁵ (Bolsonaro 2018b).

One recent outcome of the relationship between Steve Bannon and Eduardo Bolsonaro is the latter's participation in "The Movement": in February 2019, a press release presenting the united consortium founded by Steve Bannon announced that Eduardo Bolsonaro would "represent

South America” (The Movement 2019)¹³⁶. Besides, Eduardo Bolsonaro organized in Brazil the first Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC)¹³⁷.

While there is no evidence that Bolsonaro’s presidential campaign had a formal agreement with Cambridge Analytica, it had striking similarities with Trump’s campaign oriented by the company, such as the quasi-exclusive reliance on social media and the massive dissemination of the same fears stirring discourses circulating in Trump’s presidential campaign. A compelling piece of evidence is that at least four YouTube channels out of the six recommended by Bolsonaro as trustworthy sources in contrast to the mainstream media (see Chapter 1) systematically translated Trump supporters’ discourses on social media. Another strategy developed by Cambridge Analytica and extensively used during Bolsonaro’s presidential campaign was the segmentation of the messages posted on social media, using micro-targeting and profiling techniques, as I discuss in the next section.

In fact, Cambridge Analytica’s presence in Brazilian elections through audio, visual and audiovisual propaganda on social media considerably preceded Eduardo Bolsonaro’s encounter with Bannon and contributed to the ontologies of threat shaping the current political landscape in Brazil. The pilot project for political campaigns using Cambridge Analytica’s psychographic messaging was tested precisely in Olavo de Carvalho’s dwelling region during Virginia’s gubernatorial race in 2013, and there are clear intersections between Carvalho’s statements and the “alt-right” rhetoric promoted by the company (Rosenberg et al. 2018, 3). Besides, the company representatives have acknowledged their presence in Brazil. In an undercover investigation about the company conducted by the British TV Channel 4 *News* aired in March 2017 and available on its YouTube channel¹³⁸, Mark Turnbull, then the managing director of Cambridge Analytica’s Global Political branch, revealed that they were “moving into Brazil” to

implement its micro-targeting messaging techniques (Channel 4 News, 2018). Moreover, according to documents leaked¹³⁹ in January 2020, Cambridge Analytica had started conversations with potential Brazilian partners as early as May 2016¹⁴⁰. In a 2017 interview, André Torreta, the owner of the Brazilian political marketing consulting company Ponte Estratégia, located in São Paulo, confirmed the information. Around April 2016, a Spanish executive from the SCL group contacted him to propose the partnership even though he is not a technology expert and does not speak English (Rossi and Marreiro 2017)¹⁴¹. Cambridge Analytica justified their choice of Torreta because he specialized in understanding and targeting low-middle-class voters (Long 2017, 2). By 2018, one of its five office locations¹⁴² was in Brazil (Ingram 2018, 3). However, Torreta affirms that the contract with the company was suspended after the Facebook scandal (that I mention in the next section) (Rossi and Marreiro 2017).

Below, I show how digital psychopolitics has tapped on the algorithmic architecture of the new landscapes of communication to propel online a type of neoliberal cosmopolitics that has increasingly gained space in Brazil, and Mato Grosso do Sul to the benefit of a network of companies benefitting from agribusiness over Indigenous communities in Brazil, as I argue in the next chapter.

5.2. Psychopolitics catalyzing ontologies of threat in the service of alt-right cosmopolitics

Were you lucky enough to own a private beach and you wanted to stop people from using it, you might put up the sign on the left here [behind the presenter, the left picture has a sign saying: “PUBLIC BEACH ENDS HERE. PRIVATE PROPERTY”. This is largely informational and seeks to inform attitudes. Conversely, you could use the communication on the right [The picture on the right has a sign stating: “WARNING” followed by a shark icon and the sentence “SHARK SIGHTED”]. This is behavioural communication, and it seeks to probe an altogether much more powerful underlying motivation. Clearly, the threat of being eaten by a shark might prevent you from swimming in that sea.

Alexander Nix

During the undercover filming, Turnbull explained how Cambridge Analytica taps on hopes and fears to obtain effective results:

The two fundamental human drivers when it comes to taking information onboard effectively are hopes and fears, and many of those are unspoken and even unconscious. You didn't know that was a fear until you saw something that just evoked that reaction from you. And our job is to get, is to drop the bucket further down the well than anybody else, to understand what are those really deep-seated underlying fears, concerns. It's no good fighting an election campaign on the facts because, actually, it's all about emotion. [...] It has to happen without anyone thinking that's propaganda because the moment you think that's propaganda, the next question is: who's put that out? So, we have to be very subtle. (Channel 4 News, 2018)

The corollary of this statement is that messages do not need to commit to facts or the truth, as illustrated in the epigraph opening this section: an excerpt from the speech of Alexander Nix, then the chief executive officer of Cambridge Analytica, during the 2016 Concordia Annual Summit (available on Concordia's YouTube channel¹⁴³).

The effect of Cambridge Analytica's message was catalyzed by its promptitude to harness the power of psychopolitics by all means, including not-so-ethical ones. The unethical obtention of data caused the company's demise. Shortly before the encounter between Eduardo Bolsonaro and Steve Bannon, Cambridge Analytica had been dismantled after it was accused, in April 2018, of improperly harvesting personal data of up to 87 million Facebook users in 2014 (Kang and Frenkel 2018, 1)¹⁴⁴. It used a psychological test application downloaded by approximately 270,000 people to gather their data and of all their Facebook friends without their consent (Ingram 2018, 4; Rosenberg et al. 2018, 4)¹⁴⁵.

While most Facebook users affected were from the United States (81.6%), others were from the Philippines, Indonesia, the United Kingdom, Mexico, Canada, India, Brazil, Vietnam and Australia (G1 2018b; Ingram 2018; BBC News 2018)¹⁴⁶. In December 2019, Brazil's Ministry of Justice fined Facebook 6.6 million BRL (1.6 million USD) for improperly sharing the data of at least 443,000 Brazilian users with Cambridge Analytica (Leite 2019,1; Brito 2019, 1)¹⁴⁷. The data analysis served to develop "psychographic" profiles based on the assessment of five personality-

traits¹⁴⁸ able to influence political leanings in a way more accurate than demographic or geographic segmenting (Stead Sellers 2015, 2; Confessore and Hakim 2017, 1)¹⁴⁹. One trait was “neuroticism,” marking a person vulnerable to anxiety and fear-inducing stimuli.

This information oriented the company’s “behavioural microtargeting” strategies, resulting in the crafting of thousands of bespoke emotionally charged audio, visual and audiovisual propaganda¹⁵⁰ displayed only to certain potential voters. In an interview given to French journalist Thomas Huchon available on his documentary on the subject¹⁵¹, French mathematician Paul-Olivier Dehaye, who specialized in data, explained the process:

The idea is that a company or a Facebook page can put out a message for a specific population. And that this message is only visible to that group. It will not appear on their own page. In an electoral context, it means that candidates can target individuals on Facebook with negative messages against the other candidate without journalists being aware because these messages will not appear publicly. (Huchon 2017)

In 2018, Brazilian anthropologist Isabela Oliveira Kalil led a research team that identified 16 different profiles of Bolsonaro’s voters. She attributed this phenomenon to Bolsonaro’s presidential campaign strategy of using the same techniques as Cambridge Analytica: profiling potential voters to segment information on social media and micro-targeting them with specific content and rhetoric¹⁵². I argue that the rhetoric promotes a neoliberal “cosmopolitical” discourse benefitting the networks of multinational companies increasingly pervasive in Brazil and Mato Grosso do Sul. Indeed, the antidote proposed by pro-Bolsonaro content to stop the grip of “communism” and solve the corruption in Brazil is the reduction of the state to a “minimal state”, as corruption is perceived as “inherent” to governments or any form of public management, but “absent or hardly present in private companies and large corporations” (Oliveira Kalil 2018, 14).

In the face of the evident similarities between the campaigns of Donald Trump in the United States and Jair Bolsonaro in Brazil, Oliveira Kalil highlights the urgency to “understand the Brazilian right in terms of its connections with transnational trends movements such as the alt-

right¹⁵³ in the United States”, while acknowledging it is important to consider the specificities regarding each country’s electoral systems, the local contexts, and the candidates. I suggest that these connections are linked to the business backers of these presidential campaigns¹⁵⁴.

While there is no clear evidence of how Bolsonaro’s campaign was funded, at least 156 business backers have been accused of bankrolling a campaign fraud scheme consisting of bombarding Brazilian voters on social media with misinformation and untruths about Bolsonaro’s opponents¹⁵⁵. A pre-election poll gave an unprecedented understanding of the level of reliance of Bolsonaro’s voters on social media regarding the information on Brazilian politics. It found that 57% declared to get information about politics on Facebook, 61% on WhatsApp¹⁵⁶, 10% on Twitter and 28% on Instagram. The poll did not ask about YouTube but inquired on the percentage of voters who had the habit of watching videos about Brazilian politics on the Internet: 63% of Bolsonaro voters did (G1 2018a)¹⁵⁷.

This online content, in turn, reverberates and catalyzes discourses and mobilizations outside the Internet. Oliveira Kalil remarks that “the right-wing growth is [...], on the one hand, an internet-based phenomenon but, on the other, it is also the result of a complex articulation between street and social network.” (2018, 8). My next chapter expands on this observation. I address the entanglement between online and physical environments returning to my notion of *hyperlinked space*. I show how Mato Grosso do Sul became an arena where different cosmopolitic visions of the world dispute the discursive and physical space while grounded and projected in online discursive practices.

6. Conclusion

I began this chapter by showing how new communication landscapes have pluralized the possibility to disseminate experiences and standpoints to broad circles of people. In this context, the growing access to cell phones equipped with cameras and social platforms such as YouTube and Facebook allowed ASCURI to present experiences that would not otherwise receive space in the mainstream media. Remarkably, while ASCURI initially engaged in this antagonistic relationship with the motivation of dismissing the misinformation spread by the Caarapó rural producers, it escaped it by carving and asserting a new discursive space for presenting the Guarani Kaiowá “way” of living in the land in their own terms, engaged with the affective intensities and responsibilities established by their ecological relations with the land. In other words, online landscapes of communication enabled these Indigenous filmmakers and the communities they portrayed to find a space where they could control their public image.

However, the challenge is less a question of presence than of how online content is filtered and distributed. Algorithms curating what users can see on social media favour content arousing fear, outrage, and inflammatory rhetoric, forming radicalizing echo chambers. Concerning Indigenous people, this leads to the clustering of negative representations tied to different times, places and contexts that ultimately helped propel Bolsonaro to power, catalyzing further the adverse outcomes for the Indigenous groups in Mato Grosso do Sul.

This discussion indicates how online discursive practices catalyze local political ontologies of threat by adding layers of potential danger to notions such as “bugre” or “Indian”. These representations provide alleged pieces of evidence rooted not in a “factual basis” but in “affective facts” legitimizing actions proportional not to circumstances (40 Guarani-Kaiowá families retaking a portion of their land located in one farm) but to the lurking menace these negative notions translate (600 “Indians” planning to invade all farms of the region¹⁵⁸).

Online communication platforms have also aligned Bolsonaro and his family with discourses privileging large corporations, as recent efforts to influence users through micro-targeted content flooded social media. The result is the cauterization of online echo chambers reproducing specific fear-inducing conspiracy theories, including ones seeding suspicion against Indigenous groups. If Beck envisioned the potential for digital communication platforms to create “imagined communities”, as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, these online milieux are assembling collectives based on common fears while weakening communities linked by geographic references, leading to a growing polarization within countries.

In this respect, the notion of cosmopolitics is helpful. It allows us to perceive these political currents flowing within and beyond nations forming a new configuration of collectivities. Gustavo Ribeiro’s elaboration on the term post-imperialism highlights the link between the rise of the use of technology promoting alt-right rhetoric online and the increase of the political and economic grip obtained by corporations and social actors favouring a type of predatory capitalism that antagonizes environmental efforts and social safety-nets. This private control of national politics results in multinational collaborations for propelling a project for society benefiting these neoliberal interests, as Cambridge Analytica’s case illustrates. It expresses a cosmopolitic movement (following Robbins and Cheah) using new media to prescribe a narrative of national development along with neoliberal standpoints and interests. In the next chapter, I explore ways by which Indigenous persons in Mato Grosso do Sul, ever more present in social media, and ASCURI have responded to these challenges.

CHAPTER 4: COSMOPOLITIC BATTLES IN THE NEW LANDSCAPES OF COMMUNICATION

The way of thinking always comes from the non-Indigenous perspective [...]. We must use the new technologies, media technologies to strengthen the Kaiowá-Guarani way [...] to produce knowledge, but different. The way of thinking, the way of creating, the form of registration must be different. [...] The Indigenous presence in the university, in the media, in the territory [...] must be different.¹

Eliel Benites

We are now living a crucial moment in the struggle to guarantee territory, human rights, health; all these guarantees are at stake now. These films would illustrate and bring public sensitivity to progress in the fight, [...] in a situation where we should be defining the terms together, coming together to form mobilization, a shared sensitivity about a fight that we are living in now.²

Gilmar Galache

So, every film we make is a mirror, a reflection that becomes an instrument of resistance and of fighting to resist this imposition, this trampling that non-Indigenous society has been bringing with the agribusiness production system. The fight for the land, the demarcation, all of that, we counter through these films. [...] Non-Indigenous society does not respect nature. They go on destroying as we see it in the Pantanal, in the Amazon. And here in Mato Grosso do Sul, it has already happened: they have already destroyed nature. So, the wealth of the non-Indigenous people is produced by destroying the true wealth that are the forests, land, water and guardians. So, cinema must enter this scenario to strengthen this *tekohá* - which is our territory. So, this is to “Guaranize” the camera and the film production process.³

Eliel Benites

I think it is not about “Guaranizing” the camera. The camera is just a camera. I think that society as a whole needs to be “Guaranized” to live better, not just the camera.⁴

Ivan Molina

I closed the previous chapter highlighting how neoliberal standpoints as a cosmopolitic force (Robbins, Cheah and Ribeiro) draw on the mediating possibilities and power of the new communication landscapes. The present chapter returns to the epistemological question of how circulating viewpoints infuse a cosmopolitic battle over the meaning and interpretation of events in Mato Grosso do Sul. On the one hand, Indigenous persons, including ASCURI filmmakers, project terms used to describe circumstances affecting the lives of local people that are consonant with their societal ideals and worldviews. On the other hand, the same referents are infused with different meanings by the multinational agribusiness industry. As explained below, Indigenous persons designate, for instance, the local native plants as “medicine” and pesticides as “poison”

while agribusiness advocates refer to pesticides as “medicine” and native plants competing with crop monocultures as “pests”.

The first epigraph above is an excerpt from the talk of ASCURI founder Eliel Benites at the Autonomy, Sustainability and Indigenous Audiovisual Seminar (ASA) organized by ASCURI in 2016, mentioned in Chapter 2. Benites advocates for greater use of technology to strengthen Guarani-Kaiowá public presence, cosmologies, and sense of identity. The other epigraphs that feature activists, including Gilmar Galache, Eliel Benites and Ivan Molina, the Quechua filmmaker from Bolivia, are taken from ASCURI’s YouTube channel that broadcasted the closing⁵ of the Indigenous cinema online exhibition event “Native Narratives⁶”. These excerpts highlight how encounters between Indigenous audiovisual producers spark discourses that are oppositional to those that are antagonistic to indigeneity in areas seized by large-scale multinational agribusiness and its rhetoric.

Below, I first examine the framing of specific terms aligned to Indigenous societal projects in opposition to referents aligned with the large multinational agribusiness industry’s interests. Second, I focus on how agribusiness standpoints and societal projects are disseminated by politicians using YouTube and Facebook as primary political tools. I pay attention to their links with large-scale multinational agribusiness. I contrast these perspectives with audiovisual works emphasizing ecological ideals and social justice, contesting agribusiness public discourse. These contrasting counterclaims constitute the relationalities of the discursive terrain (the new communications field) in which Indigenous identities are in processes of “becoming”.

1. Medicines, Poisons and Pests

1.1 Look at the Poison!

Look at the poison! It is passing over us now. [A Guarani-Kaiwoá woman films a small plane then turns her cellphone camera to a large Indigenous hut] Look at all the children. [She turns her cellphone back to the plane. In the meantime, laughing children run towards her, screaming to other children: “come to see the poison!”] [The woman talks to them tenderly in Guarani, and they run happily to the huts, doing somersaults]. It is raining already. [...] They are throwing it on the water that is there. This is our road, the road where the water stands right in that tree, under the tree. They want to trample over us, the village. This is the village⁷.
Guyra Kambi’y community

The extract comes from a video recorded with a cellphone by the Guyra Kambi’y community in January 2015. It prompted the Mato Grosso do Sul’s Federal Prosecutor’s Office (MPF-MS) to sue the rural producer responsible for hiring the plane that sprayed the chemical product over the community⁸ (Grigori 2019). The video is available on MPF-MS’ YouTube page⁹. In an interview granted to *Agência Pública / Repórter Brasil*, the federal prosecutor declared that the spraying over local Indigenous communities “is a kind of terrorism, a chemical attack, a modern version of the orange agent, used in the Vietnam War” (Grigori 2019)¹⁰. The Guyra Kambi’y community recalls that the problem has occurred at least since 2013, causing symptoms such as skin and eyes irritation, headaches, sore throat, fever, and diarrhea (Grigori 2019).

Earlier, in 2012, a Guarani-Kaiowá leader from another *retomada* inside the Panambi-Lagoa Rica Indigenous Land was already denouncing the problem and framing pesticides as *poisons*. In the special news report *In Someone Else’s Lands- expansion of the soybean and sugarcane frontiers on Indigenous territories in Mato Grosso do Sul, Brazil*¹¹ (2012), he declared: “when they apply poison to the crops, usually the [herbicide] Nortox, people feel very ill -especially the children, but it gets everyone. It produces fistulas full of pus. Later our skin becomes all marked”¹² (Glass 2012, 19). He explained that some producers use tractors while others use planes, which has a compound contaminating effect: “the water we consume comes from a spring that becomes completely contaminated, and our fields die when the wind brings the poison here”¹³ (Glass 2012, 19).

On its YouTube channel, *Repórter Brasil* presents a short compilation of videos recorded by different Guarani-Kaiowá communities in Mato Grosso do Sul denouncing pesticide spraying

by plane over their communities¹⁴. It showed the case of the *Tey Jusu* community living in the Indigenous land Dourados-Amambai Peguá, in Caarapó, one of the municipalities the most affected by pesticide poisoning in Mato Grosso do Sul (see Appendix F, Figure 4). The group that cultivates cassava, corn, beans, peanut, sweet potato, and pumpkin filmed with a mobile phone a pesticide spraying over their community in 2015. The video, presented to the MPF-MS, showed the aircraft's prefix, an identification code, and was used as evidence, which was determinant for winning the case in December 2019 (Grigori 2020)¹⁵. Naldo Daniel, a 55-year-old Guarani-Kaiowá man, declared to *Repórter Brasil*: “they applied it by plane and didn't even care, they threw it on the huts, on us. [...] My family and I were together at the time. My brother-in-law's son went ill, sickened by the poison. We had to take him to the hospital¹⁶” (Grigori 2020). Poisoned children and adults suffered headaches, sore throat, diarrhea, and fever (Grigori 2020).

Also noteworthy is the denunciation formulated by the Guarani-Kaiowá village Ypo'I, which recorded with a cellphone the contamination of the river that borders their community with a toxic foam¹⁷. In this respect, they declared: “now is not the time to apply the poison. The poison is used at harvest time. And on the other side, there are cattle, and with cattle, no poison is used. That was not an accident”¹⁸ (Pinter Moreira 2013, 7¹⁹). On the video showing the foam at the Aty Guasu YouTube channel, the description stroked the same note:

Stinky poison, homicidal chemistry was thrown by farmers into the Ypo'i stream in Guarani-Kaiowá tekohá Ypo'i -Paranhos-MS. The cruel fact occurred on November 14, 2012. While the Guarani and Kaiowá children and adults were bathing, white foam appeared over the stream; everyone ran out. The leaders and communities communicated to FUNAI, PF, and MPF, but the weekend was a public holiday. We, all the leaders of the Guarani and Kaiowá *Aty Guasu*, are shocked and outraged by the cruel actions of the farmers who started to do this poisoning of our streams that we use daily; we ask that federal authorities to take appropriate measures. We are awaiting the positions. We pass the facts and videos to everyone. On the mobile phone, it was filmed by a Ypo'i Indigenous person.²⁰ (Aty Guasu. 2012).

The river's contamination received the national press's attention²¹, and the Federal Justice determined that the community received drinking water²² (Globo Rural 2012; Da Mata 2013).

The video excerpts and testimonies invoke a plethora of sensorial experiences. Words such as “stinky” and the description of wounds and symptoms ignite an epistemology of the senses that allude to Laura Marks’ “embodied memory”. The spontaneous use of cell phones by Indigenous persons to produce and post audiovisual evidence in their struggles against the advancement of the agribusiness forces in Mato Grosso do Sul is a notable feature of producing “embodied memory” associated with marginal indigeneity.

1.2 Disappearing medicine

In that area, it was pure grass from [the previous cattle] farm, which before being a farm, had the native vegetation. One part of the field had *guavira* [a native fruit considered a symbol of Mato Grosso do Sul] and medicine. Everything is sugarcane today. [...] After they started to run the [sugarcane] processing plant, health has gone bad for everyone -children, adults, and animals. We lost seven horses, two cows and an ox. After the processing plant entered operation, the water springs became shallow. The washing product they use in the cane, when it rains, harms the fish as well. The fish of the river, the stream, and the pond [...]. They disappeared. The medicines of various types, from the bushes, the riverbanks, also disappeared. The plants ended because of the poisonings. Remedies for the spine, stomach, head. At first, it had. Everything has disappeared [...] When it rains, the water becomes horrible, and some people have already gotten sick. During the burning of sugarcane, the smoke attacks children, the elderly, the pregnant women; it attacks everything. When they spread the product on the plantation, the foul smell comes here. It causes multiple problems. Before the sugarcane field, we had another quality of health, a quiet life. Today we are feeling in a different way, without peace.²³ Guyraroká Community

At the stream’s riverbank is the Indian’s medicine, and the Indian is no longer using medicine because there is no stream anymore. That is where we get the medicine and sustenance to make handicrafts, to do these things [Lenir shows her necklace]. Everything comes from the swamp. So, with that, we have our livelihood and our health, which are the remedies from the swamp’s surroundings. And there are remedies that are only found in the swamp. It doesn’t appear in dry places. So, there are 25 springs and eight have already dried [...]. This one is the only spring that is alive. The others are all dying²⁴. Lenir Flores de Paiva

The first excerpt above is from a collective letter written in 2011 by the Guarani-Kaiowá from the Indigenous Land *Guyraroká* in the municipality of Caarapó. Although their land obtained the Justice Minister’s Declaratory Order in 2009 (see Appendix E), they saw the environmental destruction inflicted by monocrop farms in the area, especially after 2010. At that time, a joint venture between Brazilian agribusiness and fuel multinational group Cosan and petrochemical global giant

company Shell set in motion a sugarcane plant nearby (Glass 2012, 14-15). In the letter, the Indigenous community did not sugar-coat their observations.

The second excerpt is taken from the interview of Lenir Flores Paiva (who is Terena) on the *Living Spring Project* video²⁵, posted in 2019 on the YouTube channel of the Dean's office of extension and culture of the Federal University of Dourados (PROEX-UFGD). Lenir is the founder and president of the Dourados Indigenous Women Association (AMID), the only Indigenous women's association in Mato Grosso do Sul. During my fieldwork, I spent a week at AMID. The *Yvu Oikoveva - Living Spring Project* seeks to recover the ancillary ecosystem of water springs originating at the Dourados reserve, such as 31 hectares of the Jaguapirú River. Lenir proposed the idea, and the technical project was written by two UFGD's Biological and Environmental Sciences Department professors and a specialist from the Organic Producers from Mato Grosso do Sul Association (APOMS). It was launched in March 2018 by AMID, UFGD and APOMS with German NGO *Tarahumara Fans'* support (UFGD 2018)²⁶. It combined volunteer cleaning of garbage at riverbanks and the transfer of saplings with the aid of 150 high school students from the reserve (to foster their education). At that time, 150 native tree saplings were planted in the reserve creeks riverbanks, and a plant nursery was inaugurated, providing autonomy for the community to plant 20 thousand native trees (PROEX-UFGD 2019). In 2019, at the one-year celebration of the project, 400 native saplings were planted (UFGD 2019)²⁷.

During my time at AMID in 2016, I recurrently heard the same analogy between native plants and medicine. In one instance, Lenir took me to visit her "medicinal garden²⁸" that she described as her passion. When I interviewed her, she informed me that UFGD and the Catholic Church were supporting her efforts, as the earth in the reserve is significantly hardened and requires

more work, and that she was planning to “make medicines” to distribute in the community and to sell medicinal plant saplings to anyone interested in the region²⁹.

Lenir also invited me to go with her to the 14th Mato Grosso do Sul’s Medicinal Plants Workshop. The event took place from June 8 to 10, 2016, at UFGD. Lenir had been invited to attend it and sell Terena handicrafts -necklaces, earrings, decorations- prepared by the AMID women. She asked me to take short videos, pictures, and audio recordings during the event to show her later, especially because she would have to spend some time at the entrance selling the handicrafts. Lenir had a particular interest in a one-day course on sowing local medicinal plants, respecting agroecological practices. She was also thrilled with an activity where participants could take medicinal plant saplings with them and took several. Lenir also expressed interest in participating in the 12th *Native and Creole Seeds, and Agroecological Products Fair*³⁰, in July 2016.

Lenir’s enthusiasm for medicinal plants reminded me of the time she visited the *Cultural and Ecological Network - House of the Winds*, headed by photographer, filmmaker and cultural producer Fabiana Fernandes. It had a vegetable garden, and Lenir was fascinated by the variety of vegetables, fruits and plants, including the *Alternanthera Brasiliiana* -a “vegetable penicillin”- and the *ora-pro-nóbis*, a plant loaded with protein. I found it interesting that Lenir spotted a tree saying that it usually stays close to water, which was a sign for her that the spot could be the right place for digging a well, and Fabiana confirmed that the area had a water spring, showing the significance of “ecologies of practice” in the making of localized Indigenous identities.

1.3 Medicines killing pests

Agrotoxins, pesticides, plaguicides, agricultural defenders, they have several names. Nevertheless, they have to be seen as plant remedies. Just as we have diseases, just as we are attacked by insects, plants are as well, and these products are nothing more than protectors: they defend, they do vegetal defence. So, they are fundamental products for agriculture, especially in Brazil, which is a tropical country. In Brazil, we have to take into account that we have a competitive advantage, which is the mild climate, availability of water and a lot of rain. This allows producers to produce more, produce more food, produce

throughout the year. Nevertheless, this favourable climate also provides a better condition for the development of pests because the pests, they like water, warm weather, so they develop much more easily in Brazil than elsewhere³¹.
Nicholas Vital

The quotation is part of journalist Nicholas Vital's participation in the podcast *Nipples - open-chested journalism* on pesticides³² (Mamilos Podcast 2019). Vital wrote the book *Thank agrottoxins for being alive*³³ (2017), recommended by politicians supporting agribusiness³⁴. While he repeatedly referred to pesticides as *medicine*, he designated the native plants competing for the land occupied by the monocultures as "pests³⁵". Specialized in sports, Vital declared in an interview³⁶ that he was invited to work in the *Isto É/Rural Money*³⁷ magazine in 2007 because "he didn't understand absolutely anything of agribusiness"³⁸ and could bring a different perspective (Filho 2018). The salary was better, and he had the opportunity to "learn what is agribusiness" and become a "defender"³⁹ of it. In 2011, he joined a public relations company to lead the communication of "large sectors of agribusiness"⁴⁰ and coordinated projects for the National Association of Vegetal Defence⁴¹, representing producers of pesticides (Filho 2018).

In Mato Grosso do Sul, Vital was invited to present his work during the Youth Encounters of the Farming and Livestock Brazilian Confederation (CNA)⁴² in May 2018. In his book's Facebook page, he announced the event, saying he was participating in order to debunk the "myths" about agrochemicals⁴³ (Vital 2018). The event was organized by the Mato Grosso do Sul's branch of the *National Rural Learning Service*⁴⁴, which is a part of the CNA⁴⁵ and sponsored by the *Mato Grosso do Sul Agriculture and Farming Federation* (Famasul)⁴⁶ and the Brazilian Association of Soybean Producers (Aprosoja)⁴⁷ among others (CNA n.d.).

Vital is very active on virtual communication platforms, including podcast streaming applications, YouTube, Facebook and Instagram. In March 2020, he launched the podcast "I Eat", which also has a website⁴⁸ and a YouTube channel⁴⁹, which broadcasts integrally the conversations of the podcast as well as video capsules of the conversations highlighting specific

themes. These videos are posted on a Facebook page and an Instagram account created for the podcast⁵⁰. They are also posted on the *Thank agrottoxins for being alive* Facebook page and on Vital's LinkedIn page⁵¹. In his LinkedIn, Vital presents himself as a communication strategist, speaker and content producer for the Agribusiness sector. His previous work position was as a Communication Director at CropLife Brasil (November 2019 to February 2020), an association of agribusiness companies and information councils (mentioned in Chapter 2). While the podcast "I eat" is described as "A conversation about food guided by science, without ideology or empty opinions"⁵², presupposing a neutral tone, Vital clarifies, at the end of each interview, that *CropLife Brasil* financially supports the project (Eu Como podcast 2020).

Vital's book inspired the Member of Parliament Kim Kataguirí to post in January 2018 the video "Pesticides save lives!"⁵³ on the YouTube channel of the Free Brazil Movement⁵⁴ (MBL), a political movement founded in 2014 by Kataguirí, who was then 18 years old, together with other young right-wing neoliberal political activists. In the video, Kataguirí advocated for the benefits of using pesticides in Brazilian agriculture, designating them as "agricultural defensives"⁵⁵ (MBL 2018a). In a later video⁵⁶ posted on MBL's YouTube channel in May 2018, he built his argument grounded on the analogy between pesticides and "medicine":

It is silly to say that all the pesticides are poison and that organic products are wonderful because it is a lie. There is no way to feed the entire population with organic food, and even if that was possible, organic food is simply food that has no pesticides. And you, who are against the use of pesticides, when you have the flu, don't you take medicine? Well, the medicine for influenza is precisely the pesticide, but for humans. When the plant is sick, when the food is sick, you apply a pesticide to make it healthy again. Exactly the same thing happens in the fields as well as with humans⁵⁷. (MBL 2018c)

The significance of Kataguirí's video propelling perceptions aligned with the multinational agribusiness agenda cannot be underscored enough. He and MBL are leading players in honing the power of the new landscapes of communication for promoting neoliberal ideas by infusing political discourses with them. In 2019, a New York Times news report⁵⁸ identified the São Paulo

headquarters of MBL as a potential “Ground zero for politics by YouTube” (Fisher and Taub 2019, 7). It mentioned it had a “YouTube Division”, and highlighted MBL’s awareness of its power as a political propaganda tool, citing the MBL’s national coordinator acknowledgement that YouTube is “the heart of things” (Fisher and Taub 2019, 7). The journalists found young men working on a video arguing “fascism had been wrongly blamed on the right” (Fisher and Taub 2019, 7). They highlighted an emblematic declaration from MBL’s co-founder Pedro D’Eyrot on what he designated as a “dictatorship of the like”: “reality, he said, is shaped by whatever message goes most viral” (Fisher and Taub 2019, 7).

2. Cosmopolitic Battles

2.1. Neoliberal cosmopolitics honing YouTube’s power to propel societal aspirations

The left was uprooted from the capital. The castle they planned never to leave now is no longer theirs. But the fight... It is not over. Cancer has spread for decades and is lodged in the most different spaces. Newsrooms, trade unions and corporations, your children’s school... That’s where the enemy is. With fortunes pouring out of stolen money, union tax and billionaire foundations, the Brazilian left resists. More than that, it prepares for its triumphant return, like a wolf in sheep’s clothing. [...] The fight is now in the guerrillas. We must implode what remains of their castles. [...] Nobody told you that the fight would be easy. But that’s where heroes appear. And heroes are heroes not because of their victories but for their ability to resist. You already know what to do. You don’t need any great guide or political leader to change your destiny. You are one of us. For just like you, we will fight this war even when victory seems impossible. We are the front. We are the resistance. You may even disagree with us; you can even question our methods... But you already know us. We are the MBL. Whenever you need it, we will be there.⁵⁹ (Santos and Rauh 2017)

The above excerpt is taken from the video *We are the MBL; whenever you need it, we will be there*⁶⁰, on MBL’s website and YouTube channel. The channel has 1.28 million subscribers⁶¹ and recommends MBL participants individual channels such as Kim Kataguirí’s⁶², with 587 000 subscribers, and Fernando Holiday’s⁶³, with 85 900. Another featured YouTube channel is *Mamãe Falei*⁶⁴ (translating to “Mom, I told you”, which is the public name of Arthur do Val), with 2.69 million. The significance of MBL participants, as I discuss in this section, is that these young Brazilian adults are linked to neoliberal think tanks defending multinational corporations’ interests

and funded by corporate powers such as the Koch Industries. Therefore, they are part of what I designate as a cosmopolitic battle to reformulate political discourse and steer Brazilian politics towards neoliberal extractivist interests and goals. They became not only YouTube influencers but also politicians because of the popularity gained through their presence in social media. For instance, in 2016, 21-year-old Fernando Holiday was elected municipal councillor for São Paulo. In turn, Arthur do Val became a state deputy for São Paulo's state in 2018 and ran as a mayor candidate in São Paulo's 2020 municipal elections. In an interview⁶⁵ with *The Guardian*, in 2015, international relations professor Esther Solano, who studied mass street demonstrations that plead for the impeachment of the 36th president of Brazil (2011-2016), Dilma Rousseff, presented the MBL as one of the two most influential groups for this agenda, explaining it mobilizes “younger, more apolitical protesters” (Douglas 2015).

In MBL's feature film *March for Freedom*⁶⁶ (2019), the narrator declared that after the 2013 protests, MBL “stole a demonstration from the left”⁶⁷ (Santos and Rauh 2019). Indeed, it followed the trail carved by *Movimento Passe Livre* (MPL)⁶⁸, but the Free Brazil Movement (MBL) had a diametrically opposed agenda. This is what the Brazilian journalist Álvaro Borba and the Brazilian mass communication researcher Ana Lesnovski commented on their YouTube channel *Meteoro Brasil*⁶⁹, with 788,000 subscribers, directed to the same public as MBL: teenagers and young adults.

What began with the MPL in 2013 resulted in the emergence of the MBL in 2014. The difference between the two acronyms is not just a single letter. The MPL was born to defend universal and free access to public services, especially public transport. The MBL was born to convince Brazil that the best path is the privatization of these services. The two movements have antagonistic conceptions⁷⁰. (Meteoro Brasil 2019)

Tapping on growing resentment vis-à-vis the government, the MBL set the protests' agenda, directing them for ex-president of Brazil Rousseff's impeachment as its feature film

documents. For Borba and Lesnovski, the fundamental difference between the MBL and other political movements is that it is a “communicational movement”:

It started on the Internet, went to the streets and arrived at the office. Using communicational tools hitherto almost unknown in politics, the MBL was able to gather support and money [...] In the hands of MBL, memes have become a novel form of political activism. Through humour and a relaxed aesthetic, any divergent thesis is ridiculed⁷¹. (Meteoro Brasil 2019)

Borba and Lesnovski mentioned a Vice news report⁷² revealing that the MBL acquired most non-partisan meme pages on Facebook, becoming “a powerhouse in the political advertising industry with memes”⁷³ (Reis and Fantini 2018). An emblematic example was the page Brazilian Corruption Memes⁷⁴.

Borba and Lesnovski observed that during the week of ex-president Rousseff’s impeachment, three out of the five most shared Facebook posts in Brazil were fake, as reported by BBC Brazil⁷⁵ (Senra 2016, Meteoro 2019). In the 2018 presidential elections, Facebook removed 196 pages that disseminated fake news (Salgado e Grillo 2018⁷⁶). Some were related to the MBL. Besides, Facebook had previously stopped an application the group had used to automatically share content in 368 Facebook users’ pages (Salgado e Grillo 2018).

On MBL’s website, the first of three videos presenting it to internet users is an invitation for young people: “Together we make it happen”⁷⁷, also on the MBL’s YouTube channel:

There is no CIA, there is no FBI, there are no Koch brothers, there is no PSDB, MDB⁷⁸. It’s you who occupy the streets; you’re the one who makes the changes; you’re the one who makes a demonstration possible. It is with you that Brazil progresses. It is with you we can change. Thank you to everyone who makes it happen⁷⁹. (MBL 2018b)

The references to the North American institutions and the Koch brothers are also present in the website’s session destined to raise funds⁸⁰.

A *Guardian* news report⁸¹ sheds light on why MBL gives prominence to the Koch brothers. Kataguirí declared that some MBL coordinators participated in the training organized by *Students for Liberty*, a “free-market advocacy network” integrating the Atlas Network, also

known as the Atlas Economic Research Foundation, a leadership-training NGO created to disseminate free-market ideals. Both networks have funding from the Koch Industries, a “US energy, fossil fuels and petrochemicals behemoth” (Phillips 2017). A Brazilian independent political scientist who helped create MBL was not only a member of the Students for Liberty but also a Koch summer fellow, spending three months at the Institute for Humane Studies in Virginia, United States. He declared to the reporter: “they give basic training, an introduction on how to organize a think tank, how to publicize liberal ideas [...]. It was a first-world education that gave me an analytic capability beyond the Brazilian reality” (Phillips 2017).

An *Intercept* dossier⁸² about the Atlas Network’s influence on politics in Latin America highlights the link between the MBL and the NGO dedicated to pushing business-friendly conceptual frameworks. It included an interview with Alejandro Chafuen, who has led it since 1991: “When there is an opening, you have a crisis, and there is some demand for change, you have people who are trained to push for certain policies. And in our case, we tend to favor private solutions to public problems” (Fang 2017, 2). While he mentioned several Atlas-affiliated leaders in Latin America, in countries such as Argentina and Bolivia, he was particularly excited about Brazil: “In Brazil, I have been in the street demonstrations, and I’m like, ‘Hey, this guy I met when he was 17, 18 -he is up there on the bus leading this. This is crazy!’”, he commented on the role that the MBL played in removing Dilma Rousseff from power (Fang 2017, 3).

A map on the Atlas Network sphere of influence elaborated by The Intercept indicates that there are at least 13 affiliates and partners think tanks in Brazil (the largest quantity in Latin America) (Fang 2017, 16). Former hedge fund executive Helio Beltrão, who leads *Instituto Mises*, linked to the Atlas Network, estimates an even larger number. For him, the support of the Atlas Network enabled the activity of around 30 institutes in Brazil, all working in collaboration: “It’s

like a soccer team. Defense is the academia. The forward guys are the politicians. We've scored a few goals", he declared alluding to Rousseff's impeachment. He completed the analogy attributing the midfield to "the cultural guys" who influence public opinion by maintaining a constant war in the Brazilian media and social media against "leftist" ideas (Fang 2017, 6-7). To Beltrão, the network plans included the privatization of the Brazilian national post office, which he called a "low-hanging fruit" able to catalyze a wave of free-market reforms (Fang 2017, 8).

Political scientist and columnist Fernando Schüler, associated with another Atlas think tank in Brazil, Instituto Millenium, explained how free-market advocates, who designate themselves as "libertarians", used social media to organize a protest movement. They set up daily a barrage of videos on YouTube ridiculing Rousseff's government, along with an online interactive scoreboard to stimulate Brazilians to lobby their legislators in favour of the impeachment. However, he did not consider the recent successes as sufficient, aiming for more radical reforms such as the privatization of all education. He acknowledged that the only way to pursue transformation is to set up a network of politically engaged NGOs waging their wars to boost free-market goals. Inspirations include the Margaret Thatcher model that trusted on a network of think tanks to advance unpopular reforms; and the constellation of think tanks in Washington, D.C. that receive funds from powerful donors (Fang 2017). The presence of think tanks training young politicians to use social media to push neoliberal reforms is an indicator of how the neoliberal cosmopolitic force (including the global societal project propelled by the multinational agribusiness industry) takes shape in Brazil and ultimately affects Indigenous groups in Mato Grosso do Sul.

2.2. Shedding light on the "dark side of the green"

The reason energy and petrochemical companies such as the Koch industries have been interested in politics in Brazil becomes evident in the interview granted by Brian Garvey, professor at the Department of Human Resource Management at the University of Strathclyde, to Larissa Bombardi for Bob Fernandes YouTube channel in October 2019. During the interview, titled *Necroindustry and necropolitics hide in biofuels because the EU lacks sun, land, water*⁸³, Garvey argues that biofuel is convenient for the world energy sector because it is a liquid source of energy, allowing the substitution of fossil fuel without significant changes: it is easier and cheaper to adapt a plane for biofuel, than solar energy. The caveat is that raw material for producing it requires larger extensions of sunlit and well-irrigated land to grow crops (Garvey et al. 2019, 1190). While “Europe doesn’t have enough land, sun, nor photosynthesis for that energy source”⁸⁴, in Brazil, this cultivation can grow up to 20 times better (Garvey and Bombardi 2019). The corollary is that biofuel investment has been crucial for expanding transgenic agriculture in Brazil and Mato Grosso do Sul since three of the five transgenic seeds cultivated in the country (soy, corn and sugarcane) are the primary raw material for its production. The 2008 economic crisis catalyzed this process: the dip in fossil fuel prices in 2009 prompted oil companies to invest aggressively in biofuel opportunities. This boom came at a high cost for Brazil (see appendix K) as social tensions erupted on the frontiers of biofuel production, advancing increasingly to the west and the north towards the Amazonian region.

The biofuel industry expansion, especially after 2007 when the then-president Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva closed a “historic” deal with the United States to boost biofuel production, was addressed in the film *The dark side of the green* (Baccaert et al. 2011). The documentary resulted from the collaboration between a Belgian TV reporter, a Brazilian journalist, and an Argentinian cinematographic reporter. It is available on YouTube in English, Portuguese and Spanish⁸⁵ and on

Vimeo in French⁸⁶. This documentary was recommended to me by ASCURI founder Gilmar Kiripuku Galache as an “excellent reference” to understand the context in Mato Grosso do Sul. Gilmar explained that it showed pressing problems that local Indigenous groups increasingly faced because of the booming agribusiness in the region. Moreover, it portrayed a time when Indigenous locals did not have cellphones and were still starting audiovisual training.

The film captured the glamorous and the multinational side of the booming industry, supported by a massive media campaign, as fragments of Brazilian TV shows demonstrated:

One of the things that makes me happy is that everybody is worried about the environment. Everyone is responsible for this planet. This fuel, this glorious ethanol, which reduces 80% greenhouse gas emissions, brings loads of money for the entire world. Biofuel: what the world wants, you already have it! (Baccaert et al. 2011)

It also visited the largest association of sugar and ethanol manufacturing, *Única*, in São Paulo, showing how they aimed to “spread green gold fever around the globe” (Baccaert et al. 2011). Geraldine Kutis, *Única*’s international advisor, declared:

The ethanol industry and sugarcane is a booming sector. We are going through a revolution. We have an office in Washington DC; this is the first office we opened, we have an office in Brussels, and we will probably open an office in Beijing. With the subprime crisis, people don’t want to invest anymore in the real state, in the stock options market, so where do they invest? Commodities. This is part of a new strategy of *Única*. Our objective is to turn ethanol into a global commodity, and if you want to have a global commodity, you need more players. (Baccaert et al. 2011)

Concerning the industry’s expansion, Kutis adds, “the sky is the limit” (Baccaert et al. 2011). As governments such as the European Union stimulate demand, the narrator concludes: “powerful businesses are pushing hard to secure more investment in biofuels” (Baccaert et al. 2011).

The documentary showed the reverberations of this industry in Mato Grosso do Sul and the negative impacts for adjacent Guarani-Kaiowá communities: environmental destruction leading to the contamination of the Guarani aquifer; impossibility to grow food resulting in a dependency on government food baskets as well as infant malnutrition; exploitation in sugarcane

plantations; and violence caused by conflicts over the land. Guarani-Kaiowá leader Anastácio Peralta, during a street protest, voiced his frustration:

This country is made for the rich to serve the wealthy who have always been rich. Bankers, businessmen, and now it's also working for the ethanol industry for the large landowners. A cow is worth more than a child. Soybean is worth more than a forest. And now there is sugarcane. (Baccaert et al. 2011)

Peralta's protest resonates with Garvey's concerns, as well as Novaes', Dowbor's and Krenak's, discussed in Chapter 1, over the grip of the world agribusiness industry (and its financial ties) in Brazilian politics and economy. Returning to Beck's formulation, these industries originate "both inside and outside" the country, generating a cosmopolitic force able to capture the political sphere to drive its decisions for advancing their interest even if they go against the well-being of the Brazilian population.

In its turn, the film *Martyrdom* (Carelli et al. 2016) tracks the impact of the agribusiness industry in Mato Grosso do Sul since 1988, focusing on the negative consequences for local Indigenous groups concomitantly with its influence in Brazilian politics. One of its directors is Vincent Carelli, who created in 1986, with the collaboration of anthropologist Virgínia Valadão, the first project⁸⁷ in Brazil introducing Indigenous people to filmmaking: the VNA, mentioned in Chapter 1. While many of the VNA films are available at the Indigenous audiovisual streaming platform *Isuma TV* (see Chapter 2), *Martyrdom* is on *Vimeo* with subtitles in Portuguese, English, French and Spanish⁸⁸.

Carelli visited Mato Grosso do Sul for the first time in 1988 and encountered "a great reclaiming march for the sacred Guarani Kaiowá territories," as the synopsis of the film informs. He followed it for about ten years but had to put his film projects on hold to work with the training of Indigenous filmmakers. Fifteen years later, confronted with national press reports of barbaric Indigenous killings in Mato Grosso do Sul, he returned to understand this *retomada* movement. The film synopsis describes it as a "peaceful and obstinate insurgency of the

dispossessed Guarani Kaiowá against the powerful apparatus of agribusiness”. His film intertwines his encounters with Guarani Kaiowá groups living in *retomadas*, highlighting the constant violence they endure, with media reports and glimpses into the ruralist lobby’s discourses (several from Mato Grosso do Sul) in political arenas.

By giving visibility to the agribusiness lobby speeches in the political arena, Carelli dislodges these speeches from the milieux where they prevail and pass unchecked as this rhetoric becomes familiar and normalized. Instead, he brings them to a broader audience coming from other contexts -or hyperlinked spaces- and that is, thus, less cauterized by them. This spotlight opens them for public scrutiny and exposes the discursive frames they mobilize and the prejudices and conspiracy theories they draw on, such as the insinuation that Indigenous peoples in Mato Grosso do Sul are “Paraguayans” and the reference to the *Yanomami* land to claim that Indigenous land demarcations are a threat to national sovereignty. Carelli also complements his narrative with historical information, including excerpts of TV news reports and official SPI films. The film was partially funded by “the Brazilian civil society” through crowdfunding.

The willingness of Indigenous groups in Mato Grosso do Sul to die for the land inspired Carelli to call his film “Martyrdom”. However, if this title conveys the idea that the Guarani-Kaiwoá have been powerless victims, the film contains compelling examples of positioning, such as the speech of a Guarani-Kaiwoá he encountered in the retomada Yvykaty:

We have no money; we have nothing to offer the farmers. But we have enough courage to spill the blood running in our veins for the sake of this land. Until this land belongs to everyone, we are standing, but sensing the smell of candles [death] all around us. We may lose our life at any moment, while the farmer has the money to go there and say: “No, the Indian died for nothing. The Indian is a layabout”. Have a look in the books to see whether we Indians depended on the whites, depended on the government to survive when it was all forest. We didn’t depend on anyone to survive. We didn’t need to ask for land; we didn’t need to ask for food baskets. We didn’t need to ask for protection because nature gave us everything. [cheering] And the non-Indian came, took everything from us, and now we’re the ones who are the layabouts? Are we the supposed invaders? We’re not invaders; we want what is ours. How many people died? How many people spilled their blood? How many people were wiped out because of the violence against Indigenous peoples, forced to retreat to a small area? Porto Lindo today, with 5,000 Indians living there, has 1,800 students [...], 280 children are born each year, 1,600 hectares of land for 5,000 Indians. Is

that a vast land? Necessity compels us to occupy this land. If it is my destiny, if the fate God chose for me is to die from a gunman's bullet, so be it: I shall die fighting for this land. (Carelli et al. 2016)

The first public exhibition of *Martyrdom* was on July 1st, 2016, during a Guarani-Kaiwoá leaders' meeting in *Te'yikue* (which I attended) organized in response to the attack against the Guarani families discussed in Chapter 3. It was precisely at this meeting that ASCURI brought their film *Yvy Reñoi, the Seed of the Land*, about that tragic June 14th to show it to the community for the first time. The fact that Carelli chose this meeting to first exhibit his film raised some concerns among ASCURI members because they had seen before non-Indigenous people take advantage of Indigenous suffering to promote works. In other words, they were apprehensive of seeing this instance being used for purposes other than those defined by the community as a type of politics drawing on a damage paradigm. At the beginning of the evening, ASCURI showed its film. Shortly after the presentation, Carelli screened his film.

Martyrdom was accepted at the festival *Présence Autochtone* in Montreal in 2017, and I had the opportunity to see the film there. It was very well received and won two prizes, one focusing on Human Rights and social justice. Vincent Carelli did not attend the festival because of financial difficulties since most funds for audiovisual production supporting the VNA had been halted by the increasingly unfavourable Brazilian political environment. Nevertheless, I had the opportunity to interview Carelli in 2014 when he attended the *Présence Autochtone Montreal Festival* responding to the invitation of Wapikoni Mobile to be a part of the RICAA. Back then, he had already flagged that fund for audiovisual production was drying up and that he was facing financial challenges. It is noteworthy that when I had the opportunity to ask Wapikoni Mobile participants, during an event in Toronto in 2017, if they still had ties with Brazilian Indigenous groups or plans for future collaborations, they replied that they were refraining from working in Brazil precisely because of the increasingly problematic political climate.

3- Conclusion

This chapter presents ways by which audiovisual production has been used by antithetical parties opposing Indigenous ecologies of practices to large-scale agribusiness interests. It is crucial to note the asymmetry of power in this relationship favouring multinational agribusiness. Blaser et al. noticed that while “in modern theories of democracy, decisions are expected to arise from the exercise of collective autonomy by communities composed of individuals who themselves possess individual autonomy”, growing interconnectivity propelled by globalization has reconfigured the world and modified the conditions for practicing autonomy, including in the national scale (2010, 3, 6). They inquire into the “dialectical relationships between globalization and autonomy”: what is the “relationship between globalization and the processes of securing and building autonomy” (Blaser et al. 2010, 3, 5, 8)? This dissertation suggests that this power dynamic undermines Brazil’s autonomy and sovereignty. The erosion of autonomy and sovereignty gains dystopian contours when the social actors aligning Brazilian politics with the interests of agribusiness cosmopolitics and the financial structures supported by its materiality use social media and audiovisual works to invoke an inflammatory nationalism. However, new solidarity networks, forged by Indigenous people in Mato Grosso do Sul, through the deployment of new communication technologies created opportunities for systematic revisioning in the context of this ‘inflammatory nationalism’ and possibilities for reworking the hyperlinked space of Mato Grosso do Sul for Indigenous youth, enabling ways of re-imagining indigeneity through audiovisual languages.

**CHAPTER 5: TURNING SOMBRE FEELINGS INTO PRIDE AND HOPE:
ONTOLOGIES OF HEALING IN HYPERLINKED INDIGENOUS
COMMUNITIES**

This film was made with Mother Earth, with the water, the wind, the fire, the birds, the forest, the spirits. [...] With the film, we already have a vaccine: a vaccine against death. This is the film, the film for us is the vaccine by the [Indigenous] peoples against death. Because now the peoples are moving forward, always.¹

Ivan Molina

When a fire seems extinguished, the main log keeps embers alight [...] Indigenous persons have always been like this. Apparently, they seem exterminated, wiped out. They have resisted with great difficulty for 500 years.

Eliel Benites²

Nowadays, you see, most of the youth no longer appreciate the language. [...] When there is an event, [...] ASCURI comes, and the young people start to think that if people are coming to film, it's because it's important, right? Then, they wear the typical clothes; they want to show them. This is what happened [...] In the beginning, I was in high school, I was not interested, but after I saw ASCURI filming, I started to gain interest, and I wanted to do more: I'm not part of ASCURI, but I'm going to do my part, I will pick up my cell phone and will record. [...] I knew nothing, nothing about the sacred songs. At night, when everyone started to sing and dance in circles, I was also there [...] I sing, but I didn't know how to sing the songs properly nor knew anything about them; I had never asked. Then, I became interested: I'm going to do my part, I'm going to my grandmother's house, and I will record.

[...] I saw more of what people were recording, making short films. I saw people from ASCURI doing it. I searched on Facebook, videos on YouTube. I got interested and told my young people: "guys, let's do our part now". [...] After the youth saw an ASCURI video on YouTube (because, nowadays, you see that on every phone, there is a YouTube, and ASCURI put videos that it had recorded [...]) the young people got very interested in culture, Indigenous culture. Even children [...] picked up a cell phone and started watching a video that ASCURI had filmed. [...] So the audiovisual has changed the lives of young people very much.³

Daniela Jorge João

This chapter explores a distinct way that encounters between Indigenous audiovisual producers (including online collaborations) can spark countervailing tendencies to local oppressive epistemological linearities aligned with extractivist and neoliberal modes of thinking, which I am designating as a "cosmopolitic force", following Robbins, Cheah and Ribeiro. I argue that these encounters have inspired works generating an ontogenesis of forces of difference rooted in ecologies of practices invoking intricate relations of affect and responsibility. Here, the force of Indigenous stories brings the possibility to reconstitute relationships and bodies beyond common

sense to push forward speculative fabulations: collective forms of practice that act not through reframing but by becoming speculative in a manner that does not contain its own answers. In this respect, this movement displays response-ability, as the ability to respond in an affirmative way, opening spaces of maneuverability.

I argue that these audiovisual works rewire in Indigenous communities of Mato Grosso do Sul the hyperlinked space saturated by the epistemological linearity propelling neoliberal agendas through perspectives propagated in local schools, the media and online environments. Doing so, they convey a potential for what Povinelli designates as a *systematic revisioning*, as I discuss in this chapter, bringing healing and hope for local Indigenous youth and offering them a new path to carve a future.

The first epigraph above is an excerpt of Quechua filmmaker Ivan Molina's participation in April 2021 in the live streaming of the closing of the Indigenous cinema online exhibition event "Native Narratives" mentioned in the last chapter. The film he is referring to is *Mokõi Kovoë*⁴ (ASCURI 2021), released officially during the event, a film in which he participated in the conception and elaboration process through a collaboration consisting of virtual meetings, as he could not leave Bolivia to meet ASCURI participants due to the COVID-19 pandemic. In the first section of this chapter, I examine how this film entangles a cosmological dimension with a political one through a multisensory materialization of Guarani concepts that are ressignified to reflect on current circumstances. Concomitantly, as Molina's quote highlighted, it embodies a different perception of the role of nature within the very production of audiovisual works: the film emerges as a collaboration with nature, as a co-creation of "a vaccine against death". In this respect, I analyze how the ontogenesis of generative forces through audiovisual production creates

a new language -dynamic and unfinished- opening new therapeutic and affirmative horizons for being Indigenous in the region.

The second section of this chapter expands this discussion to examine new affectively charged instantiations of indigeneity coined by ASCURI in the film *Jepea'yta -The main log* (Galache and Foscaches 2012)⁵. In this respect, the second epigraph is ASCURI founder Eliel Benites' analogy presented in this film associating indigeneity with the Guarani term *Jepea'yta*, which designates the main log that keeps the ember alight at the basis of a fire.

Eliel's metaphor draws on concepts from Guarani Kaiowá cultural reservoirs for interpreting reality articulated with specific meanings, which he refers to as also "composing the land," as I discuss in the third section. In fact, out of the 64⁶ films on ASCURI's YouTube channel, only six⁷ denounce cases of violence against Indigenous communities, acting as documentary evidence, such as the film "*Yvy Reñoi, the Seed of the Land*" (2016) discussed in Chapter 3. The others emphasize aspects of Indigenous cultural practices, experiences and cosmological visions. In a way, as Eliel asserted, they focus on "stories that mark the territory"⁸. Further, in the third section, I argue that in the hyperlinked space of Mato Grosso do Sul, the *Jepea'yta* metaphor defuses the force encapsulated in concepts such as *bugre*, very pervasive in the region. I highlight the experiences and affects of Indigenous youth in the face of this and related derogatory terms in the fourth section.

Finally, in the fifth section, I argue that these stories have become sources of inspiration and emotional healing for some young Guarani-Kaiowá from Mato Grosso do Sul. I focus on accounts of local young Guarani-Kaiowá, such as Daniela Jorge João's, showcased in the last epigraph, taken from the interview⁹ I conducted with her. Daniela, who became one of my dearest friends during my fieldwork in Mato Grosso do Sul, is a young Guarani-Kaiowá woman from the

Guyra Kambi'y community. In her account, she shows how local Indigenous audiovisual production can spark the Indigenous youth's interest to engage with the worldview, knowledge, and cultural practices of their communities. She also stresses the role of social media, such as Facebook and YouTube, to boost this enthusiasm, illuminating that these online communication platforms do not only create echo-chambers disseminating the ontology of threat vis-à-vis indigeneity, as discussed in Chapter 3 but can equally form milieux for the ontology of healing, where Indigenous youth can acquire a more empowering perception of their circumstances, the place they occupy locally and their possibilities.

1. Mokõi Kovoé - We Both Survived

The film starts with rain arriving in the forest. At the same time, one can hear a Guarani-Kaiowá elder singing a sacred song. The shadow of an elder against the sunset appears next, and then scenes from a *Jerusuboku*, a corn baptism dancing and singing ritual, which lasts until the following day. Two girls play and laugh while grinding corn, and the mother scolds them: “these seeds are sacred, you cannot play like this!”¹⁰ The ritual continues until eventually, the mother asks the girls to give water to the ritual participants (men and women of all ages). When the water finishes, the girls go to the forest to get more. They arrive at a river, they play, bathe, and the older sister makes a braid in the younger. They fill out their ceramic pots and leave. It is evening in the village. The ritual continues. When the next day comes, the ritual is still taking place with people dancing and singing a song saying, “take me to the sunlight”¹¹. The camera focuses on the corn in the ground, and slowly the perspective becomes more distant as if the whole community rose to the sky. The song continues, but the village seems empty.

The girls arrive in the village. The older sister asks: “Nobody is here. Where did they go?”¹² The younger sister replies: “I don’t know, but let’s search for them”¹³. They go back to the forest. A *Jaó* bird sings. The older sister exclaims: “we both survived¹⁴” with the same rhythm as the bird song. The *Jaó* bird sings again, and the girl repeats the sentence. The *Jaó* bird sings once more, and the other sister repeats the sentence. The bird sings, and one of the girls says at the same time, “we both survived!!!” The *Jaó* bird continues to sing while the girls slowly disappear in the forest. Another day comes. The camera shows the forest from a close to the ground perspective, moving as if a bird is stepping forward, while, among the forest sounds, the *Jaó* bird song continues to be heard together with another more distant sound with the same singing pattern, as if there was another *Jaó* bird nearby. The camera passes by the *baracá* of the girls on the ground. The angle changes, and the perspective is now from a much higher altitude as if flying. The *Jaó* bird song continues until the screen goes black and the credits appear.

During the live ending the Indigenous cinema online exhibition event Native Narratives, Eliel explained that two Guarani-Kaiowá cosmological concepts inspired the film. The first is *araguyje* which he explains as a process of body maturation that appears in the film in the scene of the ritual participants raising to the sky. Eliel observed that they were transformed into guardian spirits of the land. In this respect, he adds that the ultimate goal in this Guarani-Kaiowá maturing is to become a “perfect body” through optimal diet, prayers, social relations, knowledge and way of being¹⁵. The second concept is the *ojeasojavo*, which he describes as “a process of birth, of rebirth,” which is materialized in the film in the transformation of the girls into *Jaó* birds. It constitutes a “metamorphosis of the body to be able to resist, to adapt to the environment one lives in¹⁶”. In this respect, ASCURI Guarani-Kaiowá member Gilearde Barbosa (Geeh), with whom I went to Bolivia in 2016, observed that the idea for the film came when fires (caused by

the deliberate and coordinated actions of wealthy cattle ranchers, who destroyed 30% of the biome in 2020)¹⁷ were ravaging the Pantanal in Mato Grosso do Sul (the world's largest tropical wetland). Geeh explained that the *Jaó* bird is very important for the Guarani-Kaiowá because whenever you hear this bird, you can be sure to find other animals, the forest and so on. Conversely, if you don't hear it, it signals that the place is already ravaged and that "nobody takes care or remember that place, it is an abandoned place"¹⁸.

Eliel's and Geeh's observations indicate the interweaving of a cosmological dimension - which Eliel clarified in the comment section of the film posted in ASCURI's YouTube channel by saying that the film relates to the Guarani-Kaiowá mythological origins of the Jaó bird- with a cosmopolitical one (in the sense outlined by Stengers and Latour of a type of politics where nature and society are integrated, a politics otherwise). The fires in the Pantanal led to a contemporary resignification of the role of the girls as survivors through a metamorphosis of the body that connects to the life in the forest while it symbolizes its resilience. In this respect, the film leaves open the interpretation about to whom the sentence "we both survived" refers, as the singing Jaó bird echoes it -or as the girls echo the Jaó bird song into their sentence and finally turn into Jaó birds themselves. This declaration becomes further broadened if considering Geeh's remark that the Jaó bird manifests the resilience of life in the forest: it is a symbol of the forest attesting "we both survived". In light of this observation, this declaration gains an openness, a maneuverability that comprises the whole forest.

Regarding the *araguyje*, the transcendence of the ritual participants comes with a sense of responsibility: they are transformed into guardian spirits that support the forest (and the presence of the Jaó birds) as a place that is taken care of and remembered. This notion resonates with Vander Nishijima's story comparing the Indigenous participants of the Mosarambihara workshop

to hummingbirds flying with water in their beaks to protect a forest that caught fire as a political force generative of change (see Chapter 2). In *Mokōi Kovoé*, the transcendence of ritual participants and the metamorphosis of the girls become co-creative therapeutic forces of relatedness and empowerment, nudging life into intricate affectively charged co-relations of responsibility. They fashion forms of being that combine human with nonhuman sensed life and become an otherwise and incommensurate remapping of life as a form of politics: multisensory charged forces of difference dynamos or worldlings. As it opens connections and possibilities for co-creation, they forge a language of expression, enabling a form of thinking and acting that empowers a therapeutic margin of maneuverability that translates into hope.

The concepts of *araguyje* and *ojeasojava* and the creative audiovisual work they inspire establish what Povinelli designates as a different “conceptual model” that energizes affects and relationalities conveying a different systematic technology of revisioning comparable to the concepts *desert*, *animist* and *virus* that she analyzes in her work. Povinelli argues that they are able to displace what she designates as the “conceptual figures” of a *geontological governance of our thought*, where “other forms of existence cannot merely be included in the ways we have understood the qualities of being and life but will need, on the one hand, to displace the division of Life and Nonlife as such” (2016, 31). Thus, *araguyje* and *ojeasojava* carve paths for transcending *geontopower*, which she defines as “a set of discourse, affects, and tactics used in late liberalism to maintain or shape the coming relationship of the distinction between Life and Nonlife” (2016, 17):

As we become increasingly captured by the competing claims of precarious natures and entangled existences, a wild proliferation of new conceptual models, figures, and tactics is displacing the conceptual figures and tactics of the biopolitical and necropolitical. (Povinelli 2016, 31)

Stories such as *Mokōi Kovoé*, (as well as *Jepea’yta* as I discuss in the next section) become conceptual models because their telling through audiovisual media is charged with the power of

this language to restructure relationships and bodies beyond a “geontological governance of thought” while staying maneuverable states of emergence, energetic instantiations of life as vibrant matter. By enabling and creating new forces of connectivity and co-relationship, they develop new affirmative forces of responsibility rooted in an ecology of practice.

2. *Jepea’yta* -The Ember at the Basis of Fire

In the film *Jepea’yta -The main log*, Eliel presents *fire* as “necessary for warmth and also a synonymous for life, resistance, fight, persistence, and light”¹⁹ (Galache and Foscaches 2012). He indicates it as a symbol of Indigenous culture and family relationships. Eliel invokes an ecology of practices which sediments family connectivities triggered by moments shared around the fire: “the fire warms the whole family, and during this moment Indigenous education occurs, traditional education, and the traditional relationships of a family at home, cooking all its food”²⁰ (Galache and Foscaches 2012). Therefore, the notion of “fire” in the film evokes memories encapsulating and encoding Indigenous families’ ecology of practices.

In this logic established by Eliel, the main log at the basis of the fire -the *Jepea’yta*- are those that keep the embers alight. This notion attributes to indigeneity a positive connotation and a sense of empowerment in resilience: no matter what happens, Indigenous persons have what it takes to revive the “fire”. Eliel also taps on the *main log* notion to refer to Indigenous audiovisual producers’ resilience. During the film, many Indigenous participants noted that the initial audiovisual workshops that sparked the local Indigenous youth’s interest in cinema conducted by non-Indigenous facilitators, such as the initiative during the Video Indio Brazil festivals, did not continue. The result was a sentiment of frustration: “It is very temporary, the projects come, excite the young people and then never come back. So, this often leaves people very discouraged”²¹

(Galache and Foscaches 2012). However, Eliel observes later in the film, they leave a “hidden ember” in the heart of the young Indigenous participants able to kindle a new fire blaze motivating the “reconstruction of objectives”²² (Galache and Foscaches 2012).

Interestingly, this “hidden ember” blossomed into the creation of ASCURI’s Indigenous independent collective of audiovisual production, in part because of this film. At the end of 2012, ASCURI included it in a request for the Indigenous Cultures Award promoted by the Brazilian Ministry of Culture. In June 2013, the award (corresponding to approximately \$8000 CAD) was granted and enabled the collective to register as an association officially. During Eliel’s account of ASCURI’s history at the Autonomy, Sustainability, and Indigenous Audiovisual Seminar (ASA), he also linked ASCURI’s emergence as stemming from the frustration over the unreliability of institutions, which triggered a search for autonomy. He explained that institutions arrive with grandiose projects, funds and well-intentioned support but tend to impose an agenda and disappear when funding dries up. Therefore, instead of waiting for the goodwill of others, they decided to create their own independent movement of Indigenous audiovisual production, seeking to sustain the needs of the collective through partnerships with diverse institutions, but always being careful never to be “swallowed” by any of them, nor become an *institution’s project*. In this perspective, they are an embodiment of *Jepea’yta*, using their “embers” to keep their project brightly lit up.

The concept of *Jepea’yta*, as well as *araguyje* and *ojeasojava*, instantiate an argument that Eliel underscored when I interviewed him in 2016: the most potent tool of the Indigenous cause is its cultural reservoirs -including cultural practices, languages, beliefs, cosmology and knowledge; Indigenous filmmaking should tap on Indigenous references, operate using Indigenous forms of “logic”²³. *Jepea’yta* recast the local Indigenous identity in a positive light, attributing a sense of

value and pride for Indigenous peoples' resilience. It provided a new lexicon to affirm indigeneity that blossomed again in later works such as the film *Panambizinho -The fire that never extinguishes* (2014), mentioned in Chapter 2, which compares the Panambizinho Guarani-Kaiowá community to everlasting fire.

Ultimately, it propelled a narrative built around *hope*. This affect appeared in Eliel's statements in *Jepea 'yta -The main log*:

People get discouraged, but there is still the ember that is the basis of all fire. [...] And hope is what moves reality significantly -the dream. If we don't have a dream, we don't have a reason to exist. It is the dream that builds reality²⁴. (Galache and Foschates 2012)

In this declaration, Eliel proposes *hope* as the basis not only for new understandings but also for *doings*, as a room-making maneuver for the next steps, able to fuel positive sentiments and drive daily actions and behaviours. Invoking *hope* and the willingness to dream, he opens a path to counter the corrosion of Indigenous ontological security in the region by reversing the effect of harmful convictions at its core, such as perceptions of indigeneity evoked by the concept of *bugre* or the notion that “there is no way out”, as I address in the next sections.

3. Landscaping Hyperlinked Spaces

The proposal of bringing hope as a *doing* encompasses a generative work of landscaping. During the April 2021 live closing the “Native Narratives” event, Eliel suggested that stories such as *Mokõi Kovoé* “compose” the land: “endless stories that mark the territory [...]. And these stories reflect on the land, produce the environment”²⁵. He argued that the stories were saved into “networks” that are “collectivities”: each person keeps stories as part of a network producing the Indigenous land²⁶. In this respect, he considers an essential task the cartography of the territory of

stories, including “fundamental ideas”. They are “foundations”²⁷ serving as a basis for the creative exercise of audiovisual production. Eliel advocates for an ecology of ideas linked to the living experiences in the Indigenous territory sedimented by previous and current generations. In a way, it invokes a similar notion to the “starry sky” (which I proposed to reflect about the internet): the coexistence of stories crafted collectively by different generations and dynamically ressignified to reflect about current circumstances. In this respect, Eliel’s creative new take of *Jepea’yta* allows for re-energizing the local landscape with stories able to defuse the force of derogatory notions such as *bugre*, which I analyze the pervasiveness in local Indigenous communities in the next section.

Eliel noted that this act of populating the space with Indigenous stories implies also populating the internet with “the Guarani-Kaiowá way of being” to stop the grip that non-Indigenous media has obtained over Indigenous youth:

We want to retake this audiovisual world in the Kaiowá way, the Guarani way, because the retaking does not relate only to the land, but also the audiovisual, the atmosphere, the air, the invisible world [...]. Because the villages are infected with all kinds of information from the hegemonic media, which comes on our cell phones, on the television, the radios; and it forms the subjectivity of young people, who leave, for example, their traditional culture, their traditional values because the media has been dominating, has been producing a set of knowledge and productivity that are shaping this modern perspective²⁸.

During the 2016 ASA seminar, which I attended, ASCURI founder Gilmar Kiripuku Galache made a similar point arguing that the mainstream media in Mato Grosso do Sul conveyed information formulated and controlled by private companies such as TV channels or cellphone companies and was ever more present in Indigenous villages. When Indigenous persons watch TV daily, they repeat what they see and move away from their culture and language. He illustrated his point by mentioning the pervasiveness of soap operas as well as Facebook, where “at every moment, we are appropriating ourselves of a media that is not Indigenous”²⁹. In his talk, Eliel addressed the same concern returning to the example of Facebook: “the way we see the world was impacted by technology too, and the

same happens when we use the media. Facebook profiles, the way you post the images, the photos, everything, people's taste... Today, our Indigenous profiles are like the non-Indigenous ones because they were produced by the media too"³⁰.

The implication of this process can be dire for Indigenous persons, as Eliel observed:

Today in the media in general, on the radio, on television, there is the discourse: "the Indian is an invader, the Indian is dirty, the Indian is violent". Then, the idea develops, you know, the way of telling it contributes to it, and the Indian himself ends up believing it. [...] In a book, in a story about Hitler, in the Second World War [they say that] a lie told a thousand times becomes true. [...] And people go on believing, believing, believing, and it becomes real, and that is it, right? They really believe it"³¹.

Instead, Eliel argues that audiovisual production can be used for strengthening Indigenous standpoints, as the first sections of this chapter suggest. This point resonates with the way Gilmar encouraged Indigenous listeners to stop being the people who only *receive* information and start *producing* their own: "We have to start thinking about producing information in our language, in our time, in the way we believe is better for the future of our people, so that our children are also sowers of that thought"³². Another related question he presents as an aspiration for ASCURI is how to create videos that are able to circulate on the internet, to disseminate their standpoints: "when will non-Indigenous people appropriate themselves of the media we produce?"³³ In this respect, Gilmar shared with the Indigenous students a dream:

Imagine a radio that every morning, at 5 AM, starts with a traditional song [...] To start your day in your language, listen to your language, listen to stories in your language. And this all day long. Imagine your child growing up every day listening to stories in your language [...] instead of what they talk about on the radio today. You turn on the radio today in Dourados, and it's just violence, [...] and always manipulated information, [...] and then, you, your son and your family will always be exposed to that. Television is the same thing, soap operas, manipulated news reports: they say what they want because we are just a receiving box.³⁴

While this dream seemed still distant, Ivan Molina, in his talk, argued that ASCURI was already engaged in building what he designated as an "audiovisual sovereignty" for the Guarani-Kaiowá, which starts by "knowing the symbols of the Guarani people" such as the *baracá*, the traditional Guarani rattle. For him, the question of audiovisual sovereignty resided in knowing "who

speaks on our behalf?” For instance, he provoked, when TVs are turned on, who is speaking about Indigenous peoples? He argued that if until then, others had talked for the Guarani-Kaiowá, the fundamental difference with ASCURI is that “it is part of you”³⁵. When I interviewed Kiki Concianza, one of the most active members of ASCURI since 2010, he stressed the importance for him of working in a local Indigenous audiovisual collective and the advantages for nearby Guarani-Kaiowá villages of letting ASCURI produce videos there, rather than non-Indigenous film crews.

