

INDIGENOUS PEOPLES AND THE STRUGGLE TO BE LISTENED OS POVOS INDÍGENAS E A LUTA PARA SEREM ESCUTADOS VALÉRIA MARQUES, CLÁUDIA SAMPAIO

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Marcelo Tramontano: Thank you very much, Valéria, for accepting our invitation through Professor Cláudia Sampaio, whom I also thank for her generous acceptance. For the twenty-fifth edition of the VIRUS journal, whose theme is "Counter-hegemonic architectures", it seems especially opportune to hear from you, who have been working on the indigenous issue and native peoples. Professor Cláudia, with a long and fruitful history of coordinating research in this field connected to the area of Social Psychology, kindly accepted our invitation to interview you this December afternoon.

Cláudia Regina Brandão Sampaio: I thank you, Valéria Baniwa, a woman researcher and an activist in indigenous issues and a reference in the Amazon, for accepting to take part in this moment of construction and contributing to our reflection. Valéria's life story is closely linked to the city, as she lived and still lives as an indigenous person in the urban context. Valéria is as familiar with indigenous associations as she is in the academic environment. Having you here today is a privilege because through you, we can access a memory of the first inhabitants of our land.

We thus have the opportunity to think about issues based on the tension between what is hegemonic and what is counter-hegemonic in the production of material life and symbolic life of the various indigenous groups in the multicultural territory of the city. Particularly in the Amazon region, where we are speaking from, these tensions are always present yet often not visible. They are made invisible by many hegemonic silencing movements that threaten to paralyze ways of life, ways of being, and building life according to other principles. This place, where we can discuss counter-hegemony, is a way of making visible those tensions that cross us all.

The VIRUS journal proposes to highlight the question of counter-hegemony from the scope of architecture and urbanism. I would say that the production of urban space is one of the expressions of the dimensions of life since it involves the production of social space and its instances between private, collective, and public. But there's so much more. There are many ways, including violent ones, of producing hegemonic ways of life that impose themselves on others. Thinking about indigenous peoples, referring to what we call hegemonic and counter-hegemonic, I believe it is important to situate our discussion considering the plurality of these peoples.

It is important not to slip into past misconceptions, which