Amazonian Struggles for Recognition

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Abstract:

Since the 1988 Constitution, forest peoples of Brazilian Amazonia have been struggling for territorial recognition. Yet studies of recognition in post-colonial contexts, based on cases with clear settler/indigenous distinctions, are highly critical of recognition, seeing it as a form of 'neoliberal multiculturalism,' a co-option of subaltern identities with limited emancipatory potential. I question these critiques by examining struggles for legal and intersubjective recognition of subaltern identity categories 'Índio' and 'Agroextractivista' and corresponding territories of the 'Terra Indigena' and 'Reserva Extractivista' on the Madeira and Tapajós Rivers in Brazilian Amazonia, where heterogeneous origins of forest peoples belie simple settler/indigenous distinctions. I engage a key question–the relationships of subaltern peoples with state institutions, and highlight a finding – the relevance of the state's 'proximity' - often underestimated in the literature. I build a theory of decolonial recognition combining Axel Honneth's idea of recognition as love, rights and solidarity with David Scott's late-Foucauldian reworking of Frantz Fanon. Herein, the Fanonian colonized subjectivity is shaped by the negation of love, rights and solidarity, that is to say, misrecognition. The subject requires legal and intersubjective recognition in order to positively incorporate love, rights and solidarity into their 'practices of techniques of the self.' On the Tapajos, territorial struggles are more successful owing to a stronger sphere of legal recognition - the presence of state institutions - and a history of Church and union grassroots organisation, both supporting greater intersubjective recognition among forest peoples. On the Madeira, a much weaker sphere of legal recognition has resulted in a situation of intractable conflict around territorial struggles which have correspondingly less intersubjective recognition. I conclude that a theory of decolonial recognition is of considerable utility in elucidating the dynamics of subaltern emancipatory struggles for territory.

Introduction

In response to the 1988 Constitution and subsequent laws that formalized their land rights, many of the heterogeneous forest peoples of Brazilian Amazonia - composed from Native Amazonian, European and African heritages - are engaging in different kinds of "forest citizenship" through struggles for the recognition of their territories (Hecht, 2011 ; Gonçalves, 2001). Yet studies of postcolonial recognition, usually based on cases where there is a clear settler/indigenous distinction (Coulthard, 2014 ; Povinelli, 2002 ; Simpson, 2014), have been highly critical of recognition, often seeing it as a form of so-called 'neoliberal multiculturalism' (Hale, 2002), entailing a superficial re-valorisation or even co-option of subaltern identities with limited emancipatory potential. This, I contend, has left the potentialities for a decolonial[1] theory of recognition underexplored.

This paper draws on two case-studies - the Middle Madeira and lower Tapajós Rivers – in a region, Brazilian Amazonia, where, in contrast to the situations considered by the aforementioned studies, settler/indigenous distinctions are often blurry (Adams et al., 2009). I examine two distinct legal recognition categories of Amazonian forest peoples: "*Índios*" (here I focus on 'renascent[2]' indigenous groups) and "*Povos tradicionais,*" (whose rights in this instance come via their livelihoods as '*Agroextractivistas,*'). I trace the relationship of these categories with associated

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[1] Here I wish to speak to both post-colonial and decolonial geographers, but, following Radcliffe (2017) I emphasize the latter term since it builds on and seeks to go beyond the former.
[2] I use the term renascent here to denote groups who began asserting indigenous identity *after* the 1988 Constitution

territories of the *Terra Indigena* (TI) and Extractive Reserve (RESEX)[3], respectively, and with corresponding governmental institutions of the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI) and the Chico Mendes Institute of Biodiversity Conservation (ICMBio). I address the question of whether these forms of legal recognition can serve to advance the goals of emancipatory struggles in spite of 'neoliberal multiculturalist' characteristics of recognition against which various authors caution, and the various conflicts and overlapping claims surrounding them.

Amazonian forest peoples were historically excluded from property and territorial rights, making them vulnerable to expulsion from areas they had occupied for generations. Whilst the 1988 constitution and subsequent laws extended territorial rights, these are often in practice difficult or impossible to realise. This is because, as Holston (2008) has argued, a social gradation of rights, differentiated along intersectional axes of ethnicity, class, gender and region, characterises Brazilian everyday life. Against this situation, subaltern peoples engage in forms of "insurgent citizenship" as they struggle to realise their constitutional rights. A consensus is growing around the need for theories of social justice that are embedded in, rather than abstracted from, such social struggles and their moral-ethical dimensions (Sayer, 2011 ; Caillé & Vandenberghe, 2016 ; Barnett, 2017). Theories of recognition can provide such an approach (Lash & Featherstone, 2002).

The theory of decolonial recognition I advance here distinguishes, both theoretically and empirically: *legal recognition* wherein laws and institutions of the state change to acknowledge the rights to citizenship and territory of particular

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[3] There are a variety of other kinds of protected areas in Brazilian Amazonia, but I focus on these two as a simplified heuristic and because it is mainly to these that the ethnographic material I use speaks.

subaltern identity categories, from *intersubjective recognition* - the more profound sense of the quality of moral-ethical relations in society (Emcke, 2000:484). As I will go on to argue, these two senses of recognition are not always adequately addressed in the literature. In doing so, I seek to contribute to geographical debates by engaging with one of the key tensions in both recognition and decolonial theory – the relationships of subaltern peoples with the state and its institutions. I do this by highlighting a finding – the relevance of the state's 'proximity' - which is often underestimated in the literature.

I take my points of departure from Fanon (1967 ; 2007) - the need for the colonized psychology or subjectivity to overcome (neo-)colonial domination, and the central importance of self-recognition in this. Following David Scott (1999), however, I change the model of power through which we read the moves from domination to liberation of the Fanonian colonized subjectivity, from Fanon's dated unidirectional and linear 'alienation-realization' model to the late Foucauldian focus on 'practices of techniques of the self.'

This leaves the question of recognition as a societal good, for this I turn to the contrastive approaches of Fraser and Honneth (2003). Nancy Fraser's (1995) idea of recognition is a deontological 'parity of participation' wherein identity is replaced with status. Hers is a dual model where recognition is ontologically distinct from redistribution. I outline Fraser's model in order to argue that her 'thin' narrowly instrumental and legalistic 'status' model is inadequate for a decolonial theory of recognition because it elides morality and ethics and plural notions of the 'good' – the key drivers and goals of emancipatory struggles.

Axel Honneth's (1996) 'thick' conceptualization of recognition, embracing love, rights and solidarity, puts us in a better position to capture both senses of recognition (love being intersubjective, rights being legal, solidarity being both). For Honneth, as for Fanon, struggles for recognition and associated conflicts are driven by moral-ethical outrage at injustice. His approach is monistic, putting recognition and distribution on the same ontological plane. Yet Honneth's approach has hitherto had little engagement outside Europe (Zurn, 2015:210).

My theory of decolonial recognition combines Honneth's idea of recognition as love, rights and solidarity and Fanon's colonized subjectivity via David Scott's reworking of Fanon. So, the colonized subjectivity or psychology of Fanon is shaped by the *negation* of love, rights and solidarity, that is to say, misrecognition. I argue that the subject requires legal and intersubjective recognition in order to positively incorporate love, rights and solidarity into their 'practices of techniques of the self.' Power in this late-Foucauldian sense can be both *repressive* (negation of love, rights and solidarity) and *productive* (love, rights and solidarity positively incorporated into practices of self-formation).

I link these theoretical and empirical dimensions in helping to make sense of how, what I call the spatio-temporal materialization of differentiated citizenship, is shaped by varying proximity of the state in contrastive regions of Brazilian Amazonia. This is expressed as differing configurations of the following variables: presence or absence of governmental institutions FUNAI and ICMBio and extent of Church and rural workers union activity - an outcome of the uneven historical expansion of state and civil society in Brazilian Amazonia.

Our first case, the middle Madeira River (hereafter Madeira), has a limited sphere of legal recognition because it lacks local offices of the governmental institutions which administer TIs and RESEXs - FUNAI and ICMBio respectively. In addition, there is scant grassroots organising activity by the Church and rural workers unions to support subaltern struggles for recognition, and correspondingly less intersubjective recognition from local society. Our second case, the lower Tapajós River (hereafter Tapajós), has a much stronger sphere of legal recognition, evidenced in the presence of FUNAI and ICMBio regional offices and decades of active Church and rural workers union support for subaltern struggles for recognition, and correspondingly more intersubjective recognition from local society.

In the following section I outline the contrasting perspectives of Fanon, Fraser and Honneth in order to build a decolonial theory of recognition. The third section of the paper outlines the problematic of recognising *Índios* and *Povos tradicionais* in Brazilian Amazonia. The fourth section is a comparative examination of the spatio-temporal materialization of differentiated citizenship on the Madeira and Tapajós Rivers. A final fifth section presents the concluding discussion.

Toward a decolonial theory of legal and intersubjective recognition

Legal recognition (*by institutions*) is not 'legalistic' per se, rather it means the recognition of rights to citizenship and territory by an institution and reciprocal recognition of its authority by subjects (Lund 2016:1206). As Lund (2016) notes, *the*

core element of both the right to property and the right to citizenship is recognition.

Citizenship is an apparatus of inclusion and exclusion - it is a key way of extending the *'right to have rights'* as Arendt put it. Intersubjective recognition (*by other people*), by contrast, is seen scholars such as Taylor (1994) as vital for human flourishing. It is seen as necessary for self-actualization - individual, group, and peoples' identities are contingent upon reciprocal respect *vis-a-vis* others. Recognition is therefore both my ability to engage in relations of mutual recognition with people around me (*intersubjective recognition*), *and* my recognition by governmental institutions (*legal recognition*).

Frantz Fanon – decolonising recognition

Fanon (1967) argues that the colonial past and present constitute a Manichean world where a white:black binary produces serious harm in subjects' relation-to-self. Kercia Peixoto (2017:1) finds an empirical demonstration of these tendencies in Brazilian Amazonia - the vernacularization of Fanon's theory in a narrative by Sister Emanuela, an elder from the Tapajós (our second case study region) and former member of the *Indigenous Consciousness Group* (GCI): 'Whitening makes the native want to be white, and reject the native as the ugly, the lazy, the black, the false, the traitor…. This whitening is the death of ethnic culture. *Morte que mata a gente dentro* ([The] death which kills us inside). People continue living as slaves.' The GCI was heavily influenced by Paulo Freire (2014), who was influenced by Fanon. According to a renascent people of the Tapajós region who self-identity as the Borari, it was

Sister Emanuela and the GCI who in 2002 informed them of their right to self-recognition as indigenous under Brazil's 1998 Constitution, and about the growing indigenous movement in the region (Peixoto 2017:1).

In the postcolonial contexts, the terms of recognition are usually determined by and in the interests of the hegemonic partner – this is the structural problem of postcolonial recognition. Rather than remaining dependent on their oppressors' 'recognition' for freedom and self-worth, the colonized must instead, according to Fanon, engage in the radical autonomy of self-recognition in order to overcome alienation/subjection by the objectifying gaze and assimilative lure of colonial recognition (Coulthard, 2014 ; Fanon, 1967). In Fanon's view (2007) emancipation could only come through violent revolution and national independence for subaltern peoples. David Scott notes that many of the epistemological assumptions about history, culture, politics, resistance, freedom, have changed since Fanon was writing. He asks '*What is the yield and what is the limit of the Fanonian narrative of liberation in the cognitive-political present*?' (Scott, 1999:203). He observes that a Fanonian politics of nation liberation is only intelligible when nation state sovereignty is an unattained aspiration, which is no longer the case for many subaltern peoples.

We can differentiate two tendencies in contemporary subaltern movements' relationships with the state: simply put, some struggle for increased self-determination from within the institutional framework of the postcolonial state, while others struggle for increased self-determination in opposition to the institutions of the postcolonial state (c.f. Pirsoul, 2017:253/254)). The Amazonian forest peoples who are the subject of this papers' case studies – renascent *Índios* and

Povos tradicionais – can be read in light of the former tendency. They do not want to overthrow or take over the institutions of the state - they want a fuller realization of their constitutional rights from these institutions (Hecht, 2011). The latter tendency can be observed in the Zapatistas' attempts to creating their own nation and institutions in Mexico (Reyes & Kaufman, 2011). The birth of a similar, albeit much more fragile, process has recently been observed in the Munduruku *Ipereğ Ayũ* movement on the Middle Tapajos River (Loures, 2017).

For Scott, the Fanonian story evokes too unreflexive and essentialised a unitary native identity wherein the colonized are alienated from a harmonious identity, and this alienation is fostered by colonial institutions that repress the colonized self and hinder emancipation. Scott problematizes this, asking, in a series of questions very pertinent to Amazonian forest peoples of heterogeneous origins who are the subject of this paper: who are the natives? What is their gender? What is their ethnicity? What is their class? What is their sexual orientation? What are their modes of self-fashioning? (Scott, 1999:204).

The Fanonian liberation problematic rests on what Scott terms the 'alienation-realization model', a unidirectional and linear counter-positioning of power and freedom. The lid of repressive power must be lifted to free the alienated self. But for Scott this is insufficient, as he quotes Foucault, the '*act of liberation is not sufficient to establish practices of liberty that later on will be necessary for...acceptable forms of … existence or political society.*' (Foucault, 1987:113-4 cited in ; Scott, 1999:205) For the later Foucault, power is *productive* in addition to *repressive*, that is, power is articulated through subjectivation as well as through subjugation.

Scott refashions Fanon by shifting the focus onto the practices of self-formation. He notes that Foucault is sceptical that politics of liberation are adequate to construct the *ethical practices of freedom* through which the decolonized community is to be fashioned. For Foucault (1997:177) ethics is '*the ancient Greco-Romain sense of a practice of the self, or normative techniques in self-care for attaining a particular mode of being. An ethical regime can therefore be construed as a style of living guided by given values for constituting oneself in line with particular ethical goal… schemes of virtue are ethical regimes fostering particular forms of self-conduct and visions of the good life.*' Such an approach is currently seeing significant interest in the social sciences (Laidlaw, 2014 ; Faubion, 2011 ; Cremonesi et al., 2016 ; Ong, 2006).

Nancy Fraser

For Nancy Fraser, justice should be thought of in terms of right, rather than the good or self-realisation. For her, achieving a fair distribution in society is not always compatible with the recognition of marginalised or excluded groups, which justifies for her a "thinner" conceptualisation of recognition. In Fraser's deontological status model of recognition, recognition entails achieving participatory parity for Weberian status groups (i.e. groupings by ethnicity, race or religion).

Misrecognition is coeval with status subordination and should be overcome by enabling individual members of a group to participate as peers via acceptance as full and equal members of wider society. Misrecognition is not psychological deformation or impairment of self-realization, distorted identity or impaired subjectivity, or the depreciation and deformation of group identity, as it is for

Honneth or Fanon. For Fraser, misrecognition is social subordination — being prevented from participating as a peer in social life (Fraser & Honneth, 2003:29). Participatory parity necessitates economic redistribution to ensure that people can have autonomy, political representation and their voice heard. So, for Fraser, distribution is about having the material means to participate, whilst recognition means having a voice in the national body politic.

Fraser justifies her decoupling of the normativity of recognition claims from psychology, identity and subjectivity by arguing that only a re-focusing on status (as a kind of universal right) will allow plural values without privileging any particular notion of the good. Fraser's status model is predicated on 'subjective freedom,' which people define themselves. What requires recognition, for her, is "the status of individual group members as full partners in social interaction" (Fraser, 2000: paragraph 19). The very factor that, for Fanon and Honneth, drives emancipatory struggles - moral-ethical outrage at historic effects of misrecognition on identity and psychology - is elided. The reason for this is that if we equate recognition with identity 'it encourages both the reification of group identities and the displacement of redistribution.' (Fraser, 2000: paragraph 10), because for her recognition and distribution are separate claims, so can end up being traded off against one another in zero-sum fashion.

In Brazil, Fraser's idea that the identity and notions of "the good" of subaltern peoples need to be excluded from recognition, is problematic in a country whose subaltern cultures are so marginalised and where the State – in spite of 1988 constitution – continues to overwhelmingly represent the interests of the rural

agribusiness elites, clearly antithetical to those of subaltern peoples, particularly evident in current attempts by Temer government to roll back Amazonian forest peoples' rights.

Subaltern identity and notions of "the good" cannot be ignored because these which drive emancipatory struggles and relations of intersubjective recognition that underwrite them, as we saw in the example from Sister Emanuela above. The focus on participatory parity and elision of psychology and identity would appear to suggest that Fraser's theory is better suited to grasp only the legal side of the recognition equation, and only when macro-abstract, ideal-typical model of the State abstracted from socio-historical contexts is required. On the question of distribution versus recognition my reading, like Robbins (2009), is that Fraser's dualist treatment of the economy (distribution) and culture (recognition) founders against the constitutive and fundamentally inalienable relationship of indigenous or peasant *identity* as being-in-the-world to the territories they inhabit (see following section).

Adopting Fraser's model, as environmental social scientists including geographers do, provides a useful way to parse the legalistic dimension of recognition, wherein recognition comes to stand for peoples' explicitly articulated rights claims from institutions (e.g. Wilson & Jackson, 2016 ; Martin, 2017:91-93 ; Zeitoun et al., 2017 ; Fisher et al., 2018:266). Honneth's conceptualisation of recognition in terms of love, rights and solidarity, by contrast, spans both legal and intersubjective dimensions. It provides a good antidote to the risk of underappreciating the intersubjective dimension of recognition.

Axel Honneth

For Honneth, human sociality is based on intersubjective relations of mutual recognition - at once psycho-affective, structural and political. Identity, subjecthood and the self are all constructed through a dialogic process with others. Even distributional injustices must be understood as the institutional expression of social disrespect, or unjustified relations of recognition. His theory is monist because it is impossible to divide experiences of injustice into two diametrically opposed classes of recognition and distribution without "*introducing a theoretically unbridgeable chasm between "symbolic" and "material" aspects of social reality*" (Fraser & Honneth, 2003: 113-114).

Honneth explicitly links the social causes of widespread feelings of injustice and the normative objectives of emancipatory movements. According to him, everyday dimensions of moral-ethical feelings of injustice show that what is called "injustice" in theoretical language is experienced by those affected as social injury to well-founded claims to recognition. He argues that social suffering and discontent possess a normative core: when we examine reports of moral-ethical discontent and social protest, the same language of feelings of damaged recognition, respect, or honour quickly emerges – this is clearly evidenced in the example from Sister Emanuela. For Honneth, women's, African American and anti-Colonial struggles all articulate protests in language registering social humiliation and disrespect. The affinity with Fanon is therefore clear.

For Honneth (1996), recognition consists in the following tripartite: Firstly, *love*, wherein a person's needs and feelings are recognised, normally in the family sphere, provided in parent-child relationships and adult relationships of love and friendship, which fosters self-confidence, corresponding to intersubjective recognition. Secondly, *rights*, whereby a person's autonomy and capacity for moral dignity is upheld by legal institutions, which foster self-respect, corresponding to legal recognition. Thirdly, *solidarity*, where a person's or social group's particular, unique, and special characteristics are valued, fosters self-esteem, which corresponds to both intersubjective and legal recognition.

Amazonians suffer misrecognition under 'modernity as coloniality' (Quijano, 2007). Firstly, *love*, misrecognition here is physical violence, abuse and rape, common historically and still suffered by Amazonian subaltern populations at the hands of colonists. Secondly, *rights*, misrecognition here is the denial of citizenship and property rights to subaltern Amazonians. Thirdly, *solidarity*, in negative form is denigration and insults, and in Amazonia these are evident in the low social status and verbal abuse suffered by "*Caboclos*" and "*Índios*." The Fanonian colonized subjectivity emerges from a *negation* of love, rights and solidarity, manifest in the social stigma against "*Índios*" and "*Caboclos*" and materialized in oppressive conditions. Thus, legal and intersubjective recognition for these subaltern categories is necessary for the *positive* incorporation of love, rights and solidarity into practices of techniques of the self.

Recognising *Índios* and *Povos tradicionais*

This section outlines how regional differences in the sphere of legal recognition shape the spatio-temporal materialization of differentiated citizenship. In Brazilian Amazonia, those legally recognised as '*Índios*,' by FUNAI are placed in an ethnic category with "inalienable" territorial rights via the modality of the '*Terra Indigena*' (TI) (Article 231(1) 1988; Law N° 6.001/1973 Indigenous Peoples Statute). Neo-Amazonian peasantries, regionally known as '*Caboclos*' and '*Riberinhos*,' on the other hand, of Indigenous, European, and African heritage, forming the majority of traditional peoples of the region (Adams et al., 2009), were legally recognised as '*Povos tradicionais*' only in 2007 (Decree 6.040). They have rights to inhabitation and practice livelihoods as '*Agroextractivistas*' in different 'conservation units,' including the Extractive Reserve (RESEX) under the National Conservation Units Law, 2000. The responsible government body is ICMBio. This situation is rendered complex by the heterogeneity of Amazonian forest peoples, many of whom have indigenous heritage (but may or may not openly self-identity as *Índios*) and practice agro-extractivism, and so could fit either category, and as in other postcolonial contexts, (Hale 2002; Hall et al. 2011), these essentialised identity categories create territorial exclusions and overlapping claims (Baletti, 2012).

There is little historical justification for the categorical difference between renascent '*Índios*,' legally recognized as an ethnic identity inseparable from ancestral territories, and '*Caboclo*' or '*Riberinho*' peoples, in law recognised as "*Povos tradicionais*" but in practice recognized only for their historical livelihoods as '*Agroextractivistas*' - as Brazil nut and rubber harvesters, as small-scale manioc

farmers, hunters and fisherfolk, with territorial rights but not as strong as those of *Índios*. This is related to an 'invisibility' of Neo-Amazonian peasantries in both academic work and popular understandings of what an Amazonian person is like because they don't clearly fit into either 'indigenous' or 'settler/colonist' categories (Adams et al., 2009).

The essentialised legal recognition categories of neoliberal multiculturalism are problematic because people's identities, are arguably not *in the mind* (as Descartes would hold) so much as inhering in ways of *being-in-the-world* (as in Heidegger's notion of Dasein) that are *particular* to them (Ingold, 2000 ; Jones, 2009). Amazonian forest peoples' identities and the 'practices of techniques of the self' through which they are (re-)produced are then immanent in socio-historical experiences of inhabiting or dwelling in a particular territory and engaging in particular livelihood tasks within its landscapes (Harris, 2005 ; Bolaños, 2011). These dynamic links between identity and territory are captured in the notion of 'territoriality,' linking subjectification with the production of territory (Gonçalves, 2001 ; Baletti, 2012). Territorialities clearly exceed the essentialist characteristics of identity categories under the legal recognition of neoliberal multiculturalism.

A set of economic and cultural traits are characterized by scholars as composing the lives of both renascent *Índios* and *Povos tradicionais* (Slater, 1994 ; Harris, 2000). Their livelihoods integrate forest extractivism, hunting, fishing and manioc farming, their cosmologies include belief in enchanted beings (such as *Curupira or Cobra Grande*), practices of *pajelança* (shamanism) embodied in the figure of the "*curador*" (traditional healer), and Saint's Festivals. Subsistence is

underwritten by gift economies known as *Putáua*, a *Nheengatu* (the *lingua geral* of the colonial period, derived from Tupi) term, literally "a gift," wherein families donate, receive and reciprocate gifts of food (meat, fish, manioc flour, fruits or industrial products) (Vaz, 2010:31). Farming is organised through the *puxirum,* (agricultural work group), which is underwritten by relations of *putáua* - a gift exchange, of work, food, and comradeship. The Amazonian struggles for recognition examined in this paper are struggles to be able to continue such lifeways which also constitute an identity, practices of care for the self and others, and a definition of freedom (Vaz, 2010:444).

Putáua is, I contend, a materialization of intersubjective recognition among Amazonian forest peoples. Ricœur (2005: 227) and Robbins (2009) highlight the similarities between Mauss' The Gift and recognition. Each follow a similar three-fold movement: in both, something (the gift/recognition) must be given to and received by the other (who is then recognised as a subject), and this in return must be reciprocated by the other (who thereby recognizes the worthiness of the giver as a subject). Both are based on the idea that social relations of mutuality precede selfhood and so a fusion of the gift and recognition theory provides a foundational alternative to utilitarianism in the idea that people are *homo donator-reciprocans* not *homo-economicus* (Caillé & Vandenberghe, 2016).

The spatio-temporal materialization of differentiated citizenship on the Madeira and Tapajós Rivers

The Madeira and Tapajós regions have had diverging experiences of 'development' and incorporation into the state. In the former, comparatively more remote of the two regions, forest reserves such as the TI and RESEX were and are one of the only forms of 'development' to reach the region and so have been associated with more conflict over the uneven distribution of, and overlapping claims to, their benefits. The latter region, meanwhile, is close to the major Amazonian city of Santarém and to the BR230 *Transamazonica* highway, and so the industrial agriculture frontier. Forest reserves were and are being formed in the context of collective resistance to more traditional forms of 'development' such as logging, mining and more recently soy production.

The Madeira section is drawn from the author's doctoral fieldwork (2006-2008), along with an ICMBio report (2013:95-98), while the (much better represented in the literature) Tapajós, is constructed from secondary material, drawing in particular on three doctoral theses (Vaz, 2010 ; Ioris, 2005 ; Peixoto, 2017) and was visited by the author for two months in 2016 and 2017. On the Madeira, struggles for recognition are more isolated from one another, and so this section examines five sub-cases (three of conflicts around communities' renascent self-identification as indigenous, and two more indepth, the first focusing on PI Pinatuba, the second on RESEX Capanã Grande) distributed in a wide geographic area of around 200km^2 encompassing dozens of communities (Figure 1). In the Tapajós section, owing to the more integrated nature of struggles for recognition, case material is discussed in a more generalized fashion, focusing on struggles around the Tapajós National Forest, RESEX Tapajós-Arapiuns, TI Takuara and the plethora of current communities self-

recognising as indigenous. This spans a similar geographic area of around 200km^2 also including dozens of communities. I introduce the cases by comparing a vignette from each region.

Two vignettes

In 2006, at a community named *Terra Preta* on the *Manicoré* tributary of the Middle Madeira River (Figure 1), I asked eighty-five-year-old Maria Magdalena da Silva, who I had got to know well, "who are *Caboclos*?" She responded, "*Eu sou Cabocla*" (I am [a] *cabocla*). This was unusual because the term has pejorative connotations, and is not normally used to self-identify. Maria Magdalena is sister and adoptive mother to Antonio da Silva, who identified himself to me as "*Índio*," and is a leader of an upriver community located in the 195km^2 TI "Rio Manicoré." One set of Maria Magdalena's grandparents were also *Índios*. So why didn´t she herself identify as *Índio*, like several of her ancestors and the brother she raised, especially given that this could support stronger territorial rights claims?

A likely factor in her identification was that in this region, as with many in Brazilian Amazonia, "*Índio*" has even more pejorative connotations than "*Caboclo*." In general, people I met in the Madeira region were loath to recognise indigenous ancestry, and I often heard people denigrating and insulting "*Índios*," at worst calling them "animals." Here then, we can infer the damaging effects of Sister Emanuela's notion of whitening on colonized subjectivities and practices of

techniques of the self, manifest in the negation of love, rights and esteem to "*Índios*" and "*Caboclos*."

On the lower Tapajós river 800 kilometres away (Figure 1), however, people similar to Maria Magdalena have become unashamed of openly assuming indigenous identity. This is related to a much stronger and more unified renascent indigenous movement in the region. At the community of Pinhel, for example, Firmina Carvalho dos Santos, who died aged ninety-two in 2008, stated "my father was born a Mundurukú *Índio*, my mother was the daughter of Portuguese," but, when asked if she was descended from *Índios*, she replied, "*nós somos Índio mesmo*" - we really are *Índios* (Vaz, 2010:113). She is of a similar age and of similar mixed origins to Maria Magdalena. The Tapajos case shows the social category "*Índio*" can overcome the barriers of whitening to be openly incorporated into practices of techniques of the self and subaltern political subjectivation if legal and recognition is strong enough. Or in Honneth's terms, a strong sphere of right fosters solidarity. We now move to a detailed examination of our two case study regions

The Madeira

On the Madeira, prior to the 1988 constitution, those now identifying as renascent "*Índios*" and their neighbours who do not openly claim indigenous identity (who are now often in conflict, as we will see) lived relatively harmoniously by many accounts, with intermarriage cementing social ties into kinship relations in many instances. However, contemporary claims of indigenous identity by different groups

in order to get legal recognition of a TI normally lack sufficient local intersubjective recognition, with neighbouring communities often being opposed, claiming that those self-identifying as indigenous are doing so falsely, their motivation being to seize control of large areas of land. This is often accompanied by claims that "*Índios*" are lazy and reliant on government handouts. The resources a TI receives, according to certain informants, can lead to *Índios* giving up manioc cultivation and so having to buy *farinha* (manioc flour), and becoming alcoholics.

We now turn to five examples, the first three giving a brief overview of recent and ongoing conflicts surrounding groups Fanonian renascent self-recognition as indigenous, whilst the final two present a more in-depth examination of struggles around the oldest TI and the only RESEX, respectively, in the municipality of Manicoré.

Our first example is Aldeia Parirá, a community at Lago de Remedios on the River Manicoré that has self-identified as indigenous (Figure 1). A common statement I heard at other communities along the River Manicoré was that Aldeia Parirá was "*claiming the entire lower portion of the river, all of the [other] communities of the river would have been made to leave the river*." Our second example is Aldeia Kamayuá on access road 464 linking the Manaus-Porto Velho highway BR 319 to Manicoré. This community, was also, according to neighbouring communities, laying claim to a large tract of land, provoked the scorn of other local residents who derided them as "false" *Índios*. These two examples show how groups self-identifying as indigenous lack intersubjective recognition, and so suffer the negation of love and solidarity, from neighbouring communities who do not self-identify as

indigenous, but are often linked through kinship relations. In these instances, the trajectory of Fanonian self-recognition stalls.

Our third example is Aldeia Kaiapé, located on the high floodplain that separates Lake Genipapo from the main channel of the Madeira. This case of indigenous self-identification occurred in the context of conflict over the land-use rights of the long-term residents of the land. Historically the locality was dominated by rubber-era bosses, and their current descendants were demanding rents based on historic "ownership" of the locale. The community organized itself and asserted Indigenous identity in 2007. Locals claim that the murder of the head of FUNAI in Manaus in late 2007 was the response of the "landowning" family. This third example illustrates how indigenous identification can be asserted to combat unjust attempts at exploitation by descendants of historic bosses.

Our fourth example, TI Pinatuba, is an area of ca 300km² surrounding the mouth and lower reaches of the River Mataurá (Figure 1). An examination of the history of this river shows the difficulty of separating "*Povos Tradicionais*" from "*Índios*" when creating a TI. Carlos Lindoso Vencedor was one of various army colonels who settled along the Madeira and set up large extractive operations during the nineteenth century. He controlled a swathe of extractive locales in the region. He was not owner of the land in Mataurá as he was elsewhere, but coveted its rich Brazil nut and rosewood groves. He tried to obtain rights to its historic landholdings from long-term inhabitants, by falsely promising to help register their properties, only to do it in his own name, then claiming the land as his. This was the cause, according to locals, of a rebellion by the "*Caboclos* and *Índios* of the Mataurá." On the

25th of December, 1930, a group of young men assembled and burnt down the three *barracões* that were deeper inside the river and brutally killed Vencedor. They then collectively repelled a gunboat sent from Manaus to avenge Vencedor.

The Mataurá then became, according to my interlocutors, a thriving and free river until 2001, when TI Pinatuba was established, comprising seven communities. Many of the river's long-term inhabitants were forcibly dispossessed, leaving a population of 458 (GT/Funai 2010). Accounts converge on the actions of one man, from outside the region, as being instrumental in the setting up of the reserve by FUNAI. Not an *Índio* himself, he married a woman from the river, and had the idea of creating a TI. He got in touch with FUNAI and a "study" was carried out, people were asked whether they were *Índios* or not. The implications of the TI were not explained to the people. Many of indigenous ancestry chose not to identify as *Índio*.

When TI Pinatuba was created, those who had registered landholdings were indemnified, but young men who worked seasonally for others received nothing. Many were taken by the police to an unappealing site in the floodplain close to the town of Manicoré called Sururu where, according to various informants, they were living in a "wretched state." Ironically, according to one interlocutor, many of those relocated were of entirely indigenous descent, and some of those who self-identified as *Índios* of the Mataurá had "blond hair and blue eyes". The whole lower area of the river was given to a "small group of people who self-identified as *Índios*". What was once a series of historic communities became "practically deserted." As one interlocutor put it: *Before, seventy years ago it was just patrões (bosses) and fregueses (workers) and then the fregueses killed the patrões…..   Before there was no indigenous*

question in Mataurá, it was just nordestinos (migrants from North-east Brazil) and Índios all working together." This example shows that even in contexts where historical emancipatory struggles involving collaboration and intersubjective recognition among subaltern populations, a weak sphere of legal recognition – of right, that is, a weak presence of state institution FUNAI, can be exploited by unscrupulous actors, driving exclusions.

Our fifth example shows that even where all historical residents of a locality are extended (albeit unequal) territorial rights through legal recognition, that is, as either "*Índios*" or "*Agroextractivistas,*" serious conflict can nevertheless occur when a weak sphere of legal recognition, in particular the lack of spatial proximity of FUNAI and ICMBio, means that the overlapping claims which inevitably emerge cannot be dealt with adequately, leading to a situation of seemingly intractable conflict.

Lake Capanã Grande is the location of a 3041km² RESEX of the same name which was created in 2004 (Figure 1). During the process of creating the RESEX, some of the regions inhabitants registered as *Agroextractivistas* with ICMBio while other residents were registered with FUNAI as *Índios*. Before this, residents shared a singular identity, the authors of the RESEX Management Plan observe, and the space which the RESEX now occupies was a common space for all. According to the Management Plan: "*establishing who is and is not Índio is a very difficult issue on Lake Capanã Grande. This is because 'Índio' and 'non-Índio' people share a common way of life which is associated with a material and cultural form of subsistence related to culinary habits, cultivation cycles, extractivism and fishing*" (ICMBio, 2013:97).

Hence, the division of a previously singular identity into essentialized legal recognition categories of *Índio* and *Agroextractivista* created overlapping claims to the same area of land and natural resources via two different territorial modalities, the TI and RESEX. This division was compounded by the lack of coordination between FUNAI and ICMBio and their overlapping yet contradictory and uncoordinated modalities of spatial management. Residents were subject to different organisations which did not communicate and this ended up dividing them.

Currently, six self-identified renascent indigenous communities are demanding that around two-thirds of the area of the RESEX be recognised as TIs, refusing to accept that their territories form part of the RESEX – effectively rejecting it. Two years prior to the RESEX, the comparatively miniscule 63,2km^2 TI Lago Capanã was created, but only one indigenous community is located within it. This situation, according to those interviewed, also created *de facto* exclusions among residents, as one stated, "*the Índios are free to walk in the communities of the RESEX, unlike what happens to some people from the RESEX [when they are refused access to areas claimed by the Índios]*" (ICMBio, 2013:97).

Residents began to accuse one another of registering with either FUNAI or ICMBio as a way of obtaining "benefits." The current residents of the RESEX said that the *Índios* didn't want to register as *Agroextractivistas* "*because they thought that they were going to take over the whole area [of the RESEX].*" In 2006 there was a confrontation where *Índios* revolted against ICMBio, which had apparently claimed that the RESEX was for the exclusive use of *Agroextractivistas*. RESEX Lake Capanã

Grande continues to be characterized by this ongoing conflict, ICMBio is "banned" from entering the two-thirds of the RESEX claimed by *Índios* as their territory.

These five examples from the Madeira, taken together, show that the potential for recognition of Fanonian self-identification, for both *Índios and Povos tradicionais* is limited by the weak sphere of legal recognition which is a correlate of the weaker presence of the state in this region – there are no regional FUNAI or ICMBio offices to mediate claims for legal recognition, and sufficient civil society and church activity is also lacking, meaning there is a paucity of grassroots organising capacity.

The Tapajós

The struggle for recognition on the Tapajós can be traced back to the *Cabanagem* (1835–1840) a popular separatist revolution against poverty and repression (Harris, 2010) - the leaders of the current indigenous movement explicitly link current struggles to those of the *Cabanos* (Ioris, 2005). Unlike the Madeira, where as we saw, current struggles for recognition tend to occur in isolation from one another, on the Tapajós current struggles emerge from a collective history.

This recent history of struggle begins, according to Ioris (2005), in 1974, when Brazil's military government created the 5270km² FLONA Tapajós (Figure 1). During this period in Brazil, people were excluded from Conservation Units, and this led residents of the communities located on the riverside of the FLONA to mobilize for the right to stay in the area. They were successful in year 2000 with the introduction of Conservation Units Law, which gave communities rights to continue living in

FLONAS. On the opposite side of the Tapajós, meanwhile, the mobilization of community residents for the demarcation of their land started in 1996 as a reaction to intrusions by logging companies and small-scale mining. This cumulated in the 6476km² RESEX Tapajós-Arapiuns being granted in 1998. This led to timber companies and mining enterprises being excluded from the area, and residents' associations took on a role in managing the reserve.

According to Ioris (2005), these struggles for the FLONA and RESEX afforded greater awareness and valorization of traditional inhabitants' rights, political visibility and consciousness along with shared history and culture. During the process, awareness that indigenous ancestry entitled territorial rights also grew. As part of the justification for the RESEX, the people of the lower Tapajós began to speak of their ancestors and their past struggles including the *Cabanagem*.- and so fostered intersubjective recognition, and so we can infer, greater love and solidarity, and a positive incorporation of "*Índio*" and "*Agroextractivista*" identities into practices of techniques of the self, supporting later Fanonian self-recognition.

The beginnings of the renascent indigenous movement along the lower Tapajós River can be traced to the 1980s, members of the Church began visiting communities, encouraging residents to revive their cultural traditions and self-identify as indigenous, which the Church had been against until the mid-twentieth century. This reversal on the part of the Church is not restricted to Amazonia, and is also evident in Central America and Mexico, for example.

The recent struggle for recognition on the Tapajós has been heavily influenced by the Church and rural workers union in educating communities -

especially individuals who would go on to become indigenous leaders - in *Paulo Freire* (2014) inspired liberation theology (which was influenced by Fanon). They began a radical process of politicization that went beyond local issues emphasized until then by the Church, to highlight class struggles and rights *vis-à-vis* the machinations of bosses, private companies and the government (Vaz, 2010:76).

The church set up groups to advocate subaltern rights: in 1993, the *Religious Blacks and Indigenous Reflection Group*, to foster greater awareness of identity with a view of overcoming obstacles to self-respect, in 1997, the *Indigenous Consciousness Group* (GCI), mentioned earlier in the example of Sister Emanuela, to promote the appreciation of indigenous identity and customs. Through such activities, young people learnt to valorize indigenous culture, and begin to self-identify as indigenous (Vaz, 2010:79). The term "*reconhecimento*" (recognition) was incorporated into speeches given by local leaders. Its use increased sharply by the late 1990s, also in discourse of the Church and FUNAI (Vaz, 2010:328). This shows how important Church and rural workers union organising is in fostering both legal and intersubjective recognition.

The act of self-recognition - "*assumir-se Índio*" (to assume *Índio* identity) has become widespread in the last two decades on the Tapajós, constituting a Fanonian moment of indigenous renaissance. This began at the end of 1998 at a small settlement called Takuara (Figure 1). After the death of a leader, *curador* Laurelino, families listened to an interview recorded in 1994-1995 where Laurelino stated that he was an *Índio*, a son of parents who were *Índio puro*, and that he was not ashamed of saying this. They went to FUNAI to seek recognition of themselves as *Índios*.

FUNAI responded positively and sent anthropologists to confirm the claims. This shows the importance of the spatial proximity and hence presence of FUNAI – the presence of the state - for legal recognition or right to be efficacious, and this was the first of many communities affirming indigenous identity. In a Fanonian decolonial act, influenced by the CGI, the renascent indigenous movement demanded that FUNAI stop using anthropologists to conduct studies to confirm or deny their ethnic identity, instead asserting the principle of ethnic self-identification, following ILO Convention 169 (Vaz, 2010:327).

The decision for Takuara to *assumirse Índio* was influenced by struggles for the right to inhabit the FLONA, which helped people overcome prior reticence to identify as *Índios* "*the idea of being an Índio was not a pleasing one, an Índio in the woods, eating raw [food], walking naked, using an arrow. They felt prejudice, and were afraid of being accepted as indigenous, rejected by the whites.*" This can be seen as effects of Sister Emanula's notion of "whitening," of the colonized subaltern subjectivity shaped through the negation of love, rights and solidarity.

After Takuara however, people began to become unashamed of openly stating indigeneity. During a discussion at a meeting on Arapiuns River in July 2007, a lady said, "*I am Índio because my mother was an Índio, and my grandmother was too.*" This shows that given strong enough potential for legal recognition, that is, the presence of FUNAI, along with Church and rural workers union grassroots organising, whitening can be overcome by autonomous self-recognition, positively incorporating indigeneity into practices of techniques of the self. This has been achieved by the renascent Indigenous movement on the lower Tapajós through the

rearticulation of various manifestations of "*caboclo* culture" as indigenous culture, principally *pajelança* (sorcery or witchcraft) and Saint's Festivals (Vaz, 2010:371). Another dimension which many informants used to justify assuming indigenous identity is manioc farming and the ways it is related to practices of ancestors. As one man noted "*we work in the roçado, make farinha, who does this come from? From them [the Índios], right?... [From our] first fathers….*"

That this happened in the face of very similar conflicts to those we observed on the Madeira, makes it even more remarkable. The major factor motivating people to assume indigenous identity was the greater security over territory this enabled, but this generated fear among neighbouring communities that these rights would lead to them losing land. This had more to do with fear of losing their land to the *Índios* than being against resurgent indigenous identity per se. As one noted, "*the Índios want a very large area…they want to take strips of land from [other] communities and keep them.*"

There is division among rural people between those who were in favour of *Índio* identity and the TI, and those who advocated *Agroextractivista* identity and the RESEX. In a meeting in 2001, when asked "*what happens if a member of an indigenous community does not wish to assume indigenous identity?*" Indigenous leaders replied that the person would have to conform with community norms, or face being indemnified and asked to leave (Vaz, 2010:43). The counter-argument by Indigenous leaders, as to why they believe all residents should assume indigenous identity, is that a TI provides greater territorial security than a RESEX.

All of this conflict led to polarization of views, renascent Indigenous leaders began to see the situation in binary terms of 'you're with me or you're my enemy.' In many Tapajós communities in the area of RESEX and FLONA, the role of 'enemy,' which was before the 'gaucho' large scale soy or cattle farmer migrants from south Brazil, or large timber companies, has been transferred to their own '*Índio*' or '*Agroextractivista*' neighbours, belonging to the same social class (Vaz, 2010:368).

Despite this, by early 2002, the number of groups self-recognising increased rapidly in the region, some 38 renascent indigenous communities are at some stage of the legal recognition process today. In sum, while similar conflicts around identity categories and territorial rights are present on the Tapajós and the Madeira, legal and intersubjective recognition were more fully realized on the former because of several factors largely absent from the latter.

Concluding Discussion

To what degree do legal recognition categories "*Índios*" and "Povos tradicionais" and/or Agroextractivistas", the territorial forms of the TI and RESEX, and the institutions FUNAI and ICMBio serve to advance the goals of emancipatory struggles? The two cases show that the key variables shaping the degrees of actualization of a sphere of legal recognition, are proximity of the state and its institutions, along with grassroots organising by the Church and rural workers union, whose activities also contribute to wider societal intersubjective recognition.

These variables in turn affect the extent to which the Fanonian colonized subjectivity is able to reverse the negation of love, rights and solidarity through positive re-valorization of the abovementioned Amazonian forest peoples' identity categories and their incorporation into practices of techniques of the self – forging new subjectivities and kinds of citizen through struggles for territorial recognition – exemplified in the figure of Sister Emanuela. This was clearly illustrated by the two case studies. The Tapajós is much more spatially integrated into the Brazilian state than the more remote Madeira, not just in terms of government but also civil society, labour movements and church activity. In particular, four factors shape the divergences in what I term the spatial materialisation of differentiated citizenship in these two regions.

On the Tapajós, first, legal recognition in relation to TI and RESEXs is more efficacious because of the proximity to the state legislative centre of Santarem where there are ICMBio and FUNAI offices, second, activities of the church fostering grassroots democratic organization, third, vigorous rural labour movement activity, fourth, histories of resistance against outside enemies (industrial logging and mining) has fostered unity among subaltern peoples. Conversely, on the Madeira each of these four factors is weaker or non-existent, first, there is a more restricted sphere of legal recognition, there are no regional ICMBio or FUNAI offices, second, less church activities fostering grassroots activities, third, a weaker labour movement, fourth, being comparatively far from the frontier until very recently, there has been less industrial scale logging and mining which serve to bring subaltern peoples of the region together against a common enemy.

So paradoxically, given that often subaltern groups see the state as 'the enemy,' the presence of state institutions FUNAI and ICMBio has facilitated greater recognition on the Tapajos; both 'legal' (institutional presence to administer claims and adjudicate conflicts) and intersubjective (groups more likely to acknowledge and accept one another's claims, and less likely to make overlapping claims, at least when compared to the Madeira, because of these institutions' presence). On the Madeira, being further from an administrative centre, more extreme and intractable overlapping claims are more likely, which was clearly shown in the five sub-cases.

Hence, from the examination of these two regions, the relationship to the state emerges as complex and Janus faced: it's institutions can facilitate as well as be an obstacle to emancipatory struggles. The effects of what can be read as neoliberal multiculturalism, are evident in the inadequacy of essentialist legal recognition categories to capture the dynamic nature of Amazonian forest peoples' territorialities, it is also clear that legal recognition via state institutions has created considerable emancipatory possibilities.

The Madeira case shows how in the case of a weak sphere of legal recognition, a situation of intractable conflict is likely, caused by the lack of institutional presence to mediate inevitable conflicts caused by essentialised identity categories and overlapping claims. This weakens subaltern struggles by turning groups within the same socio-economic class against one another. Conversely, on the Tapajós, where there is a much stronger sphere of legal recognition, the emancipatory territorial struggles of Amazonian forest peoples have been more successful, in spite of similar intra-subaltern conflicts to those of the Madeira. The

effects of "whitening" on the colonized subjectivity - pervasive on the Madeira - are ameliorated and there are abundant examples of the Fanonian radical autonomy of self-recognition.

The theorization of decolonial recognition presented in this paper is animated by the tension between two 'classic' concerns in geographical, critical and political thought, sketching some directions of use for contemporary subaltern struggles. First, my reading of Fanon through the late Foucault via Scott problematizes categories often linked to 'the subaltern,' such as indigeneity. It does so through an anti-humanistic and anti-essentialist notion of recognition qua decolonial self-identification and subjectivation: identities (and indeed other attributes such as autonomy, subjectivity, and so forth) are constantly becoming, being performed, and emergent within tangles of power relations, rather than being fixed and unchanging, or only changing in a unidirectional and punctuated fashion. This is a precondition for deflecting attempts by states and other powerful actors to 'co-opt' categories such as 'indigeneity', excluding subaltern claims based on these self-same categories.

However, in addition to this, it was necessary to establish some positive grounds for a normative image of recognition as a societal good. If suffering is linked to misrecognition of subaltern peoples, and their oppression understood as dehumanising, it becomes a pressing task to establish a provisional grid or horizon of what it is to be human, against which to judge injustice. Hence, secondly, I elaborated a normative component of recognition as a societal good, by materially grounding Honneth's love, rights and solidarity tripartite in the fundamental continuities between recognition and the Gift. This reflexive and anti-essentialist

opening into humanism could help build a pragmatic and instrumental critique of bourgeois liberal understandings of rights and justice (i.e. Rawls). The normative dimension of love, rights and solidarity can also help leverage subaltern struggles in terms of intersubjective recognition creating collective bonds with other individuals and groups across society. It can provide a scheme for the critique of actual practices that is still legible to institutions, states and international law.

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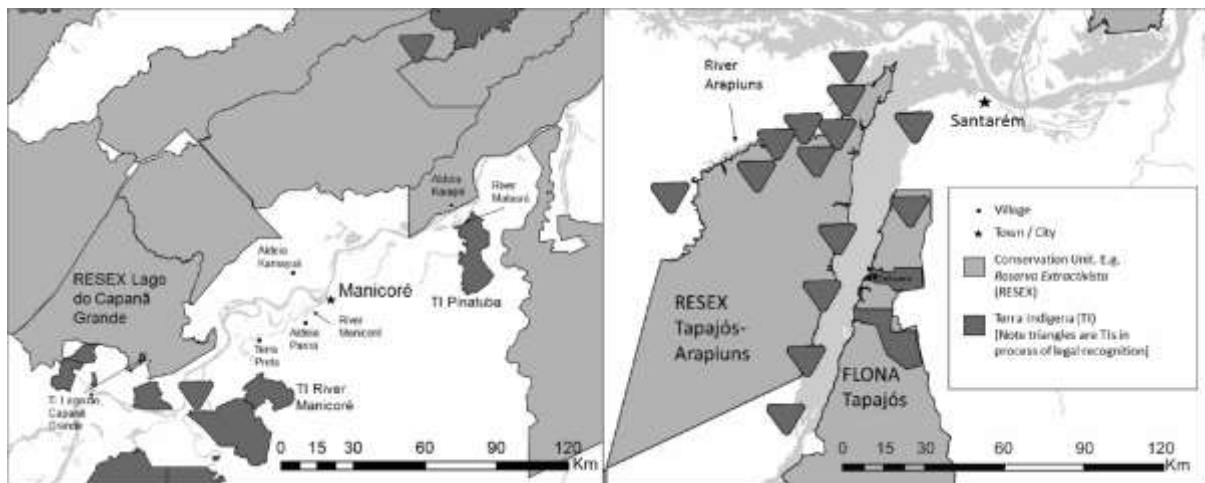**Zurn C** 2015 *Axel Honneth* Polity Press Cambridge, UK and Malden, MA

Figure 1: The middle Madeira and lower Tapajós Rivers