First, the collective is careful with the communities’ rules and knows what can be filmed and what is forbidden:

We are the ones who have to make the videos, we Guarani Kaiowá, because the non-Indigenous, when he arrives in the village, he arrives and films carelessly, because the village has a lot of sacred [practices], [...] that cannot be filmed. The non-Indian gets there in the village, [...] and films [...] he doesn’t respect there. And when we are an Indigenous filmmaker, we know which [practices] we are going to film and which ones are prohibited from filming too³⁶.

Second, Kiki considers that his involvement with ASCURI brought him closer to the elders of his community as it motivated him to talk to them. Furthermore, when the elders feel respected and like the images, they also become eager to share more stories, further deepening the dialogue channel carved by Kiki’s act of filming.

This experience contrasts significantly with his first encounter with cinema. In 2008, he played one of the main characters in the Italo-Brazilian film *Bird Watchers* (whose name in Portuguese is *Terra Vermelha*, which translates to “Red Land”). The film, a drama portraying a clash between a wealthy family of ranchers and a Guarani-Kaiowá group living nearby, had the purpose of giving visibility to the challenges faced by the Indigenous communities of the area. Kiki’s character was a young Guarani-Kaiowá man with suicidal behaviour, embodying a recurrent tragedy in local Guarani-Kaiowá communities, which I discuss in the next section. As he revealed to me, the experience posed severe problems to him: he was told he had disrespected

Indigenous traditions by staging suicide and had brought it to his family. Shortly after, his father took his own life, and he was blamed for it. This guilt has haunted him since then.

4. Negative Representations of Indigeneity

During the ASA seminar, Gilmar, Eliel and Ivan addressed not only the impact of non-Indigenous media but also the ways that education conducted at schools attended by Indigenous students catalyzed the alienation from Indigenous worldviews and devaluation of indigeneity promoted by mainstream media. Gilmar, for instance, mentioned that often schools had become “statal tools for transforming us into white people”³⁷.

In fact, it is at school that many Indigenous young persons encounter, for the first time, the disempowering set of meanings attached to the concept of *bugre* since many must leave their villages to attend high school. In his master’s thesis, Gilmar stated that he noticed for the first time he was “different” when he went to study in a non-Indigenous school outside the Terena village where he grew up (Galache 2017, 9). Indigenous agronomist Claudionor Miranda recalled, in his master’s thesis on local development, how since the first year he studied in a non-Indigenous school, he realized that the word ‘*bugre*’ was employed habitually “by the ‘whites’ when they referred to us” and understood that it carried the idea that “all the Indians are lazy, drunkards and unfit”³⁸ (2006, 18). Furthermore, the fact that Indigenous students often need to cross long distances by walking or riding bicycles on small dirt roads to access non-Indigenous schools adds another layer to the prejudice. Kiki revealed that his colleagues showed contempt for him during his high school, not only because he was Guarani-Kaiwoá, but also because he would arrive at school with dirty clothes after walking from his village³⁹.

In his analysis of the meanings of the term *bugre* in Mato Grosso, anthropologist Guisard noted that a recurrent answer was that *bugre* designated “being a nobody”: “the *bugre* is a small person who is a nobody, a Joe-Nobody”⁴⁰ (1999, 92-93, 96). This response suggested that besides relating indigeneity to all the negative meanings mentioned above and in Chapter 3, the term was also used to label an *absence* of identity. In this perspective, *bugre* denied entitlement to any conception of identity, turning instead into its anti-matter: a marker of “un-becoming”, using Seigworth and Gregg’s term (see chapter 1). This ascribed position of un-becoming crystallized in the understandings of *bugre* in Cáceres is comparable to the normalization of indigeneity’s invisibility in Dourados’ dominant discourses. This practice is evident in the recurrent argument stating that Indigenous persons in the state would allegedly be Paraguayans passing as Indigenous, as I mentioned in Chapter 3, in the analysis of Eduardo Bolsonaro’s video addressed to Indigenous groups from Mato Grosso do Sul. The downplaying of Indigenous presence in the region favoured the transfer of their lands to rural producers “for the sake” of the Brazilian nation. This dynamic calcified in the region the idea that rural producers are “heralds” of national occupation, integration and development (see Appendix I for an account of how official historiographies downplayed the Indigenous presence in Mato Grosso do Sul to benefit rural producers). According to Fabiana Fernandes, this tendency is pervasive in local education:

It is madness to live in Dourados because the city does not recognize itself as an intercultural city. It doesn’t recognize the Indigenous people [...] This education is full of prejudice and distancing with reality and local history. We don’t study Indigenous history in schools here. [...] I had no idea that when grown-up, I would understand that I lived in the city with the second-largest Indigenous population in the country. [...] The population of Dourados does not know that it is a city of Indians⁴¹.

When occasionally present in the educational curriculum, local indigeneity tends to be portrayed as linked to a distant past, only playing an important role in Brazil’s origins. Geographer Renata Oliveira Costa, who entered a collaboration with ASCURI as a United Nations Development Program consultant in Mato Grosso do Sul, observed that even education

provided at the elementary level at public schools in certain Indigenous villages (which supposedly is “differentiated” and adapted to the “Indigenous context”) echoed many of the stereotypes attaching indigeneity to the past⁴². For instance, she explained, kids are encouraged to create drawings depicting Indigenous persons during the yearly national celebration of Indian Day. They often present the classic image of the semi-naked Indian in the forest wearing a feather headdress, despite being Indigenous themselves and not corresponding to this simplistic cliché. She remarked that they were playing back the images they saw in their schoolbooks. In the meantime, their own figures faded in their imaginaries of embodiments of indigeneity.

4.1. Dissonant worldviews and overflowing affects

As dominant local discourses have disseminated notions formed by (1) the ascribed unbecoming calcified in *bugre*, paired with (2) the normalization of indigeneity’s invisibility crystallized in its substitution for Paraguayans in local history, and with (3) the perception of rural producers as heralds of national occupation, integration, and development, they have populated the territory of stories inside local Indigenous communities and resonated with Indigenous youth producing conflicting affects. As a result, young Indigenous women and men often feel trapped between two worldviews, pertaining to two seemingly incompatible universes, their identity reflecting locally unwanted ghosts from the past with no place in the present. Consequently, some experience a deep and persistent shame.

Urbano Escalante, the young Guarani Kaiowá man from Pirakuá who had taken part in ASCURI since 2013 when the group went to his village for an audiovisual workshop, noticed this process in Pirakuá. When I interviewed him, he commented that the youth was distancing itself

from Guarani-Kaiowá cultural practices because they saw them as embarrassing⁴³. During an internal ASCURI meeting in Ivan Molina's presence, having the purpose of planning future audiovisual workshops and reflecting on the group's experiences and needs, Urbano brought the same issue. He advocated for the need to discuss with teachers at local schools the importance of promoting Indigenous language and cultural practices as early as possible:

We need to start the language education with the children, discuss it with the teacher in school. Five or six-year-olds will not be ashamed. The teacher can invite the *Ñanderu*⁴⁴ to come to school, do *Guaxirés*⁴⁵ for the children to learn. This makes it easier for young people to master dance, language and culture. My one-year-old son imitates the prayer and is not ashamed; 14-15-year-olds are⁴⁶.

During the same meeting, Kiki also stressed the challenge posed by shame and spotted it as an opportunity for ASCURI's work:

Many young people want to be filmmakers, but they are ashamed of their culture. When we do the *Guaxiré*, they laugh and don't want to participate. We need to do documentaries so that they can become educational tools in the school so that youth can see it⁴⁷.

As shame appeared as an affect overflowing from an attunement to concepts ascribing to indigeneity a negative connotation, this feeling impacted relationships within Indigenous communities, producing unbindings. As some young people disconnected from local cultural practices, they distanced themselves from social relations attached to the learning and the acting of such practices, especially interactions with elders and traditional spiritual leaders.

This process's corollary is the interruption of transmission of knowledge between generations that anthropologist Laura Graham refers to as vertical transmission (2005, 630). During his interview, Kiki provided a telling example: he recalled that the *Ñanderu* of his village, responsible for the ritual of lip piercing, chose his eldest grandson to carry on his knowledge, which included the technique and the oral narratives providing the rationale for the ritual. However, when the young man converted to Christianity, he started to reject Indigenous practices. As a result, he refrained from meeting with his grandfather to listen to his stories and teachings.

For his part, the *Ñanderu* refused to consider anybody else to receive the knowledge. Shortly after, he passed away, and the practice died with him. While Kiki did not specify if the young man was driven by a shame rooted in the internalization of local critical stances vis-à-vis indigeneity or if, perhaps, it was triggered by a zealous concern about not learning anything deemed to be against Christian precepts, the result was the same. It led to a distancing from the networks of meanings and sets of relationships linked to his Indigenous upbringing. His decision, paired with his grandfather's insistence to hold on to him, created an impasse ending the Indigenous practice and the narratives attached to it.

When I asked Kiki if he considered that audiovisual recordings could have kept the practice in his community, he argued that the knowledge was sacred and, therefore, could not be filmed. Thus, even though Indigenous audiovisual production is seen as a useful tool for the transmission of information (as in Daniela's case), it cannot overcome some challenges posed by the vacuum created when relationships of vertical knowledge transmission within Indigenous communities are severed.

Nevertheless, the concern for this intergenerational detachment motivates ASCURI members to inquire into how filmmaking can become a tool to rekindle interest. When I interviewed Eliel, he observed that as filming technologies usually focus on the "non-Indigenous way of being, such as the way of talking and relating to others", Indigenous youth have increasingly seen them on TVs, cinema screens and computers and, consequently, these practices and worldviews seem the most important. Nevertheless, he questions, isn't it possible to invert this process by directing the cameras to Indigenous cultural practices and perceptions? Then, these can also be turned into "references" by the camera and appear to be important in the eyes of the Indigenous youth. Moreover, camera lenses allow for zooming in details that otherwise would go

unnoticed⁴⁸. One might see in the film *Jepea'yta -The main log* an example where Indigenous ecologies of practice are placed in the spotlight and creatively ressignified to generate positive connotations for indigeneity and to be turned into a reference able to gain prevalence over derogatory notions, opening paths for hope and healing. While the notion of “bugre” confines indigeneity to a perpetual unbecoming proper of a “vanishing race” with no place in the present nor the future, *Jepea'yta* affirms Indigenous peoples’ continuous presence and resilience, challenging Mato Grosso do Sul’s historiography.

5. Ontologies of Healing

In my conversation with Eliel in 2016, he recalled that the Canadian filmmakers from Wapikoni Mobile “greatly influenced”⁴⁹ ASCURI’s methodology. He recalled that during their visit to Mato Grosso do Sul for the second *Video Indio Brasil* festival in 2009 (mentioned in Chapter 1), they explained that when organizing audiovisual workshops in Indigenous communities, their purpose, more than to create films, was to open spaces for reflection. Their methodological approach included starting workshops with film exhibitions and discussions to spark critical thinking. Wapikoni Mobile filmmakers also stressed that their methodology involved an experience exchange between Indigenous communities. This methodology showed ASCURI the transformative potential of audiovisual production for creating an environment “to reflect on reality and to strengthen local culture”:

They would go to each village, each area and organize a cinema exhibition, audiovisual production activities and reflection there. So, this is how we work today. [...] When they came to show it to us, it influenced us too, for example, in going to the villages, [...] show them the films produced in other villages as well as in their community, make them reflect on their reality as well and strengthen the local culture. So, their methodology also helped us to think of something different. They talked about the exchange experiences, how they worked there.⁵⁰

This encounter inspired ASCURI's initiatives, such as the creation of the Forum for Discussing Digital Inclusion in Indigenous Villages (FIDA). The first took place between December 2nd and 4th, 2010, in the Guarani-Kaiowá reserve *Te'yikue*. The event brought together 25 participants: Terena and Guarani-Kaiowá students who had participated in audiovisual workshops, Indigenous and non-Indigenous teachers (including Bolivian filmmaker Ivan Molina), traditional Indigenous leaders and researchers (Corrêa 2015, 86). During the forum, participants shared experiences, presented films and reflected on how communication technologies could be used in Indigenous communities and for the quest for Indigenous rights.

In 2014, ASCURI organized its largest FIDA, with 150 participants, and the theme "Audiovisual and agroforestry for the strengthening of the culture" in partnerships with the Cinema and Audiovisual Course of UFF, the FAIND-UFGD, the Training on Indigenous Territorial and Environmental Management (GATI) and the ECA headed by Ivan Molina in Bolivia (Corrêa 2015, 86). In 2015 and 2016, these collaborations continued and resulted in actions, such as the Mosarambihara project mentioned in Chapter 2 and two FIDAs.

The idea of fostering Indigenous youth to engage in collective critical reflection to strengthen Indigenous communities strikes a chord as a crucial goal especially considering that local Guarani-Kaiowá villages have been plagued with a pervasive teenager suicide crisis. A 2018 press release from the MPF-MS estimated, in 2015, a suicide rate of 89.92 people per 100,000 inhabitants among the Guarani-Kaiowá. Most of them occurred among those aged 15 to 29 (MPF-MS 2018). The Globe and Mail journalist and Latin America Bureau Chief Stephanie Nolen noted "many parallels" between Canada and Brazil's Indigenous suicide crisis, which prompted her to go to Mato Grosso do Sul in 2017 to investigate why people were taking their lives (Nolen 2017). Her special news report "The lost ones: Inside Brazil's Indigenous suicide crisis -Canada's

Indigenous child-suicide crisis is being mirrored on reserves in Brazil”⁵¹ provided statistics showing the extent of the tragedy: until 2016, suicide rates per 100,000 people among Brazilians averaged five people per year, Canadians averaged 11 people (data until 2012), Guarani-Kaiowá averaged 106.7 people, and Nunavut Inuit averaged 112.8 people (Nolen 2017, 4).

The grim situation in Mato Grosso do Sul has stood out so much from other Brazilian states that it prompted annual reports from the Missionary Council for Indigenous Peoples (CIMI) on violence against Indigenous Peoples in Brazil to present since 2009 a dedicated table displaying the number of suicides in Mato Grosso do Sul -referring almost exclusively to Guarani-Kaiowá- (besides the table enumerating suicides among Indigenous groups per state in Brazil)⁵². I argue that the ways that Indigenous communities have become “hyperlinked” have exacerbated this crisis as this phenomenon has catalyzed perceptions marked by a lack of future perspective and purpose in life.

I base my argument firstly on Brand’s claim that this phenomenon is not a historical/traditional practice among the Guarani-Kaiowá but is triggered by despair, hopelessness, and a lack of perspective of future (Brand 1995, 8-9; Brand and Vietta 2001b, 136-137). Analyzing data provided by the National Indian Foundation, he noted a drastic increase in the frequency of suicides among Guarani-Kaiowá living in the south of Mato Grosso do Sul from 1990 on (1995, 8; Brand and Vietta 2001a, 121)⁵³. Interviews with Guarani-Kaiowá authorities about suicide, conducted at the Indigenous Reserve of Caarapó in 1995, confirmed this hypothesis. One interviewee declared: “since two years ago, there are some things I see that I have never seen. Not even when I was a child, I had not seen these things, these people hanging themselves, like that”⁵⁴ (Brand and Vietta 2001b, 137). Nolen’s report in Brazil, 22 years later, supports this argument. After visiting ten Indigenous families who lost loved ones to suicide, she

remarked that those around the age of 50 affirmed that this large number of suicides (rather than one or two in a generation) had never happened (2017, 5).

Complementing the idea that suicide is not a traditional practice is the claim that, in the past, the Guarani-Kaiowá “treated the problem as ‘a disease’ which apparently did not have many victims” (Brand 1995, 9). During the interview that Brand conducted with two traditional healers, they attributed the problem to the fact that local families were not doing traditional protective rituals: “families nowadays don’t do the *jeovasa* anymore. Those who take their own lives have no path [...] they cannot find the road [...]. Our body is a wind, and when we don’t control it, there is no path”⁵⁵ (Brand and Vietta 2001b, 133-134). During Nolen’s visit to the Guarani-Kaiowá Reserve *Sassoró*⁵⁶, traditional healer Ilma followed the same rationale when she explained suicide as a recent phenomenon stemming from a loss of control deriving from a disconnection with protective Guarani-Kaiowá rituals.

Concomitantly, Gomes pointed to another reason that suggests that hyperlinked spaces can exacerbate this crisis: youth were spending all their time with cellphones, walking around with headphones on: “there is a voice speaking right into their heads, and they don’t control what goes in their heads, this takes children into despair, it amplifies sadness” (Nolen 2017, 11). Gomes also informed that after seeing 17 young people (mostly teenagers) take their lives, she met with other traditional healers to act: for three months, they conducted rituals for protecting schools and sites where young men and women gather every day (Nolen 2017, 27). They wanted to strengthen the children to keep evil spirits away and shelter their spiritual guardians, *mokoi*, and *gwyra*. According to Guarani-Kaiowá worldview, they are comparable to two small birds that travel on people’s shoulders since the time of their birth to protect their souls, but they can be scared off their shoulders by harsh words or disturbing sights (Nolen 2017, 2).

As local communities develop interpretations to make sense of this dismal phenomenon, people often experience perplexity when confronted with the reality that loved ones entertained self-destructive sentiments. While families tend to explain these tragic actions with trivial causes such as alcohol consumption paired with relationship conflicts or frustration over the lack of material goods, the accounts uncover a deep layer of sombre feelings underneath the surface: hopelessness combined with an overwhelming sense of lack of control and increasing despair (Brand and Vietta 2001b, 136-137; Nolen 2017, 1, 7, 11, 14). As Chief Otoniel Guarani-Kaiowá explains: “there is no future, there is no respect, there are no jobs, and there is no land where we can plant and live. They choose to die because, in reality, they are already dead inside”⁵⁷ (CIMI 2014, 21). In this perspective, alcohol consumption constitutes not a cause but a symptom of the uneasiness brought by these sentiments and a trigger to act on them. Guarani-Kaiowá leader Gonçalves advanced this argument when he recalled his conversation with a man haunted by suicidal thoughts:

There is a person, an Indian, who lives in *Saverá* who told me: “I look at my family, I feel sorry. I look at my plantings, and I have nothing to feed [my family]. Money, I don’t have! I don’t even have a small vegetable garden, and I don’t have a boss to go to work for. So, taking my own life, [he] said, other people will take care of my children...” I was very upset with these words coming from this person, a young person, married. So many people do that -because there is no way out! Sometimes, ideas are weak, and they start to ponder about their lives. [...] It starts with sadness, [...] then they think that this sadness will never go away, then they begin to think about their lives! [...] And then comes this thing with alcoholic drinks; they gain the courage to act on this because they don’t do it if they are sober. (Brand and Vietta 2001b, 136-137)⁵⁸

Nolen provided a strikingly similar example, sixteen years later, when she presented Onildo de Oliveira’s case. The Guarani-Kaiowá man who hung himself in a tree near his house was “despairing because he could not find work or pay child support” (Nolen 2017, 1). However, she was careful to note that there was no influence of alcohol in this case:

He was a father of four, unemployed and deeply troubled about his inability to find work. His former wife had had him detained for failure to pay child support once before, and he didn’t want to return to jail. The children asked him for food, and he had nothing to give them. He went to apply whenever he

heard about jobs, but the people hiring made clear those jobs weren't for *Índios* [...] They told me that he was a good man, who went to church and didn't drink, and they had had no warning. (Nolen 2017, 25)

Both examples instantiate despair and hopelessness, expressing an internal compass reacting to the erosion of their “ontological security” (Giddens 1990, 92). Giddens defined it as a feeling of security grounded in the “confidence that most human beings have in the continuity of their self-identity and in the constancy of the surrounding social and material environment of action” (1990, 92). Deprived of this security by the precarious circumstances they lived, they saw themselves sinking into the quicksand of poverty and pain where no glimpse of a future seemed possible, which catalyzed sombre responses to control and quieting such feelings by stopping the gridlocked situation.

This lack of work and opportunities becomes apparent from an early age. Nolen observed that local youth “grow up with access only to poor education, with no recreational option beyond drinking [...] and have virtually no career prospects (Nolen 2017, 13). She noted “a total absence of any kind of economic activity”:

The teacher and the health agent are the only people on most reserves with paid employment. The only jobs to be had are day labour on the farms, a few months a year during harvest – but farmers don't like to hire “Índios”. Sometimes women get jobs washing clothes or floors for white people in the town – but it's far, and the work pays only about \$20 a day. (Nolen 2017, 8)

During my fieldwork in Mato Grosso do Sul, I had the opportunity to spend some days at the Dourados Indigenous Women Association (AMID)⁵⁹ in the Dourados Indigenous Reserve, where I had a discussion with a group of women about work opportunities. They mentioned that the only options available were very low-income positions, often in situations where they had to face prejudice and precarious work conditions. For example, Fabiana, a young single mother, told me she only found a job in a chicken slaughterhouse where she had to work from 2 pm to 1 am every day. After one year, the repetitive gestures required for the work impaired her arms. Instead

of receiving health care or compensation, she was fired. As work is not guaranteed, some people try to grow food in their small backyards, but the lack of space and the fact that the reserve is in an area already environmentally degraded considerably limits this option.

In this perspective, projects such as ASCURI's *Mosarambihara -Sowers of the Well-Living*, combining audiovisual and agroecological practices, analyzed in Chapter 2, illuminate a possible path for the present and the future. It brings a concrete ground for a genuine sense of hope and gives shape to a “dream that builds reality”, returning to Eliel's words, which is attuned with Indigenous ecologies of practices and intergenerational networks of relationships. Concomitantly, as mentioned in Chapter 2, it also presents a new positive perception of indigeneity and its local role. Indigenous persons become “sowers of well-living”. Other positive perceptions of indigeneity, such as *Jepea'yta*, complement it, nudging Indigenous youth's feelings to give way to a new sentiment of pride.

Furthermore, the sheer engagement with Indigenous audiovisual production can become a path to have a future. In his interview, Kiki stressed how audiovisual production changed his life:

Then it changed my life; it's not the same as it used to be [...]. In the past, I used to stay at home or work for non-Indigenous people as a day labourer. I finished high school in a hurry and didn't manage to go to university [...]. It changed my life; I could help my relatives [...]. I wanted to teach young people, and it changed my life because I taught young people a lot, talked to young people [...]. It really changed my life. I showed the history of my village and another village too. In the past, there weren't images of the elders. Nowadays, we show films in the school, and everybody asks questions. [...] People greet you: wow, you did this [...] Because of the cameras, we have contact with the elders. [...] I filmed, we showed the images on a screen: the elder saw his image and liked it a lot. And he wanted to show more, to open himself to show more. And he says everything...⁶⁰

Kiki's reflections indicate that Indigenous audiovisual production gave him a purpose in life and a way to contribute to his community by mapping ecologies of ideas grounded in local living experiences. His contribution to the “cartography of the territory of stories”, in turn, brought him positive recognition and a sense of connection with local elders and the youth.

Concomitantly, his work creatively engaged with local concepts energized with new meanings such as *Jepea'yta*. In 2014, he and Gilmar filmed *Panambizinho -The fire that never extinguishes* (2014) at the Panambizinho Indigenous land. The film not only brought indigeneity in a positive light, highlighting the community's resilience, knowledge, and practices, but also inspired other young people to engage with audiovisual production and see their Indigenous identity with renewed interest. In this respect, Kiki was a *Jepea'yta* -an alit ember kindling local youth's curiosity and pride for their indigeneity. Around the time this film was shot, Geeh, then a Guarani-Kaiowá teenager from Panambizinho, joined ASCURI invited by Kiki. When I interviewed Geeh in 2016, he told me that it was ASCURI that awoke in him his interest in Guarani-Kaiowá culture and that this interest brought him closer not only to the elders of his community but also to his brother. This involvement with ASCURI also gave him a purpose in life and a tool to cope with sadness and loneliness.

Audiovisual production also allowed Geeh to visit the Xavante, an Indigenous people living in the Mato Grosso state, and this encounter further instilled him with pride for his Indigenous identity and the resilience of Indigenous peoples in Brazil. During my fieldwork, Geeh showed me a pencil drawing he had created inspired by this trip. It depicted an Indigenous young man's face, half Xavante, half Guarani-Kaiowá, staring the viewer straight in the eyes. However, he did not have the left eye, and the left corner of the mouth did not have lips nor the skin around, exposing the teeth, like if he were turning into a skull, but without lowering his head (see Figure 1). He told me it was an homage to the Indigenous leaders who had died fighting for Indigenous rights and that he had posted it on his Facebook page. On his Facebook, there were several versions of it with the expression "CHE AVA" below, which he translated in a comment as "I am Indian"⁶¹.

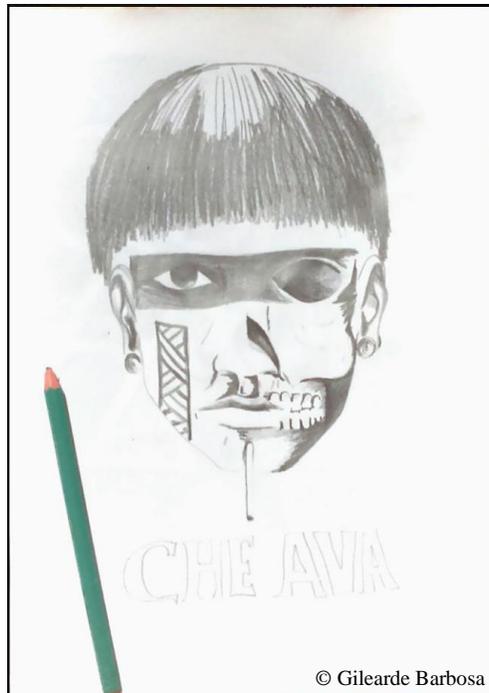


Illustration 1- Drawing by Gilearde Barbosa

In another comment, he wrote “homage to our relatives who are at war”⁶². He entertained creating a T-shirt with the image and asked his Facebook friends their opinion about it. In another illustration, he drew a young man without eyes, wearing the T-shirt. While it is a display of identity, it seems to be a statement addressed to Guarani-Kaiowá young people since “I am Indian” is in their language. Perhaps it could be a statement of *positioning*, especially the type proposed by Ivan Molina (see Chapter 3): a place of assertiveness for demanding respect. At the same time, Geeh’s art also creatively adds to the territory of stories, populating with Indigenous stories the hyperlinked spaces (comprising social media) that affect his community. In my interview with another Guarani-Kaiowá young ASCURI participant, Geniniana Barbosa (Genni), she observed that Indigenous audiovisual production shows Indigenous persons in the present, using new technologies, rather than being stuck in the past. This perspective asserts the freedom to explore contemporary ways of being Indigenous in the present and building a future in line with Evelyne Papatie’s dream of “invent[ing] itself a new path wearing moccasins” (see Chapter 1).

5.1. *Jepea'yta* living in a *retomada*

At the beginning of this chapter, I presented Daniela Jorge João as a case in which ASCURI had a positive impact by awakening in her an interest in her Indigenous heritage and making her realize how valuable and singular the knowledge of her family was. In fact, Daniela first heard about ASCURI through Kiki. She revealed that after the Indigenous collective inspired her to “do her part”, with her grandmother’s permission, she recorded her performing sacred songs and telling stories related to them. Her grandmother was the community’s chief spiritual leader and passed away shortly after, but Daniela was able to learn the songs by studying the recordings. After a few months, her new skills enabled her to take part in local events, which were filmed by ASCURI, catalyzing her and the youth of her village’s interest. She ended up teaching the songs to 16 young people of her community and travelled with the group to present them in Campo Grande (Mato Grosso do Sul’s capital). This work gained official recognition when the Secretary of Citizenship and Cultural Diversity (SCDC) awarded them the Indigenous Cultural Spot Prize in December 2015⁶³ (SCDC 2015, 2). The prize encouraged the youth to continue this work, but she had to distance herself because she joined an undergraduate program in Dourados. After considering studying astronomy (a dream she had cultivated but which seemed impossible to reach), she opted to pursue her passion for visual arts to explore Guarani Kaiowá graphisms and experiment with filmmaking.

Daniela’s initiative to be a *Jepea'yta* and “do her part” kindled in her and the youth of her community a sentiment of pride for indigeneity. Thus, it was with pride that she invited me to see the *Jerusuboku* -her village’s corn baptism ritual- and to take pictures of the ritual, body paintings, ceremonial clothes, and handcrafts. In contrast to the positive occasion, however, Daniela and her

sisters' lives were filled with constant tension and fear because of the lack of security in the area. In the next section, I provide a contextualized account of my visit to *Guyra Kamby'i*, including when Daniela invited me for a conversation circle with her sisters and cousins. She wanted to give them the opportunity to ask me questions, talk about their experiences, and be open about their feelings and concerns living in a place where permanent danger erodes ontological security. Interestingly, Daniela resorted to my cellphone camera to record short videos of her's as well as her sisters' and cousins' statements.

5.2. Ontologies of healing within permanent danger

-I went to interview the elderly. After I heard a story about the future and about what happened in the past, I came home, and I didn't feel very well. I sat down, and I started to cry. Because they speak about what happened in the past as if it is going to happen in the future.

-About the violence suffered?

-Yes, the violence suffered and about what happened, about the suicides, and I don't feel well. Sometimes, when I am filming, I don't manage to record until the end: I turn off the cell phone to stop recording because the story is too sad. [...] They start to tell a story, and you travel in the memories, like if you were participating as well inside the memory⁶⁴.

Daniela Jorge João

It was early morning, and I was waiting alone in front of a bus stop at the closest city from *Guyra Kamby'i*, where Daniela Jorge João lives. Her father picked me up in a compact car that had just been repaired and drove on a road surrounded by farms. We entered a small dirt road between two cattle ranching farms, and after a while, I saw a small group of Indigenous homes. Daniela was thrilled to see that I had arrived much before the time scheduled for the party, as she had recommended.

As I was greeting the people who were starting the ritual preparations, her father entered a small hut and came back with a page of a newspaper from two days earlier: May 5, 2016. He explained that it proved that the land where they are living belongs to them. He suggested I take a

picture, which I promptly did. It provided not only evidence for the legitimacy of the Indigenous claims over that land but also an emblematic example of how judicial maneuvers create insurmountable impasses prompting Indigenous groups to organize *retomadas* of their lands and to live in permanent danger of farmers' retaliation.

The news report title read: "Federal Prosecutor's Office wants the nullification of the land titles granted on Indigenous lands" (O Progresso 2016)⁶⁵. It stated that it had appealed to the Federal Regional Tribunal of the Third Region (TRF-3), requiring the annulment of eight land titles granted to non-Indigenous farmers in the south of Mato Grosso do Sul because the corresponding areas were not uninhabited: they were part of the *Panambi-Lagoa Rica* Indigenous Land. These titles were conceded by the Federal Government on October 28, 1943, during the creation of the National Agricultural Colony of Dourados. What was shocking to me was that, per the newspaper's account, in 1943, the Federal Government had a complete awareness that the land was permanently occupied by the Guarani-Kaiowá. As the Federal Constitution of 1934 expressly prohibited any use of lands occupied by Indigenous peoples, the titles granted to the farmers were invalid. In fact, the irregular selling of these Indigenous lands had already been denounced back in 1967 by Helio Bucker, then the head of the 6th Inspectorate of the Service of Indian Protection (SPI)⁶⁶. Moreover, the "Panambi-Lagoa Rica Indigenous Land" had been officially delimited in December 2011 (Brasil 2011, 166; FUNAI 2011; O Progresso 2016, 2; CIMI 2016a, 61)⁶⁷.

To bring peace to conflicts in the region and protect both the interests of Indigenous peoples and farmers, the Federal Prosecutor's Office was advocating for an indemnity for the farmers who did not know they were buying land where Indigenous peoples were living. It was appealing to the TRF-3 because the Federal Justice of Dourados extinguished the case without even verifying its pertinence, on the grounds that the Federal Prosecutor's Office "usurped the

Federal Supreme Tribunal's competence" and did not respect "the immutable clause of powers separation"⁶⁸ (O Progresso 2016, 2). Dourado's Federal Justice's statement did not, thus, deny (or dispute) that the referred lands were recognized as Indigenous. However, it still invalidated the claim and paralyzed any attempt to resolve the impasse in the region, perpetuating the situation where non-Indigenous farmers are authorized to remain in areas officially recognized as Indigenous; and turning a blind eye to it in the same way that the Federal Government did in 1943. Despite all the evidence of the legitimacy of the Indigenous claims over the land, farmers have not only refused to accept the results of the *Panambi-Lagoa Rica* Indigenous Land delimitation process but have also repeatedly resorted to violence to force the *Guyra Kamby'I* community to leave, creating an environment of constant threat.

The epigraph opening this section is part of Daniela's interview, wherein she disclosed that she has grappled with feelings of sorrow and hopelessness to the point where suicidal thoughts crossed her mind. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, Daniela explained she found a new source of hope in watching (and later producing) Indigenous audiovisual works; however, the sombre feelings still haunted her sometimes, and she was afraid her sisters and cousins were going through the same or worse. Thus, she saw my visit as a good opportunity to organize a conversation circle at the bank of a small creek with six vibrant teenage girls and a child to discuss not only audiovisual production but also their feelings.

Daniela opened the conversation circle by saying that her biggest fear was to see any of the girls have suicidal thoughts. She urged them to never keep to themselves if they ever felt sad for some reason. She assured them they would never be alone and advised them to always look for someone to share their thoughts and feelings, not to be ashamed. Then she explained she thought

that my presence there was an opportunity for them to ask me questions and tell me anything they wanted about their experiences, concerns and feelings in general.

The girls seemed shy initially, preferring to ask me questions about my life in Toronto and the winter. Slowly, the initial inhibition gave way to a friendly curiosity: they asked to see pictures and expressed interest in visiting me. Marly, one of Daniela's sisters, started to daydream about what that could look like, making the other girls laugh. Conceptually, their curiosity about travelling to other countries evoked a cosmopolitan imaginary. Methodologically, their interest in me allowed me to express mine in them, reminding me of the mutual implication of both the researcher and the researched in the dialogical processes established in the context of an anthropological project.

Eventually, the conversation shifted to how they felt about their lives in their community. They said that they felt connected with older generations and liked to chat with the elderly more than before. When I asked what it was to be Indigenous to them, Daniela declared that it was who they were and that she was proud of their culture and their wisdom. However, besides this sense of connectedness, the girls stressed sombre feelings of permanent fear and concern due to the local farmers' constant threat. In September 2015, for instance, farmers arrived at their site at night, seemingly drunk, shooting with their guns in different directions and setting off fireworks (to conceal the shots fired). The families ran to hide in the bushes for several hours without knowing if their loved ones were safe. The following night, the rural producers came back with weapons and fireworks, and they had to hide again. Nobody died, but the farmers burnt their belongings and food. Even though they live in a portion of the Panambi-Lagoa Rica land recognized by FUNAI and identified as Indigenous since December 2011, they were sure that the FUNAI nor the police would not do anything to protect them nor to prosecute the farmers.

In fact, the Socioenvironmental Institute reported that some leaders of *Guyra Kambi'y* did notify FUNAI when the farmers arrived in SUVs and that FUNAI contacted the Federal Police but, according to CIMI, the police did not intervene (Klein 2015a)⁶⁹. Federal deputy Edmilson Rodrigues denounced the attack in a speech addressed to the Chamber of Deputies in September 2015, informing that according to the MPF-MS, the president of the Rural Union of Itaporã had convoked farmers of the region to oust the Indigenous community of Guyra Kambi'y and had sent messages through social media to organize the attack⁷⁰ (Rodrigues 2015). The result of these repeated threats, combined with the lack of support of the police and their vulnerability (the community is surrounded by farms, has around 100 people, half being children and teenagers) was profound feelings of tension, fear, and hopelessness, as one of the girls told me.

I tried to cheer them up, saying that I admired their resilience and their strength: “you guys are diamonds: even though coal and diamonds are made of carbon, the main difference between them is that diamonds endure much more pressure and are much stronger”. They smiled. By the end of the conversation, Daniela decided to finish it with a positive note. She asked me to film each girl presenting herself and saying any message they wanted to me. This initiative turned my cellphone into a healing device of therapeutic affirmation. Concomitantly, these affirmations they wanted me to have were building a public image of indigeneity in that place while also marking the experience exchange that took place during the conversation circle. Thus, I recorded their smiley but strong statements saying that they were happy and proud to live there, that they would never give up their culture or their fight, and would face all the battles:

Éliti: Thank you a lot, Marta, for coming here to Brazil and getting to know a little bit of our culture. Come back often.

Josieli: My name is Josieli. I study in Grade 8, and I live here in Guyra Kambi'y. I am very happy to live here, and I thank you for being here with us too.

Arlane: My name is Arlane. I am 15 years old. I am very proud to live here and for you being here. My message for you is that I thank you for being here. Maybe you will be able to come back often, and if I can, I will go there to your place in Canada.

Marli: My name is Marli. I am seventeen years old. I've already finished the third grade of high school, and I am now free! Marta, thank you for your presence here with us to get to know our Tekoha Guyra Kambi'y. My message is that I will never give up my culture or my fight.

Acsa: My name is Acsa. I am 11 years old. In August it will be my birthday, I will be 12. I am in grade 7. Thank you, Marta, for coming here to get to know our culture and our language too. Come back often!

Lisi: My name is Lisi. I am 14 years old. I study in Grade 9. My message is that I will never give up my fight. I will always face all the battles. Marta, welcome here and come back often.

Daniela: My name is Daniela, and I am also here together with my community. I am very happy to receive your visit here to our community. Thank you for coming to participate in our *Jerusuboku*, which will start soon. This is my message: I will not give up my fight, I will be fighting along with my community, and only death can stop my fight, [...] only death will put me at rest. As long as I am alive, I will not give up. I am a warrior; I will always be a warrior. Marta, thank you for your visit once again, from the bottom of my heart and take with you our gratitude⁷¹.

After the conversation circle, we returned to the ritual site, and the girls started to prepare for the Jerosubuku with a lighthearted mood and a sense of pride. It was with pride that Daniela and her sisters encouraged me to join the celebrations where the people sang, danced, and played instruments in circles, repeatedly, for hours, while a fermented corn beverage was being heated and served. While nobody in the community had a videocamera, it was with pride that Daniela recorded in her cellphone parts of the sacred singing and dancing (as did other young people). In this respect, the cellphones opened the possibility to register the moment as well as provide the choice for posting it on social media any time in the future (but they did not post). I was invited to take place in the circles and to play the *baracá* with the women. In the beginning, I struggled to keep the rhythm, which Daniela's sisters found very amusing. It was a powerful and pleasant moment. Finally, it was with pride that six-and-seven-year-old girls came to teach me Guarani words, laughing hysterically at my mistakes.

6. Conclusion

This chapter examined how encounters between Indigenous audiovisual producers inspired ASCURI to tap on Indigenous cultural reservoirs to elaborate creative works able to reverse the affects triggering feelings of shame, sadness, and despair in Indigenous youth confronted by the negative stereotypical representations of indigeneity circulating in the hyperlinked spaces of Mato Grosso do Sul. As a result, therapeutic stories such as *Mokõi Kovoé*, *Jepea'yta* and *Mosarambihara* (sowers of well-living) allow for the blossoming of a sentiment of pride and a feeling of hope connected to a different project of society that opens a path for coping with the erosion of ontological security faced by Indigenous communities and enables the possibility to dream about the future.

CHAPTER 6 – WORLDING DREAMS

We fell in love with Bolivia. We fell in love with everything that was happening there, with the way the cinema has been done there. It is a cinema very different from what happens in Brazil until today. The Indigenous peoples are very strengthened with the cinema. They themselves produce, they themselves make [the films], they get equipment themselves.¹ Gilmar Galache

Decide which dream of society you want, what you want from your life, what you want for yourself and the rest of the population. After you decide this, [you need to] love what you want to do. Without loving it, there is no reason to make cinema. In love is the militant commitment with cinema, which is not just about telling a story. The most important is what a human being feels for another². Ivan Molina

In this chapter, I address another way that encounters between audiovisual producers living in different countries have created a space for opposing local oppressive circumstances and engendering hope. In Chapters 1 and 5, I presented audiovisual production as a tool for “profound research” on contemporary indigenities and their relationship with the non-Indigenous society. In the present chapter, I suggest that the creative power of filmmaking has been tapped to imagine and delineate the contours of new societal projects (such as the one crystallized in the Mosarambihara -sowers of well-living workshop seen in Chapter 2). Thus, Indigenous audiovisual production becomes an exercise of departing from relationships with antagonistic local dominant discourses by collectively imagining *societal dreams*, as the first section of this chapter argues. It turns into a storytelling dynamo able to conceive encounters and relations in affirmative terms along with collective dreams, as I discuss in this chapter.

In this chapter’s second and third sections, I explore how ASCURI’s workshops and films engendered a space for envisioning and enacting collective dreams. They become common denominators for group solidarity across differences, mobilizing affective cosmopolitic collaborations.

1. Expanding Worldviews: Encounters at Indigenous Circuits of Audiovisual Production

1.1 Eye-opening moments in Bolivia

In the first epigraph opening this chapter, ASCURI founder Gilmar Kiripuku Galache expresses his love and admiration for Bolivia. It is part of the short film “A Diverse Cinema”³ produced during the second *Workshop for Borderless Cinema* organized in 2017 by ASCURI and Bolivian cinema school ECA, in Niterói (in the state of Rio de Janeiro), as mentioned in Chapter 2. Indigenous participants from Brazil were Guarani (Kaiowá and Mbya) and Terena. Daniela Jorge João, the Guarani-Kaiowá young woman I met in Mato Grosso do Sul, was one of the students. Indigenous persons from Bolivia were Aymara and Quechua. As the workshop followed Ivan Molina’s methodology of “learning by doing, doing to learn”, each small filming team composed of Indigenous and non-Indigenous persons from Brazil and Bolivia was asked to create short films. They were encouraged to record them in Guarani-Mbya villages and marginalized communities from Rio de Janeiro, such as *Quilombola’s*⁴, *Caiçara’s*⁵ or favelas. This workshop was part of an effort to give continuity to the experience initiated at the 2008 *International Workshop of Documentary Cinema Without Borders* in Bolivia. It had resumed in October 2016 in the city of La Paz, in Bolivia, when twelve Guarani-Kaiowá and Terena young men and women (including Gilmar and Eliel) travelled for a ten-day course: the first “*International Workshop for Borderless Documentary Cinema - Brazil/Bolivia*”⁶ (Galache 2017, 86).

Gilmar’s words in the epigraph concerning his wonderment about “everything that was happening” in Bolivia resonate with his observations in 2017 about the conversations he had with Eliel during the 2008 audiovisual workshop in La Paz. In fact, he considers that the friendship with Eliel started by “origin affinity” because it sparked a conversation about “the Indigenous question in Bolivia and Brazil”⁷. In their dialogues, they observed that, in comparison with Brazil, the relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in Bolivia seemed 50 years ahead

(Galache 2017, 56). This remark suggested that they had a positive perception of their future and imagined that Indigenous peoples would eventually have a more empowered position in the Brazilian arena. In 2008, there was a referendum to assess the political proposals of Evo Morales, and audiovisual production played the role “to show the cultural diversities existing in the country”, as Eliel explained when I interviewed him. It showed him that it was possible for a country to respect “ethnic and cultural diversities”⁸, and this awareness sparked a change in his perspective. Bolivia presented an example where the control that Indigenous peoples gained over their depiction contributed to a more inclusive national society. This realization opened a concrete path for thinking about a better future and conceiving a “societal dream” able to spark hope, as Eliel’s quotation opening this dissertation suggests.

Anthropologists Himpele (2008) and Zamorano Villarreal (2017) shed light on some ways Indigenous groups in Bolivia have used audiovisual works to contribute to national discourses and reframe their position in relation to them. Himpele (2008) highlighted the participation of Indigenous filmmakers in the redefinition of the Bolivian national project that enabled the election of Bolivia’s first Indigenous president in 2006. Zamorano Villarreal, in turn, underscored how this Indigenous audiovisual activism played “a crucial role” in “adding to political imaginaries” as Indigenous communication became a “site of politics”, where filmmaking gained the ability to “produce or transform social relations” (Zamorano Villarreal 2017, XV; 1). Concomitantly, Indigenous media became a platform for crystallizing “political landscapes” where Indigenous audiovisual producers became “political subjects” able to set in motion “motors for animating collective political practices” of negotiation (2017, 8).

Gilmar and Eliel observed that the political effervescence of the Indigenous peoples of Bolivia was rooted in the way they asserted their identity in the national arena:

The very term they use for self-denomination already signalled this [that they were 50 years ahead],

“Pueblos Originarios”, that is, Original Peoples of Bolivia, the real owners as per origin. There, different languages could be perceived in the city streets: Aymara, Quechua, Guarani, in addition to the clothes, offerings, signs [and] symbols, always present everywhere. And something that caught my attention was known as *Wiphala*, which was a kind of flag with colourful squares, each with its meaning. It represented all the Indigenous peoples of Latin America. It was constantly possible to see it fluttering among the manifestations and marches of the Original Peoples⁹. (Galache 2017, 56)

By representing “Indigenous peoples of Latin America”, the *Wiphala* shows another layer of connectivity, distinct from the one formed at the intersection of indigeneity and Bolivian identity. Thus, as both “original peoples from Bolivia” and “Indigenous peoples from Latin America”, this identity resonates with Becks’s both/and cosmopolitan outlook.

Another particularity in Bolivia was “the relation that Bolivians have with the concept of *Pachamama*, which does not refer only to Bolivia but to the way of being of the Andean Peoples”¹⁰ (Galache 2017, 56). The *Pachamama* is an Aymara and Quechua term for referring to the “Mother Earth”, who is responsible for providing food, shelter, and teachings (Galache 2017, 57). Gilmar argues that this Indigenous concept, common among Andean peoples in Latin America, has been embraced in Bolivia by Indigenous and non-Indigenous persons alike and is taught in schools (Galache 2017, 57). To support his point, he cites a school textbook which highlights a relationship of kinship with nature, where people “converse with the *Pachamama*”, “ask for permission to get food and medicines,” and help her to eat and rest: “periodically, their children feed her [...] and make her rest, addressing her with much affection”¹¹ (Galache 2017, 57 citing Balladares 2014, 9). This observation alludes to an ecology of practices emphasizing human and nature interconnectedness addressed by Stengers, Latour, and Descola, discussed in Chapters 1 and 2. The reciprocal relationship with “Mother Earth” also brings to the surface the moral imperatives of “cosmopolitics” advanced by Stengers and Latour (see Chapter 1).

The 2008 *International Workshop of Documentary Cinema Without Borders*’ methodology enhanced Gilmar’s perception of the political potentiality of Indigenous filmmaking. After the introductory theoretical and critical-thinking discussions on audiovisual production as

Indigenous activism, Brazilian and Bolivian students were grouped into five people filming crews. Each crew chose a location and worked on one short film. During the production phase, each crew member alternated roles to have an opportunity to work with cameras, audio equipment, illumination, and so forth. Gilmar's team chose to make a film about an Indigenous boy who walked five kilometres to go to school. They shot it with an Aymara family living in Condoriquiña -or Condor Iquiña, as Gilmar writes, the name meaning "the sleeping place of the condor"¹² (Galache 2017, 62). The immersive experience propitiated by the film enabled Aymara cosmology to become a crucial source for inspiration:

Following the Aymara cosmological version of the history of the Condor, the Eagle and the Jaguar, which would be the forces that would show a path to deal with the darkness that our planet is entering into, we created and organized the Cultural Association of Indigenous Producers (ASCURI), which works exclusively for the quest for autonomy and the strengthening of the Indigenous way of being, using the audiovisual.¹³ (Galache 2017, 12-13)

The inspiration motivated the first plans to create ASCURI (Galache 2017, 72).

Gilmar's interest in *autonomy* sprung from Molina's argument that Indigenous audiovisual producers should "seek autonomous means for audiovisual production, so that [they] could always do as [they] wished so that [their] films would strengthen [their] way of being"¹⁴ (Galache 2017, 57). The emphasis on autonomy appeared in the film *Para recibir el canto de los pájaros* (Sanjinés, 1995) presented by Ivan during the course. Gilmar described it as "a masterpiece of Andean originality and sensibility", which "greatly impacted our definitions about Indigenous audiovisual production"¹⁵ (Galache 2017, 12). The film depicts a cinema crew that goes to an Indigenous Land to make a film to discuss colonialism critically. However, their practices disturbingly resemble Spanish colonization's impositions (Galache 2017, 12, 59).

Para recibir el canto de los pájaros reinforced Gilmar's conviction about developing an autonomous audiovisual production to be free to imagine and explore paths to overcome planetary crises by connecting with Indigenous "ways of beings" symbolized by the Condor, the Eagle and

the Jaguar. These reflections would blossom in ASCURI's trajectory: "in the end, we made our way back to Brazil, bringing in the luggage something so large and precious that it took a few years to be digested and understood"¹⁶ (Galache 2017, 63).

When I interviewed Gilmar in 2016, he stressed the same idea about audiovisual autonomy as an important compass for their work. Firstly, it implied being independent of institutions (as Chapter 5 also mentioned). Secondly, the challenges of creating a film (such as the acquisition of equipment and the allocation of time) deepened this exercise of autonomy, as they invited audiovisual producers to make choices to develop sustainable work practices. Thirdly, audiovisual production creates a reflexivity space for participants, offering fertile soil for practicing autonomy by enabling deep creative research on one's "way of being". All these steps created a path for setting in motion his "way of being"¹⁷.

However, this audiovisual production is not accessible to everyone. In January 2016, at the beginning of my fieldwork in Mato Grosso do Sul, the first person from ASCURI I met was Célio Reginaldo. He told me he would like to participate more in ASCURI but that it was difficult because the work was taking place mostly in Dourados, which was over three hours away from his village. His movements were also restricted because of safety concerns. His camera had been damaged after he recorded police officers' violent arrival in his community¹⁸ as one policeman shot at his camera. Célio also had to change his cellphone and Facebook profile. This lack of accessibility made him feel isolated and unable to continue his work (he lacked the means to edit films).

Ironically, Célio was one of the most communicative persons I met at the 2008 VIB Basic Audiovisual Workshop. He kept in touch with me on Facebook. His profile had over 1500 friends, and he would post on it multiple times per day. In fact, he was the person who gave me vital

information to start my fieldwork. The encounter with Célio triggered in me thoughts and questions about the paradoxes of isolation. On the one hand, he was eagerly reaching and present on social media. For instance, he would often post and share pictures showcasing Terena dances and events (once, he shared seven of these posts on my Facebook page on the same day). Similarly, after my visits to his community, he would post pictures and comments documenting it (that he would share on my page as well), such as the post “Marta Castilho visiting the radio Kopenoti FM / 99.5.”¹⁹ with pictures of me visiting and talking in the local Indigenous radio station. On the other hand, he had very limited access to the activities of ASCURI because of his lack of mobility. He did not participate in any of the events I witnessed.

1.2 Expanding perceptions against Indigenous ethnocentrism

Bolivia had a huge impact because it was another way of life. As Ivan had a long experience, he had this methodology of teaching cinema in the Indigenous context, living the Indigenous culture. And living the Indigenous culture is isolating yourself, living in the space, eating the typical food, and living in a place different from yours so that you can see your culture better. This was Ivan’s methodology, and it had a great impact on us because everyone went with their ethnocentrism: I, Guaraní Kaiowá; I, Xavante; I, Terena. And there, all this broke.²⁰

The epigraph is a part of Eliel’s interview when he explains to me how the 2008 experience in Bolivia became an exercise of “doing a deep reflection about [his] identity”²¹, making him realize how his values were linked to his culture and to “the place where [he] lives”²². His immersive experience at the *International Workshop of Documentary Cinema Without Borders* caused him to relativize his perspectives. He observed, at first, that he found it odd that the Indigenous community he visited did not live in a forested area:

How can they live in a place without a forest? That, for me, had a huge impact because the Guaraní-Kaiowá live in the forest, right? [...] I saw the deserts, dunes, the strong winds, always cold. Wow, I was impressed when I arrived: “how can human beings get to a place like this?” And I said to myself: “what an inhospitable place!” Okay, that at first sight, right, when I got there. And [when I] talk[ed] to the people, they liked that place so much! It has a cosmology; it has a meaning. And I said: it’s different, right? [...] When I came to talk to them, when I experienced it for a time, [I understood that] that place is sacred for them [...] The cold, the winter is important, the house and the food are important and have a

meaning for them. So, at first, I judged by my own view. So, it was a great learning experience. And the same also happens with us here. People also judge us, often because they don't know.²³

He suggested that the visit enabled him to see his cultural background with a fresher gaze: “When I went there, I had to remove everything from me to understand the culture itself better, to see my culture more richly. This caused a sort of suffering, at first”²⁴. He was struck by the fact that while in Mato Grosso do Sul, he had a sense of personal value based on his kinship ties and presence in the university, in Bolivia, nothing of this was important. He was treated like everybody else. Despite the challenges posed by not speaking the same language, he felt a sense of connection in Bolivia.

We went to a place called the City of Stones - “Ciudad de las Piedras” - a 4-hour walk. It seems that there is a mystical place there, full of pointed stones. You tap your foot on the ground, which produces a sound, a very big echo, very mysterious that place. They are the ancestors of the peoples, it really looks like a city of -stones, as they call it. I got to know these places, I met people, families far from each other, but each one has its own production, the fish in the crystalline rivers, and the vegetation. So, we felt integrated a lot there, but I spoke little because of the language²⁵.

In 2014, two other Guaraní-Kaiowá ASCURI members travelled to Bolivia to take part in a 15-day documentary workshop organized by ECA and led by Ivan Molina. When I interviewed them, they brought observations akin to Eliel's. Genni remarked that the experience changed how she saw the Indigenous identity because she realized that there are many Indigenous peoples with many differences. At the event, there were young people (most of them Indigenous) from different countries, such as Argentina, Colombia, Peru and Paraguay. Kiki, in turn, noted that while he had difficulties understanding Spanish, he was able to understand some Indigenous Bolivian students because they were talking in Guaraní.

In June 2016, I was with six ASCURI members at *Te'yikue* during an Indigenous leaders' meeting that took place right after Guaraní-Kaiowá families were attacked by gunmen hired by farmers (as I discussed in chapter 3). On this occasion, I mentioned that during the ASA seminar in April, Ivan Molina had invited me to visit Bolivia and see ECA. Gilmar told me that Geeh was

supposed to travel two days later to Bolivia. Ivan had invited him to spend a couple of weeks in La Paz to attend an animation course. The seventeen-year-old had never left Brazil, did not speak Spanish, and ASCURI had nobody who could go with him. Gilmar asked if I could be the person travelling with him, and I promptly accepted. In the next section, I describe this experience.

1.3 A *Mosarambihara* encountering new horizons

Two days after the Te'yikue meeting, Geeh and I took a bus in Campo Grande to Corumbá, the city at the border between Brazil and Bolivia where after six hours travelling, we crossed the border and took the popularly known “death train” for a 12-hour trip to Santa Cruz de la Sierra. We arrived at 7 am and hopped on another bus to Cochabamba. The bus stopped in every small city (where vendors traded everything from tangerines to ginseng). Twelve hours later, we arrived at Cochabamba, where we had dinner in a local market before taking yet another bus to La Paz. We arrived around 8 am the following day. This long journey gave me the first glimpse into the friendly effervescence of Bolivia as well as plenty of time to think, plan the steps ahead and talk to Geeh. In the beginning, he was looking tense and was refusing to eat, but he gradually became more comfortable with the experience and soon started to comment on the films we watched and to show me some hip-hop artists he liked, such as one called 21 pilots.

Upon arriving in La Paz, we took a cab to Ivan's house, where Geeh was supposed to stay. Ivan's family warmly received us with a comforting breakfast (a delicious *arracacha* bread, clove and cinnamon tea, and fruits). Geeh was shy and had some difficulty understanding and speaking Spanish. Ivan took us to the School of Cinema and Audiovisual Arts (ECA) and presented us to the staff and some students. Then, we went to the National Museum of Ethnography and Folklore, where a conference about animation was taking place. I translated to Geeh the discussion (about

an open and free software for producing special effects). I told Ivan I found it interesting that the event took place in an anthropological museum, and he teased me:

- You are doing your Ph.D. in what, you said?
- Anthropology!
- Anthropology? Oh no! Who did you bring here, Geeh?
- Is it that bad?
- hmmm

Ivan's joke implied a degree of criticism of anthropologists. When he returned to this conversation later by asking me if I had really done all my studies in anthropology, I felt the need to discuss with him and negotiate what would be my role as an anthropologist. I explained I did my undergraduate studies in mass communication, but that when I worked as a research assistant for an anthropology professor, I liked the fact that she was able to deepen her knowledge by spending time with the people related to her research rather than relying on secondary sources. This experience prompted me to pursue a master's in anthropology. I expressed my awareness of the fact that some anthropologists had a reprehensible posture with Indigenous peoples. As some Indigenous persons had indicated to me, some anthropologists would arrive to interview, interact, take photos and then leave without a trace, without returning photos, sending their works or saying thank you. These Indigenous interlocutors felt used, treated like objects, and resentful, which compromised the chances of well-intentioned anthropologists who wanted to act right to establish a relation of trust with them. I continued saying that I wanted to think critically about anthropological research with Indigenous groups and bring to light the need to establish a relationship following the I-You format rather than I-It²⁶.

In the relationships I aimed to establish as an anthropologist, I did not want to impose an agenda or expound on the benefits that I could bring but rather negotiate how my presence can be beneficial by listening to my respondents. I explained that I was aware that my research was fundamentally my interest and not necessarily the community's. Ivan agreed very much with this

idea. I wanted my fieldwork to be an experience that benefits both parties. My conversation with Ivan prompted me to acknowledge the participatory nature of my research experiences. In the case of ASCURI, I told Ivan that they asked me to write the translation of three films and send them to the *ImagineNATIVE* Film + Media Arts Festival, to do reports and share all my pictures of them. Ivan nodded and seemed to like the idea. I continued: the challenge is that this work ethic takes much more time: instead of just doing my research, I need to make time to do translations and reports, but the quality of the relationship is much better and is grounded in respect. I ended with a question: “in this regard, I also want to ask you, Ivan, how can I be useful to you and ECA?” Ivan did not answer directly but said something I found moving: “you are demonstrating that you are not just an anthropologist but a friend and a partner of ASCURI”.

During the next days, when Geeh participated in the activities of ECA, using its computer laboratory for practicing the edition of Indigenous films (under Ivan’s supervision), I became Geeh’s photographer, documenting his learning experience. Ivan liked the idea because he had no time to take pictures. As in my other fieldwork experiences, I sent all the pictures, videos, and interviews to Geeh and Ivan. Besides studying in the computer laboratory, Geeh and I also joined ECA students (who were not necessarily Indigenous) working on short films, and they were very welcoming. Every day, we would go to their filming locations and help them with anything they needed, which was part of Ivan’s “learn by doing, do to learn” methodology. Geeh took turns filming with one of the cinema cameras, taking pictures and holding the sound stick, whereas I took turns with the movie clapboard, the sound stick and did some acting.

Film themes and ideas included bringing sculptures of historic Bolivian figures to life in a museum; a robbery in a small convenience store where a woman worked alone; and making a horror film. None of the students spoke Portuguese, but we were able to communicate, and I

served as a translator for Geeh regarding anything he had difficulty understanding or saying. While during the filming process, each student would alternate roles to become familiarized and see what they liked, each student was responsible for directing a short film.

Besides the ECA activities, Geeh also took animation lessons with a group of students in a specialized studio. Additionally, Ivan also took us to the nearby city *El Alto*, accessible through a sophisticated cable car network comparable to a subway system. Arriving at *El Alto*, we participated in a meeting with a group that runs the *Wayna Tambo* community radio. They were volunteers, and one participant was an Ayamara singer. They were planning to do a TV program in partnership with ECA for a channel centred on popular movements. Ivan also mentioned to me he would like to help to organize an online TV for ASCURI. After the meeting, we were invited to visit the radio station, and Geeh was invited to come back to learn about community radio. It was established that Geeh would have classes in the animation studio Tuesdays, Fridays and Saturdays and learn about radio twice per week.

Ivan treated Geeh, and I like family. When we had free time, he and his wife would take us to ride the cable cars to see the city and participate in other interesting events like the celebration of La Paz's anniversary, where I frantically took pictures, which they found amusing. I found it fascinating that the city's celebration consisted of a gigantic parade where every worker was celebrated, from the mayor to the trash collectors and the people dressed in zebra costumes helping with transit flow in the streets.

After a week, Geeh was more comfortable with the people and the language. A week later, he announced he could see himself in Bolivia and liked the food. This raised concerns for Ivan that Geeh could distance himself from his community if he stayed for an extended period, but when I interviewed Geeh, he stressed that although he was enjoying the experience, he was there

to gather knowledge to disseminate to others in ASCURI and Mato Grosso do Sul. He was a *Mosarambihara*. Geeh's story is one of several examples from my fieldwork of the affective and immersive experience propitiated by audiovisual production that suggests an "expansion of horizons" through the sharing of experiences from elsewhere in Mato Grosso do Sul.

2. Cinema as a Vehicle for Affect, Art, and Dreams

Days before the second *Workshop for Borderless Cinema* took place in 2017, in Brazil, Ivan Molina, its conceiver and general coordinator, participated in the 2017 Florianópolis Audiovisual Mercosur Festival + Forum (FAM), in the Brazilian state of Santa Catarina, where he gave an interview²⁷, outlining the ideas propelling him to develop audiovisual initiatives. The second epigraph opening this chapter is the moment when he explains what is needed for making a film. As it suggests, for Molina, cinema offers a time for societal dreams, for commitment and for love. In addition, he observed that dreaming is fundamental because:

The day that the human being stops dreaming, he will have no reason to live anymore. This is cinema. If we don't make cinema for dreaming, we don't need to do it. It's like when you're in love with life, but you do not know the ideal partner, and you always continue to dream. It's like a song by Pablo Milanés that says: "life I prefer it shared, it is not what I dreamed, but it is what comes closest to what I imagined." This is cinema, and we must always dream. In imperfection is perfection²⁸. (FAM 2017)

When he was asked if, when making films, he considered it necessary to "know the audience", he replied: "cinema is made for the audience to fall in love, to say that life is beautiful and worth living. The audience always expects to dream in a movie theatre"²⁹. In this logic, he argued that even when the audience chooses to watch a "commercial" film, it is seeking a dream experience.

The problem is that other dreams for society are also essential but do not receive the same space:

What about the other dreams? Where are they? They are also important. I think cinema has this dimension of building a different society in our imaginary and, as long as we can have several orientations to pursue this life, everything is fine. But not just with one perspective. If we look at a newspaper, we'll see several Hollywood movies or commercial movies. And we think: what about the other view, where is it? It is as if

only one person had a telescope, and everyone else had to look through it, but we live in a world with multiple views, and we have to find them. All the views are valid³⁰. (FAM 2017)

The interview was posted on the FAM website and its Facebook page and shared 51 times. People who shared it on Facebook included Kiki and Daniela, who commented: “I will never forget this professor! I adore him very much.”³¹ In another post, Daniela wrote: “This message, I will never forget: what is audiovisual? The answer is: film with your eyes, set-up with your mind and feel with your body”³².

During my conversations with Ivan in Bolivia, he deepened and complemented some ideas he introduced in this interview. When I asked him what audiovisual production is, he presented it as a vehicle of affect: “the main characteristic of cinema is to feel [...]; today we have stopped feeling”³³. He developed his argument stating that every cinema work is “sensitive”, but it needs to have “artistic sensitivity” as well as “social sensitivity”³⁴. He explained that the first refers to aesthetics and that Indigenous peoples have their own aesthetic and oral sensitiveness because they rely on orality and are iconographic. Thus, the first question in an audiovisual workshop should be: “how can their quotidian life of orality and iconicity [...] work in an audiovisual language?”³⁵ Ivan pointed out an experience in Canada with North American Indigenous peoples, including the Sioux, and with persons from Latin America as an awakening moment. During the three months he spent in Banff in the early 1990s, he felt that there was more to learn than to teach. Adopting an approach of first listening and seeing how people worked, Ivan was able to present technical tools and advice on audiovisual narratives well-suited for them. He explained that these tools allowed the groups to explore “their cosmology, mythology, everyday life, history, habits, uses, traditional practices. [...] How are they reflected in actions that can be then converted into audiovisual works?”³⁶

For Ivan, the conceptual basis for that workshop was that “we are the accumulation of other human beings”. He pondered over the fact that each workshop is unique and depends on the interactions it encapsulates: it is different with each group or even with the same group in different years. He considered that every human being has an artistic/aesthetic sensitivity and social sensitivity. The first relates to a personal sense of beauty, tied to upbringing but also the moment a person is living; the second is linked to seeing the context in which one lives and reacting, analyzing, and reflecting on it. Thus, he concludes, one must tap on both sensitivities when working with audiovisual production. Social sensitivity refers to the social impact cinema carries. Therefore, it is essential to “know your dream for society” before making a movie³⁷. In this respect, Ivan clarified his own based on his assessment of current circumstances. When I asked him if ASCURI’s initiatives aimed to value Indigenous cultural practices, he answered that shedding light on Indigenous ideas and practices was much more than that:

It is not only to value: it is the only way to save life today. The planet is decaying. In the city, there is no ecosystem equilibrium. Only Indigenous ideology can save, recover, and live life in another way. The only way to live well is what Indigenous peoples do³⁸.

For him, the logic driving this “Indigenous ideology” is the realization that “we are not owners [of the Earth], we are a small part of the Earth.” Thus, it is crucial to ask: “Are we going to leave a better land for our children or better children for the land?”³⁹ In this respect, he noted, it is crucial to have “solidarity with other peoples of the world without corrupting who I am”⁴⁰. I was struck by Ivan’s insights, the passion he brought to his work as a filmmaker, and the vital role he plays in ASCURI’s initiatives and purpose. This relationship embodies the workings of a form of Indigenous cosmopolitics.

3. Societal Dreams Crystallized in Audiovisual Production Pulling Cosmopolitic Collaboration

3.1. Collaborations within the *Mosarambihara -Sowers of the Well-Living Project*

One emblematic example of the emergence of a societal dream, discussed and analyzed in Chapters 2 and 5, is the *Mosarambihara -Sowers of the Well-Living* project, which crystallizes a cosmopolitics of well-living by proposing a development model fostering an ecology of practices able to conjugate the well-living of Indigenous communities with a sustainable relationship with nature. This societal ideal gathered not only the efforts of Indigenous filmmakers but also of other social actors interested in ideals compatible with the concept, such as the United Nations Development Program.

While the *Mosarambihara -Sowers of the Well-Living* concept was coined by Eliel, the project evolved from the Training on Indigenous Territorial and Environmental Management (GATI) works, in November 2013, in Dourados (ASCURI and Projeto GATI 2016, 8). From 2011 to its end, in 2016, GATI implemented activities in 32 Brazilian Indigenous Lands, representing five biomes. They are located in 20 Brazilian states, Mato Grosso do Sul being the one with the largest number of participating Indigenous Lands: six (Vianna et al. 2016, 5)⁴¹. This program resulted from the partnership between the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI), the Brazilian Ministry of Environment, The Nature Conservancy (TNC)⁴², the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the Global Environment Facility (GEF)⁴³, the Brazil's Indigenous Peoples Articulation (APIB)⁴⁴, the Brazilian Amazon Indigenous Organizations Coordination (COIAB)⁴⁵, the Northeast, Minas Gerais and Espírito Santo Indigenous People Articulation (APOINME)⁴⁶, the Articulation of the Indigenous Peoples of the South (ARPIN-SUL)⁴⁷, the Indigenous Peoples from the Pantanal (ARPIPAN) and the Mato Grosso Articulation.

The GATI project was designed as an instrument for:

Strengthening Indigenous practices of management, sustainable use and conservation of natural resources, and the social inclusion of Indigenous peoples, consolidating the contribution of

Indigenous Lands as essential areas for [the] conservation of biological and cultural diversity in [the] Brazilian forest biomes. (Training for Territorial and Environmental Management 2016, 9)⁴⁸

Terena and Guarani communities from Mato Grosso do Sul were included in the GATI formation program within the efforts to achieve the UNDP's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), as informed by Ana Paula Sabino, a Brazilian UNDP's SDGs mobilization analyst, during the Autonomy, Sustainability and Indigenous Audiovisual (ASA) Seminar in Mato Grosso do Sul (for an account on how the GATI's representants consolidated collaboration with the Guarani-Kaiowá in Mato Grosso do Sul, see Appendix L). In her talk, Sabino explained that the SDGs were envisioned at the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development in Rio de Janeiro (Rio+20) in 2012 and finalized in 2015 (when the 193 UN member countries committed to them). Using PowerPoint slides, Ana Paula briefly described and explained to the Guarani-Kaiowá students attending the ASA seminar each of the 17 goals⁴⁹ (nine were added to the eight first ones created in 1992) and mentioned 169 targets. They are part of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, which “strives for a world that is just, rights-based, equitable and inclusive” (UNDG 2017, 9)⁵⁰. For achieving this objective, this agenda:

commits stakeholders to work together to promote sustained and inclusive economic growth, social development and environmental protection and to benefit all, including women, children, youth and future generations. It is to be implemented in a manner consistent with existing obligations of states under international law [...]. This new universal agenda will require an integrated approach to sustainable development and collective action, at all levels, to address the challenges of our time, with an overarching imperative of ‘leaving no one behind’ and addressing inequalities and discrimination as the central defining feature. [It includes] promoting and encouraging respect for human rights for all, without discrimination (UNDG 2017, 9).

3.2. Collaborations and identifications at the 2017 Workshop for Borderless Cinema

ASCURI's and ECA's 2017 Audiovisual Workshop for Borderless Cinema engendered other inclusive dreams emphasizing respect and collaboration with people from different

backgrounds. These collaborations produced connectivities striking different (and sometimes multiple) chords in each person.

Firstly, its name, *Workshop for Borderless Cinema*, invited students to imagine vectors of connectivity and audiovisual collaboration detached from the world's division into nation-states and free to gravitate around other common grounds. Aligned with Beck's *cosmopolitan outlook* (2006:32), it enabled the perception of connectivities occurring "both inside and outside" nation-states mobilized by other referents (Beck 2006, 62). During the workshop, this invitation inspired ideas such as "our homeland is the whole world, our law is freedom"⁵¹ written (in Portuguese) on a whiteboard of one classroom where it took place.

Participants shared reflections on encounters enabled by the workshop in the 10-minutes film produced during the course about the diversity of their backgrounds. Non-Indigenous participants from Bolivia used national identity referents to suggest that the interaction with people with different points of view was very enriching. Thus, Sofia Garate stated:

We all have ideas, and we all bring something enabling us to build something we had never imagined. It is very beautiful, a very beautiful experience. I imagine that it can be possible for my colleagues as well as my Brazilian colleagues to continue to do this type of [work].⁵² (Taller Internacional de Cine Documental "Sin Fronteras - Brasil 2017c)

Ivan Siacara, in turn, observed that the "experience of leaving the country" enabled him "to see other things from another point of view", which he thought "was very enriching" for him and which he really liked⁵³. Finally, Adri Velarde stressed that she appreciated the opportunity for getting together and wished "they would be able to keep this union not only in terms of work but also in terms of the nascent union between their countries"⁵⁴ (Taller Internacional de Cine Documental "Sin Fronteras - Brasil 2017c).

However, other participants shed light on different types of connectedness, such as the case of Fernanda Concianza da Silva, who participated in the workshop as part of the ASCURI

team. In “A Diverse Cinema”, this Guarani-Kaiowá young woman declared that the work with audiovisual production encouraged her to appreciate her indigeneity. Besides, she continued, it enabled her to recognize the potential filmmaking can have to foster similar sentiments in her community: “for me, it is very important because, in my village, people also need these things a lot, so they can learn more and value their culture not to forget their root”⁵⁵ (Taller Internacional de Cine Documental “Sin Fronteras - Brasil 2017c). This statement suggests she is placing herself in the role of a *Mosarambihara*, of a “sower of new and good ideas” for strengthening her community. In fact, she was present in the Pirakuá workshop.

In contrast, Gilmar observed that he had opportunities to get to know *Quilombola* and *Caiçara* persons, and he perceived a familiar “simplicity” and “sensitiveness” that ended up pulling them towards each other⁵⁶. I suggest that his identification with *quilombolas* and *caiçaras* sprung from a shared perception of their assigned otherness in Brazil and the erosion of their ontological security. This identification is akin to the one expressed by Evelyne Papatie in her short film about her encounter with the Ikepeng, addressed at the beginning of Chapter 1. Significantly, the video produced during the 2017 Workshop for Borderless Cinema inside a *quilombola* community highlighted challenges like the ones faced by Indigenous groups in Mato Grosso do Sul. For instance, it mentioned the problems the community faced with the imposed reduction of their land, leading to impoverishment and their fight to secure it; the prejudice that the dwellers of nearby cities have towards their cultural and spiritual practices; and the bullying suffered at school because of their blackness⁵⁷ (Taller Internacional de Cine Documental “Sin Fronteras - Brasil 2017b).

Ivan Molina, during the interview he granted to me in La Paz, Bolivia, in July 2016, also evoked a sense of connectedness with non-Indigenous non-white groups and explicitly established

that it was derived from a shared experience of racial marginalization. When I asked what being Indigenous was to him, he stated:

Being Quechua has several aspects. First, we are permanently excluded. Today it is the same: we suffer discrimination and marginalization. It is not because we live in a plurinational state [...] that it has changed. It has changed some things, but the daily relationships mark you and show you that there are more than 500 steps ahead because [...] if you are not white, they are already marking you, where you are from and how you must live. [...] Second, it is not only the colour but also the features: the prominent cheekbones, the triangular facial structure is also saying what your origins are. [...] [It] happens the same in Brazil, in Peru, in Ecuador, [...]. All that is putting together a fabric of different colours, but in the end, the Indigenous, dark or mestizo colours always remain below, right? In this social fabric, then as Quechua, I am permanently discriminated against and marginalized. [...] I'm going to play soccer, and if in the other team, there are whites, they tell me: what are you doing here, Indian? [...] In a restaurant, I am told that there is no space because of my features. How do I not have a reservation if my family is sitting right there? And that happens in Brazil, in Canada, in the United States and everywhere in this patriarchal world where colour determines your power. Skin colour and traits are power in this continent⁵⁸.

Even though this reflection is about his experience as Indigenous, Molina brought to the surface other identifications. He started by contracting indigeneity to his direct experience as Quechua. However, he later expanded it to encompass non-white persons from the Americas, based on his observation of a shared otherness and social marginalization grounded on skin colour and non-white phenotype. This expanded sense of connectedness, and the productive dialogues between Indigenous participants of the Workshop for Borderless Cinema with *quilombolas* and *caiçaras*, point to *cosmopolitan connectivities* in the sense that they indicate not a geographical classification or shared ancestry, but common experiences derived from *otherness* and marginalization.

3.3. Collaborations within RICAA during the Présence Autochtone Festival

Finally, another work within Indigenous audiovisual production woven together by an affective commitment of filmmakers from different countries with a shared dream was the *International Network of Indigenous Audiovisual Creation* (RICAA). While ASCURI or ECA

filmmakers did not participate in it, they were part of a broader circuit of Indigenous audiovisual production intersecting it (see chapter 1).

When I interviewed Innu filmmaker André Dudemaine, the organizer of the *Présence Autochtone* Festival at Montréal in 2016, he explained that Barbeau's inspiration to create RICAA was precisely the idea of fostering a network for North and South American audiovisual co-creation. It arose from the repeated encounters between founders of audiovisual empowerment projects from South and North America at the New York festival of the National Museum of the American Indian. In 2014, during the celebration of the ten years of *Wapikoni Mobile*, she organized the symposium "when cinema creates bridges", in which RICAA was officially launched with the presence of Vincent Carelli, founder of Video in the Villages (Brazil); Guillermo Monteforte, founder of Ojo de Agua (Mexico); Ivan Sanjinez, founder of CEFREC (Bolivia) and Jeanette Paillan, representing CLACPI (Chile). According to Dudemaine, after this encounter in 2014, some participants managed to meet again in person during the ImagineNATIVE Film + Media Arts Festival in Toronto. They discussed the network and planned on having a Facebook profile or another form of "electronic meeting point". During the ImagineNATIVE Film + Media Arts Festival, Leo Koziol, organizer of the Wairoa Maori Film Festival in New Zealand, expressed interest in taking part in the network and was included.

Even though the network was still in its initiating stage, the participants wanted to get involved in the action. As it was difficult for travelling to collaborate in works together, they decided to create a collective work at a distance, as a "pearl necklace". Everyone was asked to create a short film having a common theme so that all the films could form a feature film. However, not all the participants from 2014 managed to continue the participation. For example, Vincent Carelli and Guillermo Monteforte were not present in the 2016 meeting. Instead, there

were new members: Analicia Lopez, a young Kuna filmmaker from Panama; Silvia Calfuqueo, a Mapuche filmmaker from Chile and Odd Levi Paulsen, a Sami Producer. These details, again, speak to the global reach and cosmopolitical context that Indigenous audiovisual production can take.

The 2016 meeting, which was the event to which Ivan Molina was invited and which I attended, took place as a conjoint activity of the Presence Autochone festival and the World Social Forum in Montreal. Its theme was “cultural affirmation and reconciliation” and consisted of two round tables. The first table was designated “The Pioneers: Generation of Sages”, it included Ivan Sanjinez, Manon Barbeau, Jeanette Paillan, André Dudemaine, Leo Koziol and Elizabeth Weatherford (organizer of the American Indian Museum of New York and representant of the Smithsonian Institute). The second roundtable, “The Relay: Seventh Fire Generation”, included the young filmmakers mentioned previously, joined by two Canadian Indigenous filmmakers -Caroline Monnet (Anishnabe) and Miaskom Flamand (Atikamekw), as well as the founder of the festival ImagineNative, Jason Ryle. Participants were asked to talk about their experiences with audiovisual production, and I found it interesting that they did not speak common languages, which led to the necessity of having simultaneous translators for Spanish, French and English. Later a mosaic film regrouping the short films they prepared about their experience of being Indigenous in their respective countries was presented.

I asked Dudemaine why the participants changed and how they were selected, and he explained to me that it was not systematic: it was a result of several factors such as financial means and availability to travel, for example. The fact that the network is not supported by funds created a situation that demanded the participation of NGOs or other sponsors. In the case of the 2016 event, some young audiovisual producers were brought by the Canadian NGO Oxfam,

which supports this type of formation to foster autonomy and leadership among Indigenous youth in certain countries of Central and South America (but not in Brazil).

4. Conclusion

This chapter addressed collaborations within Indigenous audiovisual production, including filmmakers living in different countries, brought together by worlding dreams, enacted through affectively charged co-relations of responsibility encompassing nature. These co-relations become therapeutic forces of difference-making, opening connections and opportunities for fashioning a multisensory language through which to think and act differently, following a distinct understanding of collective life.

In this respect, audiovisual production becomes a vehicle for affect, art and dreams triggering encounters able to expand horizons, as ASCURI founders Gilmar and Eliel highlighted regarding their experience in Bolivia. It also provides new routes to explore possibilities for having a future, not in consonance with the epistemological linearity increasingly imposed by the supporters of neoliberal agendas and multinational agribusiness, but in a way that obviates it, as the Mosarambihara project indicates. The idea of ‘expanded horizons’ is crucial to understanding expanded notions of indigeneity in Mato Grosso do Sul.

CHAPTER 7- TOWARDS A CONCLUSION: RESOURCES OF HOPE

IN COSMOPOLITICAL TERRAINS

People are discouraged, but there is still the ember that is the basis of all fire. And hope is what moves reality, the dream. Eliel Benites

A primary goal of my dissertation was to address the relationship between ASCURI's audiovisual activism -inspired by dialogues and experiences shared with Indigenous filmmakers from Bolivia and Canada- and the locally dominant discourses about development promoting large-scale multinational agribusiness interests and confronting Indigenous existences and modes of life in Mato Grosso do Sul. It inquired into how the Indigenous encounters could open routes of hope and create "countervailing tendencies" to oppressive local circumstances.

I have argued that ASCURI's members, during interactions with Indigenous filmmakers from Bolivia and Canada, have engaged with the creative potential of audiovisual production to think critically about their positionings and Indigenous subjectivities within the contradictory processes that populate their everyday lives. An emblematic example was Gilmar's experience of producing a short film in the Aymara village of Condor Iquiña during the 2008 "International Workshop of Documentary Cinema Without Borders" in Bolivia. He identified himself with the *jaguar*, following the Aymara key narrative presenting the eagle, the condor, and the jaguar, as the wayfinders of new paths to overcome a planetary crisis. This Aymara framework of inclusion opened for him new avenues to resignify his indigeneity, creating new paths for making a difference towards societal dreams articulated in collaboration with others sharing similar standpoints and dreams. Here, Indigenous politics is located in the possibility to evoke new frameworks to co-create new imaginaries, new relations and new modes of empowerment. This dynamic resignification also opens the possibility for a new positioning regarding the presence of

multinational agribusiness in Mato Grosso do Sul and the social and economic challenges it poses, relocating the place of indigeneity along with a narrative of hope. It is precisely this experience that inspired Gilmar to create ASCURI.

By the same token, the Aymara narrative provided meaning to the Anishinabek filmmaker trained by Wapikoni Mobile in Canada, Kevin Papatie, who also had the opportunity to visit Indigenous filmmakers in Bolivia and embraced the *eagle* label. In its turn, Wapikoni Mobile influenced ASCURI's methodology by presenting their approach of carving out spaces for reflection at the beginning of workshops through film exhibitions and discussions. One crucial purpose was to spark critical thinking not only about their identity but also about their circumstances. This practice became recurrent in ASCURI's workshops and determinant in its purpose of bringing healing to Indigenous communities by fostering the youth's engagement with their indigeneity in positive terms. This work has an epistemological dimension (analyzed in Chapters 3 and 4) forged by the dispute with multinational agribusiness supporters, as well as an ontological dimension, where audiovisual production becomes a space for finding therapeutic and affirmative ways of being, such as the concepts of *ojeasojavo* or *jepea'yta*, seen in Chapter 5, exemplify. Thus, working with media becomes a rich and multifaceted experience emergent from the tensions of these two dimensions. Central to these processes is a politics of indigeneity that transcends the local to forge connectivities that are cosmopolitical.

To analyze the impact and significance of audiovisual production, I borrowed Hall's theoretical emphasis on filmmaking as a tool for "profound research" where audiovisual reflections on identity are a "production" that is "never complete" and always formed within representation. Following this logic, audiovisual production allows for the exploration of subjectivities and of "places from which to speak" and a generative power of projecting a future

by creating a “language in which to think it” (Marks 2000). Marks’ theoretical framework became another significant compass directing my work, as I discussed in Chapter 1, especially in regards to questions of ontology¹.

While some aspects of ASCURI’s work can be compared to Terence Turner’s formative observations on the Kayapo’s interest in asserting their distinctiveness and unique standpoint through filmmaking, my project is interested in how ‘distinctiveness’, in our contemporary context, is a fusion of transnational encounters and collaborations engaging Indigenous filmmakers against the backdrop of their audiovisual production within new landscapes of communication, such as YouTube, Facebook, Instagram, and WhatsApp. Indigenous identity thus emerges as both dialectical and dialogical, a ‘becoming’, never complete in the work of ASCURI in Mato Grosso do Sul. It is not the excavation of foreclosed ahistorical representation.

I have called particular attention to how indigeneity is tied to a context that transcends the local in ways that move away from anthropological works that anchor ecologies of practices to local physical spaces, such as the debates inspired by the trailblazer works of Stengers (1997) and Latour (1999). I build upon Stengers’ work by suggesting that “thinking through what is happening” (2005, 185) can include the digital fields of the new landscapes as contemporary Indigenous filmmakers engage simultaneously with the local ecologies of practices as well as the online milieu and the audiovisual works -celebrating or antagonizing them that bridge these two worlds. As Eliel’s point claimed, Facebook impacts the ways Indigenous youth “sees the world.” I have embraced the challenges of multi-spatial, multi-temporal and multi-sited fieldwork, linking, for example, Mato Grosso do Sul, in Brazil with La Paz in Bolivia and Montreal, in Canada - places that are hyperlinked “landscapes.” I relied on epigraphs to forefront examples of the “nodes” within the dispersed networks of collaboration, as Himpele (2008) recommended.

I have shown that while the new communication landscapes are trans-local and transnational, the content traversing these digital fields does not flow freely but is organized and filtered by algorithms. Online environments are built to optimize engagement and privilege strong emotional responses; algorithms provide people with personalized recommendations nudging them into ever-enclosed echo chambers, creating a radicalization pipeline that flattens and excludes dissonant voices. Consequently, it prevents Indigenous audiovisual narratives from reaching audiences already exposed to and invested in a view antagonizing them. As discussed in Chapter 3, this dynamic is especially intensified because the multinational agribusiness standpoints have considerably more power to invest in disseminating its interpretations on social media, which works predominantly as an advertisement platform benefitting those who pay for boosting their messages, as Da Empoli argued (2019,166). We see these processes and imbalances of power especially evident in Chapter 3, where I examined the audiovisual productions of President Bolsonaro and his son disseminating anti-Indigenous politics.

On the other hand, as discussed in Chapter 5, ASCURI's audiovisual works have privileged access to the local Indigenous youth, who have also been exposed to the negative representations of indigeneity. The positive effect of ASCURI's work with the local Indigenous youth may be linked to the fact that many young people are familiar with the terms, ideas, and language of the local Indigenous cultural reservoirs from which ASCURI participants draw its concepts to resignify contemporary indigeneities, such as *ojeasojava* or *jepea'yta*. Here we might recall that Daniela's interest in Guarani-Kaiowá sacred songs was sparked by seeing an ASCURI film in her village, which prompted her to search Facebook and YouTube for more videos. Similarly, Geeh also acknowledged that his interest in Guarani-Kaiowá cultural practices arose from ASCURI's work. Furthermore, ASCURI has tapped into these reservoirs to create evocative

concepts fueling empowering narratives. In doing so, it has become a source of inspiration and emotional healing for young people from the local Indigenous communities by enabling them to change the perception of themselves and have a more empowering interpretation of their circumstances, the place they occupy locally and their possibilities. For instance, the term *Jepea'yta* became a marker of continuous Indigenous presence, resilience and hope for the future, in contrast to the dominant discourses in Brazil predicting its inevitable extermination or even affirming it had already happened as Mato Grosso do Sul's historiography indicated vis-à-vis the Guarani-Kaiowá. I have demonstrated that the activism of ASCURI in these processes of re-imagining the Indigenous self has been profound and cannot be over-estimated.

Similarly, the concept of *Mosarambihara* acquired multiple layers of significance, guiding new forms of “doings”, inviting local Indigenous persons to “relate otherwise” by enacting the forces of difference empowered by their ecology of practices and societal dreams. On the one hand, it generated the expression “sowers of good seeds”, referring to education on agroforestry rooted in local Indigenous practices combined with the last scientific findings for growing food sustainably for the community while recovering the ecosystem of the region. On the other hand, the expression also translated into “sowers of good ideas”, assigning to its bearers the role of disseminating hope and new horizons for the future. While we cannot be naïf to think that Indigenous audiovisual production is the solution for the local Indigenous youth pressing problems, it is a tool useful for creating new paths and new imaginaries to build the future, thus resonating with Evelyne Papatie's words in the very first epigraph of this dissertation gesturing to the will to carve new paths “wearing moccasins”. It is also a tool for the elaboration and dissemination of key Indigenous ideas such as ‘well living’ discussed in Chapter 2 and in the kinds of collaborations discussed in Chapter 6. In this context, ASCURI saw my dissertation as an

opportunity for disseminating their work and struggles to a sympathetic international audience. This is reflective of the advocacy component of my research with ASCURI that emerged ‘in the field’. This was not prescribed in my research objectives but is emblematic of how the researcher may be changed by the circumstances encountered. I remain in contact with ASCURI and continue to be engaged in fruitful conversations and in the promotion of its work.

Theoretically and conceptually, my work benefitted from anthropological interpretations of cosmopolitics which I use to make sense of the circuits of solidarity delineating political and moral forces acting in online communication platforms and assembling different groups of people within and beyond countries around a common worldview. Cosmopolitics, as a conceptual tool, opens a pathway illuminated, on the one hand, by the anthropological debates encompassing Stengers, Latour and Blaser for perceiving Indigenous activism in a broader and more integrated scope, rooted in an emphasis on relationality with nature, such as the discussion of the cosmopolitics of well-living illustrates (see Chapter 2). On the other hand, the same concept advanced by Ribeiro proposes illuminating conceptualizations for the other side of the antagonistic relationship taking shape in Mato Grosso do Sul. Indeed, Ribeiro’s notion of “post-imperialism”, as flexible capitalistic modes of actions beyond the national control constituting a type of cosmopolitics, flags the increasingly pervading political and economic control exerted by multinational agribusiness corporations’ oligopolies and the financial system tied to them over the countries where they act (2005, 8).

While the bodies of literature, including, on the one hand, Stengers, Latour and Blaser, and on the other hand, Robbins, Cheah, Ribeiro, and other anthropologists following the Kantian debate on cosmopolitanisms and cosmopolitics, tend to be critical of each other (as I discussed in Chapter 1), I argued that they are both useful. Indeed, this debate around cosmopolitics calls

attention to the double-edged nature that these circuits of affects within and beyond nations can have when people at the local level tap into the experiences and inspirations of people from elsewhere to connect with them and build a societal dream. They generate a collective and dialogical work producing representations to engage in a battle to frame the narratives driving understandings in physical/geographic locations, such as Mato Grosso do Sul. They also produce new forms of instantiations and possibilities for becoming, breaking down the logic of these existing frameworks, creating space for the emergence of new ones.

Regarding the dispute of narratives characterizing the contestation of epistemological linearities, I analyzed discursive framings of specific terms in alignment with different societal projects (Chapter 4), showing how the same referent can gain opposed connotations such as the case of *pesticides* which are designated as *poisons* by Indigenous groups -in consonance with their embodied experiences and ecologies of practices- and as *medicines* by large-scale agribusiness advocates, in accord to the worldview that they seek to propel. Concerning the generation of instantiations, I examined in Chapter 5 concepts advanced by ASCURI, such as *ojeasojavo*: the metamorphosis of the two Guarani Kaiowá girls into birds who assert their presence in the forest through their singing. Chapter 6, in turn, explored how some ASCURI members' experiences in audiovisual production workshops have inspired dreams of audiovisual sovereignty propelling social envisionings and different ways to signify and experience their circumstances, in contrast to the dominant discourses privileging multinational industrial agribusiness in Mato Grosso do Sul. They transcend the antagonistic relationship that entrapped them into an epistemological linearity enabling new states of emergence: the right to imagine ways of being and futures rooted in a different project for community life.

The ‘new landscapes’ enable multiple cosmopolitic forces centred on different dreams of community life/projects to brew and pull people in different directions. This reveals the limits of a dualistic understanding of cosmopolitics grounded on dialectics. It acknowledges that such circuits of affect can be multiple, leading to a proliferation of societal projects. Another important caveat is that cosmopolitic forces are dynamic and take shape as different forms, surpassing popular political classifications (such as right or left-wing, democratic or republican, and so on). In Brazil, what I designate as a neoliberal cosmopolitic force driven by multinational agribusiness is aligned with “alt-right” positionings in consonance with Bolsonaro, but it does not simply reflect this label. For instance, Brazil’s 2018 election had 13 presidential candidates from different political spectra, and during the presidential campaign, a left-wing political party had a large-scale farmer once dubbed “Miss Deforestation” by Greenpeace² as the vice-presidential candidate. At the same time, a supposedly moderate right-wing one presented the ex-president of Bayer as a vice-presidential candidate (if a presidential candidate is elected, the vice-president is automatically elected).

In the specific case of ASCURI, I am looking at an antagonistic relationship, where the Indigenous collective establishes a counterpoint to a very aggressive neo-liberal agribusiness agenda that dominates the discourses and practices in Mato Grosso do Sul. In this respect, the circulating audiovisual productions not only crystallize relations and imaginaries by generating affect, but they also become a generative act of landscaping as concerns about indigeneity are “hyperlinked” in the “new landscapes” marked by growing interconnectivity in ways that challenge ideas of sovereignty³.

As anthropologist Ricardo Verdum (2017, 27) argued, after former Brazilian President Dilma Roussef was removed from power under accusations of corruption, the new setup of

governmental power took a sharp turn towards “neoliberal” public policies. No new Indigenous lands have been demarcated since then. The election of President Jair Bolsonaro in October 2018 has posed new obstacles for Indigenous groups, as he has promoted further setbacks that dramatically threaten the lives of Indigenous persons. As I discussed, he pledged to stop and possibly reverse Indigenous demarcations; he has attempted to place the National Indian Foundation under the Ministry of Agriculture; he has promoted the use of weapons -especially to farmers for “protecting their properties against invasions”; and decreased environmental regulation while seeking to increase mining and agribusiness exploitation in Brazil.

While Bolsonaro relentlessly uses misinformation on social media to justify and gather support for his policies, recent efforts have arisen in the new landscapes of communication to dismantle conspiracy theories and disinformation campaigns propelled by Bolsonaro’s government. They include YouTube channels⁴ as well as the development of initiatives such as the *Instituto Conhecimento Liberta* (ICL), an educational platform⁵ providing basic knowledge on Brazil’s history, economy, agroecology, psychoanalysis, and social sciences, among many other subjects. ASCURI founder Eliel Benites participated on May 24, 2021, in a live⁶ in the YouTube channel of one of the ICL founders, Eduardo Moreira (the live was simultaneously broadcasted on ICL’s YouTube channel) dedicated to discussing the invisibility of Indigenous persons in Dourados and to organizing an emergency fund for them. In parallel, ICL also set in place the project *Brasil de Verdade* (which translates to “Brazil for Real”) to distribute scholarships of 50 thousand reais to audiovisual teams from marginalized groups in Brazil (including Indigenous groups) to enable them to create freely web documentaries to tell their own (hi)stories⁷. This project is an effort to diversify the controls of storylines and the means of production and to amplify the circulation of creative productions of marginalized persons.

While the current situation is tense, the log with the ember that can revive fire is still burning. In July 2020, ASCURI, in partnership with Rede CineFlecha, launched on the Rede CineFlecha website the *Aiming at Possible Worlds - (Re) Exist and Heal* audiovisual platform⁸ where they invited other Indigenous groups from Brazil to participate with experiences and reflections about the COVID-19 pandemic⁹. ASCURI contributed two short films: one featuring Eliel, warning Guarani people about the dangers of the pandemic in Indigenous villages (the video is in Guarani), and the other featuring elders from Pirakuá singing sacred songs to protect the Guarani. They received 21 short videos from different Indigenous groups from Brazil (including one animation) showing how they provided advice for their communities on how to avoid COVID-19 or talking about their experiences. The videos are also available on Rede CineFlecha YouTube channel¹⁰, Facebook page¹¹ and Instagram¹². They are concrete examples of Indigenous initiatives in Brazil transforming audiovisual production into a therapeutic and affirmative tool for collectively weaving other ways for being and becoming, bringing to Indigenous viewers possibilities for healing and envisioning better futures.

This example denotes yet again the crescent importance of social media for the kind of Indigenous activism I have examined in this work. If I began this dissertation centering my focus on audiovisual production, by the end of it, I became increasingly aware that audiovisual production cannot be considered in isolation from social media. This realization points in the direction of where I will take this work in the future. While the future prognostic in Brazil is ever more sombre, as Eliel previously stated, “hope is what moves reality, the dream”. Inspired by Eliel, I end with a significant moment of encouragement that is a gesture to the realization of the dream: on October 2, 2019, Daniela Jorge João, the Guarani-Kaiowá young woman from *Guyra Kamby'i* (see Chapter 5), took part in the visual arts concourse “For a Country of Peace”

organized by the *Barueri* Culture and Tourism Secretary¹³ (Barueri 2019). Daniela received the 5th prize, becoming the first Indigenous person ever to receive a prize in the concourse. Her painting materializes a dream for Brazil, as a country of peace, where animals wander freely in the forest (which is precisely what the green of the flag symbolizes), and people hold hands to hug the country, which is also hugged by the Earth itself. She titled her work “*TEKOHÁ GUASSÚ –O LUGAR ONDE SE É*”. She told me that “Tekohá Guassú” means “large land” but also “the place where you *are*” -not in the sense of being somewhere (*está* in Portuguese) but of *being* (*é* in Portuguese).



Illustration 2: TEKOHÁ GUASSÚ –O LUGAR ONDE SE É - Painting by Daniela Jorge João

NOTES

Notes for Chapter 1

- 1- Most of my sources are in Portuguese, French or Spanish. While I have chosen to translate citations for my dissertation, I have included the original texts in the endnotes.

The first citation is a free translation of an excerpt of the five-minutes-short-film *Des Forêts de Kitcisakik Aux Forêts De Xingu* (Papatie 2008): « J'ai rencontré cet ailleurs qui nous ressemble tellement et j'ai envie de rallumer la flamme, notre flamme Anishnabe. Libérons-nous de nos blessures. Réapprenons enfin notre nature. Nous sommes les enfants de deux mondes, un pied sur le béton, l'autre entre les herbes sauvages. Certains diraient la pomme : rouge dehors, blanc dedans. Moi, je dis le fruit, assez mûr aujourd'hui pour s'inventer un nouveau chemin en mocassins. »

The film is available at the link: <http://www.wapikoni.ca/films/des-forets-de-kitcisakik-aux-forets-de-xingu>

- 2- This citation is a free translation of an excerpt of Eliel Benites' interview (in Portuguese):

Estava bem claro o papel do cinema indígena naquele lugar para ajudar nesse processo de construção de uma nova sociedade, que é o quebrar de um modelo anterior que era homogeneizante, que fazia população em geral sofrer na mão de poucos latifúndios, elites. Era possível a transformação social e o cinema contribuiu também na reflexão e no amadurecimento da população em geral. Isso me fez também repensar na minha realidade, da própria mídia hegemônica aqui presente no estado, aqui no Brasil, na nossa região. Como que nós podemos também utilizar isso para fortalecer os valores culturais indígenas, as práticas culturais, compreender a sua história, a relação com a sociedade? Por que que se tornou hoje essa questão problemática (entre aspas, problemática, pois foi construída)? E a partir disso se pensa o futuro, nesse contexto todo... Ou seja não fazer se legitimar toda violência histórica construída em relação aos indígenas. E o cinema poderia quebrar tudo isso e mostrar a realidade [...] Isso deu um choque muito grande, [...] Então isso me fez acordar realmente clareou para mim o papel do cinema indígena.

- 3- I will use the concept of audiovisual production to address such initiatives because it is more encompassing than terms such as “filmmaking” or “videomaking”, which have technical implications. It is important to note that the term audiovisual is commonly used by institutions developing this type of training with Indigenous groups in the countries I visited for the investigation of this thesis. In Bolivia, a relevant example is the Indigenous Audiovisual Coordinating Council Original from Bolivia -CAIB (Coordinadora Audiovisual Indígena Originaria de Bolivia), a grassroots organization created during the 5th American Festival of Indigenous Peoples' Cinema and Video, in 1996, which “groups Indigenous audiovisual communicators from different communities and ethnicities” (original in Spanish: “Agrupa a comunicadores audiovisuales indígenas y originarios de diferentes comunidades”) (CAIB n.d.). Another example is the Cinema and Audiovisual Arts school -ECA (Escuela de Cine y Artes Audiovisuales), which I visited during my fieldwork in Bolivia and mentioned in this dissertation. In Canada, the term was chosen by the Wapikoni Mobile when it organized, in 2014, the International Network of Indigenous Audiovisual Creation -RICAA (Réseau International de Création Audiovisuelle Autochtone), during the Montréal's Indigenous Film festival *Présence Autochtone*, as I discuss in this dissertation. In Brazil, the *Video nas Aldeias* website presents the NGO as a “pioneer project in the field of Indigenous audiovisual production in Brazil.” (Video nas Aldeias 2009). In the Brazilian arena, which is the main site of my investigation, the term has also appeared in government funds such as the Sectorial Fund for the Audiovisual (*Fundo Setorial do Audiovisual*), created in 2006, which aimed to foster “the articulated development of the entire production chain of the audiovisual activity in Brazil” (original in Portuguese: “desenvolvimento articulado de toda a cadeia produtiva da atividade audiovisual no Brasil” (ANCINE n.d.).

- 4-Concerning the terminology, I am following De la Peña's suggestion of using the term *Indigenous* to designate the people that the European colonizers called *Indians* (unless I refer to the labels created by the discourses I am

analyzing). As De la Peña argued, *Indigenous* has been widely used by social scientists in Latin America and creates an analytical and critical distance to the colonial term used to exterminate, marginalize and oppress the peoples encompassed by it (2005, 719). Even if Brazilian anthropologist Alcida Ramos (1998, 6) advocates for the use of *Indian* because the term was politically reappropriated and charged with positive meanings, I still prefer *Indigenous* since it helps differentiate the analysis from representations of indigeneity crystallized in the Brazilian arena. On the other hand, I also find *Indigenous* more useful than *native*, *aboriginal* or *autochthone* because it acknowledges the historical past of this identity by highlighting its links with the label imposed during the colonial encounter.

- 5- I translated the original name in Portuguese, “*Associação Cultural dos Realizadores Indígenas*”, as “*Cultural Association of Indigenous Producers*”, but the term *realizadores* means, at the same time, to be a cinema director and to have the ability to make something real.
- 6- The atlas the *Geography of Brazilian Agriculture* was developed by the Institute for Forest and Agricultural Management and Certification (IMAFLOA), in partnership with the GeoLab of the Superior School of Agriculture of the University of São Paulo. Its purpose is to create and disseminate information on Brazilian agriculture and livestock, using an online platform, to “facilitate the understanding of where, what, how much, who, how and with what consequences production occurs in the field in Brazil” (IMAFLOA 2017). It is available at: <http://atlasagropecuario.imaflora.org/>
- 7 –IMAFLOA’s announcement of the atlas containing the distribution of land by state (in Portuguese) is available at: <http://imaflora.blogspot.com/2017/03/atlas-agropecuario-revela-malha.html>

Whenever possible, I am also including an “archived link” for the open-access websites I am referencing in this dissertation, so they can be retrieved in case the original link is removed from the Internet or altered. However, the archived link does not guarantee the retrieval of videos embedded in these web pages and can be slower compared to the original link. Therefore, I am keeping the original link in the notes as well (unless it has already been removed).

Archived link for IMAFLOA’s announcement:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20210319183303/http://imaflora.blogspot.com/2017/03/atlas-agropecuario-revela-malha.html>

IMAFLOA and GeoLab researchers Freitas, Guidotti and Sparovek released a technical note in English, explaining the Brazilian land tenure map, which is part of the Atlas, and the note also includes the distribution of land categories in Brazil by state:

[https://www.dropbox.com/sh/cvtrj35w6hzehb/AAD8-GufpPIy2Kml0YUI9lABa/MalhaFundiaria_LandTenure/MalhaFundiaria_LandTenure_v.170321/Methodologia_Methodology?dl=0&preview=Imaflora_AtlasAgropecuario_Documentacao_MalhaFundiaria_vFinal+\(ingl%C3%AAs\).pdf&subfolder_nav_tracking=1](https://www.dropbox.com/sh/cvtrj35w6hzehb/AAD8-GufpPIy2Kml0YUI9lABa/MalhaFundiaria_LandTenure/MalhaFundiaria_LandTenure_v.170321/Methodologia_Methodology?dl=0&preview=Imaflora_AtlasAgropecuario_Documentacao_MalhaFundiaria_vFinal+(ingl%C3%AAs).pdf&subfolder_nav_tracking=1)

Sanchez report for *De Olho Nos Ruralistas -Observatório do Agronegócio no Brasil* concerning the atlas results is available at: <https://deolhonosruralistas.com.br/2017/04/11/com-92-territorio-privado-ms-tem-maior-concentracao-de-terras-particulares-pais/>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20210319182753/https://deolhonosruralistas.com.br/2017/04/11/com-92-territorio-privado-ms-tem-maior-concentracao-de-terras-particulares-pais/>

Tatemoto report for *Brasil de Fato* about the atlas is available at: <https://www.brasildefato.com.br/2017/04/03/83-dos-terrenos-privados-do-mato-grosso-do-sul-sao-latifundios/>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20210312004135/https://www.brasildefato.com.br/2017/04/03/83-dos-terrenos-privados-do-mato-grosso-do-sul-sao-latifundios/>

- 8- The reports in English can be accessed online:

Please, see the 2020 report (data corresponding to 2019) at: https://cimi.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/Report-Violence-against-the-Indigenous-Peoples-in-Brazil_2019-Cimi.pdf

Archived link:

https://web.archive.org/web/20210206032207/https://cimi.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/Report-Violence-against-the-Indigenous-Peoples-in-Brazil_2019-Cimi.pdf

-The 2019 report (data corresponding to 2018) at: https://cimi.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/Report-Violence-against-the-Indigenous-Peoples-in-Brazil_2018-Cimi.pdf

Archived link:

https://web.archive.org/web/20210318014818/https://cimi.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/Report-Violence-against-the-Indigenous-Peoples-in-Brazil_2018-Cimi.pdf

-The 2018 report (data corresponding to 2017) is available at: https://cimi.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/Report-Violence-against-the-Indigenous-Peoples-in-Brazil_2017-Cimi.pdf

Archived link:

https://web.archive.org/web/20191025130136/https://cimi.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/Report-Violence-against-the-Indigenous-Peoples-in-Brazil_2017-Cimi.pdf

In addition, the joint report of CIMI, the International Human Rights Organization Food First Information and Action Network (FIAN), Brazilian NGO Justiça Global, and the Brazilian Association Judges for Democracy, released in October 2016, denounced that between 2003 and 2015, 47% of Indigenous individuals killed in Brazil were murdered in Mato Grosso do Sul alone (CIMI et al. 2016, 14). The report used data from CIMI, the Special Indian Sanitary District of the State of Mato Grosso do Sul (Dsei-MS) and the Special Indian Health Office (SESAI) (CIMI et al. 2016, 14). While it is essential to acknowledge that some murders happened within Indigenous reserves, arguably, they are a tragic consequence of the social disintegration engendered by the process of extreme confinement resulting from the expropriation of lands to benefit the agribusiness industry. An emblematic example is the Reserve of Dourados, considered to be the most violent reserve in Mato Grosso do Sul. Nonetheless, in 2015 alone, the joint report revealed that concerning the Guarani-Kaiowá living in the south of Mato Grosso do Sul, “over a dozen paramilitary attacks against various communities of such people were registered. Such attacks [were] made by militias commanded by farmers” (CIMI et al. 2016, 13). Besides, one attack included “lies spread by some farmers with the intention of creating a sense of terror and animosity in the regional population against the Indians, in a premeditated attempt to legitimate the attack that was being carried out” (CIMI et al. 2016, 14). I address this attack in chapter 2.

9-Original in Spanish: *Taller Internacional de Cine Documental Sin Fronteras*.

10- Original in Spanish: *Escuela de Cine y Artes Audiovisuales*. For more information, please see: <https://eca.academia.bo/>

11-The Magnifica Mundi project comprises a WebTV, a web radio and a YouTube channel. For more information about the WebTV project Magnifica Mundi, please see: <https://magnificamundi.fic.ufg.br/p/33709-nossas-producoes>

YouTube channel: <https://www.youtube.com/c/Magn%C3%ADficaMundi/playlists>

12- The experience in Bolivia showed how Indigenous persons there managed to assert at the same time their indigeneity and their Bolivianness. Therefore, the dynamic between these two identities, in this case, is not "either/or" but "both/and". Indigenous peoples in Brazil and Bolivia do assert their national belonging, as Brazilians and Bolivians. In this respect, the achievement of the Indigenous audiovisual production in Bolivia that Eliel highlighted was to show that the nation is diverse. This led Bolivia to define itself as a plurinational state, where Indigenous groups are at the same time Indigenous and Bolivians. In Brazil, however, Indigenous groups are not seen officially and academically as "nations" but as "peoples" or "ethnicities," nonetheless, they also seek to assert themselves as Indigenous and Brazilians.

13-ASCURI's YouTube channel is available at: https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC_EvIOBMTbte94t3YtJWT_Q/videos

- 14- ASCURI's Facebook page is available at: <https://www.facebook.com/ascuri.brasil/>
- 15- ASCURI's website is available at: <https://ascuri.org/>
- 16- The video is available at: <http://www.douradosnews.com.br/videos/bolsonaro-faz-video-contra-a-prisao-de-fazendeiros-em-ms/1066940/>
- 17- Bolsonaro's tweet is accessible at the following link:
<https://twitter.com/jairbolsonaro/status/1061809199196368896?lang=en>
- 18- Please see:
- The CTV news report mentioning that the Brazilian Press Association had complained about the restrictions imposed on journalists at the inauguration day:
<https://www.ctvnews.ca/world/brazil-s-bolsonaro-targets-lgbt-people-Indigenous-groups-on-1st-day-in-office-1.4237987>
 Archived link:
<https://web.archive.org/web/20201112012059/https://www.ctvnews.ca/world/brazil-s-bolsonaro-targets-lgbt-people-Indigenous-groups-on-1st-day-in-office-1.4237987>
 - Deutsche Welle news mentioning journalists' criticisms of how they were treated at the inauguration day:
<https://www.dw.com/en/brazil-swears-in-far-right-president-jair-bolsonaro/a-46920675>
 Archived link:
<https://web.archive.org/web/20210312200638/https://www.dw.com/en/brazil-swears-in-far-right-president-jair-bolsonaro/a-46920675>
 - A compilation of tweets (in Portuguese) and pictures from reporters:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SEKzTH0K_84
 - Video (in Portuguese) where Brazilian BBC News reporters comment on the constraints on the media coverage for the inauguration:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Kim7rslpW1w>
 - See also several articles issued in the Brazilian press (in Portuguese):
<https://www.valor.com.br/politica/6043745/organizacao-da-posse-de-bolsonaro-limita-circulacao-de-jornalistas>
<https://exame.abril.com.br/brasil/posse-de-bolsonaro-tem-regras-rigiditas-com-limites-a-circulacao-da-imprensa/>
<https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/colunas/monicabergamo/2019/01/um-dia-de-cao.shtml>
 - Nando Moura (one of the YouTubers recommended by the president), showing his invitation for Bolsonaro's inauguration (in Portuguese):
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XfmBxa-mPzg>
 - Nando Moura showing the inauguration party and interviewing other YouTubers who were invited to it (in Portuguese):
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hzieeqygx5Q>
- 19- The YouTube channel *Tradutores de direita*, which in English corresponds to “Translators of the Right”, presents itself as “translators committed to bringing forth the program and worldview of the political Right”. It is available at: <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCJqOdpqndf1MPequlvDgGkA/about>
- The YouTube channel *Embaixada da Resistência*, which in English corresponds to “Resistance Embassy”, presents itself as “a channel dedicated to translating political content” (in Portuguese: “Canal dedicado à tradução de conteúdos políticos”). It is streamed from Portugal, but most of the sources translated come from the United States. It is available at: <https://www.youtube.com/c/EmbaixadadaResist%C3%Aancia/about>
- 20- Olavo de Carvalho's channel is available at: <https://www.youtube.com/user/olavodeca/videos>
- Steve Bannon praised Olavo de Carvalho in one interview (in English) for the YouTube channel *Olavo tem razão* (which translates to “Olavo is right”): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8oRIUn7hh3Q>

Several news reports issued in one of the leading newspapers of Brazil show pictures of a dinner Bannon organized for Olavo de Carvalho:

<https://politica.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,um-jantar-com-steve-bannon-e-olavo-de-carvalho,70002686785>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20210312185843/https://politica.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,um-jantar-com-steve-bannon-e-olavo-de-carvalho,70002686785>

During the dinner, one of the invitees was a Brazilian filmmaker who had just finished a documentary about Olavo de Carvalho's life:

<https://politica.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,steve-bannon-ex-estrategista-de-trump-visita-olavo-de-carvalho,70002684308>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20210312195406/https://politica.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,steve-bannon-ex-estrategista-de-trump-visita-olavo-de-carvalho,70002684308>

21- In an interview for a Brazilian TV channel, Eduardo Bolsonaro, a son of the Brazilian president, declared: "What Olavo is for us? It is the philosophical reference. He is a very literate person who has written several books. For example, the most striking book he made, in my opinion, is 'The minimum you need to know to not be an idiot.'"

Original in Portuguese: "O que que o Olavo é pra gente? É a referência filosófica. É uma pessoa muito letrada que já fez diversos livros. Por exemplo, o livro que ele fez mais marcante na minha opinião é 'O mínimo que você precisa saber para não ser um idiota.'"

The interview is available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ITdPd-P9TBs>

22- See for instance Küster's tweet: <https://twitter.com/bernardopkuster/status/1104601712478904320?lang=en>

In Küster's YouTube channel, there are many references to Olavo de Carvalho and many discussions with him. See for example:

-Inédito - Entrevista com Olavo de Carvalho: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IFRCswx5srI>

-Aula inédita de Olavo de Carvalho: educação, direito e cultura <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=djPeP-8FYoE>

- 10 mentiras sobre Olavo de Carvalho: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dZs09VGHbXA>

23- The interview occurred in Montréal in August 2016.

24- Bellemare was the director of the audiovisual section of the Design and Material Culture research group and The Boîte Rouge VIF in Quebec and Brazil from 2008 to 2016. He is an associate professor of cinema at the University of Quebec at Chicoutimi.

25- For more information about the institution, please see its website: <https://www.laboiterougevif.com/presentation-de-lorganisme/>

26- Original in French: « De fait, le mot création est le moteur de notre recherche action. C'est véritablement par la création, [...] c'est de quelle façon dépasser le mimétisme culturel. »

27- Original in French: « C'est une pratique qui se définit dans l'action, une pratique de recherche qui se définit dans l'action. C'est le processus même de la recherche à action et qui est défini aussi dans l'action par les participants. »

28- Original in French: « comment la mémoire est une puissance créative projetable dans l'avenir. Et pas sous un mode de mimétisme où tu ne creuses pas la richesse créative d'où vient ce que tu fais et tu ne projette pas dans l'avenir. [...] on creuse, comme un anthropologue, mais en création, on creuse. Qu'est-ce qui émerge? »

29- Original name in French: *Vers un réseautage international de recherches et de partenariats pour l'empowerment des individus et des communautés autochtones -Canada/Brésil- 2013-2016*

- 30- Original name in Portuguese: *Laboratório de Imagem e Som em Antropologia*. For more information about the institution, see its website (in Portuguese): <http://lisa.fflch.usp.br/>
- 31- For more information about the institution, please see the *Centro de Trabalho Indigenista's* website: <https://trabalhoindigenista.org.br/o-cti/quem-somos/>
- 32- Original in French: Groupe de Recherche Design et Cultures Matérielles. The group is affiliated to the University of Québec at Chicoutimi and the Montréal University. For more information, please see:
Kaine, Élisabeth. 2018. «Introduction -Design et Culture matérielle : récits de savoirs partagés par l'art et la création en milieux autochtones». In *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* 48 (1-2): 5-9. <https://doi.org/10.7202/1053698ar>
See also chronological information at:
<https://www.laboiterougevif.com/historique/>
- 33- Original in French: « Le paradigme de la recherche-action [...] part du principe que c'est par l'action que l'on peut générer des connaissances scientifiques utiles pour comprendre et changer la réalité sociale des individus et des systèmes sociaux (Robson et McCarthan 2016). »
- 34- Original in French: «la recherche-action participative [...] place le dialogue au centre de ses actions visant à entraîner un changement positif sur le terrain. »
- 35- Original in French: « Ce guide méthodologique veut encourager une dynamique de concertation pour la transmission culturelle de toute communauté. Il s'agit d'un mode d'action qui vise à redonner à la population des pouvoirs, non seulement pour qu'elle s'implique davantage dans les processus décisionnels, mais aussi pour qu'elle pose elle-même les actions qui améliorent son bien-être. »
- 36- Original in French: « Nous on arrive sur le terrain : qu'est-ce que vous aimeriez exprimer? Quelles sont les valeurs importantes pour vous? On n'arrive jamais avec des ateliers de formation. »
- 37- Original in French:
La concertation [...] cherche à induire une relation égalitaire entre les acteurs engagés dans un projet. Cela implique de reconnaître la légitimité de la participation de chacun des membres et leur identité propre. Un tel dialogue permet d'identifier certains questionnements et d'y trouver collectivement des réponses qui seront portées et défendues par tous. Il est donc essentiel de demeurer ouvert à la position de l'Autre pour comprendre et mettre en perspective sa pensée. L'objectif général d'une concertation est de prendre des décisions en considérant les besoins et les intérêts de chacun. On nomme aussi cette dynamique « approche participative » ou « collaborative. »
- 38- News article available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2010/dec/20/Indigenous-britons-far-right>
Archived link:
<https://web.archive.org/web/20210312001458/https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2010/dec/20/Indigenous-britons-far-right>
- 39- Seigworth and Gregg define the processes of *becoming/un-becoming*, tying them to the “formative powers” of force-relations (2010, 3). They explain that “cast forward by its open-ended in-between-ness, affect is integral to a body's perpetual becoming (always becoming otherwise, however subtly, than what it already is), pulled beyond its seeming surface-boundedness by way of its relation to, indeed its composition through, the forces of encounter” (2010, 3). Thus, they conclude a body is “webbed in its relations—until ultimately such firm distinctions cease to matter” (2010, 3). In this perspective, unbecoming relates to “the peeling or wearing away” of sedimentations of force-relations (as opposed to an “ever-gathering accretion” of such forces) (Seigworth and Gregg 2010, 2). In this logic, *bindings* correspond to Latour's and Stenger's *attachments*, created by a sense of belonging (the reverse side *unbindings* would then correspond to a sense of exclusion). In summary, they clarify that “the capacity of a body is never defined by a body alone but is always aided and abetted by, and dovetails with, the field or context of its force-relations” (2010, 3).

40-Original in Portuguese:

No último ano da faculdade, em 2008, fui convidado para fazer um curso de cinema na Bolívia, e fui sem pensar duas vezes, 45 dias no deserto boliviano de Pacajes, em uma aldeia Aymara chamada Condor Iquiña, vivendo e respirando o que viria a ser a razão da minha existência, o Audiovisual. Ali tive a oportunidade de conhecer uma das pessoas até hoje mais importante da minha vida, o cineasta Quéchuá Ivan Molina, que revolucionou o cinema indígena na Bolívia, e que tem tido grande influência no que construímos por aqui.

41- See Wapikoni Mobile's website for more information: <http://www.wapikoni.ca/home>

42- Original name in French: *Réseau International de Création Audiovisuelle Autochtone*.

43- For more information about CEFREC, please visit: <http://proyectoidis.org/centro-de-formacion-y-realizacion-cinematografica-cefrec/>

44- For more information about Vídeo nas Aldeias, please visit: <http://www.videonasaldeias.org.br/2009/>
During the celebration of its 25 years, it published a free bilingual book (Portuguese-English) of its history: *Vídeo nas Aldeias-25 anos* (2011): https://issuu.com/videonasaldeias/docs/pdf_livro_baixa_28-20-2011_inteiro

45- For more information about CLACPI, please visit: <https://clacpi.org/>

46- For more information about Ojo de Agua, please visit: <https://ojodeaguacomunicacion.org/audiovisuales/>

47- For more information about Nuoraj TV, please visit: <https://www.youtube.com/user/NuorajTV/videos>

48- For more information about CHIRAPAQ, please visit: <https://www.iwgia.org/en/iwgia-partners/31-chirapaq-centre-for-Indigenous-cultures-of-peru.html>

49- For more information about ImagineNative, please visit: <https://imagenative.org/>

50- Here the statement is general because I am commenting on the necessity of expanding anthropological debates about the dynamics between local Indigenous expressions and mainstream discourses at the sites where Indigenous media producers live, as Ginsburg and Tsing pointed. I am arguing here that both the Indigenous expressions and the mainstream debates are increasingly entangled in collaborations between people living in different countries along with their own projects of society. These projects are not necessarily "national", even though they can embrace the discourse of nationalism and patriotism to gain popularity. In this dissertation, I argue that this is precisely what happens with the discourse invested in propelling large-scale multinational farming in Mato Grosso do Sul. Although it claims to present the path for Mato Grosso do Sul's and Brazil's development, it benefits much more the agribusiness oligopoly that controls the country's politics than Brazilians. The Indigenous groups that I encountered in Mato Grosso do Sul are seen as antagonizing this project because they are demanding the demarcation of their lands and reclaiming another relationship with the land grounded on another project of society.

51-Original in Portuguese:

Eu espero não agredir com a minha manifestação o protocolo dessa casa, mas eu acredito que os senhores não poderão ficar omissos, os senhores não terão como ficar alheios a mais essa agressão movida pelo poder econômico, pela ganância, pela ignorância do que significa ser um povo indígena. O povo indígena tem um jeito de pensar, tem um jeito de viver, tem condições fundamentais para a sua existência e para a manutenção da sua tradição, da sua vida, da sua cultura [...]. E hoje nós somos o alvo de uma agressão que pretende atingir na essência a nossa fé, a nossa confiança, de que ainda existe dignidade, de que ainda é possível construir uma sociedade que sabe respeitar os mais fracos, que sabe respeitar aqueles que não têm o dinheiro pra manter uma campanha incessante de difamação, que sabe respeitar um povo que sempre viveu à revelia de todas as riquezas. Um povo que habita casas cobertas de palha e dorme em esteiras no chão não deve ser identificado de jeito nenhum como um povo que é inimigo dos interesses do Brasil, inimigo dos interesses da nação e que

coloca em risco qualquer desenvolvimento. O povo indígena tem regado com sangue cada hectare dos 8 milhões de quilômetros quadrados no Brasil. Os senhores são testemunhas disso.

52- For more information about Ailton Krenak and a video of his speech, please see: <http://www.revistas.usp.br/gis/article/view/162846/157199>

Krenak's speech is also available on YouTube at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kWMHiwdbM_Q&t=25s

53- TV Educativa da Bahia.

54- <https://www.facebook.com/189156621142063/videos/213183936505505/>

55- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M1BASpTu9Qs>

56- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3yXIEshRnYg&list=TLPQMTIwNTIwMjCHXSOP2qvbkA&index=1>

57- The prize is granted by the Brazilian Union of Writers (União Brasileira de Escritores -UBE) to honour writers who published a book in Brazil during the previous year, achieving national repercussion and contributing to the “prestige and the development of the country” as well as to the “defence of democratic and republican values” (Jornal do Brasil 2020). In 2019, Krenak published the book *Ideas to Postpone the End of the World*. See more information (in Portuguese) at:

<https://www.jb.com.br/cadernob/2020/09/1025790-lider-indigena-vence-o-disputado--juca-pato.html>

<https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/ilustrada/2020/09/lider-indigena-ailton-krenak-vence-premio-juca-pato-de-intelectual-do-ano.shtml>

58- Original in Portuguese:

Naquela época, a campanha pública e a disputa era sobre o que ia ser fixado no texto da Constituição. E era um vale-tudo: os jornais, as mídias da época, as corporações, elas jogavam pesado desqualificando totalmente a experiência dos povos indígenas e os direitos históricos desses povos de reivindicar um lugar dentro do concerto do Brasil e eu tive que denunciar isso na tribuna. Hoje, o lugar que justifica essa campanha não é mais a o mesmo: a diluição desse esquema capitalista que disputa recursos naturais no planeta hoje, ele não tem endereço.

[Bob Fernandes]: Ele é muito mais amplo

[Ailton Krenak]: Ele é difuso e eu não conseguiria me dirigir a nenhuma plenária, a nenhuma assembleia naqueles termos hoje.

59- For more information, please see (in English): <http://dowbor.org/ladislau-dowbor-en/>

60- The interview is available (with English subtitles) at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IFbZQejDSFY&t=883s>

61- This view is expressed in the following excerpt of the interview:

In the Brazilian case, we have a very special situation, which I approached in this research [...]. The system worked during what the World Bank called the golden decade of Brazil, 2003 to 2013. A golden decade in which [...] we improved the social situation, the political climate, and the economy because producers found buyers, families consumed more, more resources were generated for the state, and this system worked. Why has it broken? It was broken because in political terms, in Brazil, the Congress, financed by corporations -because corporate financing of the political campaigns was authorized- decided to liquidate Article 192 of the Constitution that regulated the financial system. From then on, things start to go backwards because a system has been generated in which families are submitted to interest rates that, frankly, Europeans, Swedes or even Chinese do not understand: how can you charge 156% on a bank loan? How can you charge an average of 105% in the installment plans? How can you charge 320% on an

overdraft? 485% on the credit card? These are simply surrealistic things; in the rest of the world, interest rates range between 3 to 6, 7 percent.

In fact, what happened was that the whole population which benefited from more jobs, better wages and distributive processes during the Lula and Dilma phase 1 administration, all these people gradually got strangled in debt. Because a family in need of a refrigerator -to live without a refrigerator is very complicated – but which cannot pay cash, has to pay 105% interest on the refrigerator, he pays more in interest than the refrigerator's price. We presented the arithmetic to help people understand the dynamics: a stove that costs R\$ 200 at the factory is sold by stores at the price of BRL 420 in cash and sold at R\$ 840 in installments, which means, the mass of the population that has no money to pay cash has to pay BRL 840 for a BRL 200 stove. Such a business simply does not work; this is economic nonsense. This has been called financialization in world terms; in the Brazilian case, it is more than financialization: it is explicit loan sharking. It is based on a system that is legal because, since the liquidation of Article 192, there is no legal basis that limits what banks can charge. And when you have a very uninformed population, on the one hand, and on the other hand, the whole system of banks, installment plans, credit cards, etc., present their interest rates per month instead of per year, the fraud is complete. People just do not understand what compound interest is. They think they are paying low interest. They do not note the difference between 2.5 and 3.5% of monthly interest rates. And that generated what we faced in 2018: we have 61.7 million adults [40.5% of the Brazilian population] who have, as it is popularly called, a dirtied name. In technical terms, they are “negativated”; they cannot pay the debts for what they have already bought, nor obviously buy new things. When you cannot buy new things, the market is stalled: companies have no one to sell to. You have a radical reduction of inflation, not by a proper policy, but by breaking the economy, and when families stop buying, they pay fewer consumption taxes, companies slow down, pay fewer production taxes, and the result is that instead of improving the State accounts, the deficit increases. Facing an increased deficit, the government begins to draw money from the BNDES, money from public banks, deepening the chaos of the financial organization. Interestingly, one banker now heads the Central Bank, and another banker heads the Ministry of Finance.

- 62- Using data from 2003 to 2019 from the Brazilian National Treasure and the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), Dowbor demonstrated, in a blog post from May 2020 (updated in March 2021), that Brazil's Central Government Primary Balance was positive until 2013, while the number of interests transferred to national and international private investors for paying government bonds related to the internal public debt increased drastically after 2014. The third and fourth columns presented the resulting public deficit and the GDP variation, respectively. The origins of this transfer rate in 1996 were already problematic: the Selic rate was implemented by the then-president Fernando Henrique Cardoso, reaching more than 20% per year. Dowbor considers it “a gift for the financial system” since in other parts of the world, he argues, interest rates over internal public debt rarely surpass 1% (Dowbor 2020a; Dowbor 2021). In 2019, the interest transferred from taxpayer money to investors surpassed 310 billion. Ironically, Dowbor noted, the profits generated from this operation are tax-exempt even for foreigners.

Dowbor's post with his analysis (in Portuguese) is available at: <https://dowbor.org/2020/05/1-dowbor-contas-publicas-entenda-a-farsa-a-terra-e-redonda-maio-2020-5p.html/>

Updated version from 2021: <https://dowbor.org/2020/05/1-dowbor-contas-publicas-entenda-a-farsa-a-terra-e-redonda-maio-2020-5p.html/>

Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20210316182231/https://dowbor.org/2020/05/1-dowbor-contas-publicas-entenda-a-farsa-a-terra-e-redonda-maio-2020-5p.html/>

The Brazilian National Treasure data is available at: <http://www.tesouro.fazenda.gov.br/en/central-government-primary-balance>

The IBGE data is available at: https://www.ibge.gov.br/estatisticas/economicas/contas-nacionais/9300-contas-nacionais-trimestrais.html?=&t=series-historicas&utm_source=landing&utm_medium=explica&utm_campaign=pib#evolucao-taxa

On the tax exemption for foreign investors, please see: <https://www.gazetadopovo.com.br/economia/estrangeiros-ganham-isencao-de-ir-na-compra-de-titulos-publicos-9wcvhtcmnr57wo8diqaj4p5a/>

- 63- Original in Portuguese: “galáxias econômicas”.
- 64- Original in Portuguese: “hoje, no mundo, 737 grupos controlam 80% do universo corporativo”.
- 65- Original in Portuguese: *Brasil abriu mão de sua soberania e de bilhões para incentivar o modelo agroexportador*. The interview is available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IRefntTyfto&t=890s>

- 66- Novaes estimates that 90% of transgenic seeds, fertilizers and pesticides are sold by the oligopoly that produces them directly to large-scale farmers, who usually pay by emitting an agribusiness credit title, compromising part of their harvest to pay for the products. This credit title generates two others, which lead to a contract as a warranty, and which propels the derivatives and international speculation. Thus, pesticides are sold in exchange for a part of the farmers’ production, skyrocketing the profit of these companies through the emission of credit titles for the financial capital based on the value negotiated.

Therefore, Novaes clarifies, if the pesticide market generates ten USD billion and emits five credit titles, it generates 50 billion for the multinational financial capital. All these titles are tax-exempt. Additionally, the lack of transparency in such transactions implies that the only way to evaluate the real dimension of the profit of such enterprises would be checking the balances of the parent companies abroad. Since a “transfer law” regulates the remittance of the profit to them, they cannot be scrutinized publicly in Brazil (Bombardi and Novaes 2020).

- 67- He explained that while the taxation of most economic sectors revolves around 35% (the pharmaceutical industry, for example, pays 34%), for the pesticide sector, for instance, it is only five percent. As its annual sales in Brazil average USD 10 billion, making the country the largest buyer of pesticides in the world in absolute values (see Appendix 5), Brazil loses around 3 billion dollars per year of revenue. This loss also appears in the report of ABRASCO, the Brazilian Association of Collective Health (in Portuguese: Associação Brasileira de Saúde Coletiva) on tax incentives to the pesticide industry in Brazil. See, for instance, page 21: <https://www.abrasco.org.br/site/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/Relatorio-Abrasco-Desoneracao-Fiscal-Agrotoxicos-17.02.2020.pdf>

Additionally, the 5% in taxes the pesticide sector must pay is composed of indirect taxes, so they can be passed on to producers and consumers. They comprise 2% on Importation Tax and the 3% on Tax on Operations Relating to the Circulation of Goods (Imposto sobre Operações relativas à Circulação de Mercadorias -ICMS) (3% is significantly reduced considering that typically this tax retains 18%). It does not pay the Tax on Industrialized Products (Imposto sobre Produtos Industrializados -IPI).

- 68- While a “green” tax for discouraging the use of the most toxic pesticides could prevent socio-environmental losses, this option was undermined when the Brazilian Health Regulatory Agency weakened toxicologic classifications in 2019. Corrosive products went from “extremely toxic” (in Portuguese: “extremamente tóxico.”) to “moderately toxic” (“moderadamente tóxico.”) Novaes observed that if, previously, 790 products were “highly toxic” (“altamente tóxico”), after the change, 65% of them became “fairly toxic” (“pouco tóxico”) (see Appendix 5) (Bombardi and Novaes 2020).

- 69- In this respect, Novaes declares: “one of the requirements for the sovereignty of any state is the power to tax, and Brazil has given up its sovereignty because it no longer has the power to tax these goods that are exported” [Original in Portuguese: “Um dos requisitos da soberania de qualquer estado é o poder de tributar e o Brasil abriu mão da sua soberania porque não tem mais o poder de tributar esses bens que são exportados.”] (Bombardi and Novaes 2020).

He stresses this point explaining that the *tradings*, which are multinational companies that export agribusiness products, especially biofuel and commodities, also operate with special conditions which almost completely exempt them from paying taxes. In 2017, he observed, while USD 96 billion in agribusiness products were exported from Brazil, the total sum of taxes on exportation retained in the country was outrageously small: BRL 5,803.65 -corresponding to USD 1,758.68 (I used the rate of December 2017, which equated 1 USD to 3.3 BRL: <https://br.advn.com/moeda/dolar/2017>).

The report on revenue collection (by economic sector) from 2011 to 2019 from the Brazilian Special Department of the Federal Revenue confirms the information. See page 3 from the report available at:

<https://receita.economia.gov.br/dados/receitadata/arrecadacao/arrecadacao-por-divisao-economica-da-cnae/arrecadacao-por-divisao-economica-cnae-2011-2019-1.pdf>

Dowbor complements this point by explaining that trading companies also have formed an oligopoly that benefits from its power of accumulating and processing commodities and biofuel in Brazil. Citing Reuters journalist Joshua Schneyer's dossier *Commodity Traders: The Trillion Dollars Club*, he mentions 13 groups. At least seven are linked to agribusiness in Mato Grosso do Sul: Bunge, Cargill, ADM, Louis Dreyfus, Glencore, Noble Group and Blackrock (see appendix 4, Figure1). The dossier is available at: www.reuters.com/assets/print?aid=USTRE79R4S320111028

- 70- Original in Portuguese: “no nosso país existe a privatização do lucro e a socialização do prejuízo.”
- 71- On December 11th, 2019, the Brazilian Senate website informed that the Senate Commissions of Agriculture and Economic Affairs had approved a requirement for conjoint analysis of a bill proposal granting more flexibility and opportunities for foreigners seeking to purchase land and property in Brazil for agricultural activities. The Senate news report is available (in Portuguese) at: <https://www12.senado.leg.br/noticias/materias/2019/12/11/comissoes-aprovam-projeto-que-facilita-venda-de-terras-para-estrangeiros>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20210127165047/https://www12.senado.leg.br/noticias/materias/2019/12/11/comissoes-aprovam-projeto-que-facilita-venda-de-terras-para-estrangeiros>

While the bill's author affirms that his proposal includes restrictions for purchases near Brazilian borders and in the Amazon biome, it allows the acquirement of areas corresponding to up to 25% of each Brazilian city. Nevertheless, the bill does not rule out exceptions: The Parliament can still authorize property purchases beyond the limits set by the law for the “implementation of priority development projects” if the Executive Power requests it, and the National Defense Council accepts it. In this case, a legislative decree would grant the purchase (original in Portuguese: “de acordo com o texto, o Congresso poderá, desde que haja manifestação prévia do Poder Executivo e consentimento do Conselho de Defesa Nacional, autorizar a compra de imóvel por estrangeiros além dos limites fixados na lei, quando se tratar da implantação de projetos prioritários ao desenvolvimento”). Furthermore, the bill waives the requirement of licenses and authorizations for foreign purchases of properties measuring up to fifteen “fiscal modules” (if the purchaser has no other rural property in the country (original in Portuguese: “O projeto dispensa licença ou autorização para aquisição por estrangeiros de imóveis com área até 15 módulos fiscais”)) (Agência Senado 2019).

A Fiscal module is a Brazilian classification unit for evaluating rural properties. “Small properties” have up to four fiscal modules, whereas “medium-sized” ones have between four and fifteen, and large ones have more than fifteen. The unit varies according to each municipality, taking into consideration typical rural uses of the region, among other factors. In Dourados, Mato Grosso do Sul, for example, one fiscal module equates to 30 hectares. For more information, please see: <http://www.incra.gov.br/tamanho-propriedades-rurais>
http://www.incra.gov.br/sites/default/files/uploads/estrutura-fundiaria/regularizacao-fundiaria/indices-cadastrais/indices_basicos_2013_por_municipio.pdf

- 72- The list at the FPA website was last accessed on November 1, 2020: <https://fpagropecuaria.org.br/integrantes/todos-os-integrantes/>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20201101003945/https://fpagropecuaria.org.br/integrantes/todos-os-integrantes/>

- 73- The fund is transferred through the think tank organization *Agriculture and Livestock Thinking Institute*, created in 2011 to give support to federal members of Congress (Livre 2019). Please, see the *Keeping an Eye on Ruralists* news report (in Portuguese) available at: <https://deolhonosruralistas.com.br/2019/05/21/multinacionais-sao-financiadoras-ocultas-da-frente-parlamentar-da-agropecuaria/>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20210115175658/https://deolhonosruralistas.com.br/2019/05/21/multinacionais-sao-financiadoras-ocultas-da-frente-parlamentar-da-agropecuaria/>

- 74- Companies include Bayer, Bunge, Cargill, Monsanto, Syngenta, Dow, Dupont, and BASF (Arroyo 2020).
- 75- Please, see the *Keeping an Eye on Ruralists* news report (in Portuguese) available at: <https://deolhonosruralistas.com.br/2019/03/22/nova-frente-parlamentar-da-agropecuaria-reune-257-deputados-e-senadores-com-25-psl-de-bolsonaro-so-fica-atras-de-pp-e-psd/>
Archived link:
<https://web.archive.org/web/20210317051535/https://deolhonosruralistas.com.br/2019/03/22/nova-frente-parlamentar-da-agropecuaria-reune-257-deputados-e-senadores-com-25-psl-de-bolsonaro-so-fica-atras-de-pp-e-psd/>
- 76- Eduardo Bolsonaro is the third son of Jair Bolsonaro. He became the Member of Parliament who received, in the 2018 elections, the largest number of votes in the history of Brazil. For more information, please see (in English):
<https://cpac.conservative.org/speaker/eduardo-bolsonaro/>
<https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/internacional/en/brazil/2018/10/brazil-hit-by-conservative-wave-as-bolsonaro-and-haddad-head-to-a-runoff.shtml>
- 77- See Robbins 1998, 12. Cheah has a slightly different perception: in the force field of the cosmopolitical, cosmopolitanism is “invoked as [a] practical discourse”, which is associated with human rights (1998, 31, 2006, 5, 31). The corollary of this enunciation is that Cheah leaves open the plausibility of other cosmopolitics forces invested in other “practical discourses” than cosmopolitanism.
- 78- The authors deriving their understanding of cosmopolitics and cosmopolitanisms from Kant’s political and moral work *Toward Perpetual Peace: a philosophical project* (1795) often trace these concepts etymologically to the Greek words *kosmos* (world) and *polites* (citizen), linking them, therefore, to the expression “citizen of the world” (Cheah 1998, 22, Robbins and Lemos Horta 2017, 2). This phrase has been associated with a transcendence of any ties to a locality. Thus, as anthropologist Forte mentioned, cosmopolitanism and indigeneity appeared to hold up as opposite extremes in the spectrum of the global and the local since indigeneity has historically been understood as locked to local relationships and sites (2010, 35 note 5).
Stengers refers to this body of literature as “contemporary Kantians” (2005, 192). Some authors are (Beck 2006, 45-46, Brennan 2003, 48, Cheah 1998, 22-28, Cheah 2006, 22-23, Gilbert and Lo 2009, 5, Hall 2008, 349, Hanafin 2013, 40, Kahn 2008, 269-270, Nyers 2003, 1088, Robbins 1998, 2, Urbinati 2003, 67, 76, Werbner 2012, 153, Wright 2013, 49).
- 79- If, since the 19th century, the belief that cosmopolitans were rootless had fuelled academic and common-sense views, as Malcomson observed (1998, 233), contemporary anthropological theories have sought to understand how cosmopolitans have negotiated specific and transcendent loyalties (Werbner 2012, 153). In this perspective, post-1990 theories on cosmopolitanisms reversed the 19th-century logic: is it possible for cosmopolitans to not be “rooted [...] in patriotic and culturally committed loyalties and understandings” (Werbner 2012, 154, Appiah 1998, 91)?
- 80- To Werbner, Clifford’s “discrepant cosmopolitanism” (which is central to Robbins and Cheah 1998) was the first to unbind such an assumption (2012, 156). Anthropologist Forte also highlighted the relevance of Clifford’s concept for the recognition of “marginal” cosmopolitans (2010, 6). Other conceptualizations of cosmopolitanisms dismissing this postulate include subaltern and vernacular forms of cosmopolitanism (Gledhill 2010; Werbner 2008). These considerations (and the ones explored in the previous note) bridged the supposed irreconcilable gap cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitics had vis-à-vis indigeneity. Thus, many anthropologists began to explore their kaleidoscopic meanings to reflect on contemporary experiences of indigeneity. For Werbner, “there are many and varied Indigenous forms of cosmopolitanisms” (2012, 154). Similarly, Strathern and Stewart focused their work on “Indigenous cosmopolitanisms” (2010, 23), while Hirsch (2008) and

Hodgson (2008) presented groups embracing Indigenous and cosmopolitan values. For Hodgson, Indigenous rights stem from “cosmopolitan values” (2008, 215), but the engagement with the rhetoric of Indigenous rights establishes a type of “cosmopolitics” (2008, 215). Finally, Forte’s edited collection “Indigenous cosmopolitans” (2010) included anthropological works that reflected on how Indigenous persons have taken part in cosmopolitanisms (DeLugan 2010b, 157, Proulx 2010, 40, 48, Scarangella 2010, 177, Schryer 2010, 97 and Tomiak and Patrick 2010, 129).

While most works associating indigeneity and cosmopolitics within the “Kantian interpretation” (notes 78-80) spring from Cheah and Robbins (1998), they do not hold the same definitions of cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitics. For Ribeiro, *cosmopolitanism* is based on “tolerance, understanding, inclusion and conviviality” and “presupposes a positive attitude towards difference, a desire to construct broad allegiances” (2007, 14). His interpretation is akin to Werbner’s and Hirsch’s understanding of the term as an ethical attitude driven by openness, respect, tolerance, empathy, conviviality and inclusivity (Ribeiro 2007, 14; Werbner 2008, 2, 2012, 153, Hirsch 2008, 197). In turn, Hodgson adopts a second interpretation of cosmopolitanism, perceiving the concept as a “moral and political outlook” grounded on values linked to democracy and human rights (Cheah 2006, 5, Held 2008, 159). Indeed, for her, “cosmopolitan values” include “shared rights and responsibilities as citizens” grounded on Human Rights legislation (2008, 215). This perspective, more infused with political meaning than the first, relies on the claim that “human beings are, in a fundamental sense, equal, and that they deserve equal political treatment; that is, treatment based upon the equal care and consideration of their agency, respective of the community in which they were born or brought up” (Held 2013, 29).

- 81- The Brazilian philosopher Silvio de Almeida stated in an interview: “The discourse is a practice. [...] We can only fight racism - this is fundamental - denaturalizing racism, and for that, we have to transform the discourse into practice. Because all discourse is a practice.”

Original in Portuguese: “O discurso é uma prática. [...] A gente só consegue combater o racismo -isso é fundamental- desnaturalizando o racismo e pra isso a gente tem que transformar o discurso em prática. Porque todo o discurso é pratica.”

The interview is available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L15AkiNm0Iw>

- 82- Original in French:

«Je n'étais pas dépaycée, leur terre existait déjà quelque part en moi. J'étais profondément en paix. Au cœur de chacun l'âme de la forêt. Un pays de l'esprit, vibrant et vivant. Une terre de géants coulait dans nos veines. Anishnabek, à chaque moment, vous étiez là, en moi. Dans ma fierté d'être Anishnabekwe. J'ai rencontré cet ailleurs qui nous ressemble tellement et j'ai envie de rallumer la flamme, notre flamme Anishnabe. »

- 83- Original in Spanish:

Cada pueblo tiene diferencias, cada pueblo tiene su aporte, cada pueblo tiene su forma de ver su relación consigo mismos y con la Madre Naturaleza y esto creo que por ahí sea un sinónimo más o menos entre todos, no? Que por encima de todos está primero la relación con la Madre Tierra, la Madre Naturaleza, y después vienen las relaciones humanas, no? Y creo que es muy importante, hay una dimensión de las relaciones con la naturaleza, que finalmente, la Madre Tierra, por tanto, dependemos de que somos parte de ella y después recién vienen las relaciones con los seres humanos. Creo que esto sucede casi en grande parte de los pueblos.

- 84- Published works cited:

Alfred, Taiaiake (Gerald). 1999. *Peace, power, righteousness: An Indigenous manifesto*. Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press.

Arquette, Mary, Maxine Cole, and The Akwesasne Task Force on the Environment. 2004. “Restoring our relationships for the future”. In *the Way of Development: Indigenous Peoples, Life Projects, and Globalization*, edited by Mario Blaser, Harvey A. Feit and Glenn McRae, 332-350. London and New York: Zed Books.

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- Deloria, Vine Jr. 1999. "Kinship with the Natural World". In *Spirit and reason: The Vine Deloria, Jr. reader*, edited by Barbara Deloria, Kristen Foehner, and Samuel Scinta, 223-229. Golden, Co: Fulcrum.
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- Universidad Intercultural Amawtay Wasi. 2004. *Aprender en la Sabiduría y el Buen Vivir*. Quito: UNESCO
- Waters, Anne, ed. 2004. *American Indian Thought*. Oxford: Blackwell
- 85- While the official conference website (<http://www.mundosingmuros.gob.bo/en>) has been deactivated, archived links can be retrieved at:
- <https://web.archive.org/web/20190504215556/http://www.mundosingmuros.gob.bo/en>
- <https://web.archive.org/web/20190504221710/http://www.mundosingmuros.gob.bo/es/node/48>
- Some photos and video capsules can be accessed at the event's Facebook page: <https://www.facebook.com/MundoSinMuros/>
- 86- Original in Spanish:
- Vengan en todo el mundo, en todos los continentes, al multiverso, al universo entero. Para la Pachamama no hay fronteras, no hay muros, así como el sol ilumina para todos [...]Que sea beneficiosa esa conferencia [...] que muestre al mundo todos los nuestros corazones, nuestros pensamientos y, sobre todo, la voz de la Madre Tierra.
- 87- In this respect, Robbins sees cosmopolitics forces "not as universal reason in disguise, but as one on a series of scales, as an area both within and beyond the nation (and yet falling short of "humanity")" (1998, 12).
- 88- During my time in Mato Grosso do Sul, I paid special attention to audiovisual works posted and circulated on Facebook and YouTube by local Indigenous filmmakers and their effects on the local Indigenous youth. I also followed videos posted by farmers and political authorities regarding subjects and events related to the local Indigenous groups, as I discuss in chapter 3. I also closely followed local media. This part of the research sought to glimpse dominant discourses on indigeneity in Brazil and how the perceptions and meanings elaborated by ASCURI have interacted with them.
- 89- Such circuits, Himpele specified, are set in motion when Indigenous filmmakers and other minority cultural producers establish alliances available "in their political present" to resist oppressive circumstances (2008, 203).
- 90- Interviews with structured questions but with room for other themes arising from the conversation.
- 91- Guyra Kamby'i, Panambizinho, Pirakuá, Nhanderu Marangatu and Te'yikue.
- 92- Buriti and Água Azul.
- 93- Free translation of the original in French: « N'hésitez-pas à partager l'information dans vos réseaux. »

Notes for Chapter 2

- 1- The Panambizinho Indigenous Land was homologated in 2004, as the speech of the then Republic President Luis Inacio Lula da Silva shows: <http://www.biblioteca.presidencia.gov.br/presidencia/ex-presidentes/luiz-inacio-lula-da-silva/discursos/1o-mandato/2004/27-10-2004-discurso-do-presidente-da-republica-luiz-inacio-lula-da-silva-na-cerimonia-de-assinatura-de-decretos-de-homologacao-de-terras-indigenas>
- 2- Original in Portuguese:
Quando Pai Kuará foi embora com sua mãe morar no Céu, deixou para o Povo do Mato, o Fogo. Mas a dádiva teve seu preço, cuidar dos Rios e Matas para que todos possam ter acesso a esse recurso. Hoje, Panambizinho possui quase nada de sua mata original, devido ao plantio de soja e milho pelos Colonos não-indígena, que roubaram as terras tradicionais em todo Mato grosso do Sul. Mas ainda sim o Povo do Mato cuida do que restou, e procura caminhos para recuperar a Mata Verdadeira.
- 3- *Jenipapo* is a fruit that serves as a base for producing a natural black dye used in Indigenous body paintings. It lasts up to two weeks in the skin. The fruit's interior is green (like an avocado), which is referenced later in the song featured in the video.
- 4- Original in Portuguese:
Extermínio sutil. Eu não quero morrer. Eu não quero servir. Eu quero sorrir, viver o que acredito. Vamos ascender o Brasil com o verde do Jenipapo, [...] com o branco da paz, o barro do tauá [...], vermelho do urucum que corre em nossas veias, é vida, é história em mim. [...] [Vamos] deixar de lado a ambição que mata e destrói a alma e envenena nossa nação.
- 5- The song featured in this video was composed by *Coisa de Indio*, a musical band constituted by seven Indigenous students (six men and a woman) from the State University of Feira de Santana, located in the Bahia estate. They are part of three different Indigenous peoples: Pankararu, Tuxá and Pankararé. For more information, see the group's Facebook page at: <https://www.facebook.com/fanpagecoisadeindio/>
During the *Cine Sin Fronteras Workshop* (which I discuss in this chapter), a group of participants created a short video as a videoclip for this song.
- 6- The film was co-directed by Inuit filmmaker Zacharias Kunuk and nonIndigenous filmmaker Ian Mauro, a Ph.D. in environmental science and a pos-doc on Inuit knowledge and climate change. He is an associate professor at the Geography department at the University of Winnipeg. However, all the filming crew is Inuit, and most of the interviews were in Inuktitut, as elders do not speak English.
- 7- For information, see for instance: <https://copehcanblog.wordpress.com/2010/10/22/imaginative-interactive-event-inuit-knowledge-and-climate-change/>
- 8- A streaming of the Q&A section is available at the ImagineNATIVE live webcast on Isuma TV: <http://www.isuma.tv/inuit-knowledge-and-climate-change/imaginative-live>
- 9- This information is available at: <http://www.isuma.tv/inuit-knowledge-and-climate-change>
Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20210115214221/http://www.isuma.tv/inuit-knowledge-and-climate-change>
- 10- Launched in 2008, Isuma TV is the world's first website for Indigenous audiovisual art. The platform emerged from the work of four Inuit audiovisual artists, whose 1985 film "broke the race-barrier at Canada Council for the Arts" (Isuma TV 2020).
For more information about its history, please see: <http://www.isuma.tv/isuma>
For more information about its international audiovisual library, see: <http://www.isuma.tv/isumatvworld>
- 11- The film is available at: <http://www.isuma.tv/inuit-knowledge-and-climate-change/movie>

12- The film can be accessed at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pEwERvYKndI&t=305s>

13- Original in Portuguese:

Esses dias que o branco trouxe fósforo, mostrou pra gente, mas antigamente foi Ke'yrusu que mostrou o fogo, "Ke'yrusu Pa 'i Kuará". [...] O fogo era da pedra. Batiam duas pedras junto com o puky. Depois que acendia, colocavam algodão [...]. Aí ficamos perto do fogo. Assim viviam os antigos Kaiowá de verdade! Os Brancos acabaram com a lenha. [...] Os Brancos acabaram com o mato. Eles acabaram com tudo, acabaram com as árvores antigas como o Kambari'y e Tembeta'y.

14- The first videoclip of this song is available at the *A Tribe Called Red's* YouTube channel: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lpkUISUx3Lo>

For an interview to CBC music, where *A Tribe Called Red* explains how they composed the song in Ottawa, see: <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/a-tribe-called-red>

15- *A Tribe Called Red* is currently composed of two Indigenous Djs: Tim "2oolman" Hill (who is a Mohawk of the Six Nations of the Grand River) and Ehren "Bear Witness" Thomas (of the Cayuga First Nation). In their YouTube channel, they state that they seek to be "a modern gateway to urban and contemporary Indigenous culture and experience, celebrating all its layers and complexity" and foster "a positive role model and a positive self-identity" while promoting "inclusion, empathy and acceptance among all races and genders in the name of social justice."

For more information about the group, see:

<https://www.youtube.com/user/aTribeCalledRed/about>

<https://www.pri.org/stories/2016-08-12/trio-first-nations-djs-are-reclaiming-way-Indigenous-culture-portrayed-culture>

16- Original in Spanish: *Oficina Cine Sin Fronteras*.

17- The video is available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FV1ddkhsxYc>

18- The video is available at Wapikoni's mobile streaming platform: <http://www.wapikoni.ca/films/the-city-la-ville#lid=828f2693-0c4d-402a-bfc9-19ccf0bcdc06&videotype=vimeo>

19- Original in Portuguese: "Uma linguagem diferenciada."

20- Original in Portuguese: "Uma forma que não é americanizada, [...] que não tenha sempre essa necessidade de um final feliz. Mas a realidade não é isso, na realidade o final sempre não é, nem tudo é feliz. Um roteiro previsível também, um roteiro de filme previsível que já sabe onde vai chegar. Então os canadenses mostraram isso, o diferente".

21- Deleuze divides the "Movement-image" into three cumulative aspects. The first is the perception-image, an "avatar" that discerns the shot from "undifferentiated perception". It excludes other objects and angles "by the subtraction created through framing" (MacDougall 1999, 81). Deleuze compares this first aspect to the linguistic equivalence of a noun. (MacDougall 1999, 82). The second aspect is the action image. It is equivalent to a verb, informing the object's destination: if the "perception-image" frames a piece of fruit, the action-image provides a context, for example, food about to be eaten. The third aspect is the affection-image. It "is the expression of continuous but suspended feeling toward" the first two aspects, "the quality of experience attached to the unconsummated movement from the object's definition to its destination" (MacDougall 1999, 82). In this perspective, it corresponds to the linguistic role of the adjective (MacDougall 1999, 82).

22- The film is available at the *Nicobis Archivo Audiovisual Bolivia* YouTube channel:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lfT8Mzz8aE8>

23- Original in Spanish:

Hay una gente que también llevan a las familias, nos utilizan, nos hacen trabajar gratis, y también más que todo, nos venden como animales, o como también, como frutas especialmente, no? Como naranjas.

[Hacendado]: Nosotros hemos pagado la deuda esa y él se ha venido a trabajar aquí.

[Hombre Guaraní]: Si lo debo. Tenía me cuentita [...] y de eso, ellos han venido y él se comprometió a pagar toda mi cuenta.

[Hacendado]: Como el primer año no tenía este nada, no tenía de que producir, así que en vez de se amortiguar esa deuda se ha agrandado un poco.

24- Original in Portuguese: “Eliel também se encontrou nesse filme, muito mais que eu, devido a ouvir pela primeira vez um filme na sua língua.”

25- Original in Portuguese: “Foi marcante demais, pois se tratava da mesma problemática que temos no Brasil, aproximando muito os nossos espíritos.”

26- Its effect is akin to Benjamin’s argument about the mimetic faculties of language that “draws close enough to its object to make the sign ignite” or Merleau-Ponty’s description of the “embodied meaning in language”, where words “energetically open upon being” (Marks 2000, 141).

27- Eliel translates *ñande reko* as “our way of being” (in Portuguese: *nosso jeito de ser*) (Benites 2014, 121). Gudynas, in his turn, addressing how the term is seen among the Guaraní in Bolivia translates it as “harmonious life” (in Spanish: *vida armoniosa*) (Gudynas 2011, 3).

28- Original in Portuguese: “bem-viver (ñandereko)” (Benites et al. 2016, 3).

29- Original in Spanish:

Decimos que nosotros somos parte de la naturaleza. No es verdad, no somos parte: somos la naturaleza. Eso es la diferencia fundamental: somos hormigas y somos estrellas, somos río, somos aire, somos un átomo del universo, cada uno de nosotros. [...] Somos lo mismo. La armonía con la naturaleza es el número uno.

30- Original in Spanish: “Muchos de los presentes estuvimos hoy a las 6 de la mañana, con el fuego, el agua y con la presencia humana a recibir al hermano sol.”

31- Original in Spanish: “La segunda [cosa] es la armonía con los otros seres humanos, el rescate de la comunidad.”

32- Original in Spanish:

Y como dice este grande hermano Pepe Mujica, [...] no podemos hablar de buen vivir hasta que nosotros sepamos que la mujer negra africana que camina tres, cuatro horas, cada día para conseguir agua para su casa es nuestra hermana, es nuestra hija, es nuestra madre. Somos seres universales.

33- Original in Spanish: “La unidad de la vida es una sola. Yo siempre digo q yo soy un boliviano que nació en Quito, y soy un mexicano q nació en Quito, y soy un colombiano, soy africano y soy europeo nacido en Quito.”

34- Original in Spanish:

Somos, como dice Edgard Morin, el gran filósofo francés, en su libro *Tierra Patria*: “nuestra patria es la tierra”. ... La patria chica es el lugar donde nacimos donde están los abuelos, donde están

nuestros muertos, donde está el aroma del alimento que nosotros tenemos, donde están nuestros cantos y nuestra pequeña identidad, y la otra es la universal.

- 35- Original in Spanish: “Tenemos que ser seres nacionales, pero seres universales al mismo tiempo.”
- 36- Original in Spanish: “El hombre tiene que ser como un árbol, con sus raíces profundas en el lugar donde nació, pero con las ramas universales para beber de todas las culturas del mundo”.
- 37- Original in Spanish: “Somos migrantes de nosotros mismos [...] porque nos hemos alejado de la naturaleza, porque nos hemos alejado de los otros seres humanos”.
- 38- Original in Spanish: “porque si hay una tragedia, es difícil estar feliz, si hay la pobreza es difícil estar feliz, pero podemos estar en paz y eso es la esencia, en paz podemos estar en cualquier circunstancia.”
- 39- Original in Spanish: “la fantasía de regresar a un antiguo (y supuesto) estado de plenitud, cuyo aspecto más importante no es el contenido, su caracterización, sino el goce que se experimenta al vivir tal fantasía”.
- 40- Escobar, Arturo. 1992. ‘Imagining a Post-Development Era? Critical Thought, Development and Social Movements’, *SocialText* 31/32: 20-56.
- 41- See, for instance: Naess, Arne (1989) *Ecology, Community and Lifestyle*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 42- The workshop was part of the “Mosarambihara program of formation of agroforestry/environmental agents”, focused on preserving local biodiversity and ensuring the well-being of local Indigenous communities. I discuss the structure of the program, its background, the different activities in four Guarani-Kaiowá communities, and the different Indigenous and nonIndigenous social actors involved later.
- 43- Three students were from *Te'yikue*, one from *Sassoró* and two from *Jaguapiré*.
- 44- Original in Portuguese:
No Mato Grosso do Sul, eu mapeei 200 espécies dessas abelhas, além das sem ferrão, outras abelhas nativas que são solitárias também. São abelhas importantíssimas. Inclusive, na relação da cadeia alimentar do homem, é extremamente importante que tenha essas abelhas também pra ter alimentos. Não adianta nada ele plantar e não ter polinizador. E o grande problema que o Brasil tem enfrentado é a perda desses polinizadores, a gente tem iniciativa de planos de conservação da ordem de milhões de dólares tentando conservar isso daí. E justamente no Brasil, as áreas indígenas são as áreas mais conservadas, então provavelmente deve ser as áreas que têm o maior número de espécies ainda, pelo menos é o que a gente vê em termos de mapa.
- 45- Original in Portuguese: “temas relacionados às suas próprias visões do que é terra, cultura, tradição, língua, cotidiano indígena, plantas medicinais, mata e agricultura.”
This excerpt is part of ASCURI’s book (in Portuguese) about the experience available at:
https://issuu.com/ascuribrasil/docs/publicac_a_o_mosarambiha_ra_fin
- 46- ASCURI’s film *Mosarambihara -sowers of the well living* (2016) is available at:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bkEySEmBbwU>
- 47- Original in Portuguese:
O Mosarambihara, ele tem como objetivo, a formação de jovens indígenas em uma nova liderança jovem indígena para poder atuar na sua realidade, contribuindo na sustentabilidade, na organização familiar, social da sua comunidade de uma forma atuante, pra poder construir uma proposta

diferenciada para uma aldeia melhorar. E essa proposta diferenciada, ela baseia bastante na questão da recuperação ambiental, a relação do próprio indígena com a natureza, a organização social.

48- Original in Portuguese:

O tema até de sustentabilidade é bastante diferente, é estranho para nós. Hoje nós estamos mais familiarizados. A agroecologia, o conceito de agroecologia, a agrofloresta, produção orgânica, na verdade são nomes estranhos que hoje são bastante usados, mas são elementos que já praticávamos há milhares de anos, há milênios. Então temos uma experiência profunda [...] Então, hoje retomar a nossa cultura é também a própria sustentabilidade de produção, de viver e não de produzir apenas, mas também viver ela. Então, a sustentabilidade é uma vida, é um ritmo de uma vida.

49- Original in Portuguese:

Então não tem essa postura de dominar a natureza como os não-indígenas têm, essa postura que a natureza é um recurso natural. E para nós não é: é nossa casa, é nosso lugar, é nossa vida. Não é um recurso para ser gasto. Não é um recurso pra ser consumido, porque a natureza ele tem outro tempo, o ritmo da natureza é lento. Então o ser humano, ele tem outro tempo. um tempo acelerado, um tempo capitalista, um tempo de resultado de meses né, de anos, e a natureza leva décadas.

50- Original in Portuguese: “a busca constante da perfeição da natureza. Em outras palavras a gente pode dizer que ele é a busca do equilíbrio.”

51- Original in Portuguese: “Então a o sujeito indígena ele faz parte da rede da ecologia local. Ou seja, a vivência a vida, a atitude do Guarani-Kaiowá é o fortalecimento da rede da natureza, desse equilíbrio.”

52- Original in Portuguese: “Se adaptar a ela, é o início de um processo de sustentabilidade e de recuperação efetivamente.”

53- Original in Portuguese: “temos que mudar a atitude, a cultura, a nossa forma de ser em relação à natureza.”

54- Original in Portuguese: “sustentabilidade é uma vida, é um ritmo de uma vida.”

55- Original in Portuguese:

O conhecimento não vem apenas do papel: ele vem da sensibilidade de olhar tudo a sua volta, ver as coisas além do óbvio, além das coisas mais rotineiras. Por exemplo, o que é o vento? o jeito do vento conta muita coisa. Tem vento que traz a chuva. Ou talvez o dia fique bom e com o vento vindo, o cara que sabe, sabe que vai chover, sem ter uma nuvem no céu. Então essa é uma sensibilidade Guarani Kaiowá, isso é experiência. O vento conta muita coisa. O canto dos pássaros contam muita coisa. E hoje nós não percebemos mais isso.

56- Original in Portuguese:

-Eu tenho uma pergunta pra vocês: quem são vocês? [Para o grupo]: quem são vocês? [Para uma pessoa na sala de aula]: Quem é você?

- Guarani

- De onde es?

-Do Tekohá Amambai

-Você é Terena?

-Guarani

-Mas por que guarani?

-Porque eu nasci assim, a minha essência é assim, o meu ser é assim. [Alguém bate palmas na sala]

- [...] Vocês estão sentados porque tem aula, porque tem a obrigação de sentar ou porque vocês sentem que têm que estar aqui? [...]

-O senhor é guarani também?

-Eu soy quéchua...

-Quechua?

-Quechua, o meu povo é da Bolívia...

57- Original in Portuguese: “pra ilustrar que vocês estão firmes na identidade, acusando que aquele ali é Kaiowá.”

58- Original in Portuguese: “você também ganha o carimbo de que ‘eu sou Mosarambihara porque eu preciso passar isso pra outras pessoas, semear o que eu aprendi pra outras pessoas’. Esse é o pensamento Mosarambihara.”

59- The film *Pirakuá, the Guardians of the Ápa River* (2014) is available on ASCURI’s YouTube channel: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fimYQplpyHY>

60- Original in Portuguese: “Para tomar banho no rio tem que fazer o *Jehovasa*, respeitar o rio, porque esta vida é sagrada.”

61- Original in Portuguese: “*Yryvera* é o dono das águas. Se vocês judiarem ou jogarem sujeira nas águas, vocês ficarão doentes!”

62- Original in Portuguese:

Salto ka’i, como era chamado aqui antigamente, porque existia aqui o *Ka’i u’y*, que era um macaco selvagem que matava as pessoas. Essa é a casa dele, por isso se chama *Salto ka’i* (o pulo do macaco). [...] Aqui é a casa de pedra, onde os *bugius* dançavam, [...]. Existiam onças que moravam nas cavernas. Existiam os grandes morcegos, os grandes gafanhotos.

63- Original in Portuguese:

Eu quero contar a história sobre o que significa Pirakuá. O nome Pirakuá significa onde os peixes desovam. Ali os peixes nascem e por isso nunca acabam, porque os peixes têm as suas tocas, por isso se chama Pirakuá. Aqui, eles desovam.

64- Original in Portuguese:

O meu pai era o meu professor. Enquanto viver, quero transmitir o que aprendi para as gerações seguintes, para que estes conhecimentos não acabem. Eu e meu irmão Lídio mantemos esse conhecimento para que não acabe.

65- Original in Portuguese: “O Marçal passou a ser o porta-voz da comunidade indígena brasileira”.

See Naldo Rocha’s documentary (in Portuguese) “Marçal de Souza -Little God, a Great Ideal, a Forgotten History (part 2 of 3)” at minute 2:42. The three parts of the documentary are available on Marcos de Oliveira Bonilha’s YouTube channel. He is the photography director and producer of the film:
Part 1: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Nf9SVXpAeiA>
Part 2: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XoT8LLjMQBY>
Part 3: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RvpfNqcAckI>

66- Original in Portuguese: Tekohá- Ritual de Vida e Morte do Deus Pequeno. A previous version of the street theatre performance in Campo Grande is available at the *Imaginário Maracangalha’s* YouTube channel: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zd86yq4gLWk>

67- *Imaginário Maracangalha* is a street theatre company created in Campo Grande, Mato Grosso do Sul in 2006. The members are not Indigenous, but the group has several performances with Indigenous themes. For more information, please see (in Portuguese): <http://imaginariomaracangalha.blogspot.com/p/sobre-o-grupo.html>

68- Original in Portuguese: “A história do grande líder Guarani Marçal de Souza.”

69- Tupã-I means “small god” and had the purpose to separate him to receive the initiation of caciques to be a leader of his people (Prezia 2006, Rocha 2008).

70- Original in Portuguese:

-Os índios até que recebiam pelo seu trabalho, é claro que com alguns descontos. [...]
-É justo ter que trabalhar como escravos nas terras das quais eram donos?

71- Original in Portuguese:

Descobri que tínhamos uma riqueza muito grande, uma riqueza muito preciosa, que era nossa cultura, a nossa crença, a nossa organização social. Desde então, nasceu um amor muito profundo pelo meu povo índio. Desde então decidi pra minha vida, viver toda a vida, viver entre meus irmãos, para que assim eu possa sentir o seu sofrimento, a sua vida, o seu viver. E decidi trabalhar em meu coração, pelo menos pelo resgate da nossa cultura, da nossa crença, da nossa organização social que só nós entendemos.

72- Original in Portuguese:

Chegou a hora de levantarmos a voz pela sobrevivência de nosso povo que antigamente era um povo tranquilo, um povo feliz. Somos um povo que já teve pátria e hoje, nós não temos mais pátria. Nossas leis são feitas por pessoas lá de cima que dizem que nós temos direitos. Mas nós temos direitos, só que eles estão no papel. Onde está a realidade? Eu tenho uma cicatriz na minha vida, no meu coração, que nem o tempo, nem os séculos, vão conseguir apagar. [...] Chegou a hora em que nós sozinhos não conseguiremos fazer nada. Precisamos nos unir, braço a braço e levantar bem alto a voz dos nossos antepassados que foram friamente massacrados. Chegou o momento em que nós, os índios, devemos assumir as rédeas do governo indígena e talvez seja essa a nossa última oportunidade. E nós estamos no caminho certo.

This speech is also available in Prado & Urquiza 2017, 135.

73- The news reports (in Portuguese) are available at:

Brasil de Fato:

<https://www.brasildefato.com.br/2019/02/28/novo-assessor-do-ministerio-da-agricultura-comandou-operacao-que-matou-indigena-no-ms>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20210314171624/https://www.brasildefato.com.br/2019/02/28/novo-assessor-do-ministerio-da-agricultura-comandou-operacao-que-matou-indigena-no-ms/>

Grupo Globo-Ms (G1):

<http://g1.globo.com/mato-grosso-do-sul/noticia/2016/10/mpf-conclui-que-disparo-da-pf-matou-indio-em-desocupacao-em-ms.html>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20161020210840/http://g1.globo.com/mato-grosso-do-sul/noticia/2016/10/mpf-conclui-que-disparo-da-pf-matou-indio-em-desocupacao-em-ms.html>

74- See CIMI’s 2016 Report Violence against Indigenous Peoples in Brazil -Data for 2015 (in English):

https://cimi.org.br/pub/relatorio/Report-Violence-against-the-Indigenous-Peoples-in-Brazil_2015-Cimi.pdf

Archived link:

https://web.archive.org/web/20180116142413/https://www.cimi.org.br/pub/relatorio/Report-Violence-against-the-Indigenous-Peoples-in-Brazil_2015-Cimi.pdf

See EFE News Agency's report:

<https://noticias.uol.com.br/ultimas-noticias/efe/2015/08/30/igreja-denuncia-morte-de-indigena-no-mato-grosso-do-sul.htm>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20210323231635/https://noticias.uol.com.br/ultimas-noticias/efe/2015/08/30/igreja-denuncia-morte-de-indigena-no-mato-grosso-do-sul.htm>

See the special report of The Socioenvironmental Institute (ISA): <https://www.socioambiental.org/pt-br/noticias-socioambientais/lideranca-indigena-e-morta-a-tiros-na-ti-nande-ru-marangatu>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20150904001816/http://www.socioambiental.org/pt-br/noticias-socioambientais/lideranca-indigena-e-morta-a-tiros-na-ti-nande-ru-marangatu>

75- Original in Portuguese:

Não é aceitável que o Estado Democrático de Direito conviva com grupos paramilitares atuando livremente para perseguição de cidadãos brasileiros como se estivéssemos no período colonial e se pudesse declarar guerra aos indígenas, não só os primeiros habitantes desse continente, mas parte integrante da atual nação brasileira.

The complete public note is available at the National Indigenous Mobilization (Mobilização Nacional Indígena)'s website (in Portuguese):

<https://mobilizaconacionalindigena.wordpress.com/2015/09/03/organizacoes-exigem-investigacao-da-participacao-de-parlamentares-em-reuniao-que-resultou-na-morte-de-lideranca-indigena-guarani-e-kaiowa/>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20210323234915/https://mobilizaconacionalindigena.wordpress.com/2015/09/03/organizacoes-exigem-investigacao-da-participacao-de-parlamentares-em-reuniao-que-resultou-na-morte-de-lideranca-indigena-guarani-e-kaiowa/>

76- Please see, for instance, the following:

Biographies:

- 1) Tetila, José Laerte. 1994. *Marçal de Souza Tupa'i "Uma voz que não se cala" [Marçal de Souza Tupa'i: "A voice that does not shut up."]* Campo Grande: UFMS;
- 2) Prezia, Benedito. 2006. *Marçal Guarani: a voz que não pode ser esquecida. [Marçal Guarani, the voice that cannot be forgotten].* São Paulo: Expressão Popular;
- 3) Pinheiro, Evandro Santos. 2008. "*Marçal de Souza*" *O Banguela dos Lábios de Mel. [“Marçal de Souza The Toothless of honey lips”].* Dourados-MS, 2008.

Documentaries/Interviews/ Audiovisual Tributes:

- 1) Barbosa, Nilson. 1985, dir. *Marçal de Souza – O Guarani.* Rio de Janeiro: Mapa Filmes. Documentary. https://www.imdb.com/title/tt10761258/?ref_=tmi_tt
- 2) Rocha, Naldo. 2008. "Marçal de Souza -pequeno deus, um grande ideal, uma história esquecida [Marçal de Souza -little god, a great ideal, a forgotten history]". *Marcos de Oliveira Bonilha YouTube channel.* Last Modified November 2008:

Part 1: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Nf9SVXpAeiA>
Part 2: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XoT8LLjMQBY>
Part 3: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RvpfNqcAckI>

3) Lopes, Onildo and Israel Santos, dir. 2015. “Marçal Tupã’i: uma voz que nunca será esquecida [Marçal Tupã’i: a voice that will not be forgotten].” *Onildo Lopes dos Santos’s YouTube channel*. Last modified January 2015. Video.

Part 1: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5-Sv1AZLjs4&t=2s>
Part 2: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W13ppZHgek4>

77- Original in Portuguese:

Santo Padre, eu sou representante da grande tribo Guarani e porque não dizer, Santo Padre, de todas as nações indígenas que habitam esse país; esse país que é tão grande para poucos e tão pequeno para nós. Nossas terras são tomadas, nossos territórios são invadidos, nossos líderes são friamente assassinados por aqueles que tomam o nosso chão, aquilo que para nós significa a nossa própria vida, a nossa sobrevivência nesse Brasil, chamado um país cristão. Santo Padre, leve o nosso clamor, a nossa voz para outros territórios porque o nosso povo, a nossa nação indígena está desaparecendo do Brasil. Dizem que o Brasil foi descoberto, o Brasil não foi descoberto não, Santo Padre. O Brasil foi invadido e tomado dos povos indígenas. Essa é a verdadeira história. Eu deixo aqui, o apelo de 200 000 indígenas que habitam e lutam pela sua sobrevivência nesse país. Dizem que o senhor é o representante de Cristo aqui na terra, mas se hoje Cristo descesse aqui na terra, ele teria duras críticas a dizer aos seus representantes. E o senhor, Santo padre, o que dirá? O que dirá santo padre?

The original speech is available in Prado and Urquiza (2017, 91).

78- Original in Portuguese: “Eu sou uma pessoa marcada para morrer. Mas por uma causa justa a gente morre”. This frase was also mentioned by Prado and Urquiza (2017, 139).

79- These are references to recurrent expressions used to refer to Marçal de Souza. The toothless of honey lips is also a reference to one of the most famous Brazilian books portraying Indigenous characters: Iracema, the virgin of honey lips (Alencar [1865] 2000). The story is a foundational myth of the Ceará state. Iracema, which is an anagram for America (Ricúpero 2004, 166), is an Indigenous girl who seduces a Portuguese man, gives birth to the first person born in Ceará and dies. This book is commonly assigned to students.

80- Original in Portuguese: “Os policiais não conseguiram chegar à cena do crime, alegando falta de combustível”. “O primeiro julgamento aconteceu dez anos após o crime e o réu foi absolvido por falta de provas”. “A impunidade é mais dolorosa do que a morte.”

81- Original in Portuguese:

Quando ele tombou, ele já tinha plantado várias sementes. E essa semente novamente cresceu. Na cabeça dos fazendeiros, eles falaram assim: ‘vamos tomar Marçal de Souza e acabar o problema’ [...] Aí que nasceu a semente mesmo [...] O Marçal de Souza é que nem esse pé de Cedro [...] começou a esparramar tudo, a jogar várias sementes. O Marçal de Souza foi, desse jeito, uma árvore importante.

82- Original in Portuguese: “A liderança quando é ameaçada, tudo é ameaçado, porque é uma rede uma rede de lideranças. A liderança é que nem uma rede de energia elétrica [...] Todas as lideranças ficaram muito chocadas, muito tristes, quando tombaram o Marçal de Souza. Quando tombaram ele, eu tava lá em Dourados, pra mim foi muita tristeza esse dia.”

83- Original in Portuguese: “você citou Simeão Vilhealva um jovem de 22 anos que morreu pelos meus direitos.”

84- Original in Portuguese: “nós dos povos indígenas, nós somos seres humanos e nós temos que mostrar que nós somos seres humanos”.

85- Original in Portuguese: “o Marçal, a palavra dele tá viva, enquanto o corpo tá na terra, a palavra dele tá semeando.”

86- Original in Portuguese:

As novas gerações talvez já não conheçam mais essa realidade de toda essa trajetória e você vai complementando, vai comunicando com uma linguagem de teatro, toda uma história que existe, toda essa injustiça também que você no final colocou, ainda hoje acontece: assassinatos de crianças, de professores, de mulheres e muito mais que acontece e que não é muitas vezes colocado no jornal. Todo dia acontece injustiça, todo momento [...] A injustiça é muito mais e muito mais profunda, todos os dias, a todo momento, com crianças, com mulheres, com lideranças, com jovens, com os homens Guarani Kaiowá, com o rezador. Marçal é um exemplo para todos, e ao mesmo tempo, também uma inspiração pra gente resistir. Então a única opção para os Guarani Kaiowá é a resistência, então, não tem como você deixar esta caminhada, é o único caminho.

87- Original in Portuguese: “Hoje, o conhecimento tradicional, o valor cultural, a espiritualidade é uma arma.”

88- Fernando is an afro-descendent.

89- Original in Portuguese: “Pode contar conosco mais vezes, tá? Nós acreditamos que essa união é que pode transformar e ainda resgatar o mundo daquilo que está se perdendo. Aquilo que o dinheiro destruiu a nossa união pode ser a última saída, é aquilo que diz o Marçal, né, juntar mão a mão, braço a braço e lutar pelos nossos antepassados que morreram e para que as novas gerações continuem aí vivas e em condições bem melhores.”

90- Original in Portuguese: “Contaremos uma história que é de guarani. Uma história sagrada que tem o pássaro colibri, uma história que não foi contada nas páginas dos jornais: a história do grande líder guarani Marçal de Souza.”

91- Original in Portuguese: “essa troca de saberes, de experiencias, de boas práticas que dão certo, que mostram que outro mundo é possível, sem agrotóxicos, sem violar o meio ambiente, muito pelo contrário né, convivendo com o meio ambiente e extraíndo desse meio ambiente os alimentos.”

92- Original in Portuguese: “Mas o que nos anima é saber que vocês são essas sementes, que vocês que estão aqui estão dando o exemplo.”

93- Herbert de Souza was exiled in Canada during the military dictatorship in Brazil. He participated in the activities of the Centre for Research on Latin America and the Caribbean (CERLAC) at York University. In 1996, he received an honorary doctorate from York University for his valuable contribution as a social scientist and activist. This information is available at: <https://cerlac.info.yorku.ca/about-cerlac/history/>

94- Original in Portuguese:

Eu me lembrei de uma pessoa que eu gostava muito chamada Betinho e ele contava uma história de uma grande floresta -pro mundo *carai* [não-indígena], o leão é o rei da floresta, o rei dos animais, e pegou um grande incêndio nessa floresta e todos os animais fugiram. O leão que seria o rei foi o primeiro a fugir. Quando ele tava fugindo, veio no sentido contrário um beija flor com um pouquinho de água no bico e o leão perguntou pra ele, o que você pensa que está fazendo? E ele falou assim: eu estou fazendo a minha parte.

- 95- Original in Portuguese: “por menor que seja o nosso gesto, a gente quer provocar a mudança, depende principalmente da gente.”
- 96- Original in Portuguese: “Dá força pra seguir a nossa trajetória que não é uma trajetória fácil, uma trajetória de luta, de luta contra o grande capital, contra o grande latifúndio e isso foi muito bem representado a ferro e brasa, no caso, pelo grupo teatral Imaginário Maracangalha.”
- 97- Original in Portuguese: “Um povo onde o pensamento, crença, o sagrado [é] totalmente ignorado. História rica, trágica, traçada de lutas, conquistas e massacres, um verdadeiro genocídio. E o que estão fazendo com o que era nosso? Mãe Pindaé explorada... Transformam tudo o que Nhanderu criou em nome de um progresso.”

Notes for Chapter 3

- 1- Original in Portuguese:

Eu quero me dirigir ao pessoal do Mato Grosso do Sul, estado onde eu morei por três anos [...] Cinco produtores rurais aí do estado estão presos por defenderem as suas terras, por lutarem para garantirem a sua propriedade privada. Nós sabemos como tudo isso aí acontece, quem estimula os índios e o que se busca fazer através desse tipo de ação. A propriedade privada depois da emenda constitucional 81, ela relativizou-se. [...] Desde quando eu cheguei na câmara, em 1991, [...] lutei muito contra a demarcação de terras indígenas e em especial a ianomâmi: duas vezes o estado do rio de janeiro para aproximadamente 9000 índios. É um grande risco, né. Mais cedo ou mais tarde, essas grandes áreas serão novos países, afinal de contas, essas terras estão ali em locais riquíssimos [...]. Aos irmãos nossos de Mato Grosso do Sul, esses 5 fazendeiros que estão aí, o que eu puder fazer por vocês eu faço. Reconheço o trabalho de vocês pela propriedade privada e a forma como justamente vocês se defendem, bem como injustamente, parte do judiciário simplesmente ignora vocês que além de botar comida na nossa mesa, são proprietários, são os donos dessa terra que não pode ser invadida, não interessa por quem, se é índio, se é MST, seja lá quem for. [...] Fé em Deus, vamos trabalhar aqui todos unidos contra esta injustiça em cima de 5 produtores rurais do nosso Brasil.

- 2- Original in Portuguese:

[Bolsonaro]: Chegando em Campo Grande, Mato Grosso do Sul. Dois dias aqui conversando com a população. Dizer que o Brasil tem cura, dá pra gente buscar uma maneira de salvar o nosso Brasil. Eu sei que 2018 tá muito longe ainda, mas a gente vai aguentar, se Deus quiser, tá ok? O povo é maravilhoso, e temos tudo aqui que nenhum país do mundo tem. [...] É meu compromisso, agora de campanha, já que estamos no estado em que o agronegócio fala alto, pode ter certeza, a partir de 2019, o cartão de visita do produtor rural para o MST (Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais sem Terra) vai ser o cartucho de 762!

-Mito! Mito! Mito! Mito! Mito! Mito!

ALDEIA TEI'YKUE CAARAPÓ/MS. À 279 km de Campo Grande, fazendeiros da região formaram uma milícia armada e atacam as retomadas Kaiowá e Guarani de Tei'ykue encorajados 5 dias após a visita de Bolsonaro à capital. O resultado foi a morte do agente de saúde Clodiodi Aquileu Rodrigues de Souza, uma criança atingida na barriga com munição letal e vários professores feridos com bala de borracha.

Essa vai pros irmãos do Brasil! Um só, neguinho. Respeito. A guerra diária, tem que tá pronto pra ela.

- 3- Bolsonaro was then a congressman in the campaign to become president. See different instances of the reproduction of the video in local news websites:

Dourados News:

- News report: Bolsonaro faz vídeo contra a prisão de fazendeiros em MS: <https://www.douradosnews.com.br/videos/bolsonaro-faz-video-contr-a-prisao-de-fazendeiros-em-ms/1066940/>
- Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20200130120841/http://www.douradosnews.com.br/videos/bolsonaro-faz-video-contr-a-prisao-de-fazendeiros-em-ms/1066940>
- Youtube channel: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LwtcBD8rjh8>

JD1 Noticias:

- News report: Bolsonaro manifesta apoio aos fazendeiros presos por ataque a índios: <https://www.jd1noticias.com/geral/video-bolsonaro-manifesta-apoio-a-fazendeiros-presos-por-ataque-a/41446/>
- Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20210326212029/https://www.jd1noticias.com/geral/video-bolsonaro-manifesta-apoio-a-fazendeiros-presos-por-ataque-a/41446/>
- Youtube channel: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Bmm1Lozj5is>

Capital News:

- News report: Bolsonaro manifesta apoio a fazendeiros presos em MS: <https://www.capitalnews.com.br/nacional/bolsonaro-manifesta-apoio-a-fazendeiros-presos-em-ms/309653>
- Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20210326213154/https://www.capitalnews.com.br/nacional/bolsonaro-manifesta-apoio-a-fazendeiros-presos-em-ms/309653>
- Youtube channel: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rm5DJqoiQTo>
- Laguna Informa News report: Bolsonaro faz vídeo contra a prisão de fazendeiros envolvidos em conflito no MS: <http://lagunainforma.com/noticia/22646/bolsonaro-faz-video-contr-a-prisao-de-fazendeiros-envolvidos-em-conflito-no-ms>
- Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20210326214323/http://lagunainforma.com/noticia/22646/bolsonaro-faz-video-contr-a-prisao-de-fazendeiros-envolvidos-em-conflito-no-ms>

4- For more information, please see:

-FUNAI's website: <http://www.funai.gov.br/index.php/comunicacao/noticias/3769-presidente-da-funai-assina-relatorio-de-identificacao-da-terra-indigena-dourados-amambaipagua-i-ms>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20161221090711/http://www.funai.gov.br/index.php/comunicacao/noticias/3769-presidente-da-funai-assina-relatorio-de-identificacao-da-terra-indigena-dourados-amambaipagua-i-ms>

-MPF's report: <http://www.mpf.mp.br/ms/sala-de-imprensa/noticias-ms/em-nota-mpf-divulga-informacoes-preliminares-sobre-ataque-a-indigenas-em-caarapo>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20170220171106/http://www.mpf.mp.br/ms/sala-de-imprensa/noticias-ms/em-nota-mpf-divulga-informacoes-preliminares-sobre-ataque-a-indigenas-em-caarapo>

-CIMI's 2017 Report Violence Against Indigenous Peoples in Brazil -Data for 2016:

<https://cimi.org.br/observatorio-da-violencia/edicoes-anteriores/>

Archived link:

https://web.archive.org/web/20181226214347/https://cimi.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/Report-Violence-against-the-Indigenous-Peoples-in-Brazil_2016-Cimi.pdf

-El País news report: https://brasil.elpais.com/brasil/2016/06/16/politica/1466030530_754621.html

Archived link:

https://web.archive.org/web/20160621232847/http://brasil.elpais.com/brasil/2016/06/16/politica/1466030530_754621.html

5- Please see the Xapuri socioambiental report at: <https://www.xapuri.info/amazonia-agenda/indios-guarani-kaiowa-estao-em-vigilia-contr-despejos-da-pf-em-caarapo/>

Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20210327204106/https://www.xapuri.info/amazonia-agenda/indios-guarani-kaiowa-estao-em-vigilia-contr-despejos-da-pf-em-caarapo/>

6- Original in Portuguese: “Está previsto aproximadamente 600 índios. A finalidade é a invasão de todas as fazendas vizinhas da aldeia”.

See De olho nos ruralistas news report (in Portuguese) at: <https://deolhonosruralistas.com.br/deolhonoms/2019/06/16/ataque-a-indigenas-em-caarapo-ha-tres-anos-foi-articulado-por-whatsapp/>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20210121054536/https://deolhonosruralistas.com.br/deolhonoms/2019/06/16/ataque-a-indigenas-em-caarapo-ha-tres-anos-foi-articulado-por-whatsapp/>

7- Original in Portuguese: “Há uma cadeia produtiva internacional que se alimenta do sangue indígena.”

The Newsreport is available at: <https://deolhonosruralistas.com.br/deolhonoms/2019/03/18/marco-antonio-delfino-do-mpf-ha-uma-cadeia-produtiva-internacional-que-se-alimenta-do-sangue-indigena/>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20210121040836/https://deolhonosruralistas.com.br/deolhonoms/2019/03/18/marco-antonio-delfino-do-mpf-ha-uma-cadeia-produtiva-internacional-que-se-alimenta-do-sangue-indigena/>

8- ASCURI’s video is available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rXkRg9stDmk>

9- Original in Portuguese: “mostramos a versão da comunidade dos fatos, pois até então a mídia local afirmava veementemente que o indígena morto havia sido atropelado.”

10- Original in Portuguese: “Carlos Eduardo Macedo Marquez, o Kaká, se reuniu na manhã desta quinta-feira (16), com parte da imprensa local e de Dourados para comentar sobre o caso”.

Please, see the report in Portuguese at: <https://www.caaraponews.com.br/noticia/73762/produtores-rurais-so-querem-continuar-trabalhando-e-produzindo-diz-kaka-do-sindicato-rural>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20210327220740/https://www.caaraponews.com.br/noticia/73762/produtores-rurais-so-querem-continuar-trabalhando-e-produzindo-diz-kaka-do-sindicato-rural>

This report is also available at:

<https://www.agazetaneWS.com.br/noticia/regiao/110941/produtores-rurais-so-querem-continuar-trabalhando-e-produzindo-diz-kaka-do-sindicato-rural>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20210327215924/https://www.agazetaneWS.com.br/noticia/regiao/110941/produtores-rurais-so-querem-continuar-trabalhando-e-produzindo-diz-kaka-do-sindicato-rural>

11- Original in Portuguese:

Eu vejo a multidão de cego só crescendo
olho na terra
Querem as joias da coroa, forças, fronteiras se alteram
Geral quer ser rei, conspiram pro tempo que não espera

Impérios caem com novos reis, os tempos passam a ser de guerra
Rua sangra, tensão triplica,
Eu vi camisa com desenho do mundo escrito
Isso aqui é de quem se antecipa

For an MC Marechal's performance of Guerra, please see:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y3WzmCaYry8>

12- In this version, recommended and included in the National Rap Download YouTube channel in 2015, Mc Marechal mentions Chile and Michigan (minute 1'51''):

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4aoRY2NMpY>

13- Original in Portuguese: "E ao mesmo tempo que soltavam fogos, atiravam com armas de fogo."

14- For more information, please see:

-*Brasil de Fato's* news report: "Kaiowás sofrem mais um atentado em Caarapó (MS)":
<https://www.brasildfato.com.br/2016/07/12/kaiowas-sofrem-mais-um-atentado-em-caarapo-ms/>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20160714150915/https://www.brasildfato.com.br/2016/07/12/kaiowas-sofrem-mais-um-atentado-em-caarapo-ms/>

- *O Estado de São Paulo's* News report ""Ataque a índios em MS é denunciado durante evento na Noruega":
<https://politica.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,ataque-a-indios-no-ms-e-denunciado-durante-evento-na-noruega,10000057355>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20160616183919/http://politica.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,ataque-a-indios-no-ms-e-denunciado-durante-evento-na-noruega,10000057355>

-*Racismo Ambiental's* special report: "Meu glorioso Clodiód: Um ano do Massacre de Caarapó, demarcação foi anulada e fazendeiros soltos":

<https://racismoambiental.net.br/2017/06/14/meu-glorioso-clodiodi-um-ano-do-massacre-de-caarapo-demarcacao-foi-anulada-e-fazendeiros-soltos/>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20170615021752/http://racismoambiental.net.br/2017/06/14/meu-glorioso-clodiodi-um-ano-do-massacre-de-caarapo-demarcacao-foi-anulada-e-fazendeiros-soltos/>

-CIMI's and *El País* reports mentioned in note 4.

15- Original in Portuguese:

A decisão do meu povo: nós vamos trazer o corpo, e fazer o velório nessa fazenda! Os policiais vão acompanhar nosso povo decidindo aqui e a gente vai velar no local onde ele foi morto. Pela justiça, território e liberdade!

16- Original in Portuguese:

Era o Clodiód, que caiu na nossa frente e começamos a chorar. Foi quando percebi que os fazendeiros não vieram conversar, mas sim pra matar. Começaram a xingar a gente. [...] Todas as mídias, televisão, jornal disseram que Clodiód morreu atropelado. Nunca existiu isso, como pode ser atropelado com dois tiros no corpo? Tinha professores atingidos, todos que estavam aqui viram como foi a atuação dos pistoleiros para atirar nos indígenas. Como se fosse um.... nem mesmo com cachorro se faz isso. Mas eles fizeram isso com a gente.

- 17- Original in Portuguese: “Silva afirma que tem "certeza absoluta" de que todos foram baleados por arma de fogo. "Andaram falando que eles foram atingidos por bala de borracha. Mas se bala de borracha faz o que fez com nossos pacientes, temos que conversar sobre balas de borracha"

This citation appears in *El País* news report:

https://brasil.elpais.com/brasil/2016/06/16/politica/1466030530_754621.html

Archived link:

https://web.archive.org/web/20160621232847/http://brasil.elpais.com/brasil/2016/06/16/politica/1466030530_754621.html

- 18- Original in Portuguese:

Dor, eu estou sentindo, desesperada com o que aconteceu [...]. Clodiódí era uma pessoa querida no meio da gente [...]. Esses dias ele disse pra gente que iria morrer por essa terra aqui.

- 19- Original in Portuguese: “Essa terra, essa terra é nossa! Ela tem a mesma cor da minha pele. [...] Essa terra não é apenas minha, mas de todos Guarani Kaiowá. Nós morreremos aqui, por causa da nossa terra e vamos ficar aqui.”

- 20- Original in Portuguese:

Fazendeiro entrou na nossa terra, eles roubaram a gente. E agora mataram um de nossa família, então retomamos nossa terra. Nós, meninos e meninas, nos juntamos de coração unido para sermos vitoriosos. Com esperança para ter justiça pela criança que o fazendeiro matou. [...] Aqui muita gente já foi morta porque os não-indígenas estão fortes. Os não-indígenas vem aqui e atiram na gente. Muitas famílias nossas se feriram. Muitas de nossas crianças se feriram, Esta é nossa grande preocupação. [...] E com os ruralistas não acontece nada, eles não se machucam, estão todos bem. Eles têm armas e atiram pra cima da gente. Os fazendeiros dizem que nós temos armas, e jogam a culpa na gente. E os fazendeiros saem livres, nós temos somente guyrará (cacetete), temos somente Mbaraká (maracá) e Xirú (cruz). Desse modo que lutavam nossos antepassados e até hoje seguimos dessa forma, levando pra frente. Estamos aqui por causa das nossas crianças que perdemos. [...] E agora nós vamos, não é certo, minha gente? Nós vamos como guerreiros! Vitorioso[s] com a força Kaiowá e Guarani.

- 21- Original in Spanish:

Visibilizar es solamente ver lo que están haciendo, pero no involucrar, pero tampoco marcar territorio. Visibilizar es eso. Pero también tengo q ir por posicionar. ¿Que significa posicionar? Para mi significa que eso es mío. [...] Posicionar es muy importante. Como decía Rigoberta Menchú: mientras los pueblos indígenas y naciones originales del mundo no tengan imagen pública, seguiremos siendo clandestinos, seguiremos por bajo de la alfombra y hay que cambiar eso.

- 22- The interview is available at Rede CineFlecha YouTube channel:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=44KkHWrehqw>

- 23- For more information (in Portuguese), please see: <https://redecineflecha.org/mostra/>

- 24- Information about the film in Spanish is available at the Museu Chileno de Arte Precolombino:
<https://museo.precolombino.cl/2020/08/10/57-qillpa/>

Archiver link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20210124222721/https://museo.precolombino.cl/2020/08/10/57-qillpa/>

Information can also be retrieved at the Digital Library of Original Peoples (Biblioteca digital de pueblos originarios): <https://web.archive.org/web/20201023024424/https://biblioquinoa.com/libros/MM5118/qillpa/>

This digital platform also has periodic thematic online exhibitions of Indigenous audiovisual works.

Quillpa's trailer (with subtitles in Portuguese) is available at Rede CineFlecha YouTube channel: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QvQML2fFPnY>

The film is available at Productora de Cine Documental Imolivis' YouTube channel: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0RUpslGEU1Q>

25- This film is available on demand (with English subtitles) at the Vimeo online platform: <https://vimeo.com/ondemand/lanacionclandestina>

26- Original in Portuguese:

Vocês falaram que este é um espaço que fala de resisitir. Eu penso que hoje em dia, depois de mais de 500 anos da invasão da Espanha, de Portugal e depois de outros países pra America, são mais de 500 anos de resistir. Minha pergunta é se vamos fazer e vamos continuar resistindo ou não tenemos direito de vivir também. Eu penso, basta de resistências, nós tenemos el derecho de vivir também. Eu não só estou falando de povos indígenas, nações originárias, eu penso de todos. Eu penso que nuestros países não têm a liberdade nem a autonomia de fazer a sua própria rua. Isso é importante, penso porque são povos que todo el tiempo só resistem. Hay um diretor de cinema na Bolivia que eu admiro muito por su propuesta e por su compromiso. Su nome es Jorge Sanchez y hay um filme: la nación clandestina. Y fala justamente disso de que muitos povos, muitas nações, são todo mundo clandestinos. Penso que já não há mais tempo de resistir, penso que agora es el tiempo de falar de que nós somos clandestinos e que esta vida e que este planeta também é de nós. Não no sentido de propriedade de la tierra, sinon que nos pertenecemos também a esta terra, com todos os nossos direitos e penso que o cinema tem todas as possibilidades de proporcionar isso que vocês falam: que os povos indígenas, nações originarias e todas las sociedades marginalizadas, clandestinas, te[nham] imagem pública para falar de sus derechos.

27- Original in Portuguese:

Esta retomada da nossa terra é de todos rezadores, companheiros e professores. Devemos usar de novo nossa terra, mas do nosso jeito, usando a terra para viver como antigamente, na felicidade. Dançando e cantando para trazer de volta nossa floresta, nossos animais: os peixes, os pássaros e todos os catetos, veados. Para voltar tudo de novo. Para viver bem em paz, porém do nosso jeito.

28- Original in Portuguese:

Em dobro o que o inimigo quer, sem arrependimento.
Quer me matar? Eu faço tu sentir isso por dentro!
Cada vez que eu rimo ponho a minha alma em todas as partes da letra,
Como se escrevesse nos teus córneos com a ponta da baioneta.
É a guerra, neguim!
Nós somos a guerra, neguim!
Sofremo a guerra, neguim!
Vivemo a guerra, neguim!

29- The Campo Grande News reports are available at:

<https://www.campograndenews.com.br/cidades/interior/policiais-dizem-que-foram-espancados-por-indios-e-perderam-armas>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20160615123928/http://www.campograndenews.com.br/cidades/interior/policiais-dizem-que-foram-espancados-por-indios-e-perderam-armas>

<https://www.campograndenews.com.br/cidades/interior/stf-mantem-presos-cacique-acusado-de-torturar-policiais-apos-morte-do-filho>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20210124160148/https://www.campograndenews.com.br/cidades/interior/stf-mantem-presos-cacique-acusado-de-torturar-policiais-apos-morte-do-filho>

Created in 2000, Campo Grande News is the first online news report from the state of Mato Grosso do Sul and one of the main sources of local journalism. For more information, see: <https://www.campograndenews.com.br/campo-grande-news-15-anos/dono-de-primeiras-postagens-em-ms-campo-grande-news-surgiu-pequeno>

According to the analysis software Alexa, Campo Grande News. com is the 20th most accessed website in Brazil, ahead of Amazon.com.br and Facebook.com: <https://www.alexa.com/topsites/countries/BR>

- 30- See the news report of O Globo-Mato Grosso do Sul: <http://g1.globo.com/mato-grosso-do-sul/noticia/2016/06/pf-aguarda-videos-para-avancar-em-investigacao-sobre-morte-de-indio.html>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20160618113651/http://g1.globo.com/mato-grosso-do-sul/noticia/2016/06/pf-aguarda-videos-para-avancar-em-investigacao-sobre-morte-de-indio.html>

- 31- The MPF-MS 2016 report “Força-Tarefa Avá Guarani denuncia cinco fazendeiros pela morte de índio em Caarapó (MS)” is available online at:

<http://www.mpf.mp.br/ms/sala-de-imprensa/noticias-ms/ft-ava-guarani-denuncia-cinco-fazendeiros-pela-morte-de-indio-em-caarapo-ms>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20161114120445/http://www.mpf.mp.br/ms/sala-de-imprensa/noticias-ms/ft-ava-guarani-denuncia-cinco-fazendeiros-pela-morte-de-indio-em-caarapo-ms>

The United Nations General Assembly Human Rights Council 2016 “Report of the Special Rapporteur on the rights of Indigenous peoples on her mission to Brazil” is available online at:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20161117081152/http://unsr.vtaulicorpuz.org/site/images/docs/country/2016-brazil-a-hrc-33-42-add-1-en.pdf>

- 32- Original in Portuguese: “Os fazendeiros, que estavam presos preventivamente até semana passada, responderão por formação de milícia armada, homicídio qualificado, tentativa de homicídio qualificado, lesão corporal, dano qualificado e constrangimento ilegal.”

- 33- Original in Portuguese: “os denunciados organizaram, promoveram e executaram o ataque à comunidade Tey Kuê no dia 14 de junho.”

- 34- For more information, please see:

-CIMI’s 2016 news report “Sobrevivente do Massacre de Caarapó escapa de emboscada dias depois de deixar hospital”: <https://cimi.org.br/2016/06/38586/>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20180120134146/https://www.cimi.org.br/2016/06/38586>

- *Dourados Agora*’s news report “Sobrevivente do Massacre de Caarapó escapa de emboscada dias depois de deixar hospital”:

<https://www.douradosagora.com.br/noticias/policial/sobrevivente-do-massacre-de-caarapo-escapa-de-nova-emboscada>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20160702155811/http://www.douradosagora.com.br/noticias/policial/sobrevivente-do-massacre-de-caarapo-escapa-de-nova-emboscada>

- Instituto Socioambiental’s news report “Sobrevivente do Massacre de Caarapó escapa de emboscada dias depois de deixar hospital”:

<https://www.pib.socioambiental.org/es/Not%C3%ADcias?id=166665>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20210329185214/https://www.pib.socioambiental.org/es/Not%C3%ADcias?id=166665>

- 35- The cases of conflict over territorial rights happened in the states of: Amazonas (a nonIndigenous man subdivided a Mura land into two parcels and sold them to two other nonIndigenous men); Mato Grosso do Sul (five Guarani-Kaiowá communities suffered at least seven attacks with the use of firearms and two of them also included arson); Mato Grosso (a Xavante community suffered threats); Pernambuco (a criminal fire razed a sacred house of a Pankará group and destroyed part of the traditional and religious belongings of the community); Rio Grande do Sul (a Guarani-M'bya group saw their houses being destroyed with the possible destruction of anthropological evidence since part of the territory was excavated soon after; the group also reported that the water stream they use had been contaminated by pesticides used in soybean plantations) and Santa Catarina (a Guarani-M'bya and Nhandeva community was invaded and robbed and people were threatened). For more information, see the CIMI report "Violence Against Indigenous Peoples in Brazil -Data for 2016" pages 64 and 65.
- 36- Original in Portuguese: "Nos anos que se sucederam, novos ataques foram registrados em todo Mato grosso do Sul. Agora a violência tende a aumentar. Nossa luta segue."
- 37- Original in Portuguese: "O canal de comunicação do agronegócio".
The YouTube channel was modified in 2020, but I retrieved an archived link from 2014 with all the information I mentioned about the channel except for the number of views in 2018:
<https://web.archive.org/web/20140430202650/http://www.youtube.com/user/noticiasagricolas/about>
The general historical information about Notícias Agrícolas was based on its 20 years news report special "20 anos Notícias Agrícolas -A História de uma Vida" available online at:
<https://web.archive.org/web/20170911041241/https://www.noticiasagricolas.com.br/20-anos/>
- 38- The interview is available at:
<https://www.noticiasagricolas.com.br/videos/questoes-indigenas/174972-produtores-rurais-dao-sua-versao-sobre-os-fatos-e-a-morte-de-um-indigena-em-caarapo.html#.X11qSqhKiUl>
Archived link:
<https://web.archive.org/web/20160620160816/http://www.noticiasagricolas.com.br/videos/questoes-indigenas/174972-produtores-rurais-dao-sua-versao-sobre-os-fatos-e-a-morte-de-um-indigena-em-caarapo.html#.YGIsl69KiUm>
Original in Portuguese:
[Headline]: "Produtores rurais falam sobre o conflito em Caarapó-MS que resultou na morte de um índio. Muitos fatos precisam ser esclarecidos"
[Supporting text]: "Os produtores rurais estão questionando a versão divulgada pela grande mídia sobre o possível confronto entre fazendeiros e indígenas em uma fazenda no município de Caarapó (MS). Em nota, o Sindicato Rural, lamentou a distorção dos fatos, considerando que não houve imparcialidade na cobertura do acontecimento".
- 39- Original in Portuguese: "É importante que a gente esclareça aqui o que de fato aconteceu porque me parece que o que tá sendo veiculado na grande mídia, Kaká, é que o produtor rural é o grande vilão nessa história principalmente após a morte de um indígena... Vamos aos fatos! O que de fato aconteceu aí no município?"
- 40- Original in Portuguese:
[Kaká]: Bom dia produtores do Brasil, principalmente do sul do Mato Grosso do Sul. Aconteceu que no domingo, a fazenda Yvu que é limítrofe com a aldeia, uma aldeia que foi demarcada na década de 40, então naturalmente as áreas que ficaram do lado, são áreas que ficaram fora da aldeia. Essa fazenda é uma fazenda de 300 hectares. Foi invadida no domingo, na segunda-feira, os produtores da região se reuniram e chegaram por parte da manhã [na terça] e saíram pra tirar os índios. Não teve conflito: teve conflito verbal -de grito, de fogueiro, isso aí existiu... Os índios voltaram pra dentro da aldeia (como ela

era limítrofe). E como eles ficaram revoltados... Tem a estrada municipal que liga Caarapó a outro município de Laguna Carapã, que passa no meio da aldeia... Eles ficaram revoltados e trancaram a estrada. Como trancaram a estrada, dentro da aldeia tinham veículos. Inclusive, tinha uma carreta carregada com a colhedeira. Naturalmente, o motorista -ninguém sabe, ninguém viu, ninguém pode falar- porque estava trancada a estrada. O motorista ficou com medo e atropelou um índio. Ninguém sabe se o índio passou na frente da carreta. Sei que atropelou e matou um índio.

41- Original in Portuguese:

[Kaká]: Não, negativo, não tem como ser... Bom, ele foi morto, tem uma coisa, se teve outro índio morto lá dentro da aldeia por tiro, ninguém sabe, ninguém viu, porque a aldeia tava trancada... Tinha também uma viatura da polícia militar também no local que estava com o pneu furado, os índios fizeram refém os cinco policiais. Tem a foto dos índios na internet que tiraram roupa [dos policiais que] apanharam de facão. Com muito custo conseguiram lá uma liderança lá, conseguiram soltar. Os índios puseram fogo na viatura...

42- Original in Portuguese:

[A]: Os índios ou os policiais? Desculpe, só pra entender, soltar quem? Os índios ou os policiais?

[K]: Os índios pegaram cinco policiais e fizeram refém...

[A]: Daí teve negociação para libertar esses cinco policiais que estavam reféns?

[K]: A conversa que tem é que tem um pastor lá de dentro da aldeia que conseguiu fazer que os índios libertassem os policiais. Saíram sem roupa, sem coletes e sem o armamento deles, ficou tudo dentro da aldeia. E após esse acontecimento, eles voltaram a invadir mais umas dez propriedades em volta da aldeia, colocaram fogo em canaviais, mataram o gado... Sitiantes que tem vários sítios de 10-15 hectares que foram todos expulsos também das suas propriedades... Estão tudo aqui na cidade agora sem lugar para ficar.

43- Original in Portuguese:

[A]: Então tá, então as coisas começam a ficar mais claras para a gente agora. A gente tem aqui algumas fotos, eu vou pedir para o nosso editor, o Gabriel colocar no ar as fotos [...] A gente vê aqui a polícia rodoviária federal no carro também [...] A gente vê esse caminhão que você relata aí pra gente com a colheitadeira, essa prancha com a colheitadeira em cima, mas uma colheitadeira pegando fogo... Essa imagem significa o quê? Os índios atearam fogo na colheitadeira? É isso?

[K]: Foi, foram os índios que atearam fogo na colheitadeira. Foram eles que colocaram após o atropelamento lá... Agora o atropelamento, ninguém sabe, ninguém pode falar como foi porque ninguém sabe como que foi. Eu só sei que foi atropelado o índio e que foi morto... Isso é verdade.

[A]: A estrada estava trancada e o motorista tentou sair de alguma forma desse perímetro que estava trancado... E foi aí que aconteceu o acidente...

44- Original in Portuguese:

[K]: É ele não sabia, ele estava no meio já e ele não sabia que eles tinham trancado... Eles trancaram as pontas da entrada, as duas entradas e a sede da aldeia fica bem no meio da área. E o motorista trancado lá também...

[A]: Então esse motorista é testemunha importante aí para ser ouvida, né?

[K]: É muito importante e ele fugiu do local. Não sei como que ele conseguiu escapar, mas ele escapou e eu nem sei o nome do motorista ainda. E a colheitadeira está lá ainda...

[A]: É até justificável, né, imagina o medo que ele tenha sentido diante de uma pressão também em cima dele...

45- Original in Portuguese:

[A]: Então o índio que está sendo divulgado, o Clodioldo Aguires Rodrigues do Santos, de 26 anos, ele não morreu a tiros, então, como algumas versões estão dizendo, ele foi atropelado?

[K]: Eu não posso te falar qual o índio que a carreta atropelou. Ninguém sabe, a aldeia está trancada, ninguém sabe. Sei que chegou no hospital um índio baleado, morto com tiro na barriga. Agora quem fez isso, a gente não pode falar, que a gente não sabe. Eu sei que aconteceu a morte lá, que a carreta atropelou. Agora não sabemos qual o índio que a carreta atropelou, porque ninguém entra na aldeia, ninguém sabe.

[A]: Então espera aí, vamos entender direitinho: o índio que morreu foi por atropelamento, mas chegou um índio baleado no hospital também, é isso?

[K]: É isso. Só que o índio que chegou atirado foi completamente fora do horário. Então a gente ainda não tem como olhar as provas, evidências. Na hora que a polícia for investigar, as evidências vão provar que o índio chegou baleado e morto depois de muito tempo, não tem nada a ver na hora que aconteceu o ocorrido lá.

46- Original in Portuguese:

[A]: Está bom, vamos lá pra próxima foto que é justamente o carro da polícia queimado também né? A polícia militar aí do estado. E foram os policiais desse carro que foram mantidos reféns, é isso?

[K]: Sim, policiais que estavam com o pneu da viatura furado e também não sabiam do ocorrido, e eles estavam lá dentro... Se eles soubessem, não tinham entrado lá na aldeia. E eles também foram pegos de surpresa.

47- Original in Portuguese:

[K]: A Força Nacional chegou, mas não entrou na aldeia ainda porque eles estão esperando o procurador da República. Estão resolvendo, porque vão enterrar o índio hoje, então eles não querem causar tumulto. Eles tão partindo agora pra uma fazenda que fica do lado, porque os índios estão lá dentro, saquearam tudo, tem família lá...

48- Original in Portuguese:

[A]: E a gente vê também nas fotos que a gente está vendo aqui, a gente vê também muita fumaça. O que é essa fumaça?

[K]: Os índios é que colocaram fogo nos canaviais que tem em volta das propriedades que tem cana, que tem usina próxima. E eles colocaram fogo nos canaviais e nas lavouras de milho também.

49- *Retomada Nhanderu Marangatu* (2015) is available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q74A0IT9zPM>

50- Appadurai, Arjun. 2006 *Fear of Small Numbers: An Essay on the Geography of Anger*. Durham: Duke University Press. See page 45.

51- Interview granted to me in June 2016, during my fieldwork in Mato Grosso do Sul.

52- The Nucleus of Studies and Research on Indigenous Populations (Núcleo de Estudos e Pesquisas das Populações Indígenas) is a research centre from the Dom Bosco Catholic University (Universidade Católica Dom Bosco).

53- Original in Portuguese: “Quando o meu pai chegou aqui não tinha bugre [...] Quando nós vinha falando “bugre”, tudo mundo corria e se escondia de medo. [...] O bicho é silvestre.”

54- Original in Portuguese: “E a comida do bugre cumpadre!?: Ah, comida do bugre é candango, é rato, é fruta, é, é, é bicho, e ele tem um peixe, que eles parava na beira d’água. E bicho gosta de pescar mofa, então ele pescava muito.

55- Original in Portuguese: “a desqualificação absoluta que aqueles termos contêm.”

56- Original in Portuguese:

Na matriz “moderna”, ligada às novas práticas econômicas e políticas da modernidade, encontram-se os pares preguiçoso-vagabundo e estrangeiro-inteiraente outro. As significações devidas a uma matriz biológica – deficiente-incapaz e violento-desordeiro – também estão presentes no imaginário sobre o bugre na sociedade cacerense.

57- Original in Portuguese: “o bugre verdadeiro é do mato, aquele que está escondido, mais agressivo e arredo”; “o bugre que está na cidade é mais dócil, pode ser trabalhador, mas é traçoero”; “o bugre, você não pode confiar nele, não”.

58- Original in Portuguese:

Os índigenas batem na porta dos casarões e pedem coisas. E é diário. Não é uma vez no ano: é todo dia. Tava te dando entrevista; olhei e tava passando um índio. A gente não vê, mas eles estão aqui, eles são daqui. E eles batem palma e pedem comida. Pedem pão: “-tem pão velho?”; “-Não, criança, não tem pão velho”. E toda vez que batia um índio na minha porta quando eu era pequena, minha mãe, os empregados, a babá, a cozinheira, o cara da piscina, todos, qualquer um deles, se eu tivesse brincando na rua ou no quintal de casa e batesse uma família de indígena, a primeira coisa que eles faziam era botar a gente pra dentro de casa: “Vai pra dentro que eu vou ali atender”. O índio é perigoso, o índio é mau, foi isso que eu aprendi quando eu era pequena. E a gente sempre fica longe, não se envolve. Não pode se envolver.

59- The negative feelings towards indigeneity Fernandes perceived in her family were not based on negative experiences with Indigenous persons, but a set of beliefs and prejudices passed down to new generations. In this perspective, it was not a mere fact that was at the origin of the feeling but an “affective fact” (Massumi 2010, 52). Whether or not a peril is existent, it can be felt as fear.

60- For Massumi, the fire alarm is an automatic imperative to execute a command: “It still startles us awake to a sense of a reality of things, outwardly and selfward at once. It still forces attention, breaking into the feeling before with a transition to a next. Something still happens. A sign-event has transpired. This is an actual *Experience*, including all the more more-than-perception reveals” (2010, 64).

61- Massumi draws on Peirce to articulate this argument:

For Peirce, the “dynamical object” is not the fire. The dynamical object is the innervated flesh to which the sign performatively correlates “fire,” existent or nonexistent. It is the nervous body astartle that is “the object of the command” to alertness. That performance takes place wholly between the sign and the “instinctively” activated body whose feeling is “broken” by the sign’s command to transition to a new feeling. (Massumi 2010, 64)

62- For Massumi, “fire or no fire, transition to and through alert is made” (2010, 65). He pushes this logic even further, arguing that not only can fear be ignited and nurtured with no specific incident attached to it, but “felt threat-potential” can be more determinant than any occurrences.

63- Following Massumi, Chaudhuri designates “fear” as an “underlying affective force” generated by “multiple invocations of threat” (2012, 119). He highlights the power of this “affective force” by drawing on Massumi’s argument on the self-generating effect fear has (2012, 120). Fear can generate more “affective facts” dissociated from factuality and engender more fear. Massumi refers to this process as being an “operative logic”, enabled to “endow itself with powers of self-causation” (2009, 62). This idea suggests that the fear and the distrust that non-Indigenous persons in Dourados feel towards Indigenous groups can produce “affective facts” materialized in bodily reactions dissociated from actual experience, which sets in motion an ever-expanding cycle of fear and distrust fed by negative representations of Indigenous groups such as the one circulating in the agribusiness portal and the local media.

64- This lack of contact seems counterintuitive since Fernandes recalled the daily presence of Indigenous persons knocking on the door of mansions, but she was also careful to highlight how this presence becomes invisible.

65- This observation about the “only narrative” is what Chimamanda Adichie calls a single story. It consists of “show[ing] a people as one thing, as only one thing, over and over again” until they become equated to this representation (Adichie 2009). She notes it is intrinsically linked to power, which she defines as “the ability not just to tell the story of another person, but to make it the definitive story of that person” (Adichie 2009).

See Adichie’s TED Talk presentation at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D9Ihs241zeg>

66- As Furedi argues: “If you do not know very much about those living near you, it is difficult to feel any affinity towards them” (2006, 133).

67- As Furedi claims: “If you do not know what your neighbours do for a living, it is easy to imagine that they are up to no good” (2006, 133).

68- One might raise the question of the limitations of the language used to weave these narratives. I address this discussion in Chapter 5 when I show examples of how ASCURI resignifies Guarani concepts to reflect on contemporary circumstances of Indigenous lives in Mato Grosso do Sul. An example I discuss is the foundational concept *ojeasojava* in the film *Mokõi Kovoé* (ASCURI 2021). *Mokõi Kovoé* means “we both survived,” and *ojeasojava* is a concept that alludes to the notions of birth, rebirth, and body metamorphosis, which takes shape in the film with the transformation of two Indigenous girls into birds, as I discuss in Chapter 5. In this respect, the language used is articulated to what Povinelli designates as a different “conceptual model” able to activate affects and relationalities carrying a new systemic technology of revisioning linked to another perception of social aspirations, as I discuss in Chapter 5 (Povinelli 2016, 31).

However, the structure of *Yvy Reñoi*, the Seed of the Land revolves more around the contestation of the rural producers’ narrative of the June 14th removal attempt than around providing a systematic technology of revisioning. In this respect, it stakes its compelling power on the ability to provide audiovisual evidence for its claims. Therefore, the video plays a political and journalistic role of “helping to establish the facts it records,” as described by Terence Turner, as a “social and political document” comparable to the way televised media confer historical permanence to occurrences (1992, 11):

Political acts and events which [...] would remain relatively contingent and reversible, the subjective assertions or claims of one individual or group remaining open to challenge by other groups with different objectives or interpretations, can be rendered by video in the form of objective public realities. The representation of transient events in a medium like video, with its capacity to fix the image of an event and to store it permanently in a form that can circulate in the public domain, objectively accessible to all in exactly the same way, make it a potent means of conferring upon private and contingent acts the character of established public facts. The properties of the medium itself may in this way be seen to confer a different kind of social reality on events than they would otherwise possess. (Turner 1992, 11)

Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that the film brings a vital shift in perspective with its intimate angle of the Indigenous experience, inviting the audience to follow closely each personal account of the pain and the sadness resulting from the violence of the removal attempt and the death of Clodiodi. In contrast, in the rural producers’ description, Marquez refers to the Indigenous families as “the Indians”, a mob of people with no name (even the murdered Indigenous person is not referred to by his name). In this perspective, he uses the term “Indian” as a signifier charged with the same negative connotations as *bugre*, as a dog-whistle sign activating this representation in local non-Indigenous audiences in Mato Grosso do Sul, while marking a distance calcified by a barrier of fear impeding any encounter, closing the possibilities for relationality and empathy.

69- The new version is very similar to the first, but it explains the context more, while cutting some sensitive information (such as identifiers). It also adds a paragraph at the end (which I will present later).

- 70- The Guarani-Kaiwoá community of Pyelito Kue was occupying a small native forest area of a land in the process of demarcation, which is within the perimeter of a 700-ha farm, and the farmer had set in motion a judicial process to halt the demarcation and remove the Indigenous group. For more information, please see:

BBC Brasil news report:

https://www.bbc.com/portuguese/noticias/2012/10/121024_indigenas_carta_coletiva_jc.shtml

Archived link:

https://web.archive.org/web/20210211010833/https://www.bbc.com/portuguese/noticias/2012/10/121024_indigenas_carta_coletiva_jc

G1-MS News reports:

<http://g1.globo.com/natureza/noticia/2012/10/disputa-entre-indios-e-produtores-rurais-no-ms-e-historica-entenda.html>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20121029104617/http://g1.globo.com/natureza/noticia/2012/10/disputa-entre-indios-e-produtores-rurais-no-ms-e-historica-entenda.html>

<http://g1.globo.com/mato-grosso-do-sul/noticia/2012/10/mpf-e-funai-recorrem-contra-retirada-de-indios-de-fazenda-em-ms.html>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20210224160709/http://g1.globo.com/mato-grosso-do-sul/noticia/2012/10/mpf-e-funai-recorrem-contra-retirada-de-indios-de-fazenda-em-ms.html>

<http://g1.globo.com/mato-grosso-do-sul/noticia/2012/10/tribunal-derruba-ordem-para-retirada-de-indios-de-fazenda-em-iguatemi.html>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20210225012547/http://g1.globo.com/mato-grosso-do-sul/noticia/2012/10/tribunal-derruba-ordem-para-retirada-de-indios-de-fazenda-em-iguatemi.html>

Conjur report: <https://www.conjur.com.br/2012-out-30/desembargadora-determina-permanencia-indios-fazenda>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20210729213151/https://www.conjur.com.br/2012-out-30/desembargadora-determina-permanencia-indios-fazenda>

- 71- Eduardo Bolsonaro's Facebook live stream is available at:

https://www.facebook.com/watch/live/?v=531113843747911&ref=watch_permalink

For the excerpts seen on ASCURI's video, please go to minutes 6'25'' and from 26'16'' to 26'46''.

- 72- See, for instance, *Informa Brasil TV* YouTube videos:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I69JDLXdCL0&t=658s>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J9AzMEhiRSM>

Projeto Tube's video: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dCP938FPN2k>

Another related video from the same day is available at Berg Channel's:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O_AzUml4wRE

- 73- There is no English translation for this book.

- 74- With 70 "likes", a computer model can outperform a friend or a family member, and with 300 likes, a spouse (Youyou et al. 2015, 1037).

- 75- Original in French: « La version du monde que chacun de nous voit est littéralement invisible aux yeux des autres. [...] Chacun d'entre nous marche dans sa propre bulle, à l'intérieur de laquelle certaines voix se font entendre mais pas d'autres et certains faits existent mais pas d'autres. »

76- Original in French: « ce ne sont plus nos opinions sur les faits qui nous divisent, mais les faits eux-mêmes. »

77- See the report at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/11/world/americas/youtube-brazil.html>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20190812024013/https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/11/world/americas/youtube-brazil.html>

78- The New York Times provided a link related to this new intelligence leading to a paper presented in the 10th ACM Conference on Recommender Systems, in 2016, in New York: <https://research.google/pubs/pub45530/>

The paper informs that YouTube's new system using deep learning is TensorFlow, released initially in 2015. See the paper at: <https://storage.googleapis.com/pub-tools-public-publication-data/pdf/45530.pdf>

79- Please, see: <https://www.publico.pt/2020/02/02/tecnologia/noticia/youtube-transforma-moderados-radicais-1902314>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20200804121032/https://www.publico.pt/2020/02/02/tecnologia/noticia/youtube-transforma-moderados-radicais-1902314>

80- Using a Brazil-based server, they accessed popular channels, search terms and clicked on YouTube's recommendations, subsequently opening the recommendations on each video.

Please, see: <https://cyber.harvard.edu/story/2019-08/how-youtube-radicalized-brazil>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20190902083150/https://cyber.harvard.edu/story/2019-08/how-youtube-radicalized-brazil>

81- The researchers analyzed 330,925 videos from 349 channels and processed over 72 million comments. The research article is available at: https://dl.acm.org/doi/abs/10.1145/3351095.3372879#pill-authors_contentcon

82- The conference program can be accessed at: <https://www.disinfo.eu/outreach/our-events/eu-disinfo-lab-annual-conference-2019>

The slides related to Chaslot's presentation can be accessed at https://www.disinfo.eu/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Session5.2_Guillaume-Chaslot.pdf

Archived link:

https://web.archive.org/web/20201230221658/https://www.disinfo.eu/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Session5.2_Guillaume-Chaslot.pdf

See also Google's The Next Web report at: <https://thenextweb.com/google/2019/06/14/youtube-recommendations-toxic-algorithm-google-ai/>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20190615010337/https://thenextweb.com/google/2019/06/14/youtube-recommendations-toxic-algorithm-google-ai/>

83- An example can be seen at this telephone plan advertisement: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iEHKgs-xwAo>

An example from other telephone companies:

Vivo: <https://tecnoblog.net/237696/vivo-netflix-pacote-pre-pago-controle/>

<https://www.vivo.com.br/para-voce/ofertas/celular/controle/controle2gb-video-musical>

Oi:

<https://tecnoblog.net/280829/oi-planos-controle-2019/>

Tim:

<https://olhardigital.com.br/noticia/tim-faz-promocao-com-100-gb-mensais-para-apps-de-videos-em-novembro/79655>

84- The research is available at: <https://www.thinkwithgoogle.com/intl/pt-br/estrat%C3%A9gias-de-marketing/video/pesquisa-video-viewers-como-os-brasileiros-estao-consumindo-videos-em-2018/>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20210308120737/https://www.thinkwithgoogle.com/intl/pt-br/estrategias-de-marketing/video/pesquisa-video-viewers-como-os-brasileiros-estao-consumindo-videos-em-2018/>

85- Original in Portuguese: “Eduardo Bolsonaro fala verdades a índios do conflito de Mato Grosso do Sul.”

86- Eduardo Bolsonaro’s video can be accessed on his YouTube channel at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DHSMUC6jUI8>

87- Eduardo Bolsonaro’s video can be accessed on his Facebook page at: <https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=447385735454056>

88- Original in Portuguese:

ÍNDIOS SE VITIMIZAM NA CÂMARA

Audiência pública na CDH (Comissão de Direitos Humano): “audiência para solucionar os conflitos indígenas no Mato Grosso do Sul”. A mesa estava composta apenas por índios - ou pseudoíndios, pois muitos vem do Paraguai - e seus defensores. Dos depoimentos que pude ouvir só se noticiava vitimização, chegou-se a dizer que os fazendeiros estavam formando milícias para exterminar crianças indígenas e capangas estupravam suas meninas e mulheres.

Entrei em contato com o dep. fed. Elizeu Dionizio e com a fazendeira de Antônio João-MS Luana para levantar mais informações sobre a situação local e fiz a intervenção do vídeo. O que mais os índios querem? Quem está por trás disso?

https://youtu.be/U-Vr_yVhXAY

89- Original in Portuguese:

Porque aqui, eu ouvi aqui muita gente falar que “estão matando nossas crianças”. E as imagens que chegam em nosso YouTube dos próprios índios enterrando as suas crianças deficientes? Isso é crime, isso é infanticídio ou isso é homicídio! Bem-vindos à sociedade brasileira.

90- Original in Portuguese: Na Raposa Serra do Sol, 3% da área é ocupada por fazendeiros, foram jogados ali pra fora igual animais.

91- FUNAI’s list of Mato Grosso do Sul’s regularized Indigenous lands comprises their areas (in hectares). To retrieve it, use the interactive map at: <http://www.funai.gov.br/index.php/indios-no-brasil/terras-indigenas>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20210103073733/http://www.funai.gov.br/index.php/indios-no-brasil/terras-indigenas>

I added them (=601,904.38 ha) and calculated the percentage they represent in relation to the area of the state (35. 714. 553, 5 ha). It ensued that all regularized Indigenous lands correspond to 1.68% of Mato Grosso do Sul. However, the Kadiwéu land alone with 538,535.78 ha represents 1.5% of Mato Grosso do Sul, whereas all the other 28 lands combined equate to 0.18%.

92- The Figueiredo report (1967) consists of a series of documents to investigate the irregularities of the Service of Indian Protection (SPI). While it was requested by the Brazilian Internal Affairs Minister Albuquerque Lima, it fell under the responsibility of Figueiredo Correia (Guimarães 2015:26).

The report is available (in Portuguese) at: <http://www.mpf.mp.br/atuacao-tematica/ccr6/dados-da-atuacao/grupos-de-trabalho/violacao-dos-direitos-dos-povos-indigenas-e-registro-militar/relatorio-figueiredo>

93- Excerpt from the Lieutenant Colonel Moacyr Ribeiro Coelho's official letter:

Presently, the Direction has been struggling, unsuccessfully until now, against the frontal abuse – a true crime – against the Kadiwéu Indians of the Pantanal Matogrossense, in whose lands, at once, and openly contradicting the Ministerial Order nº 450 from 3/24/1956, sixty-one land leases of 3,000 ha each were made.

On a recent trip to that region, I came across a poignant and distressing picture: to the 61 tenants, were added now at least further 60 intruders; the contractual lease incomes, although stipulated on a very small basis, were not collected by the SPI or, if they were, there is no verifiable accounting for it; the Heads of the Posts -whom I immediately dismissed “in loco” - complicit with the tenant farmers, kept with them livestock business, dilapidated the useable wood of the reserve, and coerced the Indians to subject themselves into submission; there were tenants that, having leased 3,000 hectares, have surrounded eight and up to 10,000; others, who did not bother to encircle the pastures, raised cattle in promiscuity with the one of the SPI. In the present days, we are marking the herd in the Nalique Indigenous Post, where over 1,000 cattle had no SPI iron mark (Ribeiro Coelho 1962, 6236-6237; Guimarães 2015, 39).

Original in Portuguese:

Atualmente a Direção vem se debatendo, até agora, sem sucesso, contra abuso frontal – verdadeiro crime – de que estão sendo vítimas os índios Kadiwéus do Pantanal Matogrossense em cujas terras, de uma só vez e contrariando abertamente a Portaria Ministerial nº 450 de 24-3-56, realizaram-se 61 arrendamentos à base de 3.000 ha cada um.

Em recente viagem àquela região deparei um quadro pungente e desolador: aos 61 arrendatários somam-se hoje, pelo menos, mais uns 60 intrusos; as rendas contratuais, embora estipuladas em bases ínfimas, não eram recolhidas ao Serviço ou, se o eram, não existe nenhuma contabilização comprobatória que mereça fé; os Encarregados de Postos – por mim destituídos, de imediato, e “in loco” – mancomunados com os fazendeiros arrendatários, com eles mantinham negócios de gado, dilapidavam a madeira aproveitável da reserva e coagiam os índios para sujeitá-los à submissão; arrendatários há que, tendo arrendado 3.000 ha, cercaram 8 e até 10 mil; outros, que não se deram ao trabalho de cercar as pastagens, criam o gado em promiscuidade com o do S.P.I.. Nos dias presentes estamos marcando o rebanho existente no Posto Indígena Nalique onde mais de 1.000 rezes não tinham marca de ferro do S.P.I..

In 2012, a FUNAI press release informed that 60 Kadiwéu were reoccupying pacifically a portion of their land after “getting tired of waiting” (original in Portuguese: “cansaram de esperar”) for the decision of the judicial process against 23 cattle farmers who had invaded over 150 000 hectares.

The press release (in Portuguese) is available at: <http://www.funai.gov.br/index.php/comunicacao/noticias/1401-mpf-ms-reocupacao-da-terra-indigena>

94- Original in Portuguese:

Falar que as invasões [por parte dos indígenas] na verdade são “retomadas”. Senhores, aquelas terras ali estão com os fazendeiros, compradas do Estado, por meios legais, há 20, 30, 40, 50 anos. Os senhores realmente acham que vão entrar naquelas terras [...] e aí todo mundo vai sair: “obrigado, desculpa, aí; vou sair aqui que os senhores podem ocupar e tchau”? Aí fala-se que “a justiça é morosa então vamos entrar na marra”. Então já que é pela marra, olho por olho e dente por dente, então os senhores não podem reclamar do conflito...

95- Original in Portuguese:

As fotos dos tratores queimados, quem será que queimou? Será que foram os próprios fazendeiros que queimaram? O vídeo que eu recebi da FUNAI... Com dentro do carro da FUNAI, com indígenas... Para entrar dentro de uma propriedade de um fazendeiro que ficou desesperado! [...] Porque ele sabe que se um indígena entrar ali, ele vai demorar anos para conseguir tirar aquele indígena dali. E o pior, com o apoio da Força Nacional: então se a polícia está dando apoio a alguém é aos indígenas e não matando os índios. Onde já se viu se a polícia federal está matando um índio ali, entrando com bala de borracha? Se o objetivo é matar, primeiro que não vai entrar com bala de borracha, vai entrar é com arma de fogo de verdade!

96- Original in Portuguese of the video excerpt: Ou sai daqui ou vai ter encrenca com a FUNAI, gravem isso! Vocês trazendo índio, incentivando o conflito! Vaza daqui!

97- Original in Portuguese:

Então, senhor presidente, pedir um pouquinho de serenidade e dizer na verdade é o seguinte: o Brasil para crescer e para continuar seguindo adiante precisa é ser enaltecido pelo trabalho e não dividindo e querendo pegar as riquezas que são dos outros. Vamos fazer ouvir aqui a voz dos fazendeiros também. Até porque eu não sei como é que tanto índio consegue chegar aqui já que se dizem tão isolados da sociedade. Pega um avião e vem aqui. Quem é que está bancando isso tudo?

98- FUNAI's information is available at: <http://www.funai.gov.br/index.php/nossas-acoes/povos-indigenas-isolados-e-de-recente-contato>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20210331194322/http://www.funai.gov.br/index.php/nossas-acoes/povos-indigenas-isolados-e-de-recente-contato?limitstart=0#>

99- For more information about Raoni Metuktire's trip with Sting, see:

Reuter's news report: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-brazil-environment-raoni-idUSKBN1VZ0FH>

Archived link: https://web.archive.org/web/20201113060602if_/https://www.reuters.com/article/us-brazil-environment-raoni-idUSKBN1VZ0FH

CruX's news report: <https://cruxnow.com/church-in-the-americas/2019/05/popes-tete-a-tete-with-Indigenous-chief-captures-concern-for-amazon/>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20200107003715/https://cruxnow.com/church-in-the-americas/2019/05/popes-tete-a-tete-with-Indigenous-chief-captures-concern-for-amazon/>

100- The conspiracy theory crystallized into a book: Barreto, C. 1995. *A Farsa Ianomâmi* [The Yanomami Farce]. Rio de Janeiro: Biblioteca do Exército Editora.

101- There is no reference to a "Christian Church World Council" unrelated to this discussion about the alleged threat it posed to Brazilian sovereignty. The only alleged evidence of the existence of the NGO are the so-called "exclusive documents" obtained by the newspaper *O Estado de São Paulo* to prove this theory. However, the authenticity of such documents was dismissed by the Joint Parliamentary Committee of Investigation formed to examine the charges against the work of the catholic church with Indigenous groups in Brazil. Anthropologist Maybury-Lewis suggested that the "Christian Church World Council" seems to be "a clumsy attempt to implicate the World Council of Churches" in the claim (Maybury-Lewis 1989).

See more information at:

-New York Times 1987 news report: <https://www.nytimes.com/1987/12/16/world/brasilia-journal-the-indian-war-is-bitter-can-the-few-survive.html>

-Maybury-Lewis' 1989 article is available at: <https://www.culturalsurvival.org/publications/cultural-survival-quarterly/indians-brazil-struggle-intensifies>

102- Original in Portuguese:

No domingo de 09 de agosto de 1987, o jornal “O Estado de São Paulo” amanhecia nas bancas com a seguinte manchete de capa: “Os índios na nova Constituição – a Conspiração contra o Brasil”. Em resumo, a matéria acusava o Cimi de servir de “testa de ferro” a interesses estrangeiros, que a fim de evitar a concorrência da exploração minerária no Brasil, estaria tentando proibir a atividade minerária em terras indígenas. Afirmava ainda que o Cimi seria representante de um “Conselho Mundial de Igrejas Cristãs”, que com o objetivo de concretizar os propósitos de mineradoras estrangeiras, a partir da proposta de “Nações Indígenas”, estaria querendo influenciar os rumos da Constituinte como forma de implantar no país um conceito de “soberania restrita”, o que mais tarde resultaria na internacionalização das terras e subsolos ocupados pelos índios (Lopes 2011, 114).

103- Original in Portuguese: “de origem duvidosa e sem fundamento” (Lopes 2011, 115).

104- Bolsonaro stated in an interview he considered Indigenous reserves to be a “crime” because “Indians don’t speak our language, don’t have money, don’t have a culture. They are native peoples. How can they get 13% of the national territory?” (Marques and Rocha 2015).

Original in Portuguese: “Os índios não falam nossa língua, não têm dinheiro, não têm cultura. São povos nativos. Como eles conseguem ter 13% do território nacional” See News report (in Portuguese) at: <https://www.campograndenews.com.br/politica/bolsonaro-diz-que-oab-so-defende-bandido-e-reserva-indigena-e-um-crime>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20210206013151/https://www.campograndenews.com.br/politica/bolsonaro-diz-que-oab-so-defende-bandido-e-reserva-indigena-e-um-crime>

105- Original in Portuguese:

Onde tem uma reserva indígena, tem uma riqueza embaixo dela. Temos que mudar isso daí! Mas nós não temos, hoje em dia, mais autonomia para mudar isso daí. Entregou-se tanto a nossa nação que chegamos a esse ponto. Mas está pra mudar o nosso país. [...] Se eu chegar lá, no que depender de mim, todo cidadão vai ter uma arma de fogo dentro de casa. Não vai ter um centímetro demarcado pra reserva indígena ou pra quilombola! Com parcerias, nós vamos resgatar esse Brasil.

A shorter video with this excerpt of Bolsonaro’s speech is available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yabLVrYCVdo>

106- For instance, the New York Times reports the example of the lawyer Maurício Martins, then the vice president of PSL, Bolsonaro’s political party during the presidential campaign. He credited “most” of the party’s recruitment -including his own- to the YouTube platform. He explained that YouTube’s auto-playing recommendations were his “political education”: “before that, I didn’t have an ideological political background” (Fisher and Taub 2019, 2). It started one day he was shown a right-wing video that sparked his curiosity, followed by another, and then another.

107- Original in French: « Un coup de théâtre, tel le cliffhanger d’une série télévisée qui contraint le public à rester collé à l’écran pour voir l’épisode suivant. »

108- For an audiovisual compendium of Bolsonaro’s most disturbing declarations (many were originally stated for TV channels and newspapers), see *Midia Ninja*’s YouTube five minutes video (with subtitles in English available), which received more than three million views: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ghCP4r-hzYI>

109- Bolsonaro's YouTube channel has 2856 videos as of April 12, 2021. It is available at: <https://www.youtube.com/user/jbolsonaro>

110- Facebook page accessed on April 12, 2021.

111- An example of a weekly live can be seen at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nkdMo9XQ-YM>

112- See, for instance, Bolsonaro's declaration regarding this standpoint, in February 2018, during a visit to Mato Grosso do Sul: <https://www.campograndenews.com.br/politica/em-dourados-bolsonaro-volta-a-atacar-demarcacao-de-terras-indigenas>

113- For instance, on his first day in office, he dispatched a temporary executive order transferring the demarcation of Indigenous lands from the Justice Ministry to the Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Supply, headed by Teresa Cristina Dias, from Mato Grosso do Sul (Londoño 2019; Phillips 2019; Savarese 2019). She has been a Member of Parliament since 2015, championing the interests of large-scale agribusiness. While the executive order went into effect immediately, this decision has been reversed as it needed the endorsement of the Congress within 120 days, and on May 22nd, the Congress decided to return the attribution of Indigenous lands to the Justice Ministry. In response, Bolsonaro issued, on June 19th, another temporary executive order reversing this decision and enforcing his first order (Agência Senado 2019b; Reuters 2019b). However, on August 1st, the Supreme Federal Tribunal revoked the new executive order on the grounds that the Brazilian legislation does not allow two orders on the same subject within the same legislative year (Uribe 2019; Turolo and Arbex 2019). Nevertheless, Bolsonaro has managed to halt the demarcation of Indigenous Lands (Agência Senado 2019b; Reuters 2019b, Uribe 2019; Turolo and Arbex 2019).

See the CTV News report on the subject at:

<https://www.ctvnews.ca/world/brazil-s-bolsonaro-targets-lgbt-people-Indigenous-groups-on-1st-day-in-office-1.4237987>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20201112012059/https://www.ctvnews.ca/world/brazil-s-bolsonaro-targets-lgbt-people-Indigenous-groups-on-1st-day-in-office-1.4237987>

See The New York Times' report at:

<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/02/world/americas/brazil-bolsonaro-president-Indigenous-lands.html>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20190103015608/https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/02/world/americas/brazil-bolsonaro-president-Indigenous-lands.html>

See the Guardian report at:

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/jan/02/brazil-jair-bolsonaro-amazon-rainforest-protections>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20190102182731/https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/jan/02/brazil-jair-bolsonaro-amazon-rainforest-protections>

The report (in Portuguese) about the second provisory executive order is available at Senado Notícias, the official Senate news site:

<https://www12.senado.leg.br/noticias/materias/2019/06/19/mp-volta-a-transferir-demarcacao-de-terras-indigenas-para-o-ministerio-da-agricultura>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20210225162245/https://www12.senado.leg.br/noticias/materias/2019/06/19/mp-volta-a-transferir-demarcacao-de-terras-indigenas-para-o-ministerio-da-agricultura>

For a report on the subject in English, please see the Reuters report:

<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-brazil-politics-Indigenous/brazils-bolsonaro-hands-Indigenous-land-decisions-back-to-farm-sector-idUSKCN1TK370>

Archived link:

https://web.archive.org/web/20201107233828if_/https://www.reuters.com/article/us-brazil-politics-Indigenous/brazils-bolsonaro-hands-Indigenous-land-decisions-back-to-farm-sector-idUSKCN1TK370

News report on the Supreme Federal Tribunal's decision (in Portuguese) available at:

<https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2019/08/por-unanimidade-stf-derrota-bolsonaro-e-mantem-demarcacao-indigena-na-funai.shtml>

<https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2019/08/bolsonaro-diz-que-errou-ao-insistir-em-demarcacao-de-terras-indigenas-pela-agricultura.shtml>

- 114- Original in Portuguese: “Quando leio nos jornais e nas redes sociais as falas dele, é como se fosse um personagem que eu não conheço, porque o Eduardo Bolsonaro aluno era normal, educado.”

The interview is available at: <https://piaui.folha.uol.com.br/materia/viagem-do-vagao/>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20210316174106/https://piaui.folha.uol.com.br/materia/viagem-do-vagao/>

- 115- In November 2011, Flavio Bolsonaro, then an Elected Member of the Rio de Janeiro State Legislature, drafted and approved the Tiradentes Medal concession to Olavo de Carvalho in honour of what he considered to be Carvalho's intellectual achievements and contributions. Flavio Bolsonaro travelled to Virginia to meet Olavo de Carvalho in July 2012 and granted him officially the medal. The encounter was broadcasted live on YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Cb0JGA80iLo>

Flavio Bolsonaro's Resolution Project granting the medal is available at: <http://alerjln1.alerj.rj.gov.br/scpro1115.nsf/02ac6f279b568e24832566ec0018d839/b2939c5c6734a18b83257953004b81f7>

- 116- Original in Portuguese: “É que Olavo abre seus olhos. Se você ficar lendo só as grandes imprensas, você vai ter uma visão de mundo. Se você conseguir sair disso e ler autores como Olavo, e começar a entrar no mundo da internet, onde vários perfis têm muito mais curtidas e retuítes do que jornalistas com grande aparato por trás deles, você vai descobrir outro mundo.”

- 117- This information is available at: <https://www.facebook.com/olavo.decarvalho/posts/10151960117307192>

- 118- As of April 12, 2021, Olavo de Carvalho's YouTube channel has 1.02 million subscribers, and his channel recommends 633 other YouTube channels: <https://www.youtube.com/user/olavodeca/videos>

His Facebook has 579, 304 followers: <https://www.facebook.com/carvalho.olavo/>; and his primary Twitter account has 716, 016 followers: <https://twitter.com/OdeCarvalho>

- 119- The news report can be accessed at: <https://www.americasquarterly.org/article/jair-bolsonaros-guru/>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20210126144348/https://www.americasquarterly.org/article/jair-bolsonaros-guru/>

- 120- Original in Portuguese from Carvalho's book *O Jardim das Aflições* (1995):

Pode-se mudar a personalidade e as convicções de um homem levando-o ao esgotamento resultante da estimulação contraditória (Pavlov). [...] O fator decisivo é o controle planejado do fluxo de informações, que pode ser realizado à distância (IBM). Não é preciso enfatizar as facilidades que, hoje em dia, a rede das telecomunicações e a informatização da sociedade oferecem para a aplicação dessa receita em escala nacional, continental ou planetária. Se ninguém ainda tentou, foi somente porque não

quis, ou porque tropeçou em algum obstáculo acidental. Impedimento técnico, essencial, não há. (Carvalho 1995,78-79)

- 121- See an example of Olavo de Carvalho's declaration about climate change:
-From his website: <https://olavodecarvalho.org/a-mae-de-todas-as-fraudes/>
Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20201127210434/https://olavodecarvalho.org/a-mae-de-todas-as-fraudes/>
-From his classes on YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7irUuW03CKA>
- 122- See for instance, Olavo de Carvalho's tweet about vaccines:
<https://twitter.com/odecarvalho/status/756945768808865792>
Archived link:
<https://web.archive.org/web/20201122131446/https://twitter.com/odecarvalho/status/756945768808865792>
- 123- See for instance Olavo de Carvalho's tweets and interviews excerpts (reproduced on YouTube) where he defends smoking:
<https://twitter.com/odecarvalho/status/755189338653229057?lang=en>
<https://twitter.com/odecarvalho/status/769331308564713476?lang=en>
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H1TLrhvFzO4>
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r_BrvoFr8zw
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=scJzyBHDKcE>
- 124- Olavo de Carvalho claims that LGBTQ causes are "incompatible" with democracy in a Facebook post:
<https://www.facebook.com/carvalho.olavo/posts/548284751990270/>
Archived Link:
<https://web.archive.org/web/20190909102910/https://www.facebook.com/carvalho.olavo/posts/548284751990270/>
- 125- Olavo de Carvalho's declaration that Obama's birth certificate is a fraud is available at:
-His website: <https://olavodecarvalho.org/segredos-e-mentiras-sem-fim/>
Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20201126190240/https://olavodecarvalho.org/segredos-e-mentiras-sem-fim/>
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cKCqXymiB4w>
- 126- See the report at: https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/the_americas/hes-the-rush-limbaugh-of-brazil-he-has-bolsonaros-ear-and-he-lives-in-rural-virginia/2019/07/14/4f73dee2-8ac4-11e9-8f69-a2795fca3343_story.html
Archived link:
https://web.archive.org/web/20190714210311if_/https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/the_americas/hes-the-rush-limbaugh-of-brazil-he-has-bolsonaros-ear-and-he-lives-in-rural-virginia/2019/07/14/4f73dee2-8ac4-11e9-8f69-a2795fca3343_story.html?utm_term=.92421b6eb178
- 127- The livestream registering the encounter is available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qSmYpRr6Jf0>
- 128- While the two never met in person, Jair Bolsonaro participated in at least three live-stream conversations with Carvalho streamed on YouTube between 2014 to 2016 (McCoy 2019, 3).
- 129- Original in Portuguese: O Mínimo que Você Precisa Saber para não Ser um Idiota.
- 130- On this subject, Carvalho declared: "I started reading [the blog], and I said– 'This guy is a genius! He has to be the foreign minister! [...] He understands the risk from globalism is real'" (Winter 2018, 3).

131- The videoconference debate including Jair Bolsonaro and Olavo de Carvalho can be seen on Jair Bolsonaro's YouTube channel: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Qs6GBV7AwyU>

132- Original in Portuguese: “viáveis para ocupar a Presidência do Brasil.”

133- See Eduardo Bolsonaro's YouTube video on the global warming hoax (with English subtitles): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ncd6CgnQ0gY>

134- For more information about the influence of Eduardo on his father, see (in Portuguese): <https://oglobo.globo.com/mundo/chanceler-informal-eduardo-bolsonaro-acompanha-pai-em-praticamente-todas-as-viagens-internacionais-importantes-23800985>

Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20210127011657/https://oglobo.globo.com/mundo/chanceler-informal-eduardo-bolsonaro-acompanha-pai-em-praticamente-todas-as-viagens-internacionais-importantes-23800985>

135- In August 2018, he tweeted about his encounter with Steve Bannon: <https://twitter.com/bolsonarosp/status/1025718449425788929?lang=en>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20210124085917/https://twitter.com/bolsonarosp/status/1025718449425788929?lang=en>

136- See The Movement's official press release: <https://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/steve-bannon-welcomes-eduardo-bolsonaro-as-head-of-the-movement-in-south-america-300788579.html>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20201111204122/https://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/steve-bannon-welcomes-eduardo-bolsonaro-as-head-of-the-movement-in-south-america-300788579.html>

137- On August 14, 2019, Eduardo Bolsonaro described the CPAC on his Twitter as the “biggest conservative event in the world” and announced he was organizing the event in Brazil (Bolsonaro 2019). On October 11-12, 2019, the event gathered neo-conservative right-wing participants predominantly from Brazil but also from countries such as the United States, Paraguay, Venezuela and Chile, and was streamed live on Eduardo Bolsonaro's YouTube channel and the American Conservative Union channel (ACU). While the ACU has organized the CPAC in the United States since 1973, it was only recently that the event started to occur in other countries. In 2019, it was scheduled to happen for the first time in Brazil, Australia (broadcasted on the ACU YouTube channel) and Korea (also broadcasted live). Previously, besides the United States, only Japan had hosted it (since 2017, when Steve Bannon gave a speech). In 2020, the COVID-19 pandemic halted the CPAC plans in Brazil; however, Eduardo Bolsonaro took part in the CPAC hosted in the United States in February, and his speech during the event is available on YouTube.

See Eduardo Bolsonaro's twitter about the CPAC event at: <https://twitter.com/BolsonaroSP/status/1161762914136723459>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20200319081540if/https://twitter.com/BolsonaroSP/status/1161762914136723459>

See the video recorded live at the CPAC event at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qfKkYzZuWUU>

The American Conservative Union YouTube channel streamed the discussions at the interactive room: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fiu6OO440I>

Another excerpt broadcasted by ACU (general discussion):

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qHxPa6fBg90>

CPAC Australia was broadcast on YouTube:

CPAC Australia 2019 -Nigel Farage -UK Brexit Party Leader:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rRDWbcz3dVE&list=PLxMdYw17bgoMztAgQ4510xils2g5i2JF8>

CPAC Australia 2019 -Craig Kelly -Member of Australian House of Representatives:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=15ZIGn6vPG8&list=PLxMdYw17bgoMztAgQ4510xils2g5i2JF8&index=2>

CPAC Australia 2019 -Raheem Kassam -British Political Activist:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tVQS1ojRXZ4&list=PLxMdYw17bgoMztAgQ4510xils2g5i2JF8&index=3>

CPAC Australia 2019 -Judge Jeanine Pirro:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PjEoYiOcVls&list=PLxMdYw17bgoMztAgQ4510xils2g5i2JF8&index=4>

CPAC Australia 2019 -Campbell Newman and David Limbrick:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MZ3ZHpPIuos&list=PLxMdYw17bgoMztAgQ4510xils2g5i2JF8&index=5>

CPAC Australia 2019 -Daniel Wild:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XskndjLkUAU&list=PLxMdYw17bgoMztAgQ4510xils2g5i2JF8&index=6>

CPAC Australia 2019 -Janet Albrechtsen:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TSyABbdxseM&list=PLxMdYw17bgoMztAgQ4510xils2g5i2JF8&index=7>

CPAC Australia 2019 -John Anderson:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oFiXOX4FKSE&list=PLxMdYw17bgoMztAgQ4510xils2g5i2JF8&index=8>

CPAC Australia 2019 -Dr. Tanveer Ahmed:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UDYqKQq8twU&list=PLxMdYw17bgoMztAgQ4510xils2g5i2JF8&index=9>

CPAC Australia 2019 -Warren Mundine Ao:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HwP_cx9O54c&list=PLxMdYw17bgoMztAgQ4510xils2g5i2JF8&index=10

CPAC Australia 2019 -Daisy Cousens:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=juZ261IT3o0&list=PLxMdYw17bgoMztAgQ4510xils2g5i2JF8&index=11>

CPAC Australia 2019 -Steve Baxter:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iHV5h3gaS00&list=PLxMdYw17bgoMztAgQ4510xils2g5i2JF8&index=12>

CPAC Australia 2019 -Jacinta Price:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OCWcLK0Z14o&list=PLxMdYw17bgoMztAgQ4510xils2g5i2JF8&index=13>

CPAC Australia 2019 –“The outsiders” Rowan Dean, Ross Cameron, Mark Latham:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r2NZWW4Ai-U&list=PLxMdYw17bgoMztAgQ4510xils2g5i2JF8&index=14>

CPAC Australia 2019 -Mark Meadows and Matt Schlapp:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iRg9mDEBrWM&list=PLxMdYw17bgoMztAgQ4510xils2g5i2JF8&index=15>

CPAC Australia 2019 -Mark Meadows and Daniel Schneider:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ynb2dqB1KMY&list=PLxMdYw17bgoMztAgQ4510xils2g5i2JF8&index=16>

CPAC Australia 2019 -Peggy Grande:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ds6A9n59lx8&list=PLxMdYw17bgoMztAgQ45l0xils2g5i2JF8&index=17>

CPAC Australia 2019 - Senators Jim Molan & Malcolm Roberts:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T5AeRWbO0mc&list=PLxMdYw17bgoMztAgQ45l0xils2g5i2JF8&index=18>

CPAC Korea 2019 was also broadcasted live on YouTube:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IMpHSn79_hg

CPAC in Japan can be seen at: <http://jcpac.org/en/home-en/>

Steven Bannon speech at Japan CPAC 2017: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ffjQoAHvwmU>

Eduardo Bolsonaro's participation at CPAC 2020 is available at:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=42dx33EELTk>

- 138- Channel 4 News' investigation is available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mpbeOCKZFFQ>
- 139- The documents showing Cambridge Analytica's negotiations to act in Brazil were leaked by a former employee through the Twitter account <https://twitter.com/hindsightfiles>. The direct link to the documents related to Brazil can be accessed at: <https://t.co/aOGOGq0kAb?amp=1>
- 140- In the chain of emails named "a thank you note" from May 2016, Pedro Vizeu-Pinheiro, who is the head of SCL Brazil but is Spanish and initially based in England, shows his efforts to "land a contract" in Brazil, while a previous email addressed to him mentions he had a coming meeting with a Presidential candidate in Brazil. In a chain of emails from June 2016 titled "Data analytics", the SCL Elections managing director Mark Turnbull mentions Brazil as one of the "five target countries where some data due diligence would be really helpful". In September 2016, in the email appearing in the document "Call Follow Up", Vizeu-Pinheiro explains that Brazil is the "second biggest political market in the world by marketing expenditure" and that he has been "working very hard to persuade" potential Brazilian partners to work with them.
- 141- See El País news report at: https://brasil.elpais.com/brasil/2017/10/11/politica/1507723607_646140.html
Archived link:
https://web.archive.org/web/20201111195921/https://brasil.elpais.com/brasil/2017/10/11/politica/1507723607_646140.html
- 142- Offices were in New York, Washington, London, Brazil and Malaysia.
- 143- See the speech at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n8Dd5aVXLcC>
- 144- See the 2018 New York Times news report at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/04/technology/mark-zuckerberg-testify-congress.html>
Archived link:
<https://web.archive.org/web/20210402183418/https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/04/technology/mark-zuckerberg-testify-congress.html>
- 145- See Reuter's news report at: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-facebook-cambridge-analytica-factbox/factbox-who-is-cambridge-analytica-and-what-did-it-do-idUSKBN1GW07F>
Archived link:
<https://web.archive.org/web/20190428145944/https://www.reuters.com/article/us-facebook-cambridge-analytica-factbox-idUSKBN1GW07F>
See a related 2018 New York Times news report (which served as a source for Reuter's) at:
<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/17/us/politics/cambridge-analytica-trump-campaign.html>
Some information, however, was later revised by the New York Times news report from April presented in the previous note.

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20180317131953/https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/17/us/politics/cambridge-analytica-trump-campaign.html>

146- See O Globo -G1 news report (in Portuguese) at:

<https://g1.globo.com/economia/tecnologia/noticia/facebook-eleva-para-87-milhoes-o-n-de-usuarios-que-tiveram-dados-explorados-pela-cambridge-analytica.ghtml>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20200529222932/https://g1.globo.com/economia/tecnologia/noticia/facebook-eleva-para-87-milhoes-o-n-de-usuarios-que-tiveram-dados-explorados-pela-cambridge-analytica.ghtml>

BBC:

<https://www.bbc.com/news/technology-43649018#:~:text=Facebook%20believes%20the%20data%20of,of%20them%20are%20UK%2Dbased>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20201210095624/https://www.bbc.com/news/technology-43649018#:~:text=Facebook%2520believes%2520the%2520data%2520of,of%2520them%2520are%2520UK%252Dbased>

See also El Pais news report (in Portuguese) at: <https://brasil.elpais.com/tecnologia/2019-12-30/brasil-multa-facebook-em-66-milhoes-de-reais-pelo-vazamento-de-dados-no-caso-cambridge-analytica.html>

Other reports in English:

Reuters:

<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-facebook-privacy-idUSKCN1HB2CM>

147- See Bloomberg’s news report at: <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-12-30/brazil-fines-facebook-1-6-million-for-cambridge-analytica-saga>

Archived link:

https://web.archive.org/web/20200302080557if_/https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-12-30/brazil-fines-facebook-1-6-million-for-cambridge-analytica-saga

See Reuter’s news report at: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-facebook-brazil-fine-idUSKBN1YY0VK>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20200531005246/https://www.reuters.com/article/us-facebook-brazil-fine-idUSKBN1YY0VK>

148- Based on Myers Briggs-style profiling known as OCEAN Five, Facebook users were divided into groups based on the key traits “openness”, “conscientiousness”, “extraversion”, “agreeableness”, and “neuroticism”, resulting in the creation of 32 personality types (Sellers 2015, 2; Confessore and Hakim 2017).

149- See the 2017 New York Times news report at:

<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/03/06/us/politics/cambridge-analytica.html>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20210402191701/https://www.nytimes.com/2017/03/06/us/politics/cambridge-analytica.html>

See the 2015 Washington Post news report mentioning the psychographic profiles at:

https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/cruz-campaign-paid-750000-to-psychographic-profiling-company/2015/10/19/6c83e508-743f-11e5-9cbb-790369643cf9_story.html

Archived link:

https://web.archive.org/web/20201108134050if_/https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/cruz-campaign-paid-750000-to-psychographic-profiling-company/2015/10/19/6c83e508-743f-11e5-9cbb-790369643cf9_story.html

150- Messages were further calibrated through extensive tests on social media. Cambridge Analytica's former research director Christopher Wylie revealed to CNN that Trump's slogans such as "Drain the swamp" or "Build the wall" had been sharpened years before his campaign:

We were testing all kinds of messages, all kinds of imagery that included images of walls, people scaling walls, we tested "drain the swamp", tested ideas of the "deep state", [...] "the government is conspiring against you" and a lot of these narratives, which at that time would seem crazy for a mainstream candidate to run on, those were the things that we were finding that there were pockets of Americans who this really appealed to. [...] I was surprised when I saw the Trump campaign talk about building walls, drain the swamp, and I remembered in my head: we tested this. [...] We were testing these narratives well before Trump had even announced. (CNN 2018)

Wylie's interview is available on CNN YouTube's channel:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=loOgecLlrU&t=11s>

151- See Huchon's documentary *Trumping Democracy -Big Data* (2017) available on:

Amazon Prime:

https://www.primevideo.com/detail/0LH0BI8OJSKXQOAHETZ0YZBGGQ/ref=atv_sr_def_c_unkc_1_1_1?sr=1-1&pageTypeIdSource=ASIN&pageTypeId=B07F28Q1VM&qid=1607299362

Vimeo:

<https://vimeo.com/ondemand/trumpingdemocracy>

Facebook page of the film:

<https://www.facebook.com/TrumpingDmrcrcy/>

152- The research reported that the apparent inconsistencies and contradictions in Bolsonaro's public statements and demeanours, pointed by those who opposed him as evidence of his low capacity for political articulation and lack of coherence, was a way to direct messages towards specific people and connect with their aspirations and concerns. Furthermore, his campaign's apparent cacophony helped him lure the media attention, increasing his reach for potential voters and, at the same time, obscuring the workings of his campaign (Oliveira Kalil 2018, 6, 8).

Oliveira Kalil indicated that the voting decisions of many interviewees were impelled by fear, correlated with misinformation coined for a "deliberate mobilization of fears, panics, and revulsions" (2018, 22). Post-electoral polls showed that "98,21 percent of Bolsonaro voters were exposed to one or more messages with fake content" (Oliveira Kalil 2018, 6). Oliveira Kalil observes that many of Bolsonaro's supporters are "fully convinced that they are fighting for democracy" because they have been receiving at least since 2015 "a massive flood of propaganda" deployed primarily through social media platforms (2018, 17). For instance, some of these supporter profiles portrayed themselves as "antifascists" because they became convinced that it constituted a "leftist ideology". This belief led some of Bolsonaro's voters to strongly rebuke a video on Nazism and the Holocaust posted by the German Embassy in Brazil on its website. They claimed that it hid the truth that Nazism was, in fact, communism (Oliveira Kalil 2018, 17; Reuters and KNA 2018). Fear of "communism" catalyzed the dependency on pro-Bolsonaro social media content -especially on Facebook, YouTube and WhatsApp- as most of the Brazilian mainstream media -and even international ones such as The Economist- have been tagged as "communists" (Oliveira Kalil 2018, 18).

See Deutsche Welle's report at: <https://www.dw.com/en/brazil-german-embassy-triggersbizarre-nazi-and-holocaust-debate/a-45577454>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20210205184358/https://www.dw.com/en/brazil-german-embassy-triggers-bizarre-nazi-and-holocaust-debate/a-45577454>

153- Alt-right is the designation used by Steve Bannon to define this type of political rhetoric (Hylton 2017, 1, 4).

See the New York Times news report with this discussion at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/16/magazine/breitbart-alt-right-steve-bannon.html>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20210301182839/https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/16/magazine/breitbart-alt-right-steve-bannon.html>

- 154- In the United States, in 2010, the Supreme Court gave companies and billionaires unprecedented power to influence politics: it annulled a 60-year-old ban on financing election campaigns by corporations and unions independently of candidates. Before 2010, USA laws restricted election campaign financing to 2700 dollars for citizens and 5,000 for companies. In the 2010 Citizen United decision, the judges considered that limiting political financing was “an infringement of freedom of speech” (Huchon 2017). As a result, candidates can be supported in two ways in the American electoral system’s current spending model. The first is the official campaign, which has limited funding and is responsible for paying for advertisements, leaflets and organizing meetings. The second is constituted of political action committees (PAC), which can now raise funds and spend unlimited money. This scenario created the possibility of becoming the driving force in US politics for “a handful of billionaires and multimillionaires”, such as the Koch brothers, who also funded substantial political groups and think tanks in Brazil defending agribusiness interests, fighting taxes and economic regulation, as I discuss in Chapter 4. As American political strategist Tad Devine remarks:

The political system in America is so broken right now because of the special interest money which floods campaigns. I mean, what happens when the special interest has an agenda? If you’re an oil company, for example, you’d like to continue drilling for fossil fuel. Or you are a polluter, and you want to make sure you can continue to pollute. You go in, and you support politicians who believe in your agenda, politicians who will say, for example, that climate change is not happening because of manmade activities. They will promote that publicly because that protects the special interest of who funds their campaigns. (Huchon 2017)

It was this political scenario that allowed Cambridge Analytica to control and catapult Trump’s campaign. The company was founded in 2013 in Delaware after republican billionaire Robert Mercer, CEO of a hedge fund firm, invested 15 million dollars in a joint venture with the election division of the SCL group (Rosenberg et al. 2018, 4; Ingram 2018, 2; Huchon 2017). In June 2016, the Mercer family offered Trump financial support and the company’s services with the condition that he replaced his campaign manager with Steve Bannon. The agreement was accepted in July (Huchon 2017).

For more information about the pervasive presence of the Koch Brothers in the Republican Party in the United States, see the documentary Citizen Koch (Deal and Lessin 2013). It can be accessed at: <https://www.kanopy.com/product/citizen-koch>

For more information about Cambridge Analytica, please, see the New York Times news report at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/17/us/politics/cambridge-analytica-trump-campaign.html>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20180317131953/https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/17/us/politics/cambridge-analytica-trump-campaign.html>

While Mercer owned the majority of the company, Bannon was a board member (Rosenberg et al. 2018, 4; Ingram 2018, 2). Both shared the same far-right views and saw the company as a way to steer the American political discourse towards their societal aspirations.

- 155- It resulted in firing off synchronously hundreds of millions of messages (including videos) on Facebook’s messenger application WhatsApp (Oliveira Kalil 2018, 19; Campos Mello 2018; Phillips 2018). The scheme is illegal because it characterizes “undeclared campaign donations by companies”, which Brazilian electoral legislation forbids (Campos Mello 2018; Phillips 2018). To Pro-Bolsonaro website *O Antagonista*, Bolsonaro declared, “I can’t control it if an entrepreneur who is friendly to me is doing this. I know it’s against the law. But I can’t control it, I have no way of knowing about it and taking measures [to stop it]” (Phillips 2018, Moura Brasil 2018).

See Folha de São Paulo's news report (in Portuguese) at: https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2018/10/empresarios-bancam-campanha-contra-o-pt-pelo-whatsapp.shtml?utm_source=twitter&utm_medium=social&utm_campaign=comptw

Archived link:

https://web.archive.org/web/20210517110516/https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2018/10/empresarios-bancam-campanha-contra-o-pt-pelo-whatsapp.shtml?utm_source=twitter&utm_medium=social&utm_campaign=comptw

See The Guardian's news report at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/oct/18/brazil-jair-bolsonaro-whatsapp-fake-news-campaign>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20210404091954/https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/oct/18/brazil-jair-bolsonaro-whatsapp-fake-news-campaign>

See Bolsonaro's declaration (in Portuguese) at the website O Antagonista: https://www.oantagonista.com/brasil/bolsonaro-sobre-materia-da-folha-eu-nao-tenho-controle-se-tem-empresario-simpatico-mim-fazendo-isso/?_twitter_impression=true

Archived link:

https://web.archive.org/web/20201125075939/https://www.oantagonista.com/brasil/bolsonaro-sobre-materia-da-folha-eu-nao-tenho-controle-se-tem-empresario-simpatico-mim-fazendo-isso/?_twitter_impression=true

- 156- Cristina Tardáguila, director of a Brazilian fact-checking platform, wrote a New York Times article with Fabrício Benevenuto, a Brazilian computer science professor and Pablo Ortellado, a Brazilian public policy professor, in which they argued that WhatsApp gained momentum as a political tool after Facebook and Google implemented initiatives to counter misinformation (such as third-party fact-checkers). These efforts drove disinformation campaigns to WhatsApp because its group messages are encrypted and thus harder to monitor than Facebook's posts or Google's search results (Tardáguila et al. 2018).

See the New York Times news report at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/17/opinion/brazil-election-fake-news-whatsapp.html>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20210527083419/https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/17/opinion/brazil-election-fake-news-whatsapp.html>

- 157- See G1 news report on the poll (in Portuguese) at: <https://g1.globo.com/politica/eleicoes/2018/eleicao-em-numeros/noticia/2018/10/03/datafolha-quantos-eleitores-de-cada-candidato-usam-redes-sociais-leem-e-compartilham-noticias-sobre-politica.ghtml>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20210119230919/https://g1.globo.com/politica/eleicoes/2018/eleicao-em-numeros/noticia/2018/10/03/datafolha-quantos-eleitores-de-cada-candidato-usam-redes-sociais-leem-e-compartilham-noticias-sobre-politica.ghtml>

- 158- This logic is akin to Massumi's description of the Bush government's discourse to justify the war in Iraq even in the face of the lack of "factual basis" because "in the past there was a future threat":

Just because the menace potential never became a clear and present danger doesn't mean that it wasn't there, all the more real for being nonexistent. The superlative futurity of unactualized threat feeds forward from the past, in a chicken run to the future past every intervening present. The threat will have been real for all eternity. It will have been real because it was felt to be real (Massumi 2010, 53).

Notes for Chapter 4

1- Original in Portuguese:

O jeito de pensar é sempre a partir do jeito de pensar não-indígena. [...] Temos que usar as novas tecnologias, tecnologia da mídia, mas pra fortalecer o jeito Kaiowá e Guarani. [...] Interessante agora ter essa proposta de nova tecnologia, pegar as coisas boas e usar, [...] produzir conhecimento, mas diferente. A forma de pensar, a forma de invenção, a forma de registro tem que ser diferente. [...] A presença indígena na universidade, na mídia, no território [...] tem que ser diferente.

2- Original in Portuguese:

A gente vive agora um momento crucial na luta pra garantia de território, garantia de direitos humanos, garantia à saúde, todas essas garantias que estão em jogo agora, esses filmes, eles ilustrariam e trariam a sensibilidade pública pra angariar o nosso avanço na luta, [...] numa situação que a gente deveria estar pautando junto, vindo junto pra formar mobilização pra sensibilidade comum das pessoas pra uma luta que a gente tá vivendo agora.

3- Original in Portuguese:

Então cada filme que a gente faz, ele é um espelho, um reflexo que se torna como um instrumento de resistência e luta pra poder a gente resistir dentro dessa imposição, desse atropelo da sociedade não indígena vem pondo com sistema de produção do agronegócio. A luta pela terra, a demarcação, tudo isso, a gente vai contrapondo através desses filmes. [...] A sociedade branca não respeita a natureza, eles vão destruindo como a gente vê no pantanal, na Amazônia. E aqui no Mato Grosso do Sul, já aconteceu: já destruíram a natureza. Então a riqueza dos brancos é produzida destruindo a riqueza verdadeira que são as florestas, a terra, a água e os guardiões. Então o cinema tem que entrar no meio pra fortalecer esse *tekohá* - que é o nosso território. Então esse é um processo que é “*guaranizar*” a câmera e o processo da produção de cinema.

4- Original in Portuguese/Spanish: “Eu penso que não tem que “*guaranizar*” a câmera, a câmera é só uma câmera. Eu penso que a sociedade toda, hay que *guaranizar* para vivir melhor, no solo câmera.

5- The live took place in April 2021 and is available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sYzdLEhdjhs&t=9802s>

6- Original in Portuguese: “Nativas Narrativas”. The program of the event (in Portuguese) is available at: <http://www.centrodeartes.uff.br/eventos/ciclo-de-cinema-nativas-narrativas/?fbclid=IwAR239XU0tg0Xg0bhZOCooOsjTf-qQo545iN7SKqZCWaoikZKCCXEXZBbZFO>

<http://www.centrodeartes.uff.br/eventos/nativas-narrativas-o-modo-indigena-de-fazer-cinema/>

7- Original in Portuguese:

Olha lá o veneno! Tá passando até em cima de nós agora. Olha lá as crianças. [Crianças gritam: Vem ver o veneno!]. Agora tá chovendo já. [...] E tá jogando em cima da água que tá parada ali. Essa é nossa estrada, a estrada que a água ficou parada bem naquela árvore, embaixo da árvore. Tá querendo passar em cima de nós, a aldeia, esta é a aldeia.

8- When Agência Pública / Repórter Brasil interviewed the Federal Prosecutor Marco Antônio Delfino de Almeida, he informed that the video of the spraying recorded by the Guyra Kambi’y community was the evidence that initiated a civil lawsuit against the farmers responsible for the spraying. Subsequently, Almeida conducted a criminal investigation and verified the contamination but could not identify the pesticide because the laboratories in the region were not sufficiently equipped. Even though the community suffered typical symptoms from agrototoxin poisoning such as skin and eyes irritation, headaches, sore throat, fever and diarrhea, the Federal Court of Mato Grosso do Sul accepted the rural

producer's claim that the plane was spraying fertilizers and dismissed the lawsuit in 2019. The judge affirmed that "there are activities that cannot be suppressed without serious damage to the collectivity" (Original in Portuguese: "Há atividades que não podem ser suprimidas sem grave prejuízo à coletividade") (MPF/MS 2019). However, Almeida is sure the spraying product was not a fertilizer because of the time of the year it happened.

9- The video is available at the MPF/MS' YouTube channel: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=isRLyKD7B7s>

10- Original in Portuguese: "É uma espécie de terrorismo. Uma agressão química, uma versão moderna do agente laranja, utilizado na Guerra do Vietnã"

Delfino de Almeida's interview to Reporter Brasil / Agência Pública is available at: <https://reporterbrasil.org.br/2019/08/agrotoxico-foi-usado-como-arma-quimica-contra-os-indigenas-diz-procurador/>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20201021050845/https://reporterbrasil.org.br/2019/08/agrotoxico-foi-usado-como-arma-quimica-contra-os-indigenas-diz-procurador/>

11- There is an abridged version of the *In Someone Else's Lands- expansion of the soybean and sugarcane frontiers on Indigenous territories in Mato Grosso do Sul, Brazil* report in English, available at: <https://reporterbrasil.org.br/documentos/EmTerrasAlheiasING-WEB.pdf>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20210405200110/https://reporterbrasil.org.br/documentos/EmTerrasAlheiasING-WEB.pdf>

The complete report is available in Portuguese (*Em Terras Alheias A produção de soja e cana em áreas Guarani no Mato Grosso do Sul*) at:

<https://reporterbrasil.org.br/documentos/emterrasalheias.pdf>.

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20200816134444/https://reporterbrasil.org.br/documentos/emterrasalheias.pdf>

12- Original in Portuguese: "Quando eles passam veneno nas lavouras, geralmente o [herbicida] Nortox, as pessoas passam muito mal. Principalmente as crianças. Mas pega em todo mundo, dá umas fístulas cheias de pus, depois a pele da gente fica toda marcada."

13- Original in Portuguese: "A água que a gente consome vem de uma nascente que fica toda contaminada, e nossas roças morrem quando o vento traz o veneno pra cá".

14- The compilation is available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g_g_94QLtco

15- In December 2019, an unprecedented decision of the Federal Court of Mato Grosso do Sul sentenced a farmer, an agricultural pilot, and a company to pay jointly R\$ 150,000 to the community, as informed Brazilian news report Agência Pública / Repórter Brasil, Campo Grande News, O Globo, and Notícias UOL.

See the Agência Pública / Repórter Brasil news report (in Portuguese) at: <https://reporterbrasil.org.br/2020/01/em-decisao-inedita-indigenas-vitimas-de-chuva-de-agrotoxico-recebem-r-150-mil-de-indenizacao/>

Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20210322113753/https://reporterbrasil.org.br/2020/01/em-decisao-inedita-indigenas-vitimas-de-chuva-de-agrotoxico-recebem-r-150-mil-de-indenizacao/>

See the Campo Grande News report (in Portuguese) at:

<https://www.campograndenews.com.br/cidades/interior/juiz-condena-empresa-piloto-e-produtor-por-uso-de-agrotoxico-perto-de-aldeia>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20191224185028/https://www.campograndenews.com.br/cidades/interior/juiz-condena-empresa-piloto-e-produtor-por-uso-de-agrotoxico-perto-de-aldeia>

See O Globo -Mato Grosso do Sul news report (in Portuguese) at: <https://g1.globo.com/ms/mato-grosso-do-sul/noticia/2020/01/17/justica-manda-fazendeiro-piloto-de-aviao-e-empresa-pagarem-r-150-mil-por-jogarem-agrotoxico-em-indios.ghtml>

Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20200118145708/https://g1.globo.com/ms/mato-grosso-do-sul/noticia/2020/01/17/justica-manda-fazendeiro-piloto-de-aviao-e-empresa-pagarem-r-150-mil-por-jogarem-agrotoxico-em-indios.ghtml>

See Notícias Uol news report (in Portuguese) at: <https://noticias.uol.com.br/meio-ambiente/ultimas-noticias/redacao/2020/01/21/produtor-e-condenado-a-pagar-indenizacao-por-lancar-agrotoxico-em-indigenas.htm>

Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20200806130456/https://noticias.uol.com.br/meio-ambiente/ultimas-noticias/redacao/2020/01/21/produtor-e-condenado-a-pagar-indenizacao-por-lancar-agrotoxico-em-indigenas.htm>

16- Original in Portuguese: “Passaram de avião e não queriam nem saber, jogou em cima dos barraco, em cima da gente [...] Eu e toda minha família estávamos junto na hora. O filho do meu cunhado passou mal, intoxicado com veneno, teve que levar pro hospital.”

17- The video is available at *Aty Guasu's* YouTube channel: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Qcw6U3PnXZI>

18- Original in Portuguese: “Agora não é época de passar veneno. Veneno se usa na época de colheita. E do outro lado é gado, e com gado não se usa veneno. Isso não foi um acidente”.

19- The declaration was a part of Pinter Moreira's presentation “A expropriação das terras indígenas e as violações de direitos humanos [The expropriation of the Indigenous lands and the violations against human rights]” at the 57th UIA (Union Internationale des Avocats) Congress in Macau, China, on November 2, 2013.

See: <https://web.archive.org/web/20210406000027/https://www.uianet.org/en/events/57th-congress#program>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20210406000027/https://www.uianet.org/en/events/57th-congress#program>

The presentation is available at:

<http://docplayer.com.br/8198563-Apresentacao-a-expropriacao-das-terras-indigenas-e-as-violacoes-de-direitos-humanos.html>

For more information about UIA (in English), see: <https://www.uianet.org/en/about-us>

Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20201130014755/https://www.uianet.org/en/about-us>

20- Original in Portuguese:

Veneno fedido, química homicida foi jogado pelos fazendeiros no córrego Ypo'i, em tekohá guarani-kaiowá Ypo'i -Paranhos-MS. O fato cruel ocorreu no dia 14 de novembro de 2012. Enquanto as crianças e adultos guarani e kaiowá estavam tomando banho, comparceu espuma branca em cima do córrego, todos saíram correndo. As lideranças e comunidades comunicaram à FUNAI, PF, E MPF, mas fim de semana foram feriadados. Nós, todas lideranças da aty guasu guarani e Kaiowá estamos chocados e indignados com as ações cruéis dos fazendeiros que passaram praticar esse envenenamento dos nossos córregos que utilizamos dia-a-dia, pedimos que autoridades federais tomem providencias cabíveis. Aguardamos as posições. Passamos os fatos e vídeos para todos (as). No celular, foi filmado por indígena de Ypo'i.

21- See, for instance, the O Globo news report (in Portuguese) at: <http://g1.globo.com/economia/agronegocios/vida-rural/noticia/2012/11/festa-da-banana-comemora-o-bom-desempenho-das-lavouras-em-mg.html>

Archived Link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20130217035349/http://g1.globo.com/economia/agronegocios/vida-rural/noticia/2012/11/festa-da-banana-comemora-o-bom-desempenho-das-lavouras-em-mg.html>

22- See, the O Globo news report on the subject (in Portuguese) at: <http://g1.globo.com/mato-grosso-do-sul/noticia/2013/01/justica-em-ms-determina-que-indios-recebam-agua-potavel-em-paranhos.html>

23- Original in Portuguese:

Naquele lugar era puro pasto de fazenda, que antes de ser fazenda era mato. Tinha uma parte de campo com guavira e remédio. Hoje tudo tá só canavial. [...] Depois que começou a funcionar a usina a saúde ficou ruim para todos -crianças, adultos e animais. Perdemos 7 cavalos, duas vacas e um boi. Depois que a usina funcionou as nascentes das águas ficou rasa. A lavagem que eles passam na cana, quando chove prejudica os peixes também. O peixe do rio, do córrego, da lagoa. Aqui dava pintado, douradinho, curimba, peixe-espada e vários outros peixes miúdos, que antes tinha. Sumiu tudo. Também acabou remédios de vários tipos, que dá no mato, na beira do rio. A planta acabou pelo envenenamento. Remédio para a coluna, estômago, cabeça. De primeiro, tinha. Sumiu tudo [...] Quando chove, a água fica horrível e já teve gente que passou mal. Na queimação de cana, as crianças, os velhos as gestantes, ataca tudo. A fumaça ataca. O cheiro ruim vem para cá quando espalham a calda na plantação. Causa vários tipos de problemas. Antes do canavial era outra saúde, uma vida sossegada. Hoje a gente se sente de uma outra forma, sem mais tranquilidade.

24- Original in Portuguese:

Na beira do córrego é que está o remédio do índio e o índio já não está mais usando remédio porque acabou o córrego. É de lá que nós tiramos o remédio, e pra sustento: pra fazer os artesanatos, pra fazer essas coisas [Lenir mostra um colar]. Tudo é tirado de dentro do brejo. Então com isso vai vir o sustento nosso, e a saúde nossa que são os remédios da beira do brejo. E tem remédio, que ele é só do brejo. Não dá no seco. Então, são 25 nascentes e já secaram oito [...]. Essa aqui é a única nascente que está viva. As outras tão morrendo todas.

25- See the video at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f5qld6lzyPg>

26- For more information, please see:

The 2018 press-release from UFGD (in Portuguese): <https://portal.ufgd.edu.br/noticias/projeto-nascente-viva-vai-recuperar-corrego-jaguapiru>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20210406005103/https://portal.ufgd.edu.br/noticias/projeto-nascente-viva-vai-recuperar-corrego-jaguapiru>

Some initial information in English can be retrieved at: <https://www.betterplace.org/en/projects/73794-nascente-viva-lebende-quelle>

27- The 2019 press-release from UFGD (in Portuguese) is available at: <https://portal.ufgd.edu.br/noticias/projeto-nascente-viva-comemora-seu-1-ano-com-a-plantacao-de-novas-mudas-no-corrego-jaguapiru>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20210406005604/https://portal.ufgd.edu.br/noticias/projeto-nascente-viva-comemora-seu-1-ano-com-a-plantacao-de-novas-mudas-no-corrego-jaguapiru>

28- Original in Portuguese: horta medicinal

- 29- Original in Portuguese: “Hoje eu tenho a horta medicinal que ela tá ajudando, a UFGD, junto com a igreja católica, que tá sendo uma parceira total. Daí a gente logo lá já vai tá vendendo muda, fazendo remédio e distribuindo também pra nossa própria comunidade, né”.
- 30- Original in Portuguese: 12ª Feira de sementes nativas e crioulas e de produtos agroecológicos. See information at: <https://www.embrapa.br/busca-de-eventos/-/evento/210264/12-feira-de-sementes-nativas-e-crioulas-e-de-produtos-agroecologicos-de-juti-ms>
- 31- Original in Portuguese:
- Os agrotóxicos, pesticidas, praguicidas, defensivos agrícolas, eles têm vários nomes. Mas eles têm que ser encarados como os remédios das plantas. Assim como a gente tem doença, assim como a gente é atacado por insetos, as plantas também são e esses produtores nada mais são do que protetores: eles defendem, eles fazem a defesa vegetal. Então, eles são produtos fundamentais pra agricultura, especialmente no Brasil que é um país tropical. No Brasil, a gente tem que levar em consideração que a gente tem uma vantagem competitiva que é o clima ameno, disponibilidade de água e muita chuva. Isso permite aos produtores produzir mais, produzir mais alimento, produzir durante o ano todo. Só que esse clima favorável, ele também proporciona uma condição melhor pro desenvolvimento das pragas, porque as pragas elas gostam de calor, de água, então elas se desenvolvem muito mais facilmente no Brasil do que em outros lugares.
- 32- Original podcast name in Portuguese: Mamilos -jornalismo de peito aberto.
- Mamilos’ episode on pesticides is available at: <https://www.b9.com.br/shows/mamilos/mamilos-215-agrotoxicos/>
Archived link:
https://web.archive.org/web/20210406013629if_/https://www.b9.com.br/shows/mamilos/mamilos-215-agrotoxicos/
- The episode was also recently added to the YouTube channel of the podcast:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zDzaFKnRdoY>
- 33- Original in Portuguese: “Agradeça aos Agrotóxicos por Estar Vivo”
- 34- Xico Graziano’s article praising the book is available at:
<https://www.poder360.com.br/opiniao/brasil/agrotoxicos-causam-problemas-mas-trouxeram-a-solucao-diz-xico-graziano/>.
- For more information about Xico Graziano’s political positions, please see:
<https://web.archive.org/web/20121026024553/http://www.xicograziano.com.br/perfil/cv>
- Conversely, the Facebook page of the book often features Graziano’s articles supporting large-scale agribusiness, including transgenic cultivations: <https://www.facebook.com/agrotoxico/>
- Another emblematic example is Vital’s interview with Kim Patroca Kataguirí, who is currently a federal deputy (DEM- SP) and Arthur Moledo do Val, elected in 2018 as a State deputy (DEM -SP), as I discuss later in the Chapter.
- 35- Competing native plants are the primary target of pesticides since most of them are herbicides, as discussed in Chapter 1 and Appendix 4. The term Vital used (in Portuguese) was *praga*.
- 36- The interview is available at: <https://theintercept.com/2018/07/15/agradeca-aos-agrotoxicos-por-estar-vivo-o-que-esta-por-tras-do-livro/>
- Archived link:
https://web.archive.org/web/20210406015615if_/https://theintercept.com/2018/07/15/agradeca-aos-agrotoxicos-por-estar-vivo-o-que-esta-por-tras-do-livro/

The interview was posted on the Facebook page of *Thank agrottoxins for being alive*, and its tone was criticized but without denying the information provided: “Serious denunciation... They discovered what is behind the book ... hahaha. The information was so secret that it was passed on to the journalist by the author himself. Pathetic text, which in the absence of technical arguments to refute the information in the book, tries to disqualify the author”.

Original in Portuguese: Denúncia grave... Descobriram o que está por trás do livro... kkkkk. As informações eram tão secretas que foram passadas para o jornalista pelo próprio autor. Texto patético, que na falta de argumentos técnicos para rebater as informações do livro, tenta desqualificar o autor.”

Please, see the post at: <https://www.facebook.com/agrotoxico/posts/707331889598977>

- 37- Original in Portuguese: Dinheiro Rural/IstoÉ: <https://www.dinheirorural.com.br/>
- 38- Original in Portuguese: “Eles estavam atrás de alguém que não entendesse absolutamente nada de agronegócio, porque a revista era muito técnica e eles queriam um olhar diferente”.
- 39- Original in Portuguese: “Foi lá que eu aprendi o que é o agronegócio. Hoje eu sou um defensor do agronegócio.”
- 40- Original in Portuguese: “grandes setores do agronegócio”
- 41- Original in Portuguese: Associação Nacional de Defesa Vegetal
- 42- Original in Portuguese: Confederação da Agricultura e Pecuária do Brasil – CNA
<https://www.cnabrasil.org.br/cna>
- 43- Vital’s Facebook post is available at: <https://www.facebook.com/agrotoxico/posts/661249617540538>
- 44- Original in Portuguese: Serviço Nacional de Aprendizagem Rural
- 45- As informed at the CNA’s website: <https://www.cnabrasil.org.br/cna>
Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20210123204348/https://www.cnabrasil.org.br/cna/>
- 46- Federação da Agricultura e Pecuária de Mato Grosso do Sul: <https://portal.sistemafamasul.com.br/>
- 47- For more information (in English), please see: <https://aprosojabrasil.com.br/en/about-us/>
- 48- Original podcast name in Portuguese: “Eu Como”. Website: <http://www.eucomo.com/>
- 49- *Eu como*’s YouTube channel: https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCu5UH9nFZNy_ca75WaE_hCA/about
- 50- *Eu como*’s Facebook’s page: https://www.facebook.com/eucomopodcast/posts/?ref=page_internal
Eu como’s Instagram’s page: https://www.instagram.com/eucomo_podcast/
- 51- Vital’s LinkedIn page is accessible at: <https://www.linkedin.com/in/nicholas-vital-8a37a338/>
- 52- Original in Portuguese “Um papo sobre alimentação pautado pela ciência, sem ideologia nem achismos”.
See: <https://www.youtube.com/c/Eucomopodcast/about>
- 53- Original in Portuguese “Agrotóxicos salvam vidas!”. The video is available at:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-2kWYWzHM98>

54- Original in Portuguese: Movimento Brasil Livre (MBL). MBL's website is available at: <https://mbl.org.br/>

55- Original in Portuguese: “[defensivos agrícolas](#)”

56- The video is available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QpfW0OrFy_Q

57- Original in Portuguese:

É uma besteira falar que todo o defensivo agrícola é veneno, que os produtos orgânicos é que são uma maravilha porque é mentira. Não tem como alimentar toda população com alimentos orgânicos e ainda que isso fosse possível, os alimentos orgânicos são simplesmente alimentos que não utilizaram defensivos agrícolas. E você, que é contra o uso de defensivo agrícola, quando você está com gripe, você não toma um remédio? Pois é, o remédio para gripe é justamente o defensivo agrícola pra humanos. Quando a planta está doente, quando o alimento tá doente, você aplica um defensivo agrícola pra que ele volte a ficar saudável. Exatamente a mesma coisa acontece no campo assim como com os seres humanos.

58- The newsreport is available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/11/world/americas/youtube-brazil.html>

59- Original in Portuguese:

A esquerda foi extirpada da capital. O castelo de onde planejavam nunca mais sair agora não lhes pertence mais. Mas a luta... Ela não acabou. O câncer se espalhou por décadas, e está alojado nos mais diferentes espaços. Redações de jornais, sindicatos e corporações, a escola dos seus filhos... É lá que o inimigo se encontra. Com fortunas jorrando de dinheiro roubado, imposto sindical e fundações bilionárias, a esquerda brasileira resiste. Mais do que isso, ela prepara o seu retorno triunfal, como lobo em pele de cordeiro. Sim, meus amigos, o inimigo lhes dirá que é de centro; que se tornou liberal, que defende a democracia! Terá um belo sorriso e promete “lutar contra a corrupção” Que coisa linda! Muitos cairão em seu engodo. Aliados que lutaram ao seu lado lhe deixarão sozinho no campo de batalha. Outros tantos vão se abraçar ao novo inimigo. A luta agora é na guerrilha. Devemos implodir o que resta de seus castelos. [...] Ninguém lhe disse que a luta seria fácil. Mas é nela que surgem os heróis. E heróis são heróis não por causa de suas vitórias; mas sim pela sua capacidade de resistir. Você já sabe o que fazer. Não precisa de nenhum grande guia ou líder político para mudar o seu destino. Você é um de nós. Pois assim como você, lutaremos essa guerra mesmo quando a vitória pareça impossível. Nós somos o front, nós somos a resistência. Você pode até discordar de nós; pode até questionar nossos métodos... Mas você já nos conhece. Nós somos o MBL. Sempre que precisar, estaremos lá.

60- The video *Nós somos o MBL. Sempre que precisar, estaremos lá* (We are the MBL, whenever you need, we will be there) is available at: <https://mbl.org.br/>
Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20210320155808/https://mbl.org.br/>

61- The number of subscribers of all the channels described in the paragraph was last accessed on June 1, 2020.

62- Kataguirí's YouTube channel is available on: <https://www.youtube.com/user/Tharryify>

63- Fernando Holiday's YouTube channel is available on:
<https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCIAPOCfe0cHSZjsVAXxBjkQ>

64- Mamãe Falei YouTube channel is available on: <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCkSjy-IOEq-eMtarZl2uH1Q>

65- The interview is available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/apr/24/brazil-activists-march-free-markets-margaret-thatcher-rand-paul>
Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20201117085432/https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/apr/24/brazil-activists-march-free-markets-margaret-thatcher-rand-paul>

66- The name in Portuguese is *Não Vai Ter Golpe!* meaning in English “There will be no coup!”
MBL’s feature film is available at:

iTunes:

<https://itunes.apple.com/br/movie/march-for-freedom/id1477485497?l=en&ign-mpt=uo%3D4>

Amazon Prime (only in Brazil):

<https://www.primevideo.com/detail/0005L6PDB06MXMAN399F0HQ22P>

67- Original in Portuguese: “Até que vieram as jornadas de 2013 e com elas seu reencontro com a política. Renan e mais alguns amigos roubaram, isso mesmo, roubaram uma manifestação da esquerda e juntos com o ministério público de São Paulo liberaram a luta pelo fim da Pec 37 que tiravam o poder de investigação dos promotores e procuradores.”

68- MBL came under the spotlight after the protests wave in 2013 against bus and subway fare hikes organized by the MPL (Movimento Passe Livre). The 2013 demonstrations mobilized 110,000 people in São Paulo through social media such as Facebook, YouTube and Tumblr (Espírito Santo et al. 2016, 141, 153-159). It sparked demonstrations in over 80 cities, widening into broader protests over frustration with an increasing economic crisis, poor public services, and lavish expenses with the World Cup. Its estimated turnout was 2 million people (Watts 2013b, 2013a).

For more information about MPL and the street protests of 2013, please see (in Portuguese):
<http://books.scielo.org/id/hk62f/pdf/pinho-9788523218775-08.pdf>

See the Guardian news reports on the subject at:

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/18/brazil-protests-erupt-huge-scale>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20210309102205/https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/18/brazil-protests-erupt-huge-scale>

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/21/brazil-police-crowds-rio-protest>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20210211034833/http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/21/brazil-police-crowds-rio-protest>

69- The video about MBL posted on the *Meteoro Brasil* YouTube channel is available at:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yHgVcDZumjw>

70- Original in Portuguese:

O que começou com o MPL em 2013 resultou no surgimento do MBL em 2014. A diferença entre as duas siglas não se resume a uma única letra. O MPL nasceu pra defender o acesso universal e gratuito a serviços públicos, principalmente o transporte coletivo. Já o MBL nasceu para convencer o Brasil de que o melhor caminho é a privatização desses serviços. Os dois movimentos têm concepções antagônicas.

71- Original in Portuguese: “Começou na internet, foi pra rua e chegou ao gabinete. Usando ferramentas comunicacionais até então quase desconhecidas da política, o MBL conseguiu arregimentar apoio e dinheiro. [...] o MBL é um movimento comunicacional. [...] Nas mãos do MBL, memes viraram uma nova forma de ativismo político. Através do humor e de uma estética relaxada, toda e qualquer tese divergente é ridicularizada”.

72- The report is available at: https://www.vice.com/pt_br/article/xwj374/como-o-mbl-monopolizou-as-fabricas-memeticas-de-direita-no-brasil

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20210304185407/https://www.vice.com/pt/article/xwj374/como-o-mbl-monopolizou-as-fabricas-memeticas-de-direita-no-brasil>

- 73- Original in Portuguese: “uma potência na indústria das propagandas políticas por memes”.
- 74- Original in Portuguese: “Corrupção Brasileira Memes (CBM)”. The page is available at: <https://www.facebook.com/memesbocamole/>
- The page is one of the main meme pages of the country, with 1.2 million subscribers. According to previous participants, the MBL asked to be in its moderator Facebook group and took it over: they organized a crowdfunding offering CBM administration positions, then paid the amount to get it. In the end, they purchased it. Its previous owner commented on Facebook that he got “some dollars from MBL” (Original in Portuguese: “uns dólar do MBL”) (Reis and Fantini 2018).
- 75- The BBC Brasil report is available at: https://www.bbc.com/portuguese/noticias/2016/04/160417_noticias_falsas_redes_brasil_fd
Archived link: https://web.archive.org/web/20210304174651/https://www.bbc.com/portuguese/noticias/2016/04/160417_noticias_falsas_redes_brasil_fd
- 76- For more information, please see the O Globo news report at: <https://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/facebook-derruba-rede-de-fake-news-usada-pelo-mbl-22917346>
Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20201112022129/https://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/facebook-derruba-rede-de-fake-news-usada-pelo-mbl-22917346>
- 77- Original in Portuguese: “Juntos nós fazemos acontecer”
- 78- The PSDB is the Brazilian Social Democracy Party (Partido da Social Democracia Brasileira), a conservative traditionally right-wing party that opposed the Worker’s Party (Partido dos Trabalhadores - PT) administrations of ex-presidents Lula (Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva) and Dilma Rousseff. The MDB is the Brazilian Democratic Movement (Movimento Democrático Brasileiro), an umbrella party constituted during the military dictatorship as the opposition party. After the return to democracy, it has originated parties from different spectra such as the PT and the PSDB. In 2016, answering a survey organized by the Globo newspaper, it declared itself as “centrist”. See the survey at: <https://blogs.oglobo.globo.com/nabase-dos-dados/post/maioria-dos-partidos-se-posiciona-como-de-centro-veja-quem-sobra-no-campo-da-direita-e-da-esquerda.html>
- 79- Original in Portuguese:
- Não tem CIA, não tem FBI, não tem irmãos Koch, não tem PSDB, MDB. É você quem lota as ruas, é você quem faz as mudanças, é você quem torna possível uma manifestação. É com você que o Brasil progride. É com você que podemos mudar. Obrigado a todos que fazem acontecer.
- 80- By donating BRL 30, contributors become “CIA agents” (original in Portuguese: “Agente da CIA”), and by donating BRL 100, they become “Koch Brothers” (“Irmãos Koch”) (MBL 2021).
Please see: <https://contribua.mbl.org.br/>
Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20210408192611/https://contribua.mbl.org.br/>
- 81- The report is available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jul/26/brazil-rightwing-dilma-rousseff-lula>
Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20210313142908/https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jul/26/brazil-rightwing-dilma-rousseff-lula>

- 82- See *The Intercept* dossier on the NGO at: <https://theintercept.com/2017/08/09/atlas-network-alejandro-chafuen-libertarian-think-tank-latin-america-brazil/>
 Archived link: https://web.archive.org/web/20210407081702if_/https://theintercept.com/2017/08/09/atlas-network-alejandro-chafuen-libertarian-think-tank-latin-america-brazil/
- 83- Original in Portuguese: “Necroindústria e necropolítica se escondem nos biocombustíveis. Porque faltam sol, terra, água na EU”. The video is available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cVNRO_fTyXc
- 84- Original in Portuguese: “Mas a europa não tem a terra, não tem o sol suficiente, não tem fotossíntese para essa fonte de energia”.
- 85- The documentary is available on YouTube:
 -in English at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0zVfZbSqWms>
 -in Portuguese at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c2_JXcD97DI
 -in Spanish at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zYp3JDHB0Qo>
- 86- The documentary is available on Vimeo in French at: <https://vimeo.com/32553546>
- 87- It emerged as a project from the Indigenist Work Center (CTI). In fact, the CTI was also conceived by Carelli and Valadão, as well as anthropologists Gilberto Azanha and Maria Elisa Ladeira, in 1979. Later, the Video in the Villages became itself an NGO.
- 88- For accessing Martyrdom at the Vimeo platform, please see: <https://vimeo.com/ondemand/martirio>

Notes for Chapter 5

- 1- Original in Portuguese/Spanish: “E essa filmagem se fizo com la mãe terra, com la água, el vento, el fuego, los pássaros, la mata, los espíritos. [...] Eu penso também que com el filme, nós já tem vacina. La vacuna contra la morte. Isso es el filme, el filme para nós é la vacuna contra la morte, pelos povos. Porque agora os povos estão para frente sempre.”
- 2- Original in Portuguese: “A lenha mais grossa, permanece nela a brasa acesa mesmo que aparentemente o fogo [tenha] acabado [...] Os indígenas sempre [foram] assim, aparentemente parecem exterminados, acabados. Com muita dificuldade, resistiram durante os 500 anos.
- 3- Original in Portuguese:
 Hoje em dia também, você veja, a maioria [dos] jovens não valoriza mais, não valoriza mais a língua. [...] Tipo tem um evento lá que vai ter, [...] ASCURI vai lá e, tipo, o jovem já começa a pensar que a pessoa vem pra gravar e que é então importante, né? Aí começa a vestir uma roupa típica, quer mostrar mesmo. Isso que aconteceu. [...] [De] primeira, eu estudava, não tinha terminado o ensino médio, igual eu falei, eu não me interessei em nada, depois eu vi o pessoal de ASCURI gravando [...]e eu comecei a interessar mais e eu queria mais avançar, por parte de ASCURI. Então eu falei [...]: não sou do grupo de ASCURI, mas eu vou fazer a minha parte de pegar o celular e gravar. [...] Eu não sabia nada, nada dos cantos. [...] À noite, todo mundo começa a cantar assim, rodeando e dançando e eu também estava no meio, mas tipo.... Eu canto, mas eu não sabia cantar direito o que que era essa música, eu nunca tinha perguntado. Aí primeiramente eu me interessei em falar assim: eu vou fazer a minha parte, ir na casa da minha avó e gravar. [...]
- Aí eu vi mais as partes de pessoas gravando, fazendo pequenos filmezinhos, eu vi pessoal de ASCURI fazendo, eu pesquisei no Facebook, no video, no YouTube. Aí eu me interessei e falei pros meus jovens assim, gente vamos fazer nossa parte agora. [...] Depois que os jovens vi[ram] um vídeo de ASCURI

fazendo em YouTube... Porque hoje em dia você vê que em cada celular tem uma YouTube, aí ASCURI botou um vídeo, que tinha gravado que tinha filmado em cada aldeia. O pessoal jovem se interessou muito na parte de cultura mesmo, cultura indígena. Até criança [...] pega um celular e começa a assistir um vídeo que ASCURI tinha filmado e gravado. [...] Então, esse audiovisual mudou muito, muito mesmo a vida do jovem.

- 4- The film is available on ASCURI's YouTube page: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RxJH851BpbU&t=591s>
- 5- The film is available on ASCURI's YouTube channel: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mA_R_N-518M It is also available on the PNUD Brasil (The United Nations Development Program in Brazil) YouTube channel, as Nataly Foschaches, who was a Brazilian Ph.D. student in the Latin American Studies Program of the University of Salamanca, obtained a PNUD grant for making the film.
- 6- These were the videos on ASCURI's YouTube channel on July 1, 2021 (excluding trailers and lives). Right after the 2017 Borderless Cinema Workshop, the collective had 83 videos. In August 2019, the YouTube channel Cine Sin Fronteras was created and some of the films that were on ASCURI's channel were transferred to the new one.
- 7- Liderança de Puelito Kue (2012): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rb4V3Lrn-D0>
Força e luta da retomada da aldeia Pindo Roky (2013): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=14jyby3FZOO>
Retomada Ñanderu Marangatu (2015): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q74A0IT9zPM>
Yvy Reñoi, Semente da Terra (2016): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rXkRg9stDmk&t=375s>
Vida e Luta na Retomada Tei'ykue (2018): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mpi77bInEwQ&t=10s>
Guyra Roka Oikove - Guyra Roka Vive!!! (2021) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SxYaL6CkzW0>
- 8- Original in Portuguese: “histórias que marcam o território, que marcam o tekohá.” Tekohá means *territory* in guarani.
- 9- Interview granted to me in June 2016, during my fieldwork in Mato Grosso do Sul.
- 10- Original in Portuguese: “Estas sementes são sagradas vocês não podem brincar desse jeito!”
- 11- Original in Portuguese: “Me leva à luz do sol”.
- 12- Original in Portuguese: “Não tem ninguém aqui. Onde eles foram?”
- 13- Original in Portuguese: “Não sei, mas vamos procurar”.
- 14- Original in Portuguese: “Nós duas sobrevivemos!!!”
- 15- Original in Portuguese:

Outra ideia conceitual é o *araguyje*: o processo de amadurecimento dos corpos. É por isso que os rezadores foram pro céu. Então é o grande objetivo da existência indígena guarani kaiowá é se transformar em corpo perfeito através da alimentação, da reza, através das relações sociais, através do *teko porã*, do *teko marangatu* que é o modo perfeito de ser, ela se transforma em espírito, em guardiões, e se eleva ao céu. Na verdade, não é se elevar pro céu, é pra se transformar em guardião, de fato, de um tekohá.
- 16- Original in Portuguese:

O *ojeasojavo* é um processo de nascimento, de renascimento, um processo semelhante à metamorfose dos corpos da aldeia que é a transformação das meninas em pássaro. Uma situação de metamorfose do corpo pra poder resistir, se adequar ao ambiente que vive.

- 17- For more information about the fires in the Pantanal, see The Guardian report at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/sep/18/brazilian-wetlands-fires-started-by-humans-and-worsened-by-drought>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20210526080732/https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/sep/18/brazilian-wetlands-fires-started-by-humans-and-worsened-by-drought>

As informed by a Correio do Estado news report, in 2021, the Brazilian Federal Police investigation concluded that the fire had been started deliberately by wealthy cattle ranchers (in Mato Grosso do Sul, four farms) and destroyed 2,507 thousand hectares, a record of devastation in the region (Flores 2021):

<https://correiodoestado.com.br/cidades/queimadas-no-pantanal-foram-causadas-por-crime-de-incendio/383991>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20210329174512/https://correiodoestado.com.br/cidades/queimadas-no-pantanal-foram-causadas-por-crime-de-incendio/383991>

- 18- Original in Portuguese: “Onde você já não escuta mais é porque já foi destruído, ninguém mais cuida, ninguém mais lembra já daquele lugar. É um lugar abandonado.

- 19- Original in Portuguese: “O fogo [...] é necessário pro calor, sinônimo de vida também, de resistência, de luta, de persistência, e de luz.”

- 20- Original in Portuguese: “o fogo faz com que se aqueça toda a família, mas também nesse momento ocorre a educação indígena, a educação tradicional, e a relação tradicional de uma família em uma casa que faz cozinhar todos os alimentos.”

- 21- Original in Portuguese: “É muito temporário, vem os projetos, anima os jovens e depois nunca mais voltam. Então, isso muitas vezes deixa as pessoas muito desanimadas”.

- 22- Original in Portuguese: “Hoje parece que essa questão da mídia, essa discussão, essa formação, essa perspectiva que construíram em relação ao nós, muitas vezes aparentemente acabou, mas ainda está nessa brasa acesa escondida e nós precisamos retomar, fazer com que essa brasa acenda a labareda do fogo. [...] Retomar de novo toda a luta, reconstruir um objetivo.”

- 23- Original in Portuguese: “A grande ferramenta da luta indígena hoje é o seu valor cultural. Por exemplo, as práticas culturais a língua, a crença, a cosmologia, o conhecimento dela. [...]O cinema indígena tem que [...] produzir tendo isso como referência, a lógica indígena, vamos dizer assim, né”.

- 24- Original in Portuguese: As pessoas vão desanimando, mas existe ainda a brasa que é a base de todo o fogo. [...] E a esperança é o que move muito a realidade, o sonho, né. Se a gente não tiver um sonho, nós não temos porque existir. O sonho faz com que a realidade se construa.”

- 25- Original in Portuguese:

As histórias tradicionais como o Kovoé, a transformação das meninas em pássaro [...], existem várias outras histórias que compõem essa terra. Por exemplo, a história do sol e da lua, a história da onça, infindáveis histórias que marcam o território, que marcam o tekohá. A gente fala o território como o tekohá. E essas histórias é que refletem na terra, que produzem o ambiente.

26- Original in Portuguese:

A questão do território, das histórias, ela é guardada em rede. Não é apenas verticalmente, né; são guardadas em coletividade, em cada pessoa guardando as histórias. É assim que os mais velhos guardam as histórias em rede que produz o tekohá.

27- Original in Portuguese: “Porque temos que cartografar cada vez mais essas ideias fundamentais, os alicerces, pra poder fazer o nosso filme de forma coletiva”

28- Original in Portuguese:

Nós queremos retomar esse mundo audiovisual como um jeito kaiowá, como um jeito guarani, porque a retomada não é só a terra, mas também o audiovisual, a atmosfera, o ar, o mundo invisível [...]. Porque as aldeias são infectadas de todo tipo de informações da mídia hegemônica, que vem nos nossos celulares, na televisão, nos rádios, e vai formando a subjetividade dos jovens, de deixar, por exemplo, a sua cultura tradicional, os seus valores tradicionais porque a mídia vem dominando, vem produzindo um conjunto de saberes e produtividade que vai modelando nessa perspectiva da visão moderna.

29- Original in Portuguese:

A todo o momento a gente se apropria da mídia feita pelos não-indígenas, [...] como uma rádio, até abrir o Facebook. Se você acha que abrindo o Facebook do seu parente, você tá vendo uma produção de mídia do seu parente, uma informação do seu parente, não. É uma informação sempre colocada pra ele que tá chegando pra você. Então a gente se apropria das mídias feitas pelos não-indígenas.

30- Original in Portuguese:

O jeito da gente ver o mundo, ele foi impactado pela tecnologia também, e da mesma forma quando a gente usa a mídia também. Os perfis lá no Facebook, a forma de você postar as imagens, as fotos, tudo, o gosto nas pessoas... O nosso perfil indígena hoje, eles são semelhantes ao não-indígenas porque ele foi produzido pela mídia também.

31- Original in Portuguese:

Hoje na mídia, de forma geral, no rádio, na televisão, se coloca o discurso: “o índio é invasor, o índio é sujo, o índio é violento”. Aí depois vai desenvolvendo a ideia, né, a forma de contar vai fazendo [a ideia] e o próprio índio acaba acreditando nisso. [...] Num livro, numa história, numa passagem ali que tem Hitler, na segunda guerra mundial [fala em guarani] [é dito que] uma mentira contada mil vezes se torna verdade. [fala em guarani] E as pessoas vão acreditando, acreditando, acreditando e se torna real e pronto né. Acredita mesmo.

32- Original in Portuguese:

Então, a grande questão nossa é como a gente vai mudar pra gente parar de ser apenas a pessoa que recebe informação. A gente tem que começar a pensar em produzir a informação na nossa língua, no nosso tempo, no modo como a gente acredita ser melhor pro futuro do nosso povo, pra que nossos filhos sejam também semeadores desse pensamento.

33- Original in Portuguese:

Isso é uma coisa que a gente tenta trabalhar na ASCURI de maneira muito inicial, mas sempre trazendo esses debates pra onde a gente vai, e como a gente pode também fazer um vídeo, e como a gente pode fazer esse vídeo rodar a internet e fazer essa coisa andar e divulgar. [...] Quando que os não-indígenas de fora da terra vão se apropriar do que a gente produz? Da mídia que a gente produz?

34- Original in Portuguese:

Imagina você uma rádio que toda manhã, às 5 da manhã, começa com um canto tradicional [...] Poder começar o seu dia na sua língua, ouvir a sua língua, ouvir histórias na sua língua. E o dia inteiro isso, imagina todo dia o seu filho crescendo ouvindo história na sua língua [...] e não o que falam na rádio hoje. Você liga na rádio hoje em Dourados e é só violência, [...] e sempre uma informação manipulada, [...] e aí, você, o seu filho e a sua família vai estar sempre exposta a isso. Televisão é a mesma coisa, novela, jornal manipulado, eles falam o que eles querem porque a gente é só uma caixa que [...] recebe.

35- Original in Portuguese/Spanish:

A ASCURI [...] está haciendo la construção de uma soberania audiovisual, por agora, do povo guarani. [...] Você tem que saber los símbolos de povo guarani [...] Que quando escucho o *baracá*, es guarani. [...] Também quando falamos de soberania, nós temos que pensar, quem fala por nós? Você, quando tem ligado a televisão, quem fala por vocês? [...] Hasta agora, outros falam por nós, enquanto ASCURI faz trabalho, faz vídeos, faz cinema, tá falando por você. [...] Isso porque faz parte de você.

36- Original in Portuguese:

A gente mesmo tem que fazer o vídeo, nós os guarani-kaiowá mesmo, porque o não-indígena, quando ele chega na aldeia, ele chega e filma de qualquer jeito, porque na aldeia tem muito sagrado [...] que não pode filmar. O não-índio chega lá na aldeia, ele chega lá e filma [...] não respeita lá. E a gente sabe, quando a gente é cineasta indígena, qual que a gente vai filmar e qual que é proibido de filmar também.

37- Original in Portuguese: “Além da escola, muitas vezes a escola ser uma ferramenta do estado, [...] uma ferramenta do estado pra transformar a gente em branco”.

38- Original in Portuguese: “Já no primeiro ano de estudo (5ª série), fui percebendo que a palavra “bugre” era utilizada normalmente pelos ‘brancos’ quando se referiam a nós e entendi que a expressão estereotipada referida no parágrafo anterior, era utilizada como sinônimo de ‘que todos os índios são preguiçosos, bêbados e incapazes’”.

39- Interview granted to me in May 2016, during my fieldwork in Mato Grosso do Sul.

40- Original in Portuguese: “Aqui o bugre é gente pequena, que é ninguém, um João-Ninguém”.

41- Interview granted to me in June 2016, during my fieldwork in Mato Grosso do Sul. Original in Portuguese:

É loucura morar em Dourados, porque a cidade não reconhece ser uma cidade intercultural, não reconhece os indígenas [...] Essa formação é cheia de preconceito e de distanciamento com a realidade e com a história local. A gente não estuda na escola a história regional, a gente não estuda a história Indígena na escola aqui. [...] E eu não tinha concepção, noção de que quando eu crescesse, eu ia entender que eu morava na cidade com 2ª maior população indígena do país. [...] A população de Dourados não sabe que é uma cidade de índios.

42- Interview granted to me in April 2016, during my fieldwork in Mato Grosso do Sul.

43- Interview granted to me in May 2016, during my fieldwork in Mato Grosso do Sul.

44- Spiritual leader.

45- Collective singing and dancing for social and religious purposes.

46- Original in Portuguese:

Tem que começar essa educação da linguagem com a criança, dialogar com o professor na escola. Criança de 5-6 anos não vai ter vergonha. O professor pode dialogar com o *Nhanderu* na escola, fazer

um *Guaxiré* pras crianças aprenderem. Isso facilita pra que jovens dominem a dança, o idioma e a cultura. Meu filho de um ano imita a reza e não tem vergonha. Adolescente de 14-15 anos tem.

47- Original in Portuguese:

Muito jovem quer ser realizador, mas tem vergonha da cultura. Quando a gente vai fazer o *Guaxiré*, ele fica rindo, não quer participar. Tem que fazer o documentário pra virar material didático na escola e mostrar pro jovem até de outra aldeia pra ele ver isso.

48- Original in Portuguese:

Quando você começa a contar, mostrar as práticas culturais, por exemplo, o canto, a dança, o jeito de educar os filhos, o jeito de viver em casa [...] numa tecnologia que é [a das] câmeras, ilha de edição, tela, parece que se torna muito importante. Por quê? Porque essas tecnologias valorizam muito o modo de ser não-indígena, por exemplo, o jeito de se falar, de se relacionar dos não indígenas está na tela, na televisão, na grande tela, no computador, isso é o mais importante. Então quando você inverte isso, parece que você tá fortalecendo também, se torna uma coisa de referência também. E mostra também as coisas que pra gente não é muito mais visível, por exemplo, [...] detalhes do dia a dia que não é mais visto [...] e a gente acaba acordando: “nossa, que interessante!”

49- Original in Portuguese: “A ideia deles que também influenciou muito a ASCURI também”.

50- Original in Portuguese:

Ia nas aldeias, ia em cada região e fazia a mostra de cinema e produzia e fazia a reflexão ali. Então, essa é a nossa característica hoje. [...] Quando eles [vieram] mostrar isso pra nós, influenciou a gente também. Por exemplo, ir nas aldeias, [...] mostrar os filmes que tinham produzido de outras aldeias pra lá e deles mesmos pra eles também. Fazerem eles refletir sobre a realidade deles também e fortalecer a cultura local por causa disso. Então, a metodologia deles ajudou a gente também a pensar uma coisa diferente. Eles falaram da experiência de troca de experiência, como é que eles trabalhavam lá.

51- News report available at: <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/world/canada-Indigenous-suicide-crisis-in-brazil/article34199700/#comments>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20210217041622/https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/world/canada-Indigenous-suicide-crisis-in-brazil/article34199700/>

52- The reports can be found at: <https://cimi.org.br/observatorio-da-violencia/edicoes-anteriores/> They are also available in English since 2015 (Report Violence against the Indigenous Peoples in Brazil – data for 2014).

53- Numbers of suicides among Guarani-Kaiowá per year from 1986 to 1995, according to FUNAI: 1986: five cases; 1987: eight cases; 1988: one case; 1989: 7 cases; 1990: 34 cases; 1991: 23 cases; 1992: 22 cases; 1993: 26 cases; 1994: 24 cases; 1995 (until July): 32 cases (Brand 1995, 8). In 2001, Brand updated, corrected and complemented these numbers by adding to FUNAI’s data, information from research in loco, the regional press and the Health National Foundation (FUNASA): 1981: three cases; 1982: four cases; 1983: five cases; 1984: one case, 1985: 7 cases; 1986: nine cases; 1987: three cases; 1988: seven cases; 1989: eight cases; 1990: 38 cases; 1991: 27 cases; 1992: 30 cases; 1993: 23 cases; 1994: 32 cases; 1995: 56 cases; 1996: 28 cases; 1997: 29 cases, 1998: 29 cases; 1999: 45 cases; 2000: 51 cases (Brand and Vietta 2001a, 121).

54- Original in Portuguese: “De dois anos pra cá, tem umas coisas que eu vejo, que eu nunca vi, nem de quando era criança, eu não vejo essas coisas, de ver se enforcando, esse povo, assim”.

55- Original in Portuguese: “A família agora não está mais fazendo *jeovasa*. Quem se mata não tem caminho, [...] não acha a estrada. [...] Porque nosso corpo é vento, e quando a gente não domina, não tem caminho”.

- 56- This Indigenous reserve is in the South of Mato Grosso do Sul, very close to the border with Paraguay.
- 57- Please see Otoniel's statement in the 2014 Brief Report on The Violations of the Human Rights of the Indigenous Kaiowá Guarani Peoples in Mato Grosso do Sul – Brazil:
<https://www.cimi.org.br/pub/Kaiowaguaranibriefreport.pdf>
 Archived link:
<https://web.archive.org/web/20200730203551/https://www.cimi.org.br/pub/Kaiowaguaranibriefreport.pdf>
- 58- Original in Portuguese:
- Tem uma pessoa, um índio, que mora lá no Saverá, falou assim, olha: - Eu, olho pro lado da minha família, eu tenho dó. Eu olho pro lado da minha roça, não tenho nada que dá de comer. Dinheiro, não tenho! Eu não tenho nem roça e não tenho nem um patrão pra mim saí e trabalhá. Então, tirando minha vida, [ele] falou, os outro trata dos meus filho... Isso, eu fiquei muito sentido com essas palavra, [que] uma vez essa pessoa me falou. Uma pessoa novo, pessoa casada... Então muitos, as pessoas, faz isso. Por causa disso, que não tem jeito, né! Às vezes a idéia fraca, já começa a pensar na vida dele. [...] Começa com uma tristeza, ele vem pela tristeza, aí acha que essa tristeza não vai mais sair dele, começa pensar já na vida dele, né! [...] E por aí também corre esses negócio de bebida alcoólica, e já cria mais coragem prá fazer isso daí, porque são [sóbrio], só ele, não vai fazer.
- 59- Original in Portuguese: “Associação das Mulheres Indígenas de Dourados”. It is the only Indigenous women's association of Mato Grosso do Sul.
- 60- Original in Portuguese:
- Mudou depois a minha vida, não é mais igual antigamente [...]. Antigamente, eu ficava em casa e trabalhando pro não indígena mesmo, trabalho assim, diarista. Terminei o ensino médio com pressa e não consegui fazer a faculdade [...]. Mudou minha vida assim de ajudar o meu parente... [...]. Eu queria ensinar o jovem, e mudou a minha vida porque ensinei muito o jovem, conversei com jovem, [...]. Mudou mesmo a minha vida, mostrei a história da minha aldeia e de outra aldeia também... Antigamente não via a imagem dos mais velhos. Hoje em dia, na escola, a gente mostrou o vídeo lá, todo mundo pergunta de mim lá [...]. Pessoal chega lá e fica cumprimentando você: -nossa, você fez isso! [...] Por causa da máquina, a gente tem contato com os mais velhos. [...] Eu filmei e a gente mostrou no telão: e ele começou a ver a imagem dele, e quando ele vê a imagem dele, ele gostou muito. Ele quer mostrar mais, aí que ele quer abrir o que ele tem pra mostrar mais. E ele fala tudo.
- 61- Original in Portuguese: “EU SOU ÍNDIO”
- 62- Original in Portuguese: “Homenagem aos parentes que estão em guerra.”
- 63- Original in Portuguese: *Ponto de Cultura Indígena da Secretaria da Cidadania e da Diversidade Cultural*. The information is available at:
http://antigo.cultura.gov.br/web/guest/1026/-/asset_publisher/iAfAnJ9Bu7Bp/content/premio-pontos-de-cultura-indigenas-scdc-minc/10883?redirect=http%3A%2F%2Fantigo.cultura.gov.br%2Fweb%2Fguest%2F1026%3Fp_p_id%3D101_INSTANCE_iAfAnJ9Bu7Bp%26p_p_lifecycle%3D0%26p_p_state%3Dnormal%26p_p_mode%3Dview%26p_p_col_id%3Dcolumn-1%26p_p_col_count%3D1
 The results can be accessed directly at:
<http://antigo.cultura.gov.br/documents/10883/1313326/24.12.2015+Portaria+63.pdf/ffe9427f-9ffb-405a-acce-0f9efda57804>
 Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20190210033613/http://antigo.cultura.gov.br/documents/10883/1313326/24.12.2015+Portaria+63.pdf/ffe9427f-9ffb-405a-acce-0f9efda57804>

64- Original in Portuguese:

-Eu fui entrevistar os idosos, os mais velhos. Depois que eu vi uma história contando assim um futuro e o que aconteceu no passado, depois que eu vim em casa, eu me senti não muito bem. Sentei e comecei a chorar. Porque eles começam a falar o que aconteceu no passado, como se fosse o que vai acontecer no futuro.

-Violência sofrida?

-É violência sofrida e o que tinha passado, sobre o que aconteceu de suicídios sobre isso, aí eu me sinto, tipo assim, não muito bem. Às vezes, quando eu fui gravar e filmar, eu não consegui gravar até o fim: eu mesma comecei a desligar o celular pra não gravar mais porque é muito triste a história. [...] Começa a contar uma história, você viaja na memória, como se você [tivesse] participando também de novo, dentro da memória.

65- Original in Portuguese: “MPF quer nulidade de títulos sobre terras indígenas”. The *O Progresso* news report is also available online: <https://www.progresso.com.br/noticias/mpf-quer-nulidade-de-titulos-sobre-terras-indigenas/186596/>
Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20210403212319/https://www.progresso.com.br/noticias/mpf-quer-nulidade-de-titulos-sobre-terras-indigenas/186596/>

66- Helio Bucker’s statement in the Figueiredo report:

From all the theft of the Indigenous lands that I have known in these 18 years, none was stranger and more shocking than the one proceeded directly by the Ministry of Agriculture, through its Land and Colonization Department. In 1943, this department distributed, in the name of colonization, the lands of the Kaiuá Indians, including their village called “Panambi”, in the municipality of Dourados-MT*. It's horrifying. The very agency responsible for securing the land of the Indians is the first one to despoil them. I think it is very clear, with this example, that the spoliation has the official seal of the highest-ranking administrative authorities, the main people responsible for the misfortunes of the Indians and the Service of Indian Protection, the buffoon of the great comedy. (Bucker 1967, 3953; Guimarães 2015, 98)

*Observation: MT refers to the state of Mato Grosso. As mentioned in Appendix I, Mato Grosso do Sul (MS) was the south portion of Mato Grosso until 1979.

Original in Portuguese:

Dos esbulhos de terras indígenas que tenho conhecimento nestes 18 anos, nenhum foi mais estranho e chocante do que o procedido diretamente pelo MINISTÉRIO DA AGRICULTURA, através do seu Departamento de Terras e Colonização. Em 1943, esse Departamento distribuiu, a título de colonização, as terras dos Índios Kaiuá, inclusive a sua aldeia denominada “Panambi”, no município de Dourados-MT. É de estarrecer. O próprio órgão responsável pela garantia da terra do índio, é o primeiro a despojá-lo. Penso que fica bem claro com esse exemplo que a espoliação tem a chancela oficial das cúpulas administrativas, maiores responsáveis pelas desditas dos índios e do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, o bufão da grande comédia.

67- FUNAI’s announcement regarding the identification of the Indigenous land is available through the following link: <http://www.funai.gov.br/index.php/comunicacao/noticias/2028-aprovado-estudo-de-delimitacao-da-terra-indigena-panambi-lagoa-rica-ms>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20181102071534/http://www.funai.gov.br/index.php/comunicacao/noticias/2028-aprovado-estudo-de-delimitacao-da-terra-indigena-panambi-lagoa-rica-ms>

- 2- Original in Portuguese: “Decidir que sonho de sociedade queres, o que queres da vida, o que queres para ti ou para o resto da população. Depois de decidir isso, amar o que você quer fazer. Sem amar, não tem por que fazer cinema. No amor está o compromisso militante com o cinema, que não é somente contar uma história. É o que um ser humano sente por outro, o que é o mais importante”.
- 3- Original in Portuguese: “Um Cinema Diverso”.
This film was previously available at ASCURI’s YouTube channel, but it was transferred to Cine Sin Fronteras’ new YouTube channel in January 2020: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UPqErCwrBjg>
- 4- An Afro-descendant community formed by those who managed to flee slavery.
- 5- Riverine Metis groups.
- 6- In 2016, the methodology was similar to the ones from the 2008 and the 2017 workshops. It started with initial theoretical discussions, including themes such as “Discussion on the types of Narratives”, “Documentary Themes”, “The Structure of a Narration”, and “Sound, Pre-production and Post-Production”. Later the group was paired with ECA cinema students to form filming crews of around five people. The workshop resulted in the production of four short films, mostly centred on cultural practices. They were posted on ASCURI’s YouTube page. It had the partnership of the Federal University of Grande Dourados (UFGD).
- 7- Original in Portuguese: “Logo, por afinidade de origem, Eliel e eu nos aproximamos já de início, e percebemos as diferenças sobre a questão indígena na Bolívia e no Brasil”
- 8- Original in Portuguese: “Todo o trabalho do cinema naquele lugar era mostrar as diversidades culturais existentes no país [...] ou seja, eles mostravam outra forma da possibilidade de vivência no país com diversidades étnicas culturais”.
- 9- Original in Portuguese:
E o próprio termo que se autodenominavam já sinalizava isso, ‘Pueblos Originários’, ou seja, Povos Originários da Bolívia, verdadeiros donos de origem. Ali, línguas diferentes podiam ser percebidas pelas ruas da cidade: Aymara, Quéchuá, Guaraní, além das roupas, oferendas, signos, símbolos, sempre presente em toda parte, e algo que me chamou mais a atenção, e era conhecida como Wiphala, que era uma espécie de bandeira, com quadrados coloridos, cada qual com seu significado, e que representava todos os povos indígenas da América Latina, constantemente era possível vê-la flamulando entre as manifestações e marchas dos Povos Originários.
- 10- Original in Portuguese: “Outro aspecto que chamou a nossa atenção foi a relação dos bolivianos com o conceito de Pachamama, que não se aplica somente a Bolívia, mas a todo jeito de ser dos Povos Andinos”.
- 11- Original in Spanish:
En su vida diaria, los pueblos indígenas de tierras altas, que principalmente se dedican a la agricultura y a la crianza de animales, aprendieron a conversar con la Pachamama y a pedirle permiso para obtener alimentos, medicinas y otros elementos necesarios para su sobrevivencia. Al igual que otro ser vivo, en esta visión, la Pachamama necesita alimentarse, beber o descansar; por ello, periódicamente sus hijos la alimentan, le dan de beber y la hacen descansar, dirigiéndose a ella con mucho cariño.
- 12- The name comes from the Aymara terms kuntur (condor) and Ikiña (bed, duvet) (A dictionary Aymara-Spanish is available at: <http://www.katari.org/diccionario/diccionario.php?listletter=quechua&display=7>
<http://www.katari.org/diccionario/diccionario.php?listletter=aymara&display=5>
Gilmar’s team film *El camino de Roger* (2008) is available at: <https://ascuri.org/videos>

13- Original in Portuguese:

Então, com a ajuda dos espíritos andinos, bolivianos, seguindo a versão cosmológica Aymara, da história do Condor, da Águia e da Onça, que seriam as forças que iriam mostrar um caminho diante da escuridão que nosso planeta está entrando, nós criamos e organizamos a Associação Cultural de Realizadores Indígenas - (ASCURI), que trabalha exclusivamente para a busca da autonomia e fortalecimento do jeito de ser indígena, utilizando o audiovisual.

14- Original in Portuguese: “A todo momento ele [Juan Ivan Molina Velásquez] lembrava que tínhamos que buscar meios autônomos para produção audiovisual, de forma que sempre pudéssemos fazer como quiséssemos nossos filmes que fortalecessem nosso modo de ser”.

15- Original in Portuguese: “Uma obra-prima da originalidade e sensibilidade andina”; “filme que marcaria demais nossas definições sobre a produção audiovisual indígena”.

16- Original in Portuguese: “Ao final, nós fizemos o caminho de volta para o Brasil, trazendo na bagagem algo tão grande e precioso, que precisou de alguns anos para ser digerido e entendido”.

17- I translated “way of being” from the original in Portuguese “modo de ser” (Galache 2017, 57). But elsewhere in the same work, Galache recurrently refers to “jeito de ser” as well.

18- For more information on the shooting against the Terena of Dois Irmãos de Buriti, please, see:
Los Angeles Times report:

<https://www.latimes.com/world/la-xpm-2013-oct-02-la-fg-ff-brazil-tribes-farmers-20131002-story.html>

MPF/MS’s report:

<http://www.mpf.mp.br/ms/sala-de-imprensa/noticias-ms/inquerito-do-mpf-ms-conclui-que-bala-que-matou-indigena-oziel-gabriel-em-2013-foi-disparada-pela-pf>

19- Original in Portuguese: “marta castilho fazendo uma visita n/ radio kopenoti fm/ 99.5”

20- Original in Portuguese:

Na Bolívia foi um impacto muito grande porque era um outro modo de vida. Como o Ivan tinha uma experiência já há bastante tempo, ele tinha essa metodologia de ensinar o cinema no contexto indígena, vivendo a cultura indígena. E viver a cultura indígena é se isolar, viver no espaço, comer comida típica, viver num lugar diferente do seu até para poder você ver, enxergar melhor a sua cultura. Essa foi a metodologia do Ivan que deu um Impacto muito grande em nós porque cada um ia com o seu etnocentrismo: eu, guarani kaiowá; eu, xavante; eu, terena. E aí lá tudo quebrou.

21- Original in Portuguese: “foi um processo de realmente fazer uma profunda reflexão sobre a minha identidade sobre o meu ser”.

22- Original in Portuguese: “o meu conteúdo é conteúdo porque é por causa da minha cultura, por causa do lugar que eu vivo”.

23- Original in Portuguese:

Como que eles conseguem viver num lugar sem floresta? Isso para mim foi um impacto muito grande. Porque os guarani-kaiowá vivem na floresta, né? [...] Eu olhando assim nos desertos, nas dunas, nos ventos fortes, sempre frios. Nossa, eu fiquei impressionado quando eu cheguei: “como é que o ser humano pode chegar num lugar desses?” E falava comigo mesmo: “que lugar tão inóspito!” Tudo bem, isso à primeira vista, né, quando eu cheguei lá. E conversando com o pessoal, eles gostavam tanto daquele lugar! Tem uma cosmologia, tem um significado. E eu falei: é diferente né? Como é que o ser humano consegue viver -eu fiquei impressionado como é que eles conseguem viver naquele lugar, à primeira vista. Quando eu entrei pra conversar com eles, vivenciei um tempo assim, [entendi que]

aquele lugar é sagrado para eles [...] O frio, o inverno é importante, a casa, a alimentação é importante e tem um significado para eles. Então, eu julguei pelo meu olhar primeiramente. Então foi um aprendizado muito grande e assim também nós aqui, pra cá. As pessoas julgam também por ser nós, muitas vezes por desconhecerem.

- 24- Original in Portuguese: “Quando eu fui lá, eu tive que tirar tudo de mim, isso pra entender melhor a própria cultura também, né, a minha cultura. Enxergar melhor, com mais riqueza, entendeu? Isso deu um sofrimento assim, num primeiro momento”.

- 25- Original in Portuguese:

Nós fomos num lugar chamado cidade das Pedras -“Ciudad de las piedras”- a 4 horas de caminhada. Parece que tem um lugar místico ali, parece, cheio de pedras pontiagudas. Você bate o pé no chão e faz aquele som, assim, um eco bem grande, muito misterioso aquele lugar. São os antepassados deles, dos povos, parece uma cidade mesmo das -eles falam que é pedra. Conheci esses lugares, conheci as pessoas, famílias distantes umas das outras, mas cada uma tem a sua produção, os peixes nos rios bem cristalinos, e a vegetação. Então, a gente se integrou bastante ali, mas eu falava pouco devido à língua.

- 26- Austrian philosopher Martin Buber (1937) developed theoretical lenses to describe types of relations that can also be applied to the power-relations researchers and documentarists establish with those to whom they direct their gaze. To Buber, two types of power-relations can emerge from interactions: the first is regulated by a monological principle that does not lead to an encounter because it is based on a relation “I-It”. When researchers address the “other” encountered in the fieldwork as “it”, they are not communicating but distancing themselves and establishing a relation of superiority. They treat informants as research objects, impose their agendas, harvest information, and never contact informants again.

However, the second type of relationship is governed by a dialogical principle and is based on an “I-Thou” relationship. It produces reciprocity because the other is considered as a total person, a subject (rather than an object of study that once the information is extracted, there is no need to maintain any ties). In contrast, this approach creates an intersubjective communion:

If I face a human being as my Thou and say the primary word I-Thou to him, he is not a thing among things, and does not consist of things. This human being is not He or She, bounded from every other He and She, a specific point in space and time within the net of the world; nor is he a nature able to be experienced and described, a loose bundle of named qualities. [...] He is Thou and fills the heavens. [...] All else lives in his light. [Buber 1937,8]

- 27- The interview is available (in Portuguese) at: <http://www.famdetodos.com.br/entrevistas/641/se-nao-fazemos-cinema-para-sonhar-nao-precisamos-faze-lo-defende-juan-ivan-molina-velasquez>

- 28- Original in Portuguese and Spanish:

O dia em que o ser humano deixar de sonhar, ele já não terá motivos para viver. Isso é o cinema. Se não fazemos cinema para sonhar, não precisamos fazê-lo. É como quando estás apaixonado pela vida, mas não conheces o parceiro(a) ideal e segues sonhando sempre. É como uma canção de Pablo Milanés que fala “la vida la prefiero compartida, no es lo que soñé, pero es lo que se acerca más de lo que me imaginé”. Isso é o cinema e temos que sonhar sempre. Na imperfeição está a perfeição.

- 29- Original in Portuguese: “O cinema é feito para apaixonar o público, contar que a vida é bela e que vale a pena viver. O público sempre espera sonhar em uma sala de cinema”.

- 30- Original in Portuguese:

Mas e os outros sonhos, onde estão? Eles também são importantes. Penso que o cinema tem essa dimensão de construir no nosso imaginário uma sociedade diferente e, enquanto possamos ter várias orientações para buscar esta vida, está tudo bem. Mas não só com um olhar. Se olharmos um jornal, vamos ver vários filmes de Hollywood ou de cinema comercial. E pensamos: e o outro olhar, onde

está? É como se somente uma pessoa tivesse telescópio e todos tivéssemos que olhar por ele. Mas estamos em um mundo com múltiplos olhares e temos que encontrá-los. Todos os olhares são válidos.

- 31- Original in Portuguese: “Eu nunca vou esquecer desse professor! Que adorei muito.”
- 32- Original in Portuguese: “Essa mensagem, eu nunca vou esquecer: o que [é o] audiovisual [?] A resposta é: filmando no olho, montar com a mente, sentir com o corpo”
- 33- Original in Spanish: “La principal característica del cine es sentir [...] Hoy hemos dejado de sentir”.
- 34- Original in Spanish: “Todo cine es sensible, pero tiene que tener un principio de sensibilidad social y un principio de sensibilidad artística.”
- 35- Original in Spanish: “¿Como logra que su vivir cotidiano de oralidad y de iconicidad, como ve eso? Y decimo los: ¿cómo logras esto, hacer de que funcione también en un lenguaje audiovisual?”
- 36- Original in Spanish: “¿Cuál es su cosmología, ¿cuál es su mitología, ¿cuál es su cotidianidad, ¿cuál es su historia, ¿cuáles son sus hábitos, ¿cuáles son sus usos, ¿cuáles son sus costumbres habituales y en base a eso cuánto de esto se refleja en las acciones que después se pueden convertir en una obra audiovisual?”
- 37- Original in Spanish: “Que impacto de sociedad traerá? Antes de hacer cine, tienes que saber tu sueño de sociedad”.
- 38- Original in Spanish: “No es solamente valorizar, es la única forma de salvar la vida hoy en día. El planeta está decayendo. En la ciudad, no hay equilibrio del ecosistema, solo la ideología indígena puede salvar, recuperar y vivir la vida de una otra forma. La única forma de vivir bien es lo que hacen los pueblos indígenas”.
- 39- Original in Spanish: “¿Vamos a dejar una mejor tierra para nuestros hijos o mejores hijos para la tierra? No somos dueños, somos una parte pequeña de la tierra”
- 40- Original in Spanish: “solidaridad con otros pueblos del mundo sin prostituir quien soy”.
- 41-The conjoint FUNAI, IEB and PNUD/GATI’s publication “Gestão Ambiental e Territorial Indígena no Brasil” (2016) is also available at:
FUNAI’s website: http://www.funai.gov.br/arquivos/conteudo/cggam/pdf/2017/GATIi_web.pdf
Archived link:
https://web.archive.org/web/20181224160116/http://www.funai.gov.br/arquivos/conteudo/cggam/pdf/2017/GATIi_web.pdf
- 42-Founded in the United States in 1951, The Nature Conservancy (TNC) defines itself as a “global environmental non-profit working to create a world where people and nature can thrive” (TNC 2020). With over a million members and the collaboration of over 400 scientists, the “wide-reaching” environmental organization has conservation actions across six continents in 79 countries and territories (TNC 2020). For more information, please see: <https://www.nature.org/en-us/about-us/who-we-are/>
- 43-The Global Environment Facility (GEF) manages a global fund for solving environmental problems. Created on the eve of the UN Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, it has provided 20 billion USD in grants and brought together 107 billion USD in co-financing for 4,700 initiatives in 170 countries. Besides, its Small Grants Programme has supported nearly 24,000 community and civil society projects in 128 countries. In Brazil, it allocated 6 million USD for the GATI project (FUNAI et al. 2016, 3).
For more information, see: <https://www.thegef.org/about-us>
- 44-Brazil’s Indigenous Peoples Articulation (APIB) defines itself as

An agglutination instance and national reference of Brazil's Indigenous movement that was born with the purpose of strengthening the Indigenous peoples' unity and the articulation among the different regions and Indigenous organizations in the country; unify the Indigenous people struggle, the list of claims and demands and the Indigenous movement politics; [and] mobilize the Indigenous peoples and organizations of the country against the threats and attacks to the Indigenous rights" [APIB 2020].

Created in 2005, it encompasses the following:

- Northeast, Minas Gerais and Espírito Santo Indigenous Peoples Articulation (APOINME);
- Terena People Board, Southeast, Indigenous Peoples Articulation (ARPINSUDESTE);
- Articulation of the Indigenous Peoples of the South (ARPINSUL);
- Great Council of the Guarani People (ATY GUASU);
- Brazilian Amazon Indigenous Organizations Coordination (COIAB);
- Yvyrupa Guarani Commission.

APIB's website (with information in English) is available at: <http://apib.info/apib/?lang=en>

45-COIAB's website is available at: <https://coiab.org.br/>

46-APOINME has a Facebook page:

<https://www.facebook.com/apoinme.brasil/?pageid=1687223018180117&ftentidentifier=2502202290015515&paddin=0>

47-ARPIN-SUL represents Kaingang, Guarani, Xocleng and Xetá peoples living in the Brazilian states of Paraná, Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul. For more information (in English), please see: <https://www.fundobrasil.org.br/en/projeto/articulation-of-the-Indigenous-peoples-of-the-south-arpin-sul/>

48-GATI's publication (in Portuguese) is available at:

http://cggamgati.funai.gov.br/files/5714/8839/1937/Texto_Tematico_Formacao.pdf

Archived link:

https://web.archive.org/web/20190129041608/http://cggamgati.funai.gov.br/files/5714/8839/1937/Texto_Tematico_Formacao.pdf

GATI's publication (in English) is available at:

http://cggamgati.funai.gov.br/index.php/download_file/2015/638/

Archived link:

https://web.archive.org/web/20190129042129/http://cggamgati.funai.gov.br/index.php/download_file/2015/638/

49-The 17 Sustainable Development Goals were:

Goal 1: End poverty in all its forms everywhere;

Goal 2: End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture;

Goal 3: Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages;

Goal 4: Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all;

Goal 5: Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls;

Goal 6: Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all;

Goal 7: Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all;

Goal 8: Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all;

Goal 9: Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization and foster innovation;

Goal 10: Reduce inequality within and among countries;

Goal 11: Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable;

Goal 12: Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns;

Goal 13: Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts;

Goal 14: Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development;

- Goal 15: Protect, restore and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, and halt and reverse land degradation and halt biodiversity loss;
- Goal 16: Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels;
- Goal 17: Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalize the Global Partnership for Sustainable Development.

The UNDP SDGs are available at UNDP's website:

<https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/sustainable-development-goals/>

The list presented by Ana Paula to the Guarani-Kaiowá students corresponds to a previous display of the SDGs, which is available at the website of The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD): <https://www.oecd.org/sdd/OECD-Measuring-Distance-to-SDGs-Targets-Metada.pdf>

50-Please see the 2017 UNDP Reference Guide for Mainstreaming the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development available at: <https://unsdg.un.org/sites/default/files/UNDG-Mainstreaming-the-2030-Agenda-Reference-Guide-2017.pdf>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20201105092017/https://unsdg.un.org/sites/default/files/UNDG-Mainstreaming-the-2030-Agenda-Reference-Guide-2017.pdf>

51-Original in Portuguese: “nossa pátria é o mundo inteiro, nossa lei é a liberdade”.

52-Original in Spanish: “todos tenemos ideas y aportamos todos y podemos construir algo que ni siquiera imaginábamos. Es algo muy lindo, muy linda experiencia... Y imagino que nos pueda suceder, que tanto mis compañeros como los de Brasil puedan seguir haciendo ese tipo de trabajo.”

53-Original in Spanish: “esa experiencia de salir del país me ha ayudado mucho para ver otras cosas y para ver otras cosas desde otro punto de vista y creo q me enriquece demasiado, me gusta mucho.”

54-Original in Spanish: “hacer que haya esa unión no solamente de trabajo sino esa unión, por algún modo, por así decir, que se nació de nuestros países.

55-Original in Portuguese: “pra mim isso é muito importante porque lá na minha aldeia também precisa muito dessas coisas pra aprender mais a valorizar a sua cultura, pra não esquecer a sua raiz”.

56-Original in Portuguese: “eu tive contato também com outros povos e populações tradicionais e tem essa simplicidade, essa coisa sensível, assim, ela acaba que se encontra”.

57-The Video is available in Portuguese at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fsMobR5j3hI>

58-Original in Spanish:

Yo creo que ser quechua tiene varias cosas. Primero que somos excluidos permanentemente. Hoy en día es igual y sufrimos discriminación y marginación. Y no es porque vivimos en un estado plurinacional [...] que ha cambiado, no. Há cambiado algunas cosas, pero la relación cotidiana te marca y te muestra que quedan más de 500 pasos para dar, porque [...] si no eres blanco ya te están marcando de dónde eres y como tienes que vivir. [...] Segundo, no solamente es el color sino también los rasgos, los pómulos salidos, la estructura facial triangular, está diciendo también cual es tus orígenes [...] Pasa lo mismo en Brasil, pasa lo mismo en Perú, pasa lo mismo en Ecuador [...] Todo eso va armando un tejido de diferentes colores, pero al final los colores oscuros o mestizos, indígenas, siempre quedan por debajo, no? En este tejido social, entonces, como quechua, yo soy discriminado permanentemente y marginalizado. [...] Yo voy a jugar futbol y si juego y el otro equipo son blancos, me dicen: ¿qué haces, indio, aquí? [...] En un restaurante, por mis rasgos, me dicen yá no hay espacio. ¿Disculpe, como no tengo reserva si me familia está sentada allá? Y eso pasa en Brasil, pasa en Canadá, pasa en Estados

Unidos e en todas las partes dese mundo patriarcal donde el color determina finalmente tu poder. El color de piel y los rasgos son poder en este continente.

Notes for Chapter 7

- 1- Marks' emphasis on audiovisual production as generating a language always in its act of becoming, dynamic and unfinished, becomes a creative and incommensurate force for reimagining and opening new horizons for being and becoming, and for relationalities that can include nature in its politics.
- 2- See more information at the Wall Street Journal news report: <https://www.wsj.com/articles/brazils-rousseff-names-katia-abreu-agriculture-minister-1419376051>
Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/2020112020621/https://www.wsj.com/articles/brazils-rousseff-names-katia-abreu-agriculture-minister-1419376051>
- 3- I am arguing here (as elsewhere) that the growing interconnectivity fostered by an increasing enactment in online landscapes of politics anchored in different moral perceptions and societal projects has eroded the conditions for practicing autonomy on the national scale, undermining the Brazilian sovereignty, indicating a trend that is increasingly crystallizing in different parts of the globe. This remark is consonant with Krenak's and Molina's observation of the erosion of Latin American countries' sovereignty (mentioned respectively in Chapters 1 and 3). It also relates to Molina's emphasis on the necessity of seeking "audiovisual sovereignty" to be able to dream and propose different projects for society safeguarding people's recognition, dignity, and autonomy amidst the competing political forces propelled within online environments, as discussed in Chapters 5 and 6. These observations point to the relevance of the concept of cosmopolitics for future social, political, and economic analyses of how the shifting political grounds enacted in online landscapes have affected national sovereignties and people's autonomy.
- 4- See, for instance, the YouTube channels:
Atila Iamarino: <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCSTIOTcyUmzvhQi6F8IFi5w>
Auditoria Cidadã da Dívida: <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCfJMYI98xxboEBVrkNtxYXQ>
Bob Fernandes: <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCfpLDZ2PrbFnNrIzRHiU8ZQ>
Canal do Pirulla: <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCdGpd0gNn38UKwoncZd9rmA>
Canal do Slow: https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCI10NIddOn9MMWdKNyo_YdA
Clayson: <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCWE75Qq5ExU0qlwQSkx18wQ>
Eduardo Moreira: <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC7cIZNwQhE1o8kopShrQHvw>
Galãs Feios: https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC2bZgihqibFD_vhaYEXQZFg
HBO Brasil -Greg News (with English subtitles): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Pt3FSLSLdkJs>
Henry Bugalho: <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCC6f63SXY0CDpsPGDBtTWVg>
Ladislau Dowbor: <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCyLSGelILU46QzFtPcBCvqQ>
Meteoro Brasil https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCk5BcU1rOy6hepfk7_q_Pw
Mídia Ninja: <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCwefw3viiiaxprsV6jgJvEA>
Normose: <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCqBY-VQ2BxHOWnVpuC7swrw>
O Historiador: <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC5ZXYxeWIROKbL7JziJ0bIQ>
Oxfam Brasil: <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC1MRRvRqptjBq3C1aNFcNqg>
Tempero Drag: <https://www.youtube.com/c/TemperoDrag/featured>
Tese Onze: <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC0fGGprijDIIQ3ykWvc9hg>
- 5- ICL's purpose is to help Brazilians to acquire critical thinking skills and evidence-based knowledge in an affordable manner (or free on a need-basis). This initiative joined forces with Indigenous groups in Mato Grosso do Sul forming a broader network of solidarity propelling dreams for a future in Brazil with fewer inequalities and more respect for people, animals, and nature.

The ICL platform was created conjointly by Brazilian sociologist Jessé de Souza and economy professor Eduardo Moreira. In common with the work of ASCURI is the effort of contesting the attempts of

epistemological control by neoliberal thinktanks. During a live broadcast on YouTube, Argentinian psychoanalysis professor Daniel Perez argued that the neoliberal model taking root in Brazil is a model of “colonization of subjectivity” (in Portuguese: “colonização da subjetividade”). The subject capture occurs through discourses and practices prompting people to break affective and social ties (relationships with family members and friends with whom they previously shared values and worldviews) (Moreira et al. 2021). This problem is exacerbated by a rapid increase in mobile internet access (often limited to social media for those with limited resources) conjugated with a lack of education on how to engage with information online critically. In this perspective, the power of media-sharing and social media platforms’ algorithms to select and continuously feed people within online echo-chambers centred on extremist content has the potential to create cultivation fields of like-minded radicalized online “soldiers”, akin to the physical fields of transgenic monocrops.

The ICL is also committed to stopping what Moreira designates as “financial slavery” (in Portuguese: “escravidão financeira”) of the Brazilian people due to the exorbitant interest rates on bank loans, overdrafts and credit cards, for instance (Franco Ramos 2019). This problem has also been denounced by Dowbor and is linked to what I am designating as a form of cosmopolitics propelling the interests of multinational companies such as agribusiness corporations and banks. In March 2021, Ladislav Dowbor, who was starting his course on ICL, granted an interview to Eduardo Moreira on ICL’s YouTube channel in which he stressed that the problem of Brazil is not the lack of resources. In 2019, Brazil’s GDP totalled 7.3 trillion BRL and produced 252 million tonnes of grains, corresponding to 3.2 kilos per person per day only in grains. The fact that the country has 16 million people starving is solely a problem of management and allocation of wealth because unproductive capital is increasingly draining Brazilian revenues through the interests transferred to national and international private investors for paying government bonds related to the internal public debt resulting in the country been in deficit since 2014 (Moreira et al. 2021).

See, more information about *Instituto Conhecimento Liberta*:

https://institutoliberta.com.br/?utm_campaign=icl&utm_source=youtube&utm_medium=social&utm_content=botao&src=icl&sck=botao-youtube

For more information about Eduardo Moreira’s declaration on “financial slavery” (in Portuguese), see: <https://www.folhadelondrina.com.br/politica/para-economista-bancos-impoem-escravidao-financeira-2937921e.html>

Dowbor’s interview is available on ICL’s YouTube channel at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W3_mpk3LLIY

Professor Perez participated in the same live as Dowbor. His participation starts after 50 minutes.

- 6- The live is available at:
 - Eduardo Moreira’s YouTube channel: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AMLynTUJcGw&t=5s>
 - ICL’s YouTube channel: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ee24vDX81ls>
- 7- ICL’s short video presenting the project is available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fbr_r_xDaJE
- 8- Original in Portuguese: *Mirando Mundos Possiveis –(Re)Existir e Curar*
The platform is available at:
<https://web.archive.org/web/20201009170030/https://redecineflecha.org/mirando-mundos-possiveis/>
- 9- Rede CineFlecha website the Aiming at Possible Worlds - (Re) Exist and Heal had an opening page with the following invitation:

There is an urgent need to understand that we do not inhabit a world, but rather a constellation of worlds, in which different peoples are experiencing and conceiving in very different ways their first contacts with this microscopic traveller that scientists baptized COVID-19.

To fill this time of silence with other voices, Rede CineFlecha and ASCURI (Cultural Association of Indigenous Producers / MS) invite all Indigenous peoples to share on this platform their experiences, reflections, and reports in the face of the current global crisis through videos or other languages. With

this initiative, we intend to create a virtual environment where we can together aim (look, point, dream) new possible worlds. (Rede Cineflecha and ASCURI 2020)

Original in Portuguese:

É preciso entender urgentemente que não habitamos um mundo, mas sim uma constelação de mundos, nos quais diferentes povos estão experienciando e concebendo de formas muito distintas os primeiros contatos com esse microscópico viajante que os cientistas batizaram de Covid-19.

Com o intuito de preencher esse tempo de silêncios com outras vozes, a Rede CineFlecha e a ASCURI (Associação Cultural de Realizadores Indígenas/MS) convidam todos os povos indígenas a compartilharem nesta plataforma suas experiências, reflexões e relatos diante da atual crise global, através de vídeos ou outras linguagens. Pretendemos, com esta iniciativa, criar um ambiente virtual no qual possamos juntos mirar (olhar, apontar, sonhar) novos mundos possíveis.

10-See the playlist on Rede Cine Flecha YouTube channel: <https://www.youtube.com/c/RedeCineFlecha/playlists>

11-On Facebook, see for example the animation film *Fora Corona: Cuidados na Aldeia* (APITIKATXI et al 2020), promoting the platform: <https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=3344021918986569>

12-On Instagram, see for example Eliel Benites' alert about the dangers of the pandemic (2020) presenting the information platform: <https://www.instagram.com/p/CEbnsC5nWs-/>

13-Original in Portuguese: Por um País de Paz -Secretaria de Cultura e Turismo, Barueri, São Paulo. For more information, see:

-The official press release announcing the results: https://portal.barueri.sp.gov.br/arquivos/sites/sct/downloads/Resultado_Concurso_Pais_de_Paz_1_25-Set-2019.pdf

-The Barueri Culture and Tourism Secretary's Facebook page showing Daniela's work: <https://www.facebook.com/culturabaruerioficial/photos/pcb.2463505977063357/2463505137063441>

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APPENDIX A: LOCATION OF MATO GROSSO DO SUL IN RAPPORT TO THE LEGAL AMAZON



Figure 1

Observation: This is an adaptation of the original map (in Portuguese) from the online education platform *Centro de Produções Técnicas*, which permits the use of the material if properly cited. The original map is available at: <https://www.cpt.com.br/codigo-florestal/novo-codigo-florestal-brasileiro-estados-pertencentes-a-amazonia-legal>

Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20210225082953/https://www.cpt.com.br/codigo-florestal/novo-codigo-florestal-brasileiro-estados-pertencentes-a-amazonia-legal>

APPENDIX B: INDIGENOUS POPULATIONS IN BRAZIL AND MATO GROSSO DO SUL

Even though the first national census in Brazil dates to 1872, Indigenous persons living outside the locations imposed by the government only started to be identified in 1991, under the category “Indigenous”, as a part of the inquiring on “colour or race”¹ (IBGE 2012b, 4; IBGE 2012a, 14-15). However, the latest national census in 2010 gave unprecedented visibility to the Indigenous peoples living in the country. For the first time, it asked respondents about their people and spoken languages. It revealed that 305 different peoples were living in Brazil, speaking 274 languages and dialects and totalling 896,917 persons (IBGE 2012a, 54-55, 85, 90, 124, 169; FUNAI 2020a).

The results unveiled that even though Indigenous persons only corresponded to 0.47 percent of the Brazilian population, they were present in all the 26 Brazilian states (IBGE 2012a, 169, FUNAI 2020a). While Amazonas contains the most significant number of Indigenous persons², which is not surprising since it is the largest Brazilian state and is located at the heart of the Amazon forest, Mato Grosso do Sul is the state with the second-largest Indigenous population, with 77,025 persons (IBGE 2012a, 169). This seems counterintuitive because it is not part of the Legal Amazon and is significantly smaller⁴ compared to three of the states that are part of it (see Appendix A).

Although the 2010 census informed the total number of persons of each Indigenous people in Brazil, it did not provide how many individuals from each group live in each state. Likewise, the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI), the Brazilian government institution charged with establishing and executing Indigenous policies, did not present such information. Mato Grosso do Sul’s Federal Public Prosecutor’s Office (MPF-MS)⁵, in turn, estimates that there are seven Indigenous groups in the state (2012, 2). The largest one, the Guarani, is divided into two different groups: the Guarani-Kaiowá, with 32,761 persons, and the Guarani-Nhandeva⁶, with 11,325 persons (MPF-MS 2012, 8). The second largest people are the Terena, with 24,149 persons; followed by the Kadiwéu, with 1,364 persons; the Kinikinau, with 250 persons; the Guató, with 182 persons; the Ofayé, with 60 persons; and the Atikum, with 52 persons (MPF/MS 2012, 6-7, 11, 17-18, 21)⁷. Most ASCURI members are Guarani-Kaiowá, and the activities and events I witnessed in Mato Grosso do Sul primarily targeted their communities, which suffered the most challenges in the region. Therefore, I focused on the context related to this people and their circumstances. However, I also outlined some information related to the Terena.

In 2016, demographers Colman and Azevedo updated data about the Guarani: 42,701 were living in the state, corresponding to 66.86% of the Guarani in Brazil (2016, 26-27). This number was smaller than the MPF-MS data and estimated a more significant proportion of Guarani-Kaiowá vis-à-vis the Guarani-Nhandeva. The former totalled 37,650 people, representing 88.17% of the Guarani living in the state and 89.15% of this subdivision population in the country. The latter, with 4,974 people, totalized 11.6% of the

Guarani in Mato Grosso do Sul and 35.35% of this subdivision in Brazil. The demographers also observed the presence of 77 Guarani-Mbya, the third Guarani subdivision in Brazil, significantly more prevalent in southeaster and southern states (Colman and Azevedo 2016, 28)⁸. They stressed that 94,34% of the Guarani in Mato Grosso do Sul lived outside urban areas (2016, 26). In fact, Kaiowá means “people from the forest” (Corrêa 2015, 55). The 2017 report from the Food and Nutrition Security National Council (*Consea*) presents a map showing they live mostly in the southern portion of the state (Brasil 2017, 8).

Notes

- 1- In contrast, Indigenous persons who were dwelling in the places prescribed by the government started to be taken into consideration in the Brazilian Population Census in 1960, under the category “Indian”. However, in the subsequent censuses of 1970 and 1980, a military dictatorship ruled in Brazil, and it removed the Indigenous identifier. With the return of democracy in 1985, the last three censuses (in 1991, 2000, 2010) included the category “Indigenous”. However, in the 1991 and 2000 censuses, the question appeared only in the “sample” questionnaires, which was applied randomly to 20% of the private dwellings in cities with less than 15 000 people, and 10% of the private dwellings in cities with more than 15 000 habitants. (IBGE 2012b, 4; IBGE 2012a, 14-15).
- 2- Number of Indigenous persons living in the Amazonas state: 183,514 (IBGE 2012a, 169).
- 3- Mato Grosso do Sul has an area of 357,145.535 km² (IBGE 2019), which corresponds to 137,891 square miles, roughly half of the area of the province of Alberta. Being ranked 6th in size in comparison with other Brazilian states, it is significantly smaller in comparison with the three largest states of the Legal Amazon region: Amazonas (1,559,149.074 km²), Pará (1,247,955.381km²) and Mato Grosso (903,198.091 km²) (IBGE n.d.). For more information, please see: <https://www.ibge.gov.br/cidades-e-estados/ms.html>
Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20170712070746/http://www.ibge.gov.br/home/geociencias/geografia/amazonialegal.shtm?c=2>
- 4- The Public Prosecutor's Office is the Brazilian body of independent public prosecutors at both the federal (*Ministério Público Federal*) and state level (*Ministério Público Estadual*).
- 5- The Guarani-Kaiowá refer to themselves as *Kaiowá* (even though some do say *Guarani-Kaiowá*), while the Guarani-Nhandeva refer to themselves as *Guarani*.
- 6- Concerning the Kadiwéu, the 2010 census indicates, however, the existence of 1575 persons (IBGE 2012a, 158). Even though IBGE's data refers to the total number of Kadiwéu persons in Brazil, according to the Socioenvironmental Institute (ISA), who organized a comprehensive table about the Indigenous peoples living in Brazil, this people lives only in Mato Grosso do Sul (ISA 2021a). The same goes for the Kinikinau and the Ofayé; however, in their cases, the numbers provided by the MPF/MS are closer to the ones reported in the 2010 census: 250 persons compared to 213 for the Kinikinau, and 60 persons compared to 72 persons for the Ofayé (MPF/MS 2012, 5, 12; IBGE 2012a, 153, 155). The other Indigenous peoples cited by the MPF/MS publication are not present only in Mato Grosso do Sul; therefore, it is impossible to compare the numbers provided by the MPF/MS with the ones of the 2010 census information.
- 7- For the Indigenous peoples only present in Mato Grosso do Sul, it is possible to know a more updated number of persons drawing from the Socioenvironmental Institute data: 1413 Kadiwéu (information provided in 2014 by the Special Secretariat for Indigenous Health -SESAI); 600 Kinikinau (information provided by Rosaldo A.de Sousa in 2016); 69 Ofayé, 60 (information provided in 2014 by SESAI). The Kamba were not mentioned in the MPF/MS publication, yet they appear in the 2010 census as having only 21 people in total (IBGE 2012a, 159) and, according to ISA (following the data from the Special Secretariat for Indigenous Health -SESAI), are only found in Mato Grosso do Sul (ISA 2018).
See ISA's table (last modified on April 2021) at: https://pib.socioambiental.org/pt/Quadro_Geral_dos_Povos
Archived link: https://web.archive.org/web/20210428000953/https://pib.socioambiental.org/pt/Quadro_Geral_dos_Povos
- 8- The 2010 census identified 8026 people in this subdivision (IBGE 2012a, 155).

APPENDIX C: TRANSGENIC INDUSTRY IN MATO GROSSO DO SUL AND BRAZIL

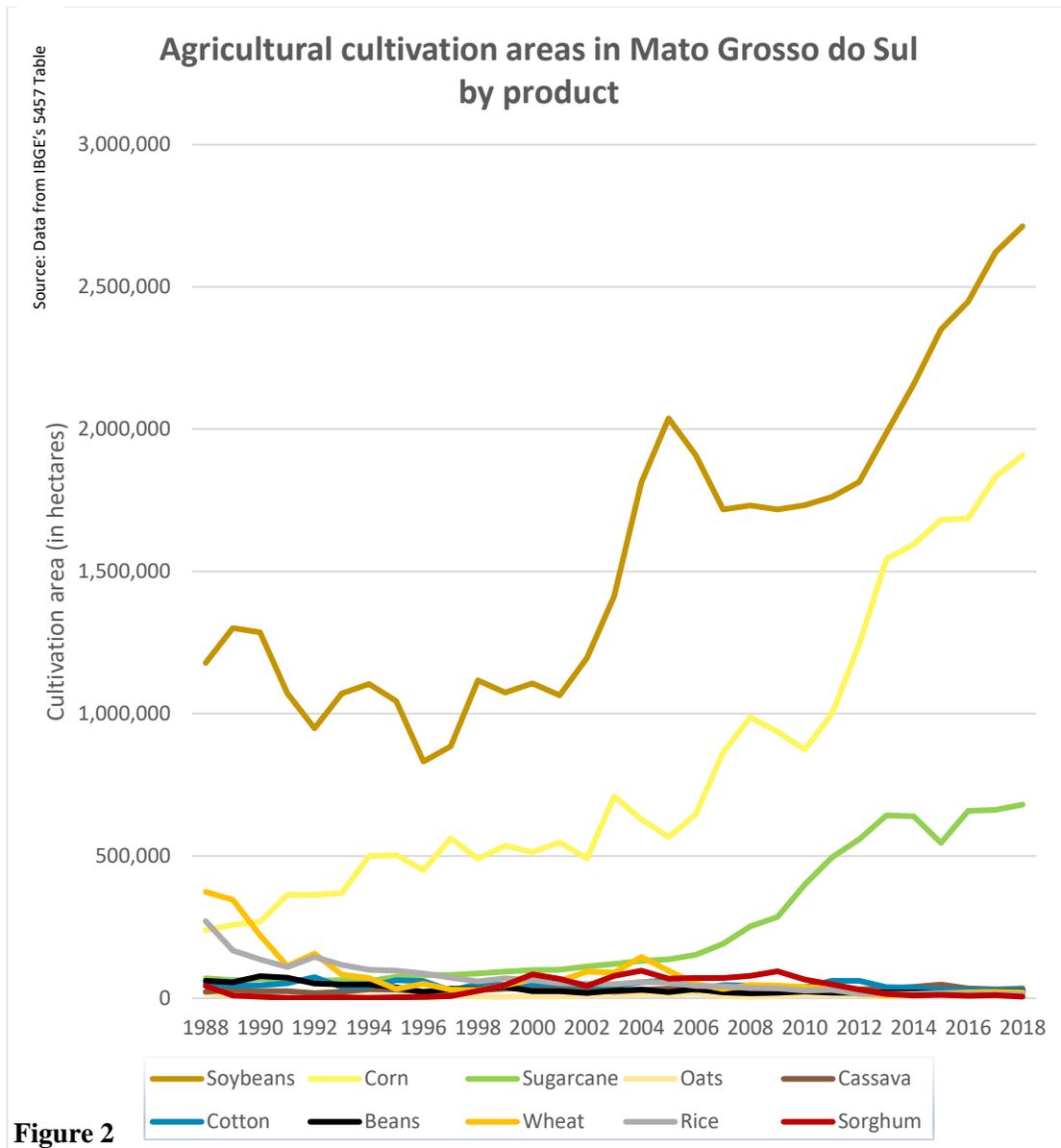
The Mato Grosso do Sul Agriculture and Farming Federation (Famasul) reported, as early as 2013, that 95% of the soy cultivated in the state had the transgenic technology “Roundup Ready” from Monsanto (Zaidan 2014)¹. “Roundup Ready” means that the soy is resistant to the herbicide Roundup, also commercialized by the agribusiness giant Bayer-Monsanto² (Monsanto n.d.; Bayer n.d.). The main component of Roundup is glyphosate, a substance whose maximum residue limit in drinking water allowed in Brazil is 5000 greater than the authorized by the European Union (Lazzeri 2017; Bombardi 2019, 246). In fact, among the crops cultivated in the state³, soybean has occupied the largest area, as Table 1 shows:

Table 1- Largest agricultural cultivation areas in Mato Grosso do Sul by product

Product	Cultivation area (unit: hectares)					
	2018	2016	2014	2012	2010	2008
Soybeans	2,713,062	2,448,330	2,158,704	1,814,136	1,732,492	1,732,031
Corn	1,907,544	1,686,337	1,595,232	1,244,408	873,861	987,680
Sugarcane	680,611	658,252	639,899	558,664	399,408	252,544
Oats	38,958	15,300	17,100	11,300	11,765	5,850
Cassava	33,295	34,419	39,730	30,902	26,690	29,056
Cotton	30,450	29,650	37,707	61,919	38,740	44,224
Beans	22,014	15,935	20,307	19,432	23,997	17,848
Wheat	20,791	20,855	13,122	15,220	39,566	46,182
Rice	12,796	14,887	15,003	16,692	26,990	35,459
Sorghum	5,909	8,840	9,964	29,754	65,712	79,138

Source: Data from IBGE's 5457 Table on permanent and temporary agriculture cultivations (released on September 5, 2019)

While Table 1 presents a biennial overview of the land used for the ten most cultivated crops since 2008, figure 2 shows the annual results graphically from 1988 (the first year with available IBGE data) to 2018. It displays the rapid increase and stark predominance of soybean, corn and sugarcane cultivations in the state.



These three crops are not only the primary sources to produce biofuel in the region but also three of the six genetically modified plants cultivated in Brazil, as informs the 2018 report of the Biotechnology Information Council (CIB) and Agroconsult, celebrating 20 years of the use of transgenic crops in Brazil (CIB and Agroconsult 2018, 9)⁴. While soybean was the first GM (genetically modified) plant approved in Brazil, in 1998, it was followed by cotton (2005), corn (2007), beans (2011), eucalyptus (2015), and sugarcane (2017), totalling the approval of 76 genetic modifications from 1998 to 2018 (CIB and Agroconsult 2018, 9).

As a result, Brazil surpassed Argentina in the production of transgenic crops in 2010, becoming the second most prominent producer (behind the United States) (Agrolink 2010; CIB 2010)⁵. Since then, as informs the annual Global Status of Commercialized Biotech/GM Crops brief reports from the International Service for the Acquisition of Agri-Biotech Applications (ISAAA)⁶, Brazil has remained in the second position and sustained a growth rate of land use for GM crops considerably higher than the other countries composing the five most significant producers of GM crops, as Table 2 shows (James 2010, 12; 2011, 12; 2012, 12; 2013, 13; 2014, 12; 2015, 15; ISAAA 2016, 5; 2017, 6; 2018, 15; 2019, 2).

Table 2: Area of GM crops by country

Unit: Million Hectares*

Crop	United States	Brazil	Argentina	Canada	India
2009	64	21.4	21.3	8.2	8.4
2010	66.8	25.4	22.9	8.8	9.4
2011	69	30.3	23.7	10.4	10.6
2012	69.5	36.6	23.9	11.6	10.8
2013	70.1	40.3	24.4	10.8	11
2014	73.1	42.2	24.3	11.6	11.6
2015	70.9	44.2	24.5	11	11.6
2016	72.9	49.1	23.8	11.1	10.8
2017	75	50.2	23.6	13.1	11.4
2018	75	51.3	23.9	12.7	11.6
2019	71.5	52.8	24	12.5	11.9
Total Growth Rate (2009 to 2019)	11.7%	146.7%	12.7%	52.4%	41.6%

*Rounded-off to the nearest hundred thousand or more

Source: Data from the ISAAA reports from 2010 to 2019

In 2018, 93% of Brazil's soy, corn, cotton, and sugarcane cultures were GM crops. The percentages of soy and corn crops were respectively 96% and 89% (ISAAA 2018, 15-16). In 2019, GM crops increased to 94% of soy, corn, cotton, and sugarcane cultivated (ISAAA 2019, 2).

Notes

- 1- For more information, please see Campo Grande News report (in Portuguese) at: <https://www.campograndenews.com.br/economia/mais-resistente-a-praga-transgenico-domina-cultura-de-milho-e-soja>
Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20210429164039/https://www.campograndenews.com.br/economia/mais-resistente-a-praga-transgenico-domina-cultura-de-milho-e-soja>
- 2- Information about the merger of Monsanto and Bayer is available at: <https://monsanto.com/news-releases/bayer-closes-monsanto-acquisition/>
Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20180608085427/https://monsanto.com/news-releases/bayer-closes-monsanto-acquisition/>

- 3- The products cultivated in 2018 following the ones displayed in the table (in decrescent area use) are: rubber (3,415 ha), watermelon (1,612 ha), banana (1,360 ha), peanuts (1,310 ha), annatto (1,162 ha), orange (863 ha), coffee (253 ha), pineapple (253 ha), sweet potato (200 ha), papaya (193 ha), Matte leaves (186 ha), sunflower (150 ha), tangerine (139 ha), lime (101 ha), Bahia coconut (73 ha), tomato (71 ha), passion fruit (35 ha), guava (33 ha), melon (22 ha), palm heart (10 ha) and grape (7 ha). For more information, please see the 5457 IBGE Table on permanent and temporary cultivations is available at:

<https://sidra.ibge.gov.br/tabela/5457>

For Mato Grosso do Sul, see research results at: <https://sidra.ibge.gov.br/tabela/5457#resultado>

- 4- The Council Information Biotechnology (CIB) presents itself in the report as “a non-governmental organization and a non-profit association with no party or political connotation” whose goal is to disseminate information on biotechnology and make it “familiar” to various sectors of society (CIB and Agroconsult 2018, 2). It is part of the CropLife association, which also represents companies such as Basf, Bayer, CTC, Corteva and Syngenta, among many others. CropLife’s president is a former vice-president of Bayer in Brazil, and during the 2018 Brazilian presidential elections, he ran for Vice-President under the *Novo* Party. For more information, see: <https://croplifebrasil.org/sobre-croplife/>

Agroconsult presents itself as a “consultancy firm specialized in agribusiness in Brazil” which “has served the entire value chain: farmers, cooperatives, associations, industry, financial institutions and international organizations” (CIB and Agroconsult 2018, 2).

CIB and Agroconsult’s report is available (in English) at: <https://conteudo.cib.org.br/estudo-20-anos-de-transgenicos>
Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20181230233727/https://conteudo.cib.org.br/20-years-of-adoption>

- 5- Agrolink’s news report is available (in Portuguese) at: https://www.agrolink.com.br/noticias/brasil-passa-a-ser-o-segundo-maior-produtor-de-transgenicos-do-mundo_105778.html
Archived link: https://web.archive.org/web/20210429190115/https://www.agrolink.com.br/noticias/brasil-passa-a-ser-o-segundo-maior-produtor-de-transgenicos-do-mundo_105778.html

CIB’s news report is available (in Portuguese) at: <https://cib.org.br/brasil-passa-a-ser-o-segundo-maior-produtor-de-transgenicos-do-mundo/>

- 6- The ISAAA reports are available (in English) at: <http://www.isaaa.org/resources/publications/briefs/default.asp>

APPENDIX D: MULTINATIONAL COMPANIES IN MATO GROSSO DO SUL

According to the last Brazilian Census of Agriculture and Livestock farming, conducted in 2017 and published in October 2019, 30,549,179 hectares (out of the 35,714,553.5 ha composing the state) have been used for agriculture and livestock farming¹ (IBGE 2019). Livestock uses 24,288,704 ha, but 23,501,62823 ha alone are for bovine cattle. While cattle share some of its space with crop cultivations, 17.1 million ha are destined to it² exclusively (IBGE 2019). According to the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) data released in September 2019³, Mato Grosso do Sul was the state with the fourth-largest cattle of the country in 2018, with 20,896,700 heads (the state with the largest cattle being Mato Grosso with 30.2 million heads⁴) (IBGE 2019). This information gains even more relevance considering that Brazil is the biggest exporter of beef in the world (USDA 2019a, Buchholz 2021)⁵.

One of the most important corporations in the meat industry present in Mato Grosso do Sul is JBS. Originated in Brazil, it has become the “world’s leading animal protein processor” and a multinational company with commercial offices and production platforms in over 15 countries (JBS 2021; JBS 2019)⁶. One of the three feedlots it operates in Brazil is in Mato Grosso do Sul. It also commercializes poultry⁷, and some processing facilities are in Dourados, Caarapó and Sidrolândia, relatively close to some Indigenous villages and reserves. The only bus that runs inside the Terena villages I visited is, in fact, transportation for the villagers who work for this company. Another major player in the Mato Grosso do Sul’s meat industry is BRF (Brasil Foods), the biggest exporter of poultry in the world. It started its expansion in the state in 2008 when it acquired two local companies. As a result, it has an industrial park in Dourados (Sindicato Rural de Dourados -MS 2012⁸; BRF Global 2021⁹).

While livestock farming takes much of the area used by the local agro-industry, it has receded in the state since the early 2000s. Mato Grosso do Sul led the cattle farming in the country from 1993 to 2003 when it concentrated over 24 million cow heads¹⁰. Since then, this enterprise has gradually lost space to biofuel production, while cattle farming has gained prominence in its northern neighbour state, which concentrates the largest cattle since 2004. In fact, Mato Grosso do Sul has become “one of the new frontiers of bioenergy in Brazil”, especially its southern portion (Domingues and Junior 2012, 148). This translates into a massive and growing national and international investment in soybean, corn and sugarcane production to obtain biofuel. Domingues and Junior described the surge in sugarcane production in the region: from 1984 to 2011, it grew 1600% (2012, 145). This fast-paced rise reflected the significant increase in land use: 43,246 ha in 1985 versus 793,700 ha¹¹ in 2019 (Correa 2013, 34; CONAB 2019¹², 13).

In November 2019, the report¹³ of the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) estimated that Brazil had the biggest production of sugar in the world in 2019, with 29.4 million tons, even though

only 35% of the Brazilian sugarcane production is used for sugar and the remaining production for biofuel (USDA 2019c, 1). According to the report, the country has been the top sugar producer worldwide since 2005, except for the 2018/19 harvest (USDA 2019c, 2,5). While São Paulo is the state with the largest sugarcane production in Brazil, Mato Grosso do Sul is attractive because it borders it but has cheaper fertile lands with plenty of access to water and fewer land disputes:

Land disputes between sugar plants in São Paulo [...] made prices spike in a way that it became economically invariable to install new plants in that locality [...] in Mato Grosso do Sul, there are few consistent disputes [...] creating a propitious climate for the sugarcane expansion. The only striking fight in Mato Grosso do Sul is the question of Indigenous lands demarcation (Domingues and Junior 2012, 147).

The result of agribusiness initiatives in the region is evident in the Atlas “The Geography of Brazilian Agriculture” (IMAFLOA 2017). As mentioned in Chapter 1, it revealed that Mato Grosso do Sul has the largest portion of private lands in Brazil (92%) and the largest concentration of land for large-scale agricultural and farming operations (83% of private land) (IMAFLOA 2017, 12). This concentration indicates the growing presence of global agribusiness giants in the region. For instance, the Brazilian business publication *Gerente de Cidade*¹⁴ reports that, in July 2008, Louis Dreyfus Company (LDC) inaugurated in Mato Grosso do Sul its first sugarcane and ethanol plant “built from zero” in Brazil (2008, 40-41). The plant had the biggest mill installed in the country, and, according to *Gerente de Cidade*, the company bought concomitantly two other plants in the nearby area, creating a “cluster”¹⁵. The publication concluded that the concentration of plants, which enabled control over 50,000 hectares of sugarcane cultures, benefited agricultural production and represented “a new agricultural model for the region”¹⁶ (*Gerente de Cidade* 2008, 41). The publication also highlighted the presence of Mato Grosso do Sul’s governor in the plant’s inauguration. He stressed that the location was strategically positioned for exporting sugar and ethanol because it was equidistant from São Paulo and Paraná ports in Brazil’s southern region. *Gerente de Cidade* informed that LDC exports ethanol to the United States, Europe, South Korea and Japan (2008:42). Originated in France and headquartered in the Netherlands, the company is present in more than a hundred countries (LDC 2021¹⁷).

Other major agribusiness global corporations involved in the biofuel industry in Mato Grosso do Sul are Cargill, ADM and Bunge. Cargill has been ranked¹⁸ 32 times as the largest privately held North American corporation regarding revenue by Forbes (in its 35-year history of ranking U.S. private companies) (Painter 2020). In Mato Grosso do Sul, it has an industrial park -expanded in 2017- able to process 3,200 tons of soy per day to produce oil, soy flour and biodiesel (Cargill 2017, 49)¹⁹. The initiative had the support of Mato Grosso do Sul’s State Secretary of Environment, Economic Development, Familiar Agriculture and Production (SEMAGRO) (IMASUL 2017²⁰). This secretary encompasses both environmental and economic agendas.

In turn, North American ADM, another agribusiness giant present in 160 countries, is invested in the culture of soybeans in Mato Grosso do Sul and competes with Cargill. It owned a soybean processing facility in Campo Grande and recently expanded its operations with the construction of a soy protein production complex next to its existing facility. According to Mato Grosso do Sul's sub-secretary of communication website, the production complex was inaugurated in June 2018 and constituted the most prominent industrial complex in this segment in South America. It also represented the most significant investment of ADM in the world: 250 million USD, made possible because of the 274.8 million *reais* loan provided by the Brazilian government through the Centre West Development Fund (FDCO) (Subcom-MS 2018)²¹. Because of the facility's cutting-edge technology, it requires only 80 people working directly (SEMADE 2017)²².

Competing with the previous two corporations is Bunge, a global company that originated in the Netherlands, is headquartered in the United States and present in 40 countries. In Mato Grosso do Sul, it has a soy processing facility and a sugarcane plant. Cargill, ADM and Bunge's productions also serve the meat industry by producing cattle feed from soy flour (Cargill 2021; ADM 2021, Bunge 2021)²³.

In December 2017, the Center for Agrarian Reform Study, Research and Projects (NERA) from the Paulista State University (UNESP) released a report presenting the chart "Brazil -Territorialization of Companies Exploiting Natural Resources with Foreign Capital -2013- 2017²⁴ (Girardi 2017, 59-68). It included companies with business activities in Brazil, the Brazilian states where they are present, the funds supporting them and their countries of origin. The chart indicated the presence of at least 26 multinationals or Brazilian large-scale agribusiness companies relying on foreign capital in Mato Grosso do Sul. Twenty of them grow transgenic commodity crops and produce oil for biofuel²⁵ (see Figure 1).

Among those originating in other countries, eight are from the United States (producing sugarcane and grains such as soybean and corn). Also specialized in sugarcane are two from Italy, one from Germany, one from China and one from France. Those producing grains include two from Argentina (one working in partnership with a Japanese company) and one from Portugal. Besides, there is also a company invested in tree monoculture (from the Netherlands), another in the land market (from the United Kingdom) and one in coffee (from Japan) (Girardi 2017, 59-68).

Four companies were joint ventures between Brazilian businesses and international ones to produce sugarcane. One had a partnership with the United States, another with Germany, the third with the Netherlands and the United States, and the last one with Japan, the United Kingdom and the United States. In her master's thesis on the impact of the "foreignization of lands"²⁶ in Mato Grosso do Sul, geographer Lara Buscioli argued that one of the most disseminated strategies of foreign companies to advance its "territorialization" in the state was the purchase of sugarcane production unities from the Brazilian capital in debt (2016, 93)²⁷. Finally, another four companies appeared on the list because while they were

Brazilian, they relied on foreign capital. The first specialized in tree monoculture, the second in the land market, the third in sugarcane and the last in grains and cotton (Girardi 2017, 59-68).

Table 3: Companies exploiting natural resources with foreign capital in Mato Grosso do Sul			
COMPANY NAME	COMPANIES AND FUNDS	ORIGIN OF THE CAPITAL	LAND USE
Adecoagro Brasil Participações S. A	Angélica Agroenergia Ltda.	USA	Sugarcane; Grains (in rotation)*
ADM do Brasil Ltda.	N.I	USA	Cotton; Cocoa; Grains (in rotation)*
Agrex do Brasil S.A.	Ceagro; Los Grobo; Mitsubishi	Argentina; Japan	Grains (in rotation)*
Biosev Bionergia S.A.	Louis Dreyfus Company	France	Sugarcane
Biourja do Brasil Agroindustria Ltda.	N.I	USA	Grains (in rotation)*
Bunge Alimentos S.A.	Black Rock** ; DuPont; The Solae Company	USA	Sugarcane; Grains (in rotation)*
Cargill Agrícola S.A.	Black River Asset Management; Grupo Ruette	USA	Sugarcane; Grains (in rotation)*
Central Energética Vicentina Ltda.	N.I	Brazil***; USA	Sugarcane
Cerona - Companhia de Energia Renovável S.A.	N.I	Germany; Brazil***	Sugarcane
Cia Agrícola Estância Sonora	Grupo Cigla	Italia	Sugarcane
COFCO Agri	Antiga Noble Brasil S.A. ; Chinatex; Nidera Sementes	China	Sugarcane
Correcta	Glencore****	Switzerland	Oilseed crushing facility (Soybeans)
Eldorado Brasil Celulose S.A.	Excellence Paper BV	Netherlands	Tree Monoculture
Fibria Celulose S.A.	Veracel Celulose; Votorantim Industrial; Grupo Lorens; Stora Enso; J. Safra Asset Management	Brazil*****	Tree Monoculture
Grupo Poet	Biourja; DSM	USA	Grains (in rotation)*
Grupo Rangel	Biurja; Grupo Poet	Portugal	Grains (in rotation)*
Infinity Bio-Energy Brasil Participações S.A	Grupo Bertin; Infinity Participações.	USA	Sugarcane
International Paper do Brasil Ltda.	N.I	USA	Tree Monoculture
Mitsui	Multigrain; SLC Agrícola	Japan	Coffee
MSU Brasil Agropecuária Ltda.	Todas as empresas do grupo MSU S.A	Argentina	Grains (in rotation)*
Odebrecht Agroindustrial S.A.	Amirys; BNDES-Par; Odebrecht.	Brazil***; USA; Japan; United Kingdom	Sugarcane
Parkia Participações S.A.	Fibria Celulose S.A.	Brazil***	Land Market

Raízen Combustíveis S.A.	Cosan; Royal Dutch Shell; Radar; TIIA-Cref; Tono Bioenergia	Brazil***; USA; Netherlands	Sugarcane
Safi Brasil Energia S.A.	N.I	Italia	Sugarcane
São Fernando Açúcar e Álcool Ltda.	N.I	Brazil***	Sugarcane
SLC Agrícola S.A.	SLC LandCo.; Dois Vales Participações; Mitsui&Co.; Deustche Invest I Global Agribusiness; Valiance Asset Management; Neuberger Berman	Brazil***	Cotton; Grains (in rotation)*
The Lancashire General Investment Company Limited	Frigorifico Anglo	United Kingdom	Land Market
<p>*Soybean, corn, canola, rape and sorghum. ** BlackRock had over USD 6 trillion invested in JBS and Bunge, companies that are present in Mato Grosso do Sul. For more information, please see Campo Grande News report at: https://www.campograndenews.com.br/brasil/cidades/indigena-de-ms-usa-reuniao-em-nova-york-para-criticar-desmatamento ***Brazilian Companies with presence of foreign capital **** See page 83 of Glencore’s 2019 report stating that it owns 100% of the oilseed crushing facility “Correcta” in Ponta Porã (MS): https://www.glencore.com/dam/jcr:a6f576a6-c250-4b48-8fdf-14b80a61fc46/Glencore_2019%20March%20Bond_Prospectus.pdf</p> <p>Sources: DATALUTA - Land Struggle Database, 2016. www.fct.unesp.br/nera (Girardi et al. 2017:59-68) Campo Grande News report (Bueno & Santos 2019) Glencore 2019 report (March)</p> <p>© DATALUTA. This is an adaptation of the table at (Girardi et al. 2017:59-68). Authors permit the use of the material if properly cited.</p>			

The genetically modified seeds sold to these commodity crop growers in Brazil are controlled by five other multinational corporations²⁸. The Brazilian dependence on multinational agrochemical corporations becomes all the more pervasive because they have engineered GM crops to work conjugated with their fertilizers and herbicides²⁹. As a corollary, they have become major triggers in the utilization of pesticides: transgenic soybeans, sugarcane, corn and cotton drive the use of 81.2% of pesticides in Brazil (Sindiveg 2018, 19). For more information on pesticide use in Mato Grosso do Sul and Brazil, see Appendix F.

Notes

- 1- The Census of Agriculture and Livestock data system provides this information on table 6883, available in Portuguese at: <https://sidra.ibge.gov.br/Tabela/6883#resultado>
The data research system is available at: <https://sidra.ibge.gov.br/Acervo?nivel=3&unidade=50#/S/CA/A/43/T/6883>
- 2- This area includes “natural pastures” with 4,486,541 ha, “planted pastures in good conditions” with 12,193,326 ha and “planted pastures in bad condition” with 406,074 ha.
- 3- The Census of Agriculture and Livestock data system released an updated version of its 3939 table in September 2019, including information related to 2018: <https://sidra.ibge.gov.br/tabela/3939#resultado>
- 4- Mato Grosso has 30,199,598 heads. The state with the second-largest cattle is Goiás, with 22,651,910 heads, followed by Minas Gerais with 21,810,311 heads.

- 5- Please, see the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) report for data regarding 2019 at: <https://www.ers.usda.gov/amber-waves/2019/july/brazil-once-again-becomes-the-world-s-largest-beef-exporter/>
Please, see the Global Business Data platform Statista for data regarding 2021 at: <https://www.statista.com/chart/19122/biggest-exporters-of-beef/>
Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20210920185520/https://www.statista.com/chart/19122/biggest-exporters-of-beef/>
- 6- See information at JBS's website: <https://jbsglobal.co.uk/>
Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20210917054807/https://jbsglobal.co.uk/>
<https://jbs.com.br/en/about/who-we-are/>
Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20210627155458/https://jbs.com.br/en/about/who-we-are/>
- 7- Poultry ranks second in livestock farming area in Mato Grosso do Sul. In 2017, it occupied 680,505 ha and included 27,427,515 heads. For more information, please see IBGE's tables 6883 and 3939: <https://sidra.ibge.gov.br/Tabela/6883#resultado>
<https://sidra.ibge.gov.br/tabela/3939#resultado>
- 8- See information (in Portuguese) at: <https://www.sindicatouraldedourados.com.br/imprensa/expoagro/brasil-foods-uma-das-maiores-exportadora-de-aves-do-mundo-presente-na-48-expoagro>
Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20210917060241/https://www.sindicatouraldedourados.com.br/imprensa/expoagro/brasil-foods-uma-das-maiores-exportadora-de-aves-do-mundo-presente-na-48-expoagro>
- 9- BRF work in Brazil is available at (in English): <https://www.brf-global.com/en/about/our-location/brazil/>
Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20210124175112/https://www.brf-global.com/en/about/our-location/brazil/>
- 10- In 2003, Mato Grosso do Sul's cattle had 24,983,821 heads. For more information, see IBGE's 3939 table: <https://sidra.ibge.gov.br/tabela/3939#resultado>.
- 11- This number includes the "planting area" (99,500 ha), the "cane sugar seedlings" area (33,300 ha) and the "harvest" area (661 000 ha).
- 12- The *Companhia Nacional de Abastecimento* (CONAB)'s December 2019 report (Boletim de Cana-de-açúcar -3º levantamento) is available at: <https://www.conab.gov.br/info-agro/safras/cana/boletim-da-safra-de-cana-de-acucar>
- 13- The USDA report is available at: <https://apps.fas.usda.gov/psdonline/circulars/sugar.pdf>
Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20200110013225/https://apps.fas.usda.gov/psdonline/circulars/Sugar.pdf>
- 14- The Publication is available at: <https://docplayer.com.br/29010311-Gigante-da-bioenergia-inaugura-usina-de-acucar-e-etanol-no-mato-grosso-do-sul.html>
and at: http://www.ramalhete.com.br/clipping/gc47_0908.pdf
Archived link: https://web.archive.org/web/20181228155456/http://www.ramalhete.com.br/clipping/gc47_0908.pdf
- 15- The News report used the English term, which it defined as a "concentration of plants". Free translation of the original citation in Portuguese: "Com a aquisição de outras duas fábricas na região da nova usina (em Rio Brillhante e Maracaju), criou-se um *cluster* (concentração de usinas) de produção sucroalcooleira no Mato Grosso do Sul (Gerente da Cidade 2008:41).
- 16- Original in Portuguese: "A administração dos 50 mil hectares de cultivo de cana-de-açúcar em parceria com produtores locais cria estabilidade de renda em longo prazo e representa um novo modelo agrícola para a região" (Gerente da Cidade 2008:41).
- 17- For more information, please see LDC's website: <https://www.ldc.com/global/en/about-us/glance/>
- 18- See some of Forbes' annual rankings of America's Largest Private Companies:
2012: <https://web.archive.org/web/20121202045620/https://www.forbes.com/largest-private-companies/list/>
2013: <https://web.archive.org/web/20131226064915/http://www.forbes.com:80/largest-private-companies/list/>
2014: <https://web.archive.org/web/20141208055002/https://www.forbes.com/largest-private-companies/list/>
2015: <https://web.archive.org/web/20151205134123/https://www.forbes.com/largest-private-companies/list/>

2016: <https://web.archive.org/web/20161110020428/https://www.forbes.com/largest-private-companies/list/>
2017: <https://web.archive.org/web/20171223173332/https://www.forbes.com/largest-private-companies/list/>
2018: <https://web.archive.org/web/20190206131208/https://www.forbes.com/largest-private-companies/list/>
2019: <https://web.archive.org/web/20200930230448/https://www.forbes.com/largest-private-companies/list/>
2020: <https://web.archive.org/web/20201219225448/https://www.forbes.com/largest-private-companies/list/>

See Star Tribune news report on the subject: <https://www.startribune.com/cargill-loses-title-of-largest-private-company-in-u-s/573194221/?refresh=true>

Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20210922004259/https://www.startribune.com/cargill-loses-title-of-largest-private-company-in-u-s/573194221/?refresh=true>

- 19- See Cargill's 2017 annual report available (in Portuguese) at: https://www.cargill.com.br/pt_BR/doc/1432153312782/relat%C3%B3rio-anual-2017-pdf-pt.pdf
Cargill also mentions its industrial park in Mato Grosso do Sul at: https://www.cargill.com.br/pt_BR/localidades
- 20- IMASUL's report on the occasion showing that SEMAGRO granted Cargill an environmental license is available at: <https://www.imasul.ms.gov.br/mais-quatro-empresas-recebem-licenciamento-para-operar-na-costa-leste-do-estado/>
Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20210512225357/https://www.imasul.ms.gov.br/mais-quatro-empresas-recebem-licenciamento-para-operar-na-costa-leste-do-estado/>
- 21- Mato Grosso do Sul's Sub-Secretary of Communication's report on ADM industrial complex inauguration is available at: <http://www.ms.gov.br/reinaldo-azambuja-destaca-politica-de-fortalecimento-industrial-de-ms/>
Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20180617033707/http://www.ms.gov.br/reinaldo-azambuja-destaca-politica-de-fortalecimento-industrial-de-ms/>
- 22- Mato Grosso do Sul's Environmental and Economic Development Secretary (SEMADE)'s report on ADM industrial complex is available at: <http://www.ms.gov.br/com-nucleo-industrial-revitalizado-adm-inicia-atividades-em-campo-grande-no-2o-semester/>
Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20181022082521/http://www.ms.gov.br/com-nucleo-industrial-revitalizado-adm-inicia-atividades-em-campo-grande-no-2o-semester/>
- 23- Information about this subject is available at <https://www.cargill.com.br/en/animal-nutrition>
<https://www.adm.com/products-services/animal-nutrition>
<https://www.bunge.com/featured-moment-stories>

Archived links:
<https://web.archive.org/web/20210922191317/https://www.cargill.com.br/en/animal-nutrition>
<https://web.archive.org/web/20210907231759/https://www.adm.com/products-services/animal-nutrition>
<https://web.archive.org/web/20210305193506/https://www.bunge.com/featured-moment-stories>
- 24- The report (in English) is available at: http://www2.fct.unesp.br/nera/projetos/dataluta_brasil_en_2017.pdf
Archived version:
https://web.archive.org/web/20191105161040/http://www2.fct.unesp.br/nera/projetos/dataluta_brasil_en_2017.pdf
- 25- Sixteen multinationals originating in other countries and four companies created from joint ventures between Brazilian and international businesses.
- 26- Free translation of original in Portuguese: "estrangeirização de terras".
- 27- Original in Portuguese: "uma das estratégias dos grupos estrangeiros no estado foi adquirir áreas, no caso unidades de produção de cana-de-açúcar, que eram de capital brasileiro e que estivessem com algumas dívidas. Desta forma, o capital estrangeiro foi se territorializando e impactando os territórios camponeses e indígenas, bem como os municípios" (Buscioli 2016, 93).
- 28- Brazilian agronomist Gabriel Fernandes remarked, in his 2019 book on biotechnologies that 78 out of the 81 transgenic seeds approved until October 2018 in Brazil are commercialized by Bayer-Monsanto (soybean, corn, cotton), ChemChina-Syngenta (corn), Dow (soybean, cotton, corn) DuPont (soybean, corn) and BASF (soybean, in partnership with the Brazilian Agricultural Research Corporation -Embrapa, to produce the first GM soybean totally developed in Brazil) (2019, 24). This transgenic industry oligopoly triggered the concerned statement of the director of the Biosecurity Monitoring Service of Genetically Modified Organisms from the Brazilian Agriculture Ministry (*Serviço de Monitoramento em Biossegurança de Organismos Geneticamente Modificados, do Ministério da Agricultura*) reported by the Senate Agency in 2017. She noted that soybean seeds' price doubled since the arrival of the transgenic varieties and stressed the necessity of efforts for preventing Brazilian producers from being increasingly "in the hands

of multinationals” since Embrapa is responsible for only one variety of transgenic soybean, representing 2% of the internal market (Brandão 2017).

-The Senate Agency news report is available (in Portuguese) at: <https://www12.senado.leg.br/noticias/especiais/especial-cidadania/projeto-reacende-debate-sobre-alimentos-transgenicos/brasil-e-2o-maior-produtor-mundial-de-alimentos-geneticamente-modificados>

Archived link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20210316202110/https://www12.senado.leg.br/noticias/especiais/especial-cidadania/projeto-reacende-debate-sobre-alimentos-transgenicos/brasil-e-2o-maior-produtor-mundial-de-alimentos-geneticamente-modificados>

-Fernandes book is available (in Portuguese) at: https://br.boell.org/sites/default/files/2019-11/Boll_Novas%20Biotecnologias%20Velhos%20Agrotoxicos_Site.pdf

-For more information about German pharmaceutical and pesticide company Bayer and its acquisition of Monsanto in June 2018, see: <https://monsanto.com/news-releases/bayer-closes-monsanto-acquisition/>

-For more information about ChemChina, owned by the Chinese Central Government, and its acquisition of Swiss seeds and pesticides group Syngenta in 2017, see:

<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-syngenta-ag-m-a-chemchina/chemchina-clinches-landmark-43-billion-takeover-of-syngenta-idUSKBN1810CU>

<https://www.syngenta.com/site-services/chemchina-transaction>

<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-syngenta/china-owned-syngenta-plots-growth-in-challenging-home-market-idUSKBN1KE1B3>

<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/05/business/syngenta-chemchina-takeover.html>

-Dow is a chemical company founded and headquartered in Michigan, USA, handling 113 manufacturing sites in 31 countries. In October 2019, the company’s press release announced a net sale of \$10.8 billion. For more information, please see:

https://s23.q4cdn.com/981382065/files/doc_financials/2019/q3/3Q19_Earnings_News_Release_FINAL.pdf

<https://corporate.dow.com/en-us/about/company/history/timeline.html>

-DuPont is a chemical conglomerate founded and headquartered in the United States, in 1802, by French American E. I. du Pont. In 2017 it announced the completion of its merger with The Dow Chemical Company, but in 2019, the conglomerate split into three companies: Dow became a division specialized in material science business, DuPont turned into a division geared to specialty products, and Corteva Agriscience became the Agriculture Division. For more information, please see:

<https://www.dupont.com/about/our-history.html>

<https://corporate.dow.com/en-us/news/press-releases/dowdupont-merger-successfully-completed.html>

<https://www.dupont.com/news/dowdupont-completes-spin-off-of-dowinc.html>

<https://www.investors.dupont.com/investors/dupont-investors/faq/default.aspx>

<https://www.icis.com/explore/resources/news/2018/02/26/10197043/dowdupont-names-three-company-brands-for-separation/>

<http://www.dow-dupont.com/>

-BASF is a German chemical company founded in 1865 and present in “almost every country in the world”. In 2016, it partnered with The Brazilian Agricultural Research Corporation (Embrapa) from the Brazilian Ministry of Agriculture to create the first transgenic soy developed in Brazil. For more information, please see:

<https://www.basf.com/ca/en/who-we-are.html>

<https://www.basf.com/ca/en/who-we-are/history/1865-1901.html>

<https://www.embrapa.br/en/busca-de-noticias/-/noticia/9165559/embrapa-e-basf-lancam-primeira-soja-geneticamente-modificada-no-brasil-durante-showtec-2016>

- 29- According to the Brazilian agronomist Gabriel Fernandes, 67 out of 81 transgenic crops authorized for commercial cultivation in Brazil until October 2018 (corresponding to 82.7% of them) had as their “enhanced” property “herbicide tolerance” (see Appendix F, Table 4). They were all developed by the five conglomerates mentioned in the previous note (2019, 24). In an interview streamed live, on November 27, 2019, on the YouTube channel *Midia Ninja*, Fernandes explained that the corporations sell transgenic seeds as part of a package including fertilizers and the pesticides for which they were designed to be used conjointly.

APPENDIX E: REGULARIZED INDIGENOUS LANDS IN MATO GROSSO DO SUL

According to the National Indian Foundation, regularized Indigenous Lands occupy only 1.6% of Mato Grosso do Sul's total area¹, corresponding to 29 regularized traditionally occupied Indigenous Lands, and Indigenous Reserves (FUNAI 2021b)². Nevertheless, these lands correspond only to the few that advanced in the lengthy five-step demarcation process³. According to the 2020 report "Violence against the Indigenous Peoples in Brazil", published by the Indigenist Missionary Council (CIMI), there are other 115 lands claimed by Indigenous groups from the state that have pending administrative proceedings or no action whatsoever (2021, 54). Delays and inaction in land regularization are usually due to disputes with agribusiness interests since the local and federal governments have sold many of the areas traditionally occupied by Indigenous groups to farmers and agribusiness corporations. FUNAI indicates that there are currently five "homologated", ten "declared", four "delimited", and 15 "under study" lands in Mato Grosso do Sul awaiting to advance in the demarcation process (FUNAI 2021b). CIMI, in turn, stresses that 81 lands did not yet receive any consideration from FUNAI and are not even appearing on its list for future studies (CIMI 2020, 62-63). No Indigenous lands were homologated or regularized in Mato Grosso do Sul after 2014 (CIMI 2016a, 50 CIMI 2017, 45 CIMI 2018, 44, CIMI 2019, 34, CIMI 2020, 53).

The corollary is that some Indigenous communities live in extreme poverty outside their lands, sometimes on the side of highways, like the Guarani-Kaiowá community *Apika'y* (Dourados Agora 2014; Mota 2015, 198). Other groups reluctantly go to Reserves, such as the one of Dourados, the state's largest. Conceived to receive 300 families, this reserve is home to over 15 000 Guarani Kaiowá, Guarani Nhandeva and Terena individuals, making up the largest concentration of Indigenous population in reserve in Brazil (Cegati Ozuna 2020⁴). As I witnessed, they must share an environmentally degraded space where the soil is so dry and hardened that it is impossible to grow foods without tractors; they often lack water and live in stark poverty.

The paradox in this situation is that since the 19th century, Brazilian laws forbid the State to sell any land where Indigenous groups have lived, as mentioned in Appendix I. Although they belong officially to the State, these lands are considered "inalienable and unavailable" since "rights over it are imprescriptible"⁵ (FUNAI 2020b). Thus, land demarcations constitute recognition of an "original right":

The right of Indigenous peoples to their lands of traditional occupation is an original right, and, consequently, the administrative procedure for demarcation of Indigenous lands is of a merely declaratory nature. Therefore, the Indigenous land is not created by a constitutive act but is recognized based on technical and legal requirements, according to the Federal Constitution of 1988⁶. (FUNAI 2020b)

The legislation favouring Indigenous groups prompts an inevitable question: how can farms in lands recognized as Indigenous receive funds from the same government supposed to ensure the respect of

Indigenous lands? How can sugar and alcohol refineries receive financial resources from the federal government and approval of environmental licensing for locations where the environmental and social effects will directly affect Indigenous populations? Anthropologist Ferreira Lima and Law and International Relations professor Bezerra Guimarães expose a case that reveals that this contradictory situation takes shape in Mato Grosso do Sul because Indigenous presence is ignored and denied. The historiographic efforts to create an official narrative where Indigenous presence was erased by designations such as “Paraguayan” are part of this invisibilization process (see Appendix I).

They present the example of the *Guyraroká* Indigenous Land, in the south of Mato Grosso do Sul, in the Caarapó municipality, whose process of recognition started in the 1990s and led to the Declaratory Order signed on October 8, 2009, by the State Minister of Justice, authorizing the physical demarcation of the land (Ferreira Lima et Bezerra Guimarães 2014, 45⁷). Two farms, occupying 4,764 ha of the Indigenous Land, managed not only to halt the process of demarcation but also to receive funds from the Brazilian National Bank of Social and Economic Development. They based their claim on their need to grow sugarcane for a *Raízen* sugar and alcohol refinery at walking distance from *Guyraroká* and from another homologated Indigenous land: *Takuara*. *Raízen* is a joint venture between Brazilian agribusiness and fuel multinational group Cosan and petrochemical global giant company Shell (Blankfeld 2011). To Ferreira Lima and Bezerra Guimarães, the farms and the sugarcane plant funding rests on the invisibility of the Indigenous groups of *Guyraroká* and *Takuara*:

The plant was constructed as if there were no Indigenous peoples in the region or as if, historically, there were no records of Indigenous presence. More than the problem of invisibility of this people being a constant, it is not possible to plead ignorance of the Kaiowá presence at that site where the building was erected, since it is only a few kilometres (a distance that could be covered on foot in a matter of minutes) from two Indigenous lands – Guyraroka and Takuara. (2014, 46)

Further, they generalize this observation:

Both locally and regionally, there is an invisibility of Indigenous populations; the instruments of consultation and public hearings, provided for in Convention 169/89 of the International Labor Office (ILO) and Resolution 009/87 of the [Brazilian] National Council for the Environment (CONAMA) are not put into effect or not made to occur in a prior, informed and assisted manner, to the detriment of the communities. (Ferreira Lima et Bezerra Guimaraes 2014, 46)

Thus, in environmental impact studies of potentially harmful activities, “the Indigenous component does not appear or is not properly presented, with the result being, in a near totality of the cases, the approval of the environmental licensing” (Ferreira Lima et Bezerra Guimarães 2014, 46).

Notes

- 1- FUNAI displays this information as a pie chart available at: <http://www.funai.gov.br/index.php/nossas-acoas/demarcacao-de-terras-indigenas?start=1#>

- Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20190127062212/http://www.funai.gov.br/index.php/nossas-acoes/demarcacao-de-terras-indigenas?start=1>
- 2- To retrieve the list of regularized Indigenous lands in Mato Grosso do Sul, use the interactive map available at: <http://www.funai.gov.br/index.php/indios-no-brasil/terras-indigenas>
Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20210903022309/http://www.funai.gov.br/index.php/indios-no-brasil/terras-indigenas>
 - 3- The demarcation of Indigenous lands is regulated by Decree nº 1775/96 and can be divided into five steps. The first is “*em estudo*” (under study), which consists of studying the anthropological, historical, cartographic, and environmental evidence indicating that Indigenous groups have traditionally occupied a land. This step is usually executed by anthropologists hired on behalf of FUNAI. If the president of FUNAI approves it, the process goes to the second step, “*delimitação*” (delimitation), when the study’s conclusions are published in the Brazilian Federal Register. Any opposed party to the decision has then the right to be heard. When the process continues, it moves to the third step, “*declaração*” (declaration), with the Ministry of Justice’s formal declaration of the land’s limits. FUNAI then executes the physical demarcation of it and evaluates the “improvements implemented by non-Indian occupants”. Next is “*homologação*” (homologation), the ratification of the demarcation through a Presidential Decree. This step sets in motion the removal of non-Indigenous occupants. It includes paying those occupying the land in good faith as compensation for their “improvements” to the land as well as helping in relocating. The final step is “*regularização*” (regularization), the registration of the Indigenous Land in the name of the federal government at the Federal Secretariat of Patrimony, which is a responsibility of FUNAI and which grants to the area the status of “Regularized Indigenous Land” (FUNAI 2019). This information is available (in Portuguese) at FUNAI’s website: <http://www.funai.gov.br/index.php/indios-no-brasil/terras-indigenas>
Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20210903022309/http://www.funai.gov.br/index.php/indios-no-brasil/terras-indigenas>
<http://www.funai.gov.br/index.php/2014-02-07-13-24-53>
Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20141208160208/http://www.funai.gov.br/index.php/2014-02-07-13-24-53>
 - 4- See information (in Portuguese) at: <https://www.amambainoticias.com.br/brasil/na-reserva-indigena-de-dourados-a-pandemia-nao-tem-rosto-apenas-numeros>
Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20210924010254/https://www.amambainoticias.com.br/brasil/na-reserva-indigena-de-dourados-a-pandemia-nao-tem-rosto-apenas-numeros>
 - 5- Original in Portuguese: “a terra indígena é inalienável e indisponível, e os direitos sobre ela são imprescritíveis”.
 - 6- Original in Portuguese: “O direito dos povos indígenas às suas terras de ocupação tradicional configura-se como um direito originário e, conseqüentemente, o procedimento administrativo de demarcação de terras indígenas se reveste de natureza meramente declaratória. Portanto, a terra indígena não é criada por ato constitutivo, e sim reconhecida a partir de requisitos técnicos e legais, nos termos da Constituição Federal de 1988.” Please, see: <http://www.funai.gov.br/index.php/nossas-acoes/demarcacao-de-terras-indigenas>
Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20200217200207/http://www.funai.gov.br/index.php/nossas-acoes/demarcacao-de-terras-indigenas>
 - 7- Their work (in English) is available at: <https://cimi.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/Kaiowa-guarani-brief-report.pdf>
Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20200825060055/https://cimi.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/Kaiowa-guarani-brief-report.pdf>

APPENDIX F: PESTICIDE USE IN BRAZIL AND MATO GROSSO DO SUL

Brazil has been the biggest consumer of pesticides in the world in terms of import value since 2013, according to the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO 2021)¹. As mentioned in Appendix D, transgenic soybeans, sugarcane, corn and cotton drive the use of 81.2% of pesticides in Brazil (respectively, 52.2%, 11.7%, 10.6% and 6.7%) (Sindiveg² 2018, 19; Sindiveg 2020, 18). According to Brazilian agronomist Gabriel Fernandes³, the cultivation of transgenic seeds in Brazil became a major trigger in the utilization of pesticides (even though they are ironically marketed as having the potential to reduce their use) because most of the genetic modifications in crops cultivated in Brazil are focused on herbicide tolerance (see Table 4) (Fernandes et al. 2019).

Modified Species	Herbicide Tolerance	Insect Resistance	Herbicide Tolerance + Insect Resistance	Wood volume increase	Virus Resistance
Soybean	10	1	3		
Corn	8	7	31		
Cotton	7	3	8		
Eucalyptus				1	
Sugarcane		1			
Bean⁴					1

Source: (Fernandes 2019, 24) © Gabriel Bianconi Fernandes⁵

Companies justify it because it is “efficient” as it drastically reduces the manual labour involved in removing unwanted plants since the whole cultivation can be sprayed with herbicides (even by plane) without losing the crop. Thus, it allows monocrop cultivations in extensive areas without the need for numerous workers (Fernandes et al. 2019). However, as a side effect, some so-called “invasive plants” become resistant to herbicides. To solve the problem, producers mix herbicides and often resort to older, more aggressive ones: Paraquat Dichloride, banned⁶ in the European Union and other ten countries for its link with Parkinson’s disease; 2,4-D, which is one of the main active ingredients of Agent Orange used during the Vietnam War; and Atrazine, banned in 37 countries for its endocrine disruptive traits (Fernandes 2019, 24). Fernandes argues that this technology only presents solutions within the system that originated it: “flaws with pesticides are answered with more pesticides; flaws with transgenic seeds are answered with more transgenic seeds” (2019, 25). The result is that this model of largescale monocrop cultivation focused on producing commodities for a global market -and especially biofuel- becomes increasingly dependent on pesticides.

The atlas *A Geography of Agrottoxins Use in Brazil and its Relations to the European Union* (Bombardi 2019) shows that the Center-West region, comprising the states of Mato Grosso, Mato Grosso do Sul, and Goiás is the one with the most pesticide use per hectare as figure 3 demonstrates (2019, 61)⁷.

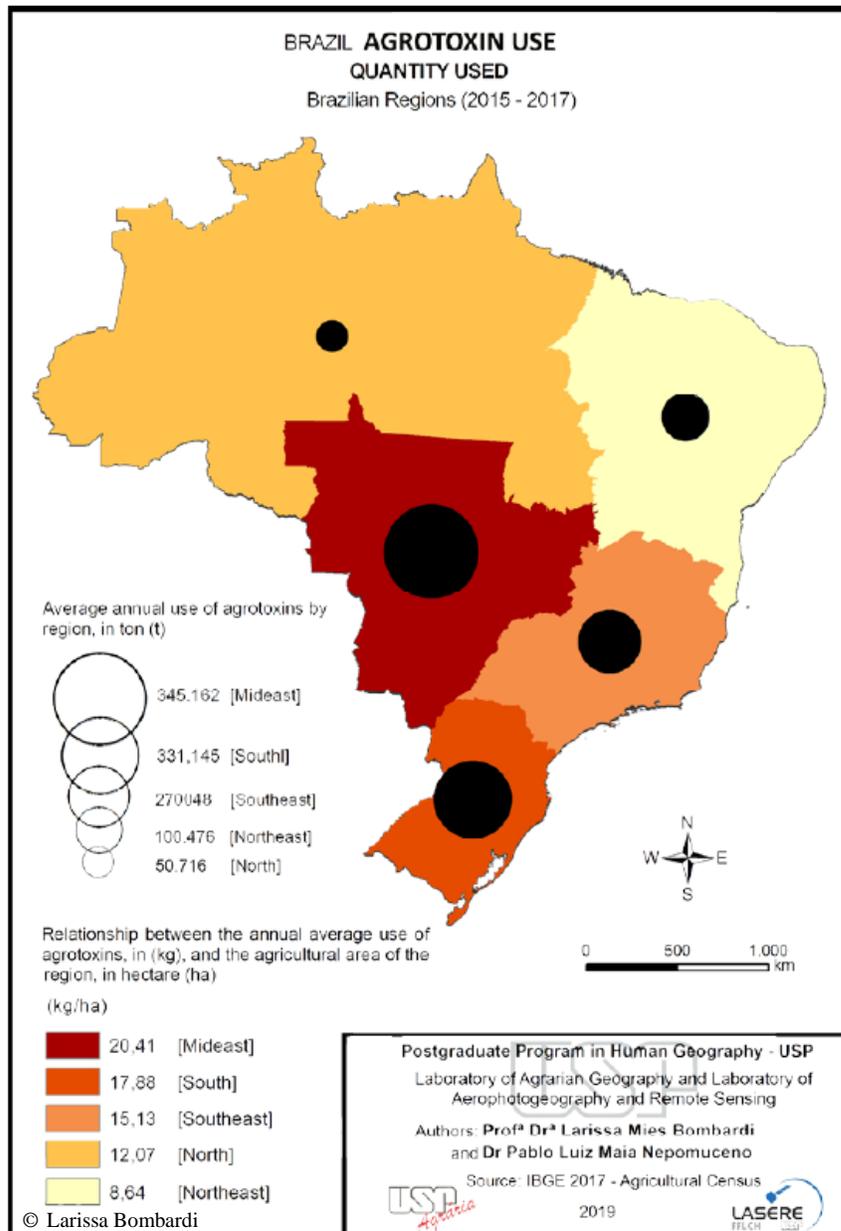


Figure 3

Source: (Bombardi 2019, 61)

In December 2019, Bombardi spoke at the European Parliament during the conference *Stop European Union -Mercosur for Environment, Farming, Jobs*, and her talk was broadcast on YouTube⁸. Bombardi stressed that many pesticides sold in Brazil are produced by industries based in the European Union, which ironically prohibit their use in their territories. She presented a chart of the consumption of pesticides in Brazil in 2017, based on the information provided by the Brazilian Institute of Environment

and Renewable Natural Resources of the Environment Ministry (IBAMA)⁹. Among the ten products most used in Brazil, she highlighted that three were forbidden in the European Union: Acephate¹⁰, Atrazine and Paraquat Dichloride (Bombardi 2020). Furthermore, she argued that even when products are allowed in Europe, there is a clear disparity between the levels considered as “tolerable” in Brazil and Europe: the permitted residue in drinking water in Brazil for 2,4-D and glyphosate are, respectively, 300 and 5,000 times higher¹¹ than the limit allowed by the European Union (Bombardi 2020).

One corollary of Brazil’s history of “tolerance” is that between 2007 and 2014, one person died in Brazil intoxicated by pesticides every two and a half days (148 deaths per average) (Bombardi 2019, 46). Figure 4 shows that within Mato Grosso do Sul, some municipalities where Guarani-Kaiowá and Terena communities are located, such as Caarapó and Sidrolândia, were the most affected by pesticide poisoning.

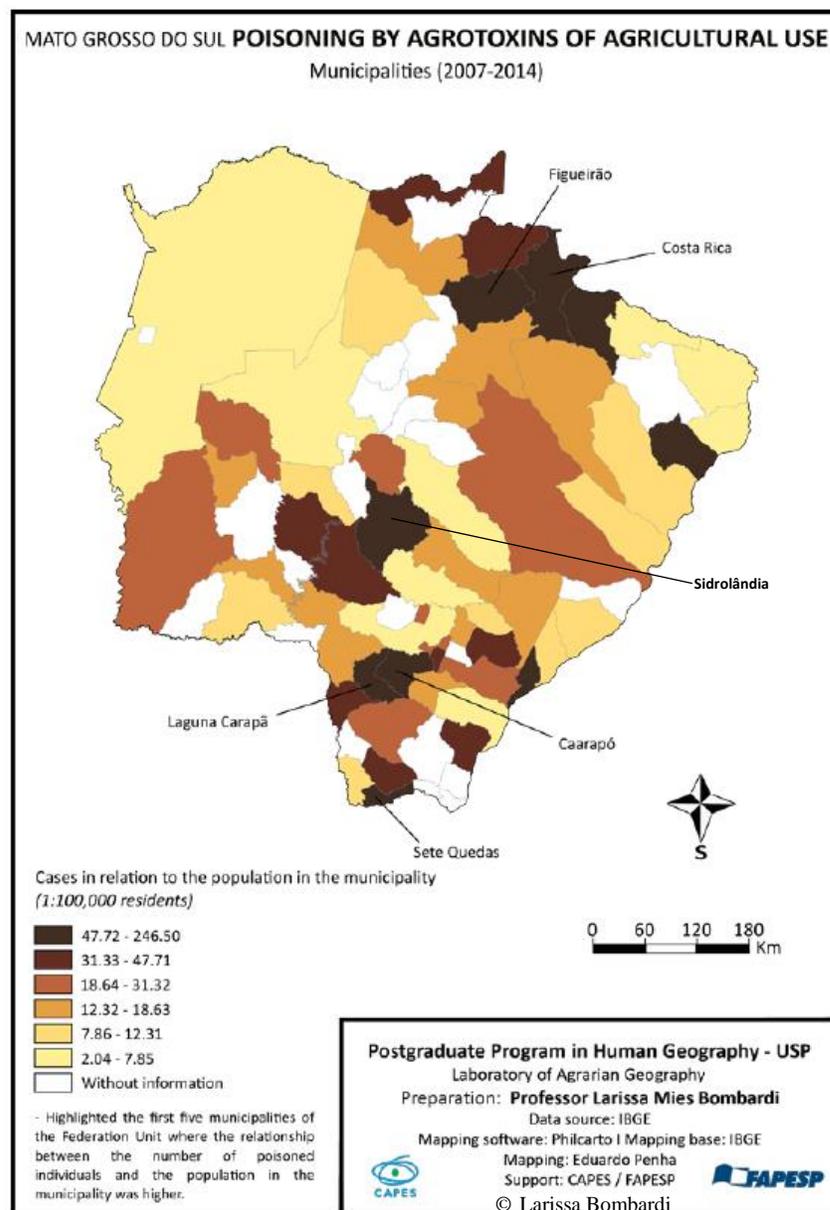


Figure 4

Source: (Bombardi 2019, 121)

Contamination by pesticides has worsened since then. From 2012 to 2017, the use of pesticides in Brazil increased 25%, especially as the deforestation in the states on the edges of the Amazon forged new spaces for expanding transgenic crops (Bombardi 2020). In Caarapó, an emblematic case was the agrottoxins “rain” over the Guarani Kaiowá community *Tey Jusu* on April 11, 2015 (see Chapter 4).

Since 2009, the Brazilian Institute of Environment and Renewable Natural Resources (IBAMA) has provided information about top-selling pesticides (by active ingredient) in Brazil: each year, Glyphosate (used mainly for soybeans cultivations and corn) appears first, selling at least three times more than the second-ranked (except for 2011)¹². In 2019, the top-selling active ingredient was once again Glyphosate (35.1 % of the total), followed by 2.4-D (8.4%), Mancozeb (7.9%), Acephate (4.6%), Atrazine (3.8%), Clorotalonil (2.7%) and Paraquat Dichloride (2.6%) (IBAMA 2021)¹³. In 2019 alone, sales of pesticides increased 12.97%, going from 549,280.44 tonnes in 2018 to 620,537.98 tonnes (IBAMA 2021).

The stark increase in sales of pesticides in Brazil is also linked to the crescent number of approvals of new registers, especially after the removal from power of Brazilian President Dilma Rousseff in 2016, as Figure 5 shows (Brasil 2021)¹⁴.

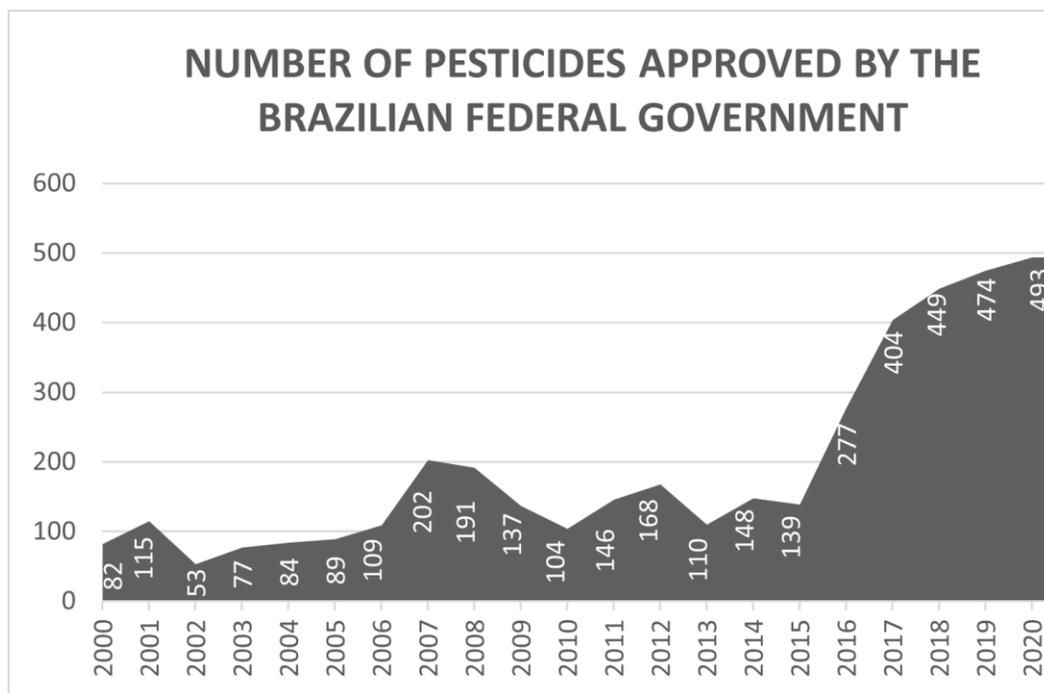


Figure 5 Observation: only completed years were included. Source: (Brasil 2021)

Bolsonaro’s government alone brought an increase of 28% in the number of pesticides used in Brazil since 2000. In 2019, 474 new pesticides were allowed in the country; in 2020, the number of register approvals climbed to 493, and until July 5, 2021¹⁵, 224 products were approved (Brasil 2021). While most approvals relate to generic versions of previously available pesticides and include a few organic products

(43 in 2019, 95, in 2020 and 39 in 2021), other products approved are based on “new” active ingredients banned in Europe for more than 20 years (Brasil 2021; De Oliveira 2021). The expedient approval of pesticides is due, in part, to the fact that Bolsonaro’s agriculture minister is Tereza Cristina Dias, from Mato Grosso do Sul, known as “Muse of Poison,” because she has supported relaxing controls on pesticides in Brazil and increasing their use, as a Member of Parliament since 2015 (Watts 2018). The website of the Brazilian agriculture ministry claims that diligent approvals are necessary to provide more variety, modernized products with less toxicity and more generic options to reduce costs and avoid the “impact of monopolies and oligopolies of the market of certain active ingredients” (Brasil 2019)¹⁶.

However, the new pesticides approval raises red flags in the face of the drastic weakening of environmental and health regulations after 2016. According to Fernandes, in 2016, the Brazilian Health Regulatory Agency (ANVISA) changed the methodology of the Pesticide Residue Analysis Program (PARA) to only flag pesticide residues presenting an *acute* health risk, such as skin or/and eye irritation, vomiting, diarrhea, difficulty in breathing, convulsion and death, upon direct exposure (Fernandes 2019, 16,17). It concluded that 99% of the food samples analyzed between 2013 and 2015 were free from agrototoxin residues capable of presenting “acute risk for health”¹⁷ (ANVISA 2016, 6; Fernandes 2019, 17). However, PARA did not analyze samples of soybeans, sugarcane, industrialized products, nor drinkable water: it only assessed 25 types of fruits and vegetables (ANVISA 2016, 5). While ANVISA considered 80.3% of the sample “satisfactory”, 38.3% of this group had pesticide residues but within the maximum residue limit (MRL) allowed (2016, 5). An important caveat is that MRLs in Brazil are often higher than in other countries: for instance, for 2,4-D residue, it is four times higher in corn, the MRL for Atrazine residue is five times higher in sugarcane, corn and sorghum, the MRL for Acephate residue is 20 times higher in citrus fruits, and the MRLs for Malathion (an insecticide) in broccoli and beans are respectively 250 and 400 times higher (Bombardi 2019, 229-235).

Fernandes compared the results of the 2016 Anvisa report with the previous one¹⁸, from 2013, presented before the methodological changes: 29% of the sample related to 2012 had been classified as “unsatisfactory” (2019, 17; ANVISA 2013, 30). Fernandes also noted that the PARA program did not analyze herbicide residues nor had assessed synergic effects occurring when a person ingests different types of food (2019, 17,19). In fact, the 2016 PARA report states that Glyphosate and 2,4-D, for instance, were not evaluated because they require a “specific methodology” and that:

The analysis of these substances overloads the laboratory’s routine, and, therefore, one must evaluate in which cases the research is effectively essential. Anvisa intends to research these pesticides from the next monitoring on, prioritizing the crops in which these substances are most used¹⁹. (ANVISA 2016, 21)

In July 2019, ANVISA announced a new regulatory framework for agrototoxins to align its rules with the Globally Harmonized System of Classification and Labelling of Chemicals -GHS

(ASCOM/ANVISA 2019b)²⁰. However, *Folha de São Paulo*'s news report noted that if the new guidelines follow the GHS in the *communication* of danger with symbols and colours, they do not follow the toxicologic classifications. Products corrosive for the skin and causing ulcers or cornea opacity are now “moderately toxic”. Previously, they were classified as “extremely toxic” and, by GHS standards, should enter into this previous category of danger. ANVISA currently considers only products causing death if ingested as “extremely toxic” or “highly toxic” (Amaral 2019)²¹.

In December 2019, Anvisa released its PARA report for the years 2017-2018²². It decreased the types of food analyzed to 14 fruits and vegetables, removing crops such as corn, beans and wheat, among others²³. It also excluded any sample from the state of Paraná, which opted out of the program (ANVISA 2019, 5). On its website, ANVISA announced the results stating that “99.1% of monitored samples were safe for consumption, with no indication of risk. Only 0.89% of the samples had an acute risk for the consumer”²⁴ (ASCOM/ANVISA 2019a). Sweet potato, pineapple, guava, grapes and especially oranges²⁵ had an acute risk detected (ANVISA 2019, 80). For the first time, the study included the evaluation of “chronic risk”, concluding there was none (ANVISA 2019, 5). While 77% of the sample was considered “satisfactory”, 28% of this group had pesticide residues but within the MRL allowed (ANVISA 2019, 5).

The analysis included Glyphosate and 2,4-D and detected the former in rice, mango and grape. While glyphosate levels were within the MRL allowed for rice and grapes, it was considered unsatisfactory for mangos because herbicides are not allowed in such cultivations (ANVISA 2019, 104). While this result is presented as positive, it is concerning that the food staples which receive the most Glyphosate (soybean and corn) were not part of the samples, contradicting what was previously announced.

Notes

- 1- As of September 24, 2021, the most recent year that FAO documented was 2019, when Brazil spent 3.6 billion USD. See FAO's information at: <http://www.fao.org/faostat/en/#data/RT/visualize>
Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20210924040716/http://www.fao.org/faostat/en/#data/RT/visualize>
- 2- Sindiveg stands for Sindicato Nacional da Indústria de Produtos para Defesa Vegetal. It is the main union for the pesticide industry in Brazil. Its reports (in Portuguese) are available at:
2018: <https://web.archive.org/web/20190713084512/http://sindiveg.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/oquevoceprecisasabersobredefensivosagricolas.pdf>
2020: https://sindiveg.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2020/08/SINDIVEG_Paper_REV_FINAL_2020_bxresolucao.pdf
- 3- See Fernandes' interview in Portuguese at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-OlavGd_Vj8&t=69s
- 4- Although CTNBio authorized the commercial cultivation of the GM bean, it has never been marketed because the first generation of seeds was significantly susceptible to diseases in the field, and they showed an unexpected association with other types of viruses (Fernandes, 2019:24).
- 5- This table is an adaptation of Fernandes' original one (2019, 24). The author permits the use of the material if properly cited. See original table at:

https://web.archive.org/web/20210316195909/https://br.boell.org/sites/default/files/2019-11/Boll_Novas%20Biotecnologias%20Velhos%20Agrotoxicos_Site.pdf

- 6- For more information on banned pesticides, please see: <http://pan-international.org/pan-international-consolidated-list-of-banned-pesticides/>
- 7- Figures 3 and 4 are reproductions (with few adaptations) of the atlas *A Geography of Agrotoxins Use in Brazil and its Relations to the European Union* (Bombardi, 2019). The author permits the use of the material if it is properly cited. The original maps are available at: <http://www.livrosabertos.sibi.usp.br/portaldelivrosUSP/catalog/book/352>
- 8- Bombardi's talk at the European Parliament is available (in Portuguese) at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W4zPXDU1m70>
- 9- IBAMA's annual information is available at: <http://ibama.gov.br/agrotoxicos/relatorios-de-comercializacao-de-agrotoxicos#>
- 10- The European Union has banned Acephate's use since 2003 (Anvisa 2009, 36). It is linked to Intermediate Syndrome (upon direct physical contact with the substance) consisting of:

A pronounced weakness of the respiratory muscles and a decrease in the strength of muscles of the neck and proximal limb muscles.

These symptoms appear few hours after the beginning of the cholinergic hyperstimulation (acute poisoning). The IMS causes respiratory impairment and, in the absence of prompt service in hospitals equipped with assisted respiration apparatus, may cause death. (Anvisa 2009, 6, Bombardi 2019, 34)

See ANVISA's 2009 technical note at: <https://www.cevs.rs.gov.br/upload/arquivos/201712/06131307-nota-tecnica-do-acefato.pdf>

Archived link:
<https://web.archive.org/web/20210925000609/https://www.cevs.rs.gov.br/upload/arquivos/201712/06131307-nota-tecnica-do-acefato.pdf>
- 11- The maximum residue limit in drinking water (in UG/L) for 2.4D is 0.1 in Europe compared to 30 in Brazil, and for Glyphosate is 0.1 in Europe compared to 500 in Brazil. Information is based on 2015 data from European Union and 2017 data from Brazil. For more information, see Repórter Brasil's news report: <https://reporterbrasil.org.br/2017/11/agrotoxicos-alimentos-brasil-estudo/>
Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20210410112146/http://reporterbrasil.org.br/2017/11/agrotoxicos-alimentos-brasil-estudo/>
- 12- In 2011, 131,898 tonnes of Glyphosate were sold in Brazil versus 44,561.90 tonnes of the second-ranked (mineral oil).
- 13- IBAMA's yearly reports (since 2009) on pesticides sales in Brazil are available (in Portuguese) at: http://www.ibama.gov.br/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=594
Archived link:
https://web.archive.org/web/20210925031111/http://www.ibama.gov.br/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=594
- 14- See Agência Pública/Repórter Brasil news report at: <https://portrasdoalimento.info/2021/01/18/bolsonaro-bate-o-proprio-recorde-2020-e-o-ano-com-maior-aprovacao-de-agrotoxicos-da-historia/>
Archived link:
<https://web.archive.org/web/20210204152917/https://portrasdoalimento.info/2021/01/18/bolsonaro-bate-o-proprio-recorde-2020-e-o-ano-com-maior-aprovacao-de-agrotoxicos-da-historia/>

See pesticide registers granted by the Brazilian government (per year) at: <https://www.gov.br/agricultura/pt-br/assuntos/insumos-agropecuarios/insumos-agricolas/agrotoxicos/informacoes-tecnicas>
Archived link:
<https://web.archive.org/web/20210827223703/https://www.gov.br/agricultura/pt-br/assuntos/insumos-agropecuarios/insumos-agricolas/agrotoxicos/informacoes-tecnicas>
- 15- This is the last available data as of September 26, 2021.

- 16- Free translation of original in Portuguese: “impactos dos monopólios e oligopólios no mercado de determinados ingredientes ativos”. See original at: <https://www.gov.br/agricultura/pt-br/assuntos/noticias/em-2019-94-5-dos-defensivos-agricolas-registrados-foram-produtos-genericos>
- Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20210926224348/https://www.gov.br/agricultura/pt-br/assuntos/noticias/em-2019-94-5-dos-defensivos-agricolas-registrados-foram-produtos-genericos>
- 17- Anvisa’s 2016 report is available at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20200911135359/http://portal.anvisa.gov.br/documents/111215/0/Relat%C3%B3rio+PARA+2013-2015+VERS%C3%83O-FINAL.pdf/494cd7c5-5408-4e6a-b0e5-5098cbf759f8>
- 18- Anvisa’s 2013 report is available at: https://web.archive.org/web/20200708200405/http://portal.anvisa.gov.br/documents/111215/117818/Relat%C3%B3rio%2BPARA%2B2011-12%2B-%2B30_10_13_1.pdf/d5e91ef0-4235-4872-b180-99610507d8d5
- 19- Free translation of original in Portuguese: “Os agrotóxicos glifosato e 2,4-D também se enquadram nessa situação. Devido à necessidade de metodologia específica, a análise dessas substâncias sobrecarrega a rotina laboratorial e deve-se, portanto, avaliar em quais casos a pesquisa é efetivamente imprescindível. A Anvisa pretende pesquisar esses agrotóxicos a partir dos próximos monitoramentos, priorizando-se as culturas em que essas substâncias são mais utilizadas” (Anvisa 2016, 21).
- 20- ANVISA’s announcement of the new regulatory framework for pesticides is available at: https://web.archive.org/web/20200926125834/http://portal.anvisa.gov.br/noticias?p_p_id=101_INSTANCE_FXrpx9qY7FbU
- 21- *Folha de São Paulo* news report is available at: <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/ambiente/2019/07/novo-marco-de-agrotoxicos-nao-atende-padroao-internacional-de-riscos.shtml>
- Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20210225085416/https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/ambiente/2019/07/novo-marco-de-agrotoxicos-nao-atende-padroao-internacional-de-riscos.shtml>
- 22- The Anvisa 2019 PARA report is available at: <http://portal.anvisa.gov.br/documents/111215/5715299/Programa+de+An%C3%A1lise+de+Res%C3%ADduos+de+Agrot%C3%B3xicos+-+Relat%C3%B3rio+2017+e+2018/93bb4ad2-b1fb-4bc8-9035-dab30193b662>
- Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20200607064702/http://portal.anvisa.gov.br/documents/111215/5715299/Programa+de+An%C3%A1lise+de+Res%C3%ADduos+de+Agrot%C3%B3xicos+-+Relat%C3%B3rio+2017+e+2018/93bb4ad2-b1fb-4bc8-9035-dab30193b662>
- 23- In the 2016 PARA report, the fruits and vegetables analyzed were: rice, beans, corn (meal), wheat (flour), pineapple, banana, guava, orange, apple, papaya, mango, strawberry, grape, lettuce, kale, cabbage, zucchini, cucumber, pepper, tomato, potato, beet, onion, carrot and cassava (flour) (2016, 22). In the 2019 PARA report, the fruits and vegetables analyzed were rice, pineapple, guava, orange, mango, grape, lettuce, pepper, tomato, sweet potato, beet, garlic, carrot and chayote (2019, 5).
- 24- Free translation of original in Portuguese: “99,1% das amostras monitoradas eram seguras para o consumo, sem indicação de risco. Apenas 0,89% das amostras tinham risco agudo para o consumidor” (ASCOM/ANVISA 2019a). The announcement is available at: http://antigo.anvisa.gov.br/resultado-de-busca?p_p_id=101
- 25- Among the samples where acute risk was detected, 66% were oranges (27 out of 41) (Anvisa 2019, 80).

**APPENDIX G: IMAGE USED AS EVIDENCE IN THE MATO GROSSO DO SUL'S FEDERAL
PUBLIC PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE DENUNCIATION**



Illustration 3

English translation: “Image of the moment of the attack, masked man with a gun in hand highlighted. (Picture: Federal Public Prosecutor Office denunciation -Image extracted from YouTube video)”

APPENDIX H: THE SERVICE FOR INDIAN PROTECTION AND LOCALIZATION OF NATIONAL LABOURERS

While authors such as Davis (1977), Schwarcz (1999), Ribeiro (2000), Gomes (2000), Diacon (2004) and Hemming (2004) reiterated the view that the Service for Indian Protection (SPI)'s central role was to "protect" Indigenous persons, Ramos (1998) and Lima ([1992] 2006) demonstrated that it had a second purpose. Lima, an anthropology professor of the Brazilian National Museum and a specialist in politics directed to Indigenous groups, revealed that the SPI was first called *Service for Indian Protection and Localization of National Labourers* and was integrated into the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce (Lima [1992] 2006, 156,159).

In fact, besides the protection of Indigenous groups, the SPI was responsible for developing the non-foreign labour force (freed black, metis and Indigenous workers) in the rural areas to deal with the agriculture crisis after the abolition of slavery in Brazil in 1888, one year before the country became a republic (Lima [1992] 2006, 156; Hemming 2004, 20). This task aimed to develop an alternative to the immigrant labourers, seen as incapable of adapting to certain environmental conditions and not always willing to integrate themselves into the nation's fabric. The insertion of non-foreign workers would be determinant for the national integration and achieved through their "technical training", concomitantly with control of access to any property (Lima [1992] 2006, 156-157). With Indigenous groups, this process was catalyzed by an increasing restriction of access to traditional lands.

For most of its existence, the SPI was subordinated to the Ministry of Agriculture: from 1910 to 1930, and from 1940 until 1967, when it was extinguished for the same reason it supposedly started: an international outcry over the deplorable treatment of Indigenous populations. It was triggered by the series of denunciations encompassing Bucker's declaration cited in Chapter 5, which became the Figueiredo Report (Guimarães 2015, 26). The SPI was substituted by the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI), which persists today as the federal institution dealing with Indigenous groups (Lima 2005, 213, Davis 1977, 12-13). The paradox of the subordination of the SPI to the Ministry of Agriculture is that, while it suited the nation-building agenda of assimilation through insertion into the rural workforce, it fundamentally went against its official purpose of "protecting" Indigenous groups' interests, as anthropologist Moreira Neto denounced in a long newspaper article in 1963:

The problem of the Indian is the problem of the land. In this sense, the fundamental interests of Brazilian Indians clash with the dominant interests of our agrarian structure. It occurs that the SPI is subordinate administratively to the Ministry of Agriculture, which expresses, as no other federal high-level office, a very direct linkage with the dominant economic and political interests of the rural sectors. (Guimarães 2015, 46)¹

The fact that the Ministry of Agriculture's department that controlled the SPI was called "Lands and Colonization", as revealed in Bucker's denunciation, corroborated Moreira Neto's point on the agrarian elites' interests in Indigenous lands. It suggested that SPI's role, more than to "protect" Indigenous groups, was to secure control over their lands while erasing the indigeneity of those under tutelage through gradual assimilation.

The governance over these lands became crucial after the 1940s-federal politics of exploitation, occupation and development of Brazil's inland, known as the "March to the West". Until this time, 90% of the Brazilian population lived on its east coast. To make the country more balanced, this politics "contacted isolated Indigenous populations and favoured the invasion of Indigenous lands and their titration to third-party persons" (Brasil 2014, 206). It led the federal government to create 12 National Agricultural Colonies in Brazil's inland and consider them "poles of rural production" destined to become micro-industrial urban centres in 10 years (Brasil 2011, 166). One of the most successful was the National Agricultural Colony of Dourados (Brasil 2011, 166). According to Domingues and Junior, it included around 6,500 portions of land of 20 to 50 hectares, distributed to farmers (2012, 142).

Notes

1- Original in Portuguese:

O problema do índio é o problema da terra. Neste sentido os interesses fundamentais dos índios brasileiros se chocam com os interesses dominantes de nossa estrutura agrária. Ocorre que o SPI está subordinado administrativamente ao Ministério da Agricultura, órgão que exprime, como nenhum outro da alta administração federal, uma vinculação muito direta com os interesses econômicos e políticos dominantes dos setores rurais.

APPENDIX I: “THE PARAGUAYAN”: HISTORIOGRAPHIES ERASING INDIGENOUS PRESENCE IN MATO GROSSO DO SUL

From 1864 to 1870, a portion of the land that is presently Mato Grosso do Sul -including Corumbá, Dourados and Caarapó- was a disputed territory between Brazil and Paraguay (Oliveira and Esselin 2015, 295; Milani et al. 2016, 16). Paraguay lost its claim for the contested lands after its defeat (in the war against the Triple Alliance formed by Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay), which prompted Brazilian authorities to organize a commission to visit the area to delimit the borders. The commission’s food supplier, Thomaz Larangeira, who took part in the war, noted large patches of *Mate* tea trees in the forests. By the end of the demarcation in 1874, he moved to a region near the emplacement of Dourados to raise cattle and start a business to commercialize *Mate* (Brand et al. 2003, 1; Jesus 2004, 29; Queiroz 2009, 2; Oliveira and Esselin 2015, 299; Ferreira 2007, 29; Peralta and Le Bourlegat 2012, 193).

In 1882, Larangeira was granted the right to lease “vacant public lands” in the region to extract *Mate* tea leaves. Oliveira and Esselin argued that this authorization was part of an effort to integrate the region into Brazil’s consolidation project by promoting its occupation, organizing its production and protecting its borders:

At the time, the imperial authorities condemned the ease with which the Paraguayan troops invaded the old south of Mato Grosso², initially at the end of 1864, where they stayed for two long years. For these and other reasons, they began to develop projects to incorporate that border region into the national territory. The prospects for Brazil’s dismemberment once again concerned the leaders of the country. (2015, 296)³

The concessions of vacant public lands to Larangeira’s company were grounded on the assumption that they were inhabited. The acknowledgment of the Indigenous presence in the region would counter them because law 601 from 1850 already provisioned the reservation of lands for Indigenous peoples wherever their presence was detected (Oliveira and Esselin 2015, 297, 298). FUNAI reiterated this idea:

The right -congenital and originary- of the Indigenous peoples over their lands, independently from any title of formal recognition, consecrated at the beginning of the colonization process, was maintained in the Brazilian legal system through the Law of Lands in 1850 (law 601 from 1850) [and] the decree 1318, from January 30, 1854 (which regulated the Law of Lands). (FUNAI 2014)⁴

This statement proved that in the 19th century, Brazilian laws forbade the State to sell any land where Indigenous groups were living.

After the responsibility for leasing vacant public lands was passed to state governors in 1884 and with the Brazilian Republic’s Proclamation in 1889, the area granted to Larangeira’s business increased drastically (Peralta and Le Bourlegat 2012, 193). The governor Antonio Maria Coelho, who had commanded victorious Brazilian troops in the region, was Larangeira’s friend and granted his company

exclusive rights to produce Mate in the state. In 1895, the area available for Larangeira's business expanded to over 5 million hectares (Brand et al. 2003, 1; Queiroz 2009, 1; Oliveira and Pereira 2009, 178; Peralta and Le Bourlegat 2012, 193).

Historian and archaeologist Jorge Eremites de Oliveira and anthropologist Levi Marques Pereira contested the alleged demographic vacuum of the area in their 2007 report about the validity of the Ñande Ru Marangatu Indigenous land, ratified by presidential decree in 2005. They cited as evidence to support their argument a letter from the director of the Military Colony of Dourados from October 10, 1888, to the president and commander of Mato Grosso's Artillery:

Thousands of meek natives, in the semi-wild state, however, populate the banks of the rivers *Dourados*, *Brilhante* and *Ivinhema*, *Paraná*, *Anhambahy* and *Iguatemy*, all speaking the Guarani language, with minor changes and belonging to Paraguayan families, Guarani and Kaiowá. A few years ago, over three hundred of the latter formed a powerful settlement between the headwaters of the Aquidaban river and Ponta-porã, at a distance of 4 leagues⁵ from this Colony, and there they consecrated themselves to agriculture on their own or for a compensation⁶. (Oliveira and Pereira 2009:177)

Oliveira and Pereira affirmed that the very prevalence of Mate trees in the region attested to the Guarani presence. In contrast to official accounts which consider the trees "natural" to the region, they suggested that they were "semi-domesticated" because their growth depended on "complex agroforestry management techniques", and the trees were only found in "anthropic forests" where Guarani groups were seen (2009, 178, 310). In another work with historian Esselin, Oliveira complemented this information explaining that Mate infusions were considered sacred and used in ceremonial and religious contexts. Besides, the plant was also popular among other Indigenous groups from the Andes, where Mate was not common, which indicated that it circulated in an extended Indigenous network of social relations within South America. Its very name is derived from the Quechua term *mati*, which designated the container where the beverage was prepared and served (Oliveira and Esselin 2015, 284; Peralta and Le Bourlegat 2012, 190). Therefore, Mate trees constituted "material registers of social relations in space and time": they were "ecofacts" (Oliveira and Esselin 2015, 284, 285). Interestingly, in Mato Grosso do Sul, cold Mate infusions are popular continuing into the present and are called *Tereré*, a Guarani term (Oliveira and Esselin 2015, 287) which is another evidence of the historical links between Mate and the Guarani.

In fact, Larangeira had observed the existence of Guarani communities in the forests where Mate trees were abundant during the demarcation works and considered this to be an advantage: he saw in them a potential for becoming the workforce able to implement his large-scale mate production (Oliveira and Esselin 2015, 299). This is a plausible explanation why the launch of Larangeira's company did not trigger the eviction nor the killing of the Guarani living in the area (Oliveira and Pereira 2009, 179).

However, Oliveira, Esselin and Pereira go against the grain of the dominant narrative about the Guarani Kaiowá in the region:

In Brazilian historiography, until the 1990s, the predominant thesis was that the onus of the work in the Mate fields fell mainly or solely on the shoulders of Paraguayans. Many historians considered they came to the ancient south of Mato Grosso after the end of the war, from the 1870s and 1880s on, as if, at that time, the male population was very abundant in that country⁷. (Oliveira and Esselin 2015, 303)

Jesus remarked that perspectives sedimented in the local historiography unanimously had claimed that Paraguayans were fundamental for the mate tea industry in the region: “any other type of worker, according to them, would not be able to stand the harsh work conditions imposed by the company”. He proved his point citing Arruda 1997⁸: “the know-how of Paraguayans proved to be indispensable and irreplaceable, a complete proof that the cultural tradition of the Paraguayans revealed their knowledge and their practice as Mate growers”⁹ (Jesus 2004, 45).

Ferreira, in turn, clarified that, for Arruda, Indigenous groups in the region had “disappeared” even though he conceded that they were “considered the first dwellers of the Mate trees region”¹⁰ (2007, 45). Intriguingly, Arruda acknowledged the widespread use of the Guarani language among Larangeira’s workers but linked it to the “cultural tradition of Paraguayans”, as demonstrated Jesus’ citation of his work¹¹: “the origin of the Paraguayan workers and their know-how brought specific cultural characteristics to the Mate region in Brazil. One of these characteristics was the predominance of the Guarani idiom in the region”¹² (Jesus 2004, 46). One explanation for Arruda’s lack of acknowledgment of the Indigenous presence in the Mate fields is that he never entered in contact with the local Indigenous population or with the body of literature on Indigenous history (Ferreira 2007, 46). This critique could also be extended to other authors who preceded him, such as Correa Filho¹³ and Alves¹⁴. Arruda had precisely the goal to differentiate his work from theirs by distancing himself from the standpoint of the powerful (Ferreira 2007:45). Ferreira also pointed out that several authors invested in this local historiography were “protagonists of the histories they wrote” and were “directly and emotionally involved with the events”¹⁵ (2007:47). She cited as an example Barbosa’s work portraying the history of his own family’s arrival in the region: *The Barbosa in Mato Grosso* (1961)¹⁶ (Ferreira 2007, 47).

These initiatives became building blocks to consolidate a narrative about the region’s history that either denied the presence of Indigenous groups or presented them as an obstacle for the development of the area (Ferreira 2007, 47). This narrative was then used as evidence to support the claims of the powerful that no Indigenous groups dwelled in the region, while the Indigenous perspective had no voice. Nevertheless, Serejo 1946 and Almeida 1951 constituted exceptions in this dominant discourse because they did mention the existence of local Indigenous groups. Serejo affirmed that the *Teís* and the *Kaiowá* helped Larangeira to launch the production of the mate¹⁷. However, he assigned them with minimal participation (Ferreira 2007, 46) and portrayed them in a negative light, declaring they had a “vagabond soul” and were “treacherous and elusive”¹⁸ (Jesus 2004, 50). Historian Almeida, in turn, affirmed that “Larangeira mobilized approximately 300 peons and auxiliaries for the exploration granted. He outlined

plans of a friendly approach with the natives, fostering contacts that would often have tragic outcomes. And the reciprocal sacrifices of peons and woodsmen would be without statistic”¹⁹ (Oliveira and Esselin 2015, 304).

This body of literature informed a new generation of researchers. Historian Vilela da Silva, for instance, mentioned that the workforce in *Campanário*, the central Matte Larangeira location in the area corresponding to the south of Mato Grosso do Sul, was composed of “2 500 Paraguayans” in 1903 and did not mention any local Guarani workers (2011, 27). Historian Guillen argued that the Matte Larangeira company imposed slave-like work conditions to its employees, who were “thousands of workers recruited in Paraguay in the vast majority”²⁰ (2007, 623). She also noted the Guarani language’s widespread use but provided no mention to any worker coming from local fields. Instead, she informed that they were recruited in Paraguayan cities and villages bordering Brazil or in Argentina (2007, 626), conceding that they were *descendants* of the Guarani (Guillen 2007, 624).

Peralta and Le Bourlegat, in contrast, acknowledged that the region was inhabited by “remnant Indigenous persons, especially of Guarani origin”²¹ (2012, 193). However, relying on Serejo (1986), they affirmed that even though the Mate Larangeira company preferably employed Guarani workforce, “a large portion of these Indigenous persons lived in Paraguay”²² (Peralta and Le Bourlegat 2012, 194). Queiroz also acknowledged that in the region corresponding to the south of Mato Grosso do Sul, the lands granted for Mate tea entrepreneurship were “inhabited sparsely by Indigenous populations”²³ (2009, 2). Despite including Indigenous presence in Matte Larangeira’s workforce, he subscribed to the dominant perception that workers were “mainly Paraguayans, who migrated to the south of Mato Grosso or were directly recruited in the interior of Paraguay”²⁴ (Queiroz 2009, 4).

This is not to say that these authors defended the narrative seeking to erase Guarani locals’ presence, but that they relied on academic references who had advanced this perception. For example, Vilela da Silva cited three works of Correa Filho, whereas the other authors referred here mentioned Arruda as a central reference (Queiroz 2009, 8-10, 16, 18; Guillen 2007, 623; Peralta and Le Bourlegat 2012, 193-195, 199-201, 203; Vilela da Silva 2011, 26, 29, 31). Concomitantly, they did not seem familiar with emerging historiography of the local Guarani-Kaiowá: historian Antonio Brand started this endeavour by collecting oral accounts of the hardships of Guarani families whose members served the Mate Larangeira company and inspired Ferreira to continue this work (Brand 1997; Brand et al. 2005; Ferreira 2007, 59; Oliveira and Esselin 2015, 308-309). Since the 1990s, Brand has become one of the primary references in the history of the local Guarani Kaiowá and founded the Nucleus of Studies and Research on Indigenous Populations (NEPPI).

I am not affirming that there were no Paraguayan workers in the Mate extraction in the region corresponding to Mato Grosso do Sul. Instead, I suggest that the proportion of local Guarani workers was

likely more substantive than stated in the region's dominant historiography. This interpretation is supported by documents of the Service of Indian Protection (SPI), the government institution created to manage the relationship between the State and Indigenous groups in Brazil (Ferreira 2007, 55; Oliveira and Esselin 2015, 307). In 1923, the SPI officer Genésio Pimentel Barboza, after an *in loco* observation, reported to the direction of the institution that he had seen dispersed in the Mate forests, "with no fixed residence, an immense quantity of Kaiowá Indians, living exclusively of the insignificant remuneration earned in the works for the producing of the herb"²⁵ (Ferreira 2007, 55). In 1927, the same officer denounced in his report the "material and moral exploitation" of "the Kaiowá Indians" in the Mate forests of Mato Grosso and declared that "the proportion of Kaiowá Indians employed in the elaboration of the herb vis-à-vis other workers was, on average, 75% in the region of Iguatemi"²⁶ (Brand et al. 2003, 3; Ferreira 2007, 74; Oliveira and Esselin 2015, 307).

Since the beginning of the century, marshal Rondon, an army engineer who became the first SPI director, had observed the presence of Guarani-Kaiowá workers in the Mate extraction industry, as noted Jesus, citing Brand 1997 (2004, 52). In 1900 and 1901, Rondon travelled to the region corresponding to the south of Mato Grosso do Sul to install telegraph lines and ensure national security and development by strengthening communication within Brazil. He saw Guarani-Kaiowá people on the banks of the *Brilhante* river, whom he considered meek, and who were hired to work in the extraction of mate (Brand 1997, 76; Jesus 2004, 52). Brand et al., based on Indigenous oral accounts, shed light on the strategies that the Matte Larangeira company had deployed to approach Indigenous communities in Mate areas:

The leaders of the various Kaiowá and Guarani groups who had native [Mate] herbs in their territories did not peacefully accept the entrance of the Matte Larangeira company. It was necessary an ample and sometimes time-consuming job of convincing them to accept the cutting of mate on the outskirts of their villages [...]. [As João Aquino explained:] the cacique did not allow personnel to enter there, [...] did not let them cut it [...]. Only Paraguayans entered the village because Paraguayans understood the language of Kaiowá.' The convincing method included donating pieces made of thick cloth as a gift. 'Sometimes, the Indian would fight not to surrender his herbarium [...]. [The] Paraguayan, very astute, entered with skillfulness [...] because he spoke the language.'" (Brand et al. 2003, 4)²⁷

If persuasion through gifts were not convincing, the company would resort to "scaring" the Indigenous community by threatening their lives (Brand et al. 2003, 4). Once hired for Mate extraction, labour conditions were very precarious: they were grounded on debt bondage, insalubrious work conditions and, for those not willing to abide by the circumstances, death threats and persecutions (Brand et al. 2003, 5-6; Ferreira 2007, 44, 60-61; Oliveira and Esselin 2015, 307-309; Guillen 2007, 630-632).

Another evidence linking the Guarani-Kaiowá with Mate labour was that, according to Brand 1997, several Indigenous reserves demarcated by the SPI until 1928 were not traditional dwelling spaces. Instead, they were working campsites where the Matte Larangeira company congregated Guarani-Kaiowá workers to harvest Matte leaves (Brand 1997, 62; Jesus 2004, 52; Ferreira 2007, 60). Oliveira and Pereira supported this argument, adding that the selection of these locations was motivated because they were also

close to burgeoning urban non-Indigenous nuclei so that Indigenous communities could be integrated into non-Indigenous society (2009, 109). During my fieldwork in Mato Grosso do Sul, ASCURI's founder Eliel Benites explained that the Guarani-Kaiowá called these work sites *Mosarambiha*. It inspired him to name *Mosarambihara* the workshop I analyzed in Chapter 2, since, as I mentioned, the latter term means *sowers* in Guarani, and the workshop aims to inspire Guarani youth to become sowers of well-living.

All these pieces of evidence support Oliveira and Esselin's argument that Indigenous human resources were a substantial workforce of the Matte Larangeira company. The authors made sense of the discrepancy between the dominant historiography of the region and the SPI documents complemented by Indigenous oral accounts by suggesting that the former was part of a strategy to legitimate the project for the Brazilian nation consolidation by pursuing the success of the civilizing project grounded on the demographic void discourse:

The Indigenous workers who spoke Guarani were deliberately mentioned as Paraguayans, registered in history as foreigners in their lands. This was a relatively successful strategy to produce invisibility for those subjects whose rights were not respected and whose presence countered the demographic void thesis in the region. To inscribe them in official documents would contest the thesis of the success of the civilizing project (Oliveira and Esselin 2015, 303)²⁸.

Away from the domain of the Mate Larangeira company, the same dynamic of forced labour and exploitation, in motion since the end of the War of the Triple Alliance, was burdening the Terena inside large-scale farms centred on agro-export (Cordeiro Ferreira 2007, 132; Guillen 2007, 622). From 1870 to 1904, the race to control lands and environmental resources in the region resulted in the near-total expropriation of Indigenous lands through the use of violence, resulting in countless deaths and pushing surviving people into forced labour (Cordeiro Ferreira 2007, 132). Rondon also denounced the enslavement of Terena Indigenous groups in his report to the Ministry of War about the telegraph lines commission works in Mato Grosso from 1900 to 1906 (Guillen 2007, 622; Freire 2009, 33)²⁹.

This scenario laid the foundation to make Mato Grosso the state with the most land concentration in 1920. Cordeiro Ferreira, citing Borges (2001)³⁰, noted that while in Brazil, properties with less than 100 ha corresponded to 70% of total land ownership, in Mato Grosso, such properties corresponded to only 20% of the total. In contrast, 45% of proprietorship had over 2000 ha (2007, 132). The largest property was the domain of Mate Larangeira in the south region of the Mato Grosso state (which separated from it in 1977 and became Mato Grosso do Sul). Even though its domain had been reduced in 1915 to 1,440,000 hectares, in 1921, the company reached its heyday and had two unofficial "cities" (Ferreira 2007, 32). *Campanário* had houses, a school, a hospital, a hotel, a pharmacy, sports arenas and a cinema (Guillen 2007, 623; Ferreira 2007, 62; Peralta and Le Bourlegat 2012, 194, Vilela da Silva 2011, 27). It was close to the emplacement where the municipality of Caarapó emerged. The Indigenous Land of Caarapó, where Eliel lives, is 50 km away from the headquarters of Campanário. Reserved by the SPI on November 20,

1924 (ISA 2021b)³¹, this land was cited by Brand as one example of Matte Larangeira's work campsite (Brand 1997, 62; Ferreira 2007, 60). The other village, *Guaíra*, was located at the border between what is now Mato Grosso do Sul and Paraná at the Paraná side. Jesus mentioned that, according to visitors' accounts, both cities were genuinely urban centres, and Guaíra constituted the biggest and most complete city belonging to a company: it had even a proper conduct code and police services (2004, 36).

If the concentration of lands occurring in Mato Grosso do Sul was set in motion by the concessions granted to Larangeira's enterprise, his company's downfall catalyzed further this process. In 1943, Brazilian president Getúlio Vargas annulled the concessions to end any power parallel to the Brazilian State to consolidate the country as a federative unity (Oliveira and Pereira 2009, 179; Ferreira 2007, 32). Vargas was concerned not only because Matte Larangeira concentrated power but also because it had become a multinational controlling a Brazilian border. British capital had financed the company since its beginning (Vilela da Silva 2011, 28). Moreover, after 1902, with the bankruptcy of the *Rio and Matto Grosso Bank*, its main shareholder was the Argentinian Mate company of Larangeira's business partner, a Portuguese man who had collaborated with him when he supplied goods to the commission responsible for delimitating the Brazilian borders with Paraguay (Oliveira and Esselin 2015, 299, 302; Queiroz 2009, 5, 9; Peralta and Le Bourlegat 2012, 194). Described by a newspaper from Rio de Janeiro in 1941 as a "foreign spearhead in Brazilian territory"³², the multinational company's power became a matter of Brazilian sovereignty (Vilela da Silva 2011, 37, 41).

Consequently, in 1943, Vargas created the federal territory of Ponta Porã and the Dourados National Agricultural Colony in a portion of the lands previously controlled by Matte Larangeira to foster the development and the settlement of the region (Vilela da Silva 2011, 42; Peralta and Le Bourlegat 2012, 201). Helio Bucker, who was the head of the 6th Inspectorate of the SPI in the region, condemned the decision, for the Ministry of Agriculture under Vargas indiscriminately allocated Indigenous lands for this agricultural colony, which to him constituted the "strangest and most shocking theft" he knew (Bucker 1967, 3953; Guimarães 2015, 98)³³. Once more, Indigenous presence in the region was downplayed to favour the transfer of their lands to rural producers for the sake of the Brazilian nation. This dynamic calcified in the region another recurrent frame, which persists into the present: the idea that rural producers are heralds of national occupation, integration, and development.

Notes

1- *Vacant public lands* is a free translation of the Portuguese expression *terras devolutas*. The term was defined by Law 601 from September 18, 1850 (article 3). Vacant public lands were areas:

- 1- without "municipal, provincial or national public use";
- 2- outside the "private domain";

3- not given as a concession from the Government;

4- not occupied by belongings that, despite not having legal titles, were legitimized by that law.

The law is available at:

<https://www.jusbrasil.com.br/topicos/11313491/artigo-3-da-lei-n-601-de-18-de-setembro-de-1850>

2- Mato Grosso do Sul only became a state in 1979. It was previously a part of the Mato Grosso state.

3- Original in Portuguese:

À época as autoridades imperiais condenavam a facilidade com que as tropas paraguaias invadiram o antigo sul de Mato Grosso, inicialmente em fins de 1864, onde ficaram por dois longos anos. Por estes e outros motivos passaram a desenvolver projetos para incorporar aquela região fronteiriça ao território nacional. As perspectivas de desmembramento do Brasil mais uma vez inquietavam os dirigentes do país.

4- FUNAI's statement in Portuguese:

Tal direito – congênito e originário – dos indígenas sobre suas terras, independente de titulação ou reconhecimento formal, consagrado ainda no início do processo de colonização, foi mantido no sistema legal brasileiro, por meio da Lei de Terras de 1850 (Lei 601 de 1850), do Decreto 1318, de 30 de janeiro de 1854 (que regulamentou a Lei de Terras).

It is available at: <http://www.funai.gov.br/index.php/2014-02-07-13-26-02>

Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20141128051138/http://www.funai.gov.br/index.php/2014-02-07-13-26-02>

5- Four nautical leagues correspond to 22.22 km.

6- Original in Portuguese:

Na historiografia brasileira até os anos 1990 era predominante a tese de que o ônus do trabalho nos ervais recaiu, sobretudo ou unicamente, nos ombros de trabalhadores paraguaios. Muitos historiadores entenderam que eles teriam vindo para o antigo sul de Mato Grosso após o fim da guerra, a partir das décadas de 1870 e 1880, como se na época a população masculina fosse muito expressiva naquele país.

Milhares de indígenas mansos, porém no estado de semi selvagem, povoão as margens dos rios Dourados, Brilhante e Ivinhema, Paraná, Anhambahy e Iguatemy, falando todos a língua guarany, com pequenas alterações e pertencentes a famílias paraguaias, guarany e Cayoá. Mais de trezentos destes últimos, há poucos annos, formavão um possante aldeamento entre as cabeceiras do Aquidaban e Ponta-porã, a distância de 4 legoas desta Colônia, e ahi se entregavão a agricultura por conta própria e por ajustes.

7- Original in Portuguese:

Na historiografia brasileira até os anos 1990 era predominante a tese de que o ônus do trabalho nos ervais recaiu, sobretudo ou unicamente, nos ombros de trabalhadores paraguaios. Muitos historiadores entenderam que eles teriam vindo para o antigo sul de Mato Grosso após o fim da guerra, a partir das décadas de 1870 e 1880, como se na época a população masculina fosse muito expressiva naquele país.

8- Arruda, Gilmar. 1997. *Frutos da Terra. Os Trabalhadores da Matte Larangeira*. Londrina: Editora UEL p.87.

9- Original in Portuguese:

nos trabalhos de elaboração de herva (Monteiro, 2002, p.77). Tem sido unânime, entre os pesquisadores do assunto, que o braço paraguaio foi fundamental para o desenvolvimento da atividade ervateira no SMT. Outro tipo de trabalhador, segundo eles, não poderia suportar o árduo trabalho nas condições impostas pela empresa arrendatária. Arruda (1997, p. 87) coloca que o saber-fazer dos paraguaios se mostrou indispensável e insubstituível, prova cabal de que a tradição cultural dos paraguaios revelava o seu conhecimento e sua prática como ervateiros.

10- Original in Portuguese: “Para o autor [Arruda] e apoiado em suas fontes pesquisadas, os indígenas foram dados como “desaparecidos” e considerados os primeiros moradores da região dos ervais”.

11- Please, see: Arruda 1997 p.88 (see note 8).

- 12- Original in Portuguese: “A origem dos trabalhadores paraguaios e seu saber-fazer trouxeram certas características culturais para a região ervateira do Brasil. Uma destas características foi o predomínio do idioma guarani na região ervateira”.
- 13- Please, see: Correa Filho, Virgílio. 1925. *A sombra dos Hervaes Matogrossenses*. São Paulo: Ed. São Paulo.
- 14- Please, see: Alves, G. Luiz. 1984. “Mato Grosso e a história – 1870-1929: ensaio sobre a transição do domínio econômico da casa comercial para a hegemonia do capital financeiro”. *Boletim Paulista de Geografia* 61: 5-81.
- 15- Original in Portuguese: “Muitos são protagonistas da própria história que escreveram, estando direta e emocionalmente envolvidos com os acontecimentos”.
- 16- Please, see: Barbosa, Emilio Gonçalves. 1961. *Os Barbosas em Mato Grosso*. Campo Grande (MS): Editora Empresa Correio do Estado Ltda.
- 17- Please, see: Serejo, Hélio. 1986. Caraí. in: *Ciclo da Erva-Mate em Mato Grosso do Sul 1883-1947*. Campo Grande: Inst. Euvaldo Lodi, p. 27-193. (Série Histórica. Coletânea), p 71.
- 18- Original in Portuguese: “Em relação aos indígenas que poderiam ter trabalhado no fabrico de erva-mate no SMT, encontramos referências em Hélio Serejo. Esse autor fala que havia lendas repletas de maldições e desgraças, que refletiam bem a “alma vadia” do íncola que vivia no erval, segregado da civilização, “traíçoeiro e esquivo”, numa luta de vida e de morte contra a floresta bravia”.
- Please, see: Serejo, Hélio. 1946. *Homens de Aço: a luta nos ervais de Mato Grosso*. São Paulo, p.72, 103-104.
- 19- Original in Portuguese: “Larangeira mobilizou cerca de três centenas de peões e auxiliares para a exploração concedida. Gizou planos de aproximação amistosa com os nativos, fomentando contatos que frequentemente teriam trágicos desenlaces. E ficariam sem estatística os sacrifícios recíprocos de peões e de silvícolas”.
- Please, see: Almeida, Mário Monteiro de. 1951. *Episódios históricos da formação geográfica do Brasil: fixação das raias com Uruguai e Paraguai*. Rio de Janeiro: Pongetti, p.416.
- 20- Original in Portuguese: “Empregou indiretamente milhares de trabalhadores arregimentados no Paraguai em sua grande maioria, e impôs nos ervais uma forma de trabalho baseado na escravidão por dívida [...] O trabalhador empregado nos ervais era o paraguaio, em sua grande maioria descendente dos guaranis, recrutado por toda a região”.
- 21- Original in Portuguese: “O extremo sul era habitado pelos indígenas remanescentes, especialmente de origem guarani”.
- 22- Original in Portuguese: “A grande empresa imobilizava preferencialmente, segundo Serejo (1986), mão de-obra guarani, uma vez que grande parte desses indígenas habitava o Paraguai”.
- 23- Original in Portuguese: “No SMT, os ervais estavam situados em terras devolutas, de modo que as concessões para exploração consistiam em contratos, aliás, temporários, de arrendamento (e não de venda) dessas terras – as quais eram habitadas esparsamente por populações indígenas e, de modo ainda mais esparsa, por não-índios”.
- 24- Original in Portuguese: “Para fazer funcionar todo esse aparato, a empresa chegou a mobilizar milhares de trabalhadores, [...] – contingente esse formado por indígenas e principalmente por paraguaios, que migravam para o SMT ou eram recrutados diretamente no interior do Paraguai”
- 25- Original in Portuguese: “Há em toda a extensão de terra citada, espalhados pelos herveas, sem residência fixa, uma quantidade imensa de índios caiuás, vivendo exclusivamente da insignificante remuneração percebida”
- 26- Original in Portuguese:
Dest’arte o índio caiuás é, nos herveas de Matto-Grosso, uma propriedade do hervateiro paraguayo, que sem nenhum escrúpulo o explora, moral e materialmente. A proporção de índios caiuas empregados na

elaboração da herva, sobre o operário, é, em média, de 75% na região de Iguatemi [Eremites de Oliveira and Esselin 2015:307].

For mor information, please see: Barboza, Genésio Pimentel. Relatório do auxiliar Genesio Pimentel Barboza referente ao ano de 1927 e encaminhado ao inspetor Antonio Martins Vianna Estigarríbia. In: Monteiro, Maria E. B. (Org.). Levantamento histórico sobre os índios Guarani/Kaiowá. Rio de Janeiro: Museu do Índio, 2003. p. 67-107. Citation from pg 81.

27- Original in Portuguese:

Os caciques, líderes dos diversos agrupamentos kaiowá e guarani que tinham ervais nativos em seus territórios, não aceitavam, pacificamente, a entrada da Cia Matte Larangeira. Era necessário um amplo e por vezes demorado trabalho de convencimento para que esses aceitassem o corte da erva-mate nos arredores de suas aldeias. Relata, ele “que cacique não deixava pessoal entrar ali, na erva. Não deixa cortar. [...] [S]ó paraguaio que entrava na aldeia porque paraguaio entende a língua do Kaiowá”. O método de convencimento incluía a doação de peças de pano grosso como presente. “Às vezes o índio brigava para não entregar o erval dele [...]. Paraguaio bem sabido mesmo, entrava com jeito [...] porque fala a língua”.

28- Original in Portuguese:

Em registros assim os trabalhadores indígenas falantes da língua guarani foram deliberadamente citados como paraguaios, quer dizer, inscritos na história como estrangeiros dentro de suas próprias terras. Esta foi uma estratégia relativamente bem-sucedida para produzir invisibilidade àqueles sujeitos, cujos direitos não eram respeitados e sua presença contrariava a tese de vazio demográfico na região. Inscrevê-los nos documentos oficiais contestaria ainda a tese do sucesso do projeto civilizador.

29- Rondon, C. M. S. 1949. Relatório dos trabalhos realizados de 1900 a 1906 pela Comissão de Linhas Telegráficas do Estado de Mato Grosso, apresentada as autoridades do Ministério da Guerra. Rio de Janeiro: Departamento de Imprensa Nacional, Ministério da Agricultura, Conselho Nacional de Proteção aos Índios, publicação 60-70.

30- Borges, Fernando Tadeu de Miranda. 2001. *Do Extrativismo a Pecúária: Algumas Observações sobre a história econômica de Mato Grosso*. 1870 a 1930. São Paulo: Scortecci Editora., 191 p.

31- Please, see: Instituto Socioambiental: <https://terrasindigenas.org.br/pt-br/terras-indigenas/3627>
Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20210803033838/https://terrasindigenas.org.br/pt-br/terras-indigenas/3627>

32- Original in Portuguese:

Em 1941, ocorreu a intervenção federal do Presidente Vargas que negou à empresa a continuação dos ervais sulistas mato-grossenses. A motivação ocorreu em virtude da campanha jornalística desencadeada pelo diário carioca "O Radical", que afirmou ser a ferrovia de Guaíra pertencente à empresa, servindo como uma ponta de lança estrangeira em território brasileiro, onde os empregados eram paraguaios e a moeda dominante o peso argentino.

33- Original in Portuguese:

Dos esbulhos de terras indígenas de que tenho conhecimento nestes 18 anos, nenhum foi mais estranho e chocante do que o procedido diretamente pelo Ministério da Agricultura, através do seu Departamento de Terras e Colonização. Em 1943, esse departamento distribuiu, a título de colonização, as terras dos Índios Kaiuá, inclusive a sua aldeia denominada “Panambi”, no município de Dourados-MT. É de estarrecer. O próprio órgão responsável pela garantia da terra do índio, é o primeiro a despojá-lo. Penso que fica bem claro com esse exemplo que a espoliação tem a chancela oficial das cúpulas administrativas, maiores responsáveis pelas desditas dos índios e do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, o bufão da grande comédia.

APPENDIX J: ORDER AND PROGRESS IN THE SHADOWS OF THE BRAZILIAN MILITARY DICTATORSHIP: INDIGENEITY AS A THREAT TO NATIONAL SECURITY

The Indians cannot prevent the passage of progress. [...] In 10 to 20 years, there would be no more Indians in Brazil¹.
Internal Affairs Minister Rangel Reis, January 1976

The Brazilian military dictatorship lasted from 1964 to 1985. From December 1968 to October 1978, it instituted a rigorous censorship system, known as the Institutional Act nº5 (AI-5). It became the cornerstone of the politics of “information control in consonance with the Doctrine of National Security”, which, regarding Indigenous groups, became prevalent in 1970 when a federal decree stated that the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI) would incorporate activities of information monitoring advisory formally. This role was endorsed in 1975 with the creation of the Internal Regimen of Advisory of Security and Information (ASI-FUNAI) (Guimarães 2015, 146; Brasil 2014 v.2, 247). Why did the government consider it so important to control information regarding Indigenous groups, making it a matter of “national security”? The answer brings to the surface a perception of Indigenous peoples, which guides Jair Bolsonaro and which he passed on to his sons. Bolsonaro received a military education precisely during that time, graduating from the *Agulhas Negras* Military Academy in 1977 to serve in the Army’s field artillery and parachutist units until 1988 when he was expelled after planning a terrorist attack- involving bombs explosions in army barracks and other locations in Rio de Janeiro (Reina 2018; G1 2019; Veja 2018; The Brazilian Report 2018)².

For exploring this question, it is necessary to understand the logic underlying the federal agenda during the period, linking economic growth and the “development” of the Brazilian west inland with “National security”. According to political scientist Maria Helena Alves (1987):

The economic and infrastructural development of Brazil is essential to compensate for the extreme vulnerability of its wide-empty spaces. [...] The economic policy [...] is thus not intended to gain the support of the population but to integrate the national territory[...] Infrastructure betterment should include communications networks, highways and railways that cut the region. [...] In the National Security Doctrine, military defence, rather than the basic material needs of the population, is considered the main objective of economic development. The development of the vast extensions of the Brazilian interior and the Amazon region is mainly sought to “buffer” possible routes of penetration³. (Guimarães 2015, 36)

This agenda sheds light on why the politics vis-à-vis Indigenous groups at that time led to the escalation of violence against them, rather than guaranteeing their well-being (Guimarães 2015, 145; Brasil 2014 v.2, 205). The National Commission of Truth’s (CNV) final report marked the implementation of the AI-5 as a watershed. Until then, the federal government had created conditions for the theft of Indigenous lands and was predominantly affecting Indigenous groups through its omission, being complicit with local powers and private interests. However, after the AI-5, the federal government became a protagonist in murders and Indigenous rights violations (Brasil 2014, 204-205).

It does not mean that Indigenous groups did not suffer horrific acts of violence before 1968 due, in part, to the politics of tutelage depriving Indigenous peoples of autonomy vis-à-vis their identities and lands⁴. However, if since Brazil's independence, Indigenous peoples had been seen as "allies" and used to defend the Brazilian territory, after the AI-5, they became seen as risks to national security, suspects of being influenced by foreign interests and a hindrance for the nation (Brasil 2014, 211). Oriented by the slogan "development and security" (Lima [1992] 2006, 213), the federal government swung back to evolutionist ideas and views of indigeneity as an "obstacle" for progress. This had dire consequences, especially for Indigenous groups living in the Amazon and western lands. In the name of national security, it institutionalized oppressive practices to erase the Indigenous presence, including forced removal from strategic lands (Brasil 2014, 209; Guimaraes 2015, 145).

Although the Indian Statute was formulated in 1973 to better the image of Brazil's political regime abroad (Peres 2005, 40), it introduced a law authorizing the "forced removal of Indigenous populations for the sake of national security, the execution of public constructions that interested the national development, and which included mining⁵" (Guimarães 2015, 145; Brasil 2014, 211). Ironically, while indigeneity was presented as a threat for its potential of being co-opted by "international interests", the governmental investment in large-scale constructions was enabled by its incentives to the arrival of foreign capital in the country and its reliance on international loans and exportations (Velooso et al. 2008, 225, 228-229; Barrucho 2018)⁶. In the initiatives targeting western lands, the federal government benefitted from the presence and expansion of national and international companies interested in mining, agribusiness, and exploiting the forest resources (Lopes 2011, 24).

In this project of territorial occupation, the Statute of the Indian kept categories and notions favouring the implementation of assimilationist politics vis-a-vis Indigenous persons aiming to "integrate them, progressively and harmoniously, to the national communion" (although it was framed strategically in the protectionist idiom, as having the purpose of concomitantly "preserving Indigenous culture"⁷) (Brasil 1973). In this perspective, it distinguished three types of "Indians": the "isolated" (uncontacted), the ones "in the process of integration", and the "integrated"⁸ (Brasil 1973; Souza Filho 2005, 165).

Nevertheless, it brought essential changes. For the first time, indigeneity was defined formally (previously, inspectors detained this power): "The Indian or inhabitant of the jungle is any individual with Pre-Columbian origin and ascendance that identifies himself or is identified as belonging to an ethnic group whose cultural characteristics are distinctive from the national society"⁹ (Brasil 1973; Souza Filho 2005, 165). While this definition attached indigeneity to "ethnicity" and "culture", the Statute was predicated on an evolutionist paradigm grounded on the incapacity of Indigenous persons, which ensured for the state control over Indigenous lands. Also propelling the enforcement of assimilationist

“development” over Indigenous rights was that the FUNAI was under the Internal Affairs Ministry, the institution charged with the inland development politics (Brasil 2014, 205, 209).

This institutionalization of violence was blatant in the case of the Waimiri-Atroari. As the CNV reports, in 1972, FUNAI’s local census revealed the presence of a population of around 3000 Waimiri-Atroari. In 1983, it had been reduced to 350 individuals. In 1968, a plan of action to “enable the invasion of the Waimiri-Atroari territory and the execution of the economic projects of the military government for that region¹⁰” was created by FUNAI, the Land Institute, the National Department of Roads and Circulation, the Army Special Group of the Borders and the Air Force Ministry (Brasil 2014, 234). The creation of the Indigenous Posts of Attraction (PIA) in three locations in 1969, 1970 and 1972 was a consequence of this plan and had the purpose of removing Indigenous populations from the site assigned for the road. As the CNV showed, a report from the Waimiri-Atroari Attraction Front said that the PIA “had as its main objective to accomplish the attraction of the Waimiri-Atroari Indigenous groups, accelerating its integration process in the national society, as well as executing works in support to the BR-174 road”¹¹ (Brasil 2014, 234). The importance given to the road in detriment of Indigenous groups is evident in the head of the 6th Battalion of Engineering and Construction’s declaration: “The road is irreversible, as is the integration of the Amazon in the country. The road is important and will have to be built, whatever the cost. We will not change its layout, which would be burdensome for the Battalion, only to pacify the Indians first [...] We will not stop the work just so that the FUNAI completes the attraction of the Indians”¹² (Brasil 2014, 235). A Waimiri-Atroari’s testimony showed the consequence of this perspective: “The party was already starting with a lot of people gathered. By noon, a noise of plane or helicopter approached. The people left the hut to see. The children were all in the yard to see. The plane spilled dust. All but one were hit and died”¹³ (Brasil 2014, 235).

The road was completed in 1979, but two years later, the federal government started constructing the Balbina Hydroelectric Dam and took the east portion of the Waimiri-Atroari Indigenous Land by the Decree 86.630. This process was denounced at the IV Russell Tribunal in 1982 (Brasil 2014, 235). This reduction of the Waimiri-Atroari land also had the purpose of releasing portions for mining companies - which took over 526,800 ha of the Indigenous Land in 1982 and hired a paramilitary group of 400 armed men with trained dogs to “clean the jungle” (Brasil 2014, 236). Finally, the southern portion of these lands, which was close to the BR-174 road, was invaded by farmers. Since 1981, the Amazon state government had already emitted 338 property titles for farmers who also benefited from the farming incentives from the military government, such as the programs Pole Amazon and Pro-alcohol (Brasil 2014, 236).

The FUNAI was complicit not only with the forced removal of Indigenous groups but also with the invasion of the remaining lands by farmers. The latter could only receive federal incentives if the FUNAI granted them “Negative Certificates”, assuring that no Indigenous groups lived in the area. This concession

in areas corresponding to Indigenous lands had been a common practice since 1969, as proved by one investigation in 1977 (Brasil 2014, 213). They constituted one of the most blatant federal mechanisms to make Indigenous peoples invisible.

Another oppressive practice institutionalized by the federal government “for the sake of national security” was the incarceration and torture of Indigenous persons. Before the instauration of the AI-5, SPI officials had an informal punitive system, which included the use of violence and the imprisonment of Indigenous individuals who protested the exploitation of their land or who refused to “cooperate” with the SPI, which was part of a culture of repression and intimidation. However, the AI-5 paved the path for the officialization of this punitive system and the creation of especial jails for Indigenous peoples, whereas before, Indigenous peoples were deemed to be exempt from the penal system as part of being under tutelage (Brasil 2014, 209, 239; Guimarães 2015, 145). The most important jail was the Krenak reformatory, created in 1969 in the state of Minas Gerais, in the Krenak territory and transferred in 1972, together with the Krenak population living there, to Fazenda Guarani, around 350 km west because the former land was given to farmers (Brasil 2014, 243).

According to the CNV, from 1969 to 1979, individuals from 23 Indigenous peoples from different parts of Brazil were incarcerated for reasons as trivial as refusing forced agricultural work, drinking alcohol, leaving the Indigenous land without permission or protesting against FUNAI. Oscar Guarani, for example, was arrested after going to the FUNAI headquarters in Brasilia to present demands. He had an altercation with a guard who did not allow him to meet the institution’s president. He was incarcerated and tortured for three years. He arrived weighing 198 lbs and left with 132 lbs due to food deprivation, as denounced in the Russell Tribunal report in 1974, which also stated that:

With respect to the Indians, the climate is one of terror. Contrary to its Statutes and against human rights, FUNAI created a prison for the Indians in Crenaque, municipality of Governador Valadares, Minas Gerais. In the management of Bandeira de Melo, the prison has been widely used. According to the words of the *sertanista*¹⁴ Antonio Cotrim Soares, which were never disputed by FUNAI, Crenaque “is a concentration camp” where are sent the Indians rebelled against the exploitative and oppressive system of the FUNAI. The prison is directed by an officer of the Military Police of Minas Gerais, commanding six soldiers. Imprisoned Indians are put into forced labour eight hours a day. They are placed in cells, isolated from each other and are beaten and tortured. (Brasil 2014, 244)¹⁵

The oppressive practices against Indigenous peoples perpetrated by the government, farmers, mining companies and others interested in Indigenous lands for the sake of “rural development” and “national security” had two major consequences. The first was the dismal number of deaths of Indigenous individuals. The final CNV report estimated that from 1946 to 1988, over 8,350 Indigenous persons died because of the action or the omission of governmental agents, based on the information retrieved from documents such as the Figueiredo Report, the Russell Tribunal report and conversations with the families

of some victims (Brasil 2014, 205). This number is only an estimate, and the CNV admitted that the actual quantity might be much larger:

This number includes only the cases studied here, for which it was possible to delineate an estimate. The actual number of Indigenous people killed in the period may be exponentially bigger since only a very restricted portion of the affected Indigenous peoples was analyzed, and that there are cases where the death toll is high enough to discourage estimates³. (Brasil 2014, 205)¹⁶

The declaration of the citation about “cases where the death toll is high enough to discourage estimates” is complemented by an endnote that says: “3: We do not dare to present estimates for the Guarani and Kaiowá dead in Mato Grosso do Sul and Paraná, for example, although we have addressed these cases here” (Brasil 2014, 254). When looking at the numbers of deaths from each Indigenous people included in the quantity provided, there was indeed no mention to the Guarani and Kaiwoá: it counted “1,180 Tapayuna, 118 Parakanã, 72 Araweté, more than 14 Arara, 176 Panará, 2,650 Waimiri-Atroari, 3,500 Cinta-Larga, 192 Xetá, a minimum of 354 Yanomami and 85 Xavante from Marãiwatsédé” (Brasil 2014, 254). However, the report cited several Guarani and Kaiowá killed and tortured (Brasil 2014, 244, 250, 252). Considering this information and her research, Guimarães affirmed that Indigenous peoples were the most affected by the violence inflicted by the military dictatorship, among all the groups examined in the formulation of the CNV (2015, 19, 142).

The second significant consequence was that all this onslaught remained mostly invisible in the national arena. Even the CNV commission had no idea that the Brazilian military dictatorship had perpetrated any acts of violence against Indigenous peoples before Indigenous individuals contacted them, as Guimarães reveals:

In 2012, the Torture Never Again/SP Group receives a demand from the Indians themselves. They were contacted by the responsible for an Indigenous blog, the “Indigenous Continental Resistance”, and questioned why the groups Torture Never Again and CNV deal only with the non-Indigenous missing and dead. Zelic said that he was surprised by the question, not knowing exactly what they were talking about: “For us, it was surprising -Sorry, but what are you talking about? -we asked”. We started to communicate with these Indigenous people to exchange emails, documents, and the process of talking to other entities began. (Guimarães 2015, 109)¹⁷

This invisibility was assured during the military dictatorship by strong national media censorship and a discourse asserting a population-void in most parts of the west of Brazil as the “Negative Certificates” suggested. Another powerful mechanism to erase the presence of Indigenous populations was the national census. The 1970 census did not take any information about colour or race, and in 1980, it did, but it removed the Indigenous marker and substituted it by “*pardo*”, a designation marking people of “mixed colour” (IBGE 2012a, 15). Thus, *pardo* denied the recognition of the Indigenous existence as if they were assimilated. With the end of the military dictatorship in 1985, the Indigenous identity would be reintroduced in the 1990, 2000 and 2010 censuses (IBGE 2012a, 15).

Notes:

- 1- Original in Portuguese: “os índios não podem impedir a passagem do progresso”, “dentro de 10 ou 20 anos não haveria mais índios no Brasil”
- 2- See more information about the case at:
 - DCM news report with the picture of Bolsonaro’s plan:
<https://www.diariodocentrodomundo.com.br/osdocumentosque-levaram-o-exercito-a-expulsar-bolsonaro-a-mentira-do-capitao/>
Archived link:
<https://web.archive.org/web/20210527205014/https://www.diariodocentrodomundo.com.br/osdocumentosque-levaram-o-exercito-a-expulsar-bolsonaro-a-mentira-do-capitao/>
 - O Globo news report: <https://g1.globo.com/pop-arte/noticia/2019/07/31/aversao-de-militares-a-imprensa-ajudou-a-absolver-bolsonaro-em-1988-diz-autor-de-livro.ghtml>
Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20210913071600/https://g1.globo.com/pop-arte/noticia/2019/07/31/aversao-de-militares-a-imprensa-ajudou-a-absolver-bolsonaro-em-1988-diz-autor-de-livro.ghtml>
 - Veja original report in 1986: <https://veja.abril.com.br/blog/reveja/reveja-jair-bolsonaro-explosivo-desde-1986/>
Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20210118154842/https://veja.abril.com.br/blog/reveja/reveja-jair-bolsonaro-explosivo-desde-1986/>
 - The Brazilian Report (in English): <https://brazilian.report/power/2018/10/14/jair-bolsonaro-military-career/>
- 3- Original in Portuguese:

O desenvolvimento econômico e infra-estrutural do Brasil é essencial para compensar a extrema vulnerabilidade de seus amplos espaços vazios. [...] A política econômica [...] assim, não se destina a obter o apoio da população, mas a integrar o território nacional [...]

O aperfeiçoamento infra-estrutural deve incluir redes de comunicações, rodovias e ferrovias que cortem a região. [...] na Doutrina de Segurança Nacional, a defesa militar, mais que as necessidades materiais básicas da população, é considerada o principal objetivo do desenvolvimento econômico. O desenvolvimento das vastas extensões do interior brasileiro e da região amazônica é buscado principalmente para "tamponar" possíveis vias de penetração.
- 4- One of the most gruesome examples was the genocide of the Cinta-Larga. From the 1950s on, the Mato Grosso government granted concessions to parts of the land of this Indigenous group to rubber plantation owners, mining companies, and for the construction of a hydroelectric (Brasil 2014, 237). Thus, the Cinta-Larga “found themselves completely islanded and persecuted by the expansion fronts that did not give them truce in the conquest of their territory” (Bucker 1966, 3978; Brasil 2014, 237). [Original in Portuguese: “Tribos inteiras, tais como os Cinta Larga e Beijo de Pau (Tapaiuna), encontram-se completamente ilhadas e acossadas pelas frentes de expansão que não lhe dão tréguas na conquista do seu território”].

During subsequent years, rubber farmers and mining companies killed a population of 5000 Cinta Larga by giving them food mixed with arsenic; by air-bombarding villages with dynamite and by ambushing them, as reported by Ramis Bucair in the testimonial recorded on November 21, 1967, which is part of the Figueiredo report (Bucair 1967, 4003; Brasil 2014, 237-238, Davis 1977, 79; Guimarães 2015, 85). The Figueiredo report - as well as the 2014 CNV report- described a gruesome case of a mother and a child ambushed, in October 1963, by gunmen hired by a mining company: the child was shot in the head, and the mother hung upside down by the legs and cut alive from “the pubis towards the head, almost parting the woman in the middle” (Bucair, 1967, 4003; Brasil 2014, 238; Guimaraes 2015, 86). While the SPI did not act on this genocide, it did not take action to stop it. [Original in Portuguese: “Os pistoleiros ainda encontraram uma mulher e uma criança Cinta Larga vivas. Chico Luís atirou na cabeça da criança, amarrou a mulher pelas pernas de cabeça para baixo e, com um facão, cortou-a do púbis em direção à cabeça, quase partindo a mulher ao meio”].

The record of Ramis Bucair’s testimony is part of the Figueiredo report vol. XVI, page 4003. It is available at: http://www.docvirt.com/docreader.net/DocReader.aspx?bib=MI_Arquivistico&hf=www.mpf.mp.br&pagfis=214930

Archived link:

https://web.archive.org/web/20210929174601/http://www.docvirt.com/docreader.net/DocReader.aspx?bib=MI_Arquivistico&hf=www.mpf.mp.br&pagfis=214930

- 5- Original in Portuguese: “remoção forçada de populações indígenas por imposição da segurança nacional, para realização de obras públicas que interessem ao desenvolvimento nacional, e inclui a mineração” (Guimarães 2015, 145).
Guimarães is referring to the 20th Article (item 1) of the Statute of the Indian available at:
http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/LEIS/L6001.htm
- 6- The BBC special report marking the 50 years of the AI-5 (in Portuguese) is available at:
<https://www.bbc.com/portuguese/brasil-45960213>
Archived link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20210605105911/https://www.bbc.com/portuguese/brasil-45960213>
- 7- Original in Portuguese: “Esta Lei regula a situação jurídica dos índios ou silvícolas e das comunidades indígenas, com o propósito de preservar a sua cultura e integrá-los, progressiva e harmoniosamente, à comunhão nacional.”
The Statute of the Indian (Law 6,001 from December 19, 1973) is available at:
http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/Leis/L6001.htm
Archived link: https://web.archive.org/web/20210929185145/http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/Leis/L6001.htm
- 8- Original in Portuguese: “isolados”, “em vias de integração” e “integrados” (Article 4).
- 9- Original in Portuguese: “Índio ou Silvícola - É todo indivíduo de origem e ascendência pré-colombiana que se identifica e é identificado como pertencente a um grupo étnico cujas características culturais o distinguem da sociedade nacional”.
- 10- Original in Portuguese: “Exército um plano de ação para possibilitar a invasão do território Waimiri-Atroari e a execução dos projetos econômicos do governo militar para aquela região” (Brasil 2014, 234).
- 11- Original in Portuguese: “tem como principal objetivo realizar a atração dos grupos indígenas Waimiri-Atroari acelerando seu processo de integração na sociedade nacional, assim como realizar trabalhos de apoio aos serviços da estrada BR-174” (Brasil 2014, 234).
- 12- Original in Portuguese: “A estrada é irreversível como é a integração da Amazônia ao país. A estrada é importante e terá que ser construída, custe o que custar. Não vamos mudar o seu traçado, que seria oneroso para o Batalhão apenas para pacificarmos primeiro os índios [...] Não vamos parar os trabalhos apenas para que a Funai complete a atração dos índios” (Brasil 2014, 235).
- 13- Original in Portuguese: “A festa já estava começando com muita gente reunida. Pelo meio-dia, um ronco de avião ou helicóptero se aproximou. O pessoal saiu da maloca pra ver. A criançada estava toda no pátio para ver. O avião derramou um pó. Todos, menos um, foram atingidos e morreram” (Brasil 2014, 235).
- 14- A *sertanista* is a specialist in the *sertão* region, comprising that area. The designation also refers to a person that had frequently travelled to that location.
- 15- Original in Portuguese:
Com relação aos índios, o clima é de terror. Contrariando seus Estatutos e atentando contra os direitos humanos, a Funai criou uma prisão para os índios em Crenaque, no município de Governador Valadares, Minas Gerais. Na gestão de Bandeira de Melo a prisão tem sido muito usada. Segundo palavras do sertanista Antonio Cotrim Soares, jamais contestadas pela Funai, Crenaque “é um campo de concentração” para onde são enviados os índios revoltados com o sistema explorador e opressivo da Funai. A prisão é dirigida por um oficial da PM de Minas Gerais, comandando um destacamento de seis soldados. Os índios presos são obrigados a um regime de trabalho forçado de oito horas diárias. São colocados em prisões celulares, isolados uns dos outros. E recebem espancamentos e torturas. (Brasil 2014, 244)
- 16- Original in Portuguese: “Essa cifra inclui apenas aqueles casos aqui estudados em relação aos quais foi possível desenhar uma estimativa. O número real de indígenas mortos no período deve ser exponencialmente maior, uma vez que apenas uma parcela muito restrita dos povos indígenas afetados foi analisada e que há casos em que a quantidade de mortos é alta o bastante para desencorajar estimativas³” (Brasil 2014, 204).

Note 3: “Não ousamos apresentar estimativas para os Guarani e Kaiowá mortos no Mato Grosso do Sul e Paraná, por exemplo, embora tenhamos abordado esses casos aqui”.

17- Original in Portuguese:

Em 2012, o Grupo Tortura Nunca Mais/SP, recebe uma demanda dos próprios índios. Eles são contatados pelos responsáveis de um blog indígena, o “Resistência Indígena Continental¹⁰”, e questionados do porquê de os grupos Nunca Mais e CNV só tratarem de mortos e desaparecidos não índios. Zelic conta que foi surpreendido pela indagação, sem saber exatamente do que eles estavam falando: “Para nós foi surpresa -Desculpa aí, mas do que vocês estão falando? -, questionamos. Começamos a nos corresponder com estes indígenas, trocar e-mails, documentos, e iniciou-se o processo de conversar com outras entidades.” (Guimarães 2015, 109)

APPENDIX K: BIOFUEL: NECROINDUSTRY AND NECROPOLITICS IN BRAZIL

During the interview, titled *Necroindustry and necropolitics hide in biofuels because the EU lacks sun, land, water*, Professor Brian Garvey presented some arguments developed in a recently published paper he co-authored, showing how “old villains” of the fossil fuel economy have shapeshifted to rebrand themselves as “‘new heroes’ of the green economy” while bringing detrimental consequences to the countries where they act (Garvey et al. 2019).

In the interview, Garvey invokes the concept of *necropolitics* (Mbembe 2003; Mbembe 2019) to analyze the deterioration of local communities in Brazil where the structure of production of the primary commodities for biofuel gains control. He stresses three ways in which necropolitics occurs. Firstly, the increasing mechanization of the agribusiness large-scale industry reduces the number of jobs and creates power asymmetries: rural workers can quickly be fired and replaced. These conditions expose them to health and labour abuses: for instance, 39 workers were submitted “to 27-hour working periods without a break” (Garvey et al. 2019, 1202). Secondly, it exposes them to chemical contamination, as recounted by female workers charged with spraying herbicide, carrying 11-litre tanks on their backs and subjected to herbicide pulverization by passing planes (Garvey et al. 2019, 1201). Thirdly, it exacerbates land-related social conflict as local communities lose land to agribusinesses (Garvey et al. 2019, 1191).

Ironically, when confronted with these problems, European interlocutors tend to consider that the degradation and the violence engendered by this situation are “a Brazilian problem” without seeing the connections between a necro-industrial system that supports European consumption and economic success. In this respect, Garvey seeks to foster a more profound perception about the responsibility of the European community in this process:

The most dangerous toxins used here in Brazil are manufactured and sold by European companies. Bayer, for example, is manufacturing and selling no less than six products that are prohibited within Germany and are already proven to be a considerable health risk for humans [...] These contradictions, we can't stand them as human beings. [...]. How can a European, at home, sitting on the couch, [...] justify the value of work in Maracaí, for example, where Shell-Raizen workers earn [...] the lowest wages in the municipality? [...] One of the largest and wealthiest companies in the world. [...] How can we sleep well if 40% of the soy in Scotland comes from Brazil? Sugar is tied to field conflicts in which communities do not have access to water or energy because of this green economy [...]. The European community has not even begun to admit, to face the history of colonialism, which has its legacy today. Today we have a deeper and more unequal connection between, for example, commodities produced in Brazil and consumption in Europe¹. (Garvey and Bombardi 2019)

Garvey hopes that this critical reflection exercise can enable people to improve the future for all. If European politicians frequently raise awareness of a coming environmental crisis, he argues that challenges such as the lack of water already became a reality in Brazilian center-west states, and local communities are already struggling. However, “the answers to environmental problems are not there in the Amazon.

They are in Paris, London, in the major industries, in urban centres. These places have more impact on the environment”²² (Garvey and Bombardi 2019).

Notes

- 1- Original in Portuguese:

Os tóxicos mais perigosos usados aqui no Brasil estão fabricados e vendidos pelas empresas europeias. Com a Bayer por exemplo, o fato que ela estar fazendo, vendendo nada menos do que seis produtos que já estão provados que ficam como um grande risco pra saúde, para os seres humanos que está proibido dentro da Alemanha [...] Essas contradições, nós não podemos aguentar como seres humanos. Como os europeus podem justificar isso? Eles precisam pensar nessa situação para melhorar o futuro para todos nós [...]. Como um europeu, na casa, sentado no sofá, [...] pode justificar que o valor do trabalho em Maracaí, por exemplo, onde os trabalhadores que trabalham pra Shell-Raizen, ganhem [...] os salários mais baixos no município. [...] Uma das maiores e mais ricas empresas do mundo. [...] Como nós podemos dormir bem se 40% da soja na Escócia vem do Brasil? O açúcar está conectado com os conflitos de campo, com as comunidades que não tem acesso à água, à energia, através dessa economia verde. [...]. A comunidade europeia nem começou a admitir, enfrentar o histórico de colonialismo, que tem o seu legado hoje. Hoje nós temos uma conexão mais profunda e mais desigual entre, por exemplo, as commodities produzidas no Brasil e o consumo na Europa.

- 2- Original in Portuguese: Mas as respostas dos problemas do meio ambiente não é lá na Amazônia. É em Paris, em Londres, nas grandes indústrias, nos centros urbanos. Esses lugares que têm mais impacto no meio ambiente mas menos ambição em reduzir o consumo e a produção.

A text in English where he develops the same idea is his foreword in Larissa Bombardi's *Atlas A Geography of Agrottoxins Use in Brazil and its Relations to the European Union* (2019):

<http://www.livrosabertos.sibi.usp.br/portaldelivrosUSP/catalog/view/352/309/1388-1>

Its names are in English, French, German. These names have seeped from laboratories of Washington, London, Paris and Berlin, along the corridors of short-sighted government, past unscrupulous scientists trained to focus on immediate problems and not global crises. Patents are granted to manufacturers who live far from the women, men and children whose lives, experiences, frustrations, aspirations lie behind the dramatic statistics that are presented by these maps¹. [...] The authorities wash their hands of the toxicity, let it drain elsewhere, seep into the homes of others far away. Populations condemned by decisions continents away. [...] Peasants who watch their garden fruits change colour and die and stand in the corner of their field with a white rag to ward off encroaching planes. School children are rushed to the hospital after the plane passed. Mothers are concerned about washing their work clothes at home after carrying 11-litre chemical tanks through the plantation, their pay capped by convulsions. Populations cursed not by their distance from development but their proximity to it. [Garvey 2019]

APPENDIX L: THE PARTICIPATORY CONSULTATION AT THE PIRAKUÁ INDIGENOUS LAND

During the Autonomy, Sustainability and Indigenous Audiovisual (ASA) Seminar in Mato Grosso do Sul, geographer and UNDP consultant Renata Oliveira Costa gave a talk about the beginning of the GATI's work with the Guarani-Kaiowá in Mato Grosso do Sul: the participatory consultation at the Pirakuá Indigenous Land. The methodology, she explained, attempted to be as inclusive as possible: instead of bringing a list of actions and inviting the leaders of the community to help to implement them, Oliveira Costa opted for talking to the families in their homes and for asking them about their expectations, desires, purposes and goals. After one year and a half of meetings, they set an agenda organized around the concepts of *well-living* and *tekoporã* (a Guarani term that translates loosely to “good knowledge”), and they became the “objectives of well-living”.

The first step to implement this inclusive methodology was to identify local partners, which led to a partnership with ASCURI. She also noted that the support of local Indigenous schools and the participation of Indigenous professors and students were essential. The second step was to invite the community by asking them if they wanted to participate. The third was to gather knowledge of the local circumstances by fostering dialogue, daily interactions and storytelling (since oral narratives are more prevalent at Pirakuá than writing and reading).

The fourth step consisted of dividing the community into small groups with people from different age ranges for thinking critically about themes such as the traditional ways of using seeds and preparing the fields, as well as traditional health-related, education and diet practices. While elders spoke about their experiences, students were responsible for creating drawings about these testimonies (instead of taking notes, as non-Indigenous students would be encouraged to do).

The fifth step involved acquiring a more practical knowledge of the local reality, accomplished through “walks”. Therefore, four groups of elders and young students started to walk all the length of the Indigenous land to get a better knowledge of it. As Renata added, Pirakuá is the last Guarani-Kaiowá land in the south of Mato Grosso do Sul that still has native and dense forests.

The final step was the creation of ethnomaps. ASCURI's publication about the Mosarambihara Formation Program (2016) explained that ethnomapping is a methodology used by several Indigenous groups in Brazil for planning territorial management. It cites the definition provided by the document created to support the regional consultations of Indigenous peoples within the National Politics of Territorial and Environmental Management of Indigenous Lands:

Participatory mapping or "ethnomapping" is an important environmental/territorial management tool in which community members record their knowledge of landscapes in drawings or maps,

covering the cultural use and distribution of natural resources, the presence of environmental impacts and other information. Ethnomapping can be done from free drawings or using satellite images as a basis. By recording and consolidating information on land use and natural resources, ethnomapping is a step for communities to make decisions about their lands' territorial and environmental management. (ASCURI and Projeto GATI 2016, 15)¹

This definition suggests that ethnomapping enables communities to have more control over their lands. This idea was elaborated more precisely in a series of videos related to this program but preceding it, available on ASCURI's YouTube page. They show the occasions when ASCURI members and other Terena and Guarani-Kaiwoá persons from Mato Grosso do Sul travelled to see other territorial/environmental management of Indigenous lands initiatives in different parts of Brazil. In the short film² ASCURI produced about the interchange experience in the Forest Peoples Formation Center in the state of Acre (June 2013), Frank Silva, Geoprocessing Coordinator of the Pro-Indigenous Commission of Acre, explained that:

The maps show them a reality that they know while at the same time [...] they start to reflect on the problems of the Indigenous lands and think about solutions. There is an anthropologist named Alfredo Wagner that says that the map is an exercise of practicing power over the territory. How does it take place? In the process of participative mapping, they reflect on their actions and later plan these actions within the territorial and environmental management plan (ASCURI 2013)³.

A corollary of this methodology anchored on ethnomapping is that it enables Indigenous communities to make informed decisions on how to grow food that can provide sustainability for the ecosystem and autonomy for the community, which was one of the most important goals for the Mosarambihara Formation Program. As Renata Oliveira Costa revealed to me when I interviewed her, the Mosarambihara concept, conceived by Eliel Benites, was inspired by his community's experience with growing food. The Indigenous village school had an experimental unit for this purpose for more than ten years, which was part of the school curriculum (ASCURI and Projeto GATI 2016, 8).

After the participatory consultation at Pirakuá, the agreement between the Unit of Management of the GATI project and ASCURI was signed in July 2015. It launched a formation program encompassing different Indigenous lands, and in each, the action had a different emphasis, according to the interests and needs of each community. At the Indigenous *Sassoró* Reserve, it included a "pre-workshop" encounter about ethnomapping and a workshop on growing food. In the Indigenous Land *Jaguapiré*, the pre-workshop was ethnomapping and identifying the reforestation areas in local springs, whereas the workshop focused on caring for the forest. In the Indigenous Land *Pirakuá*, the pre-workshop was collecting and taking care of agroforest seeds, and the workshop was on seeds and agroecological sowing. This was precisely the workshop that I witnessed. Finally, in the Indigenous Land *Te'yikue*, there was a workshop on agroecology, territorial management and later a final seminar to end the Mosarambihara program (ASCURI and Projeto 2016 GATI, 13).

In all pre-workshops and workshops, the ASCURI team was responsible for facilitating the Indigenous communities' actions and documenting them. In addition, before the pre-modules phase started, ASCURI organized two workshops centred only in audiovisual production, in August and September 2015, respectively, as I mentioned in Chapter 2. The Mosarambihara Formation workshops promoted an opportunity for the youth of the participating Indigenous communities to get to know each other and work together.

NOTES

1- Original in Portuguese:

O mapeamento participativo ou “etnomapeamento” é uma ferramenta importante de gestão ambiental/territorial, na qual membros de uma comunidade registram em desenhos ou mapas seu conhecimento das paisagens, abrangendo o uso cultural e distribuição dos recursos naturais, a presença de impactos ambientais e outras informações. O etnomapeamento pode ser feito a partir de desenhos livres ou usando imagens de satélite como base. Ao registrar e consolidar informações sobre uso da terra e recursos naturais, o etnomapeamento é um passo para que comunidades tomem decisões quanto à gestão territorial e ambiental de suas terras. PNGATI (BRASIL. GTI-PNGATI 2009:18).

2- The film is available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ChW-gOTfw_Y

Other films related to travels within the GATI project are available at ASCURI's YouTube channel:

-Pirakuá Indigenous Land, in Mato Grosso do Sul, February 2013:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0NghzrbpiPw>

- Araribá Indigenous Land, in Bauru, São Paulo, May 2013:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sZ1jp31KvXI>

- Cooperafloresta, in São Paulo, May 2013):

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LGKUyvGiLGg-> Formation Indigenous Center of the Raposa Serra do Sol Indigenous Land, Roraima, June 2013:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r4cIezXkTJU>

- Brasilia, June 2013: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zaKwPJ0PqYI>

Another video produced by ASCURI is available in the Brazilian Ministry of Environment YouTube channels:

MMA YouTube channel (Cooperafloresta, São Paulo, May 2013):

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IQqM3ANmADo>

Other videos from partners:

TNC Brazil: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jhx-Ydsk1ZU>

3- Original in Portuguese:

O mapa, ele mostra uma realidade que eles conhecem. E, ao mesmo tempo que eles colocam o olho nesse mapa, eles começam a refletir os problemas da terra indígena e também pensar soluções. Tem um antropólogo chamado Alfredo Wagner, que ele fala que o mapa, ele é um exercício de práticas de poder sobre o território. Como que isso se dá? No processo de mapeamento, o mapeamento participativo, refletindo essas ações e depois planejando essas ações né dentro do plano de gestão territorial e ambiental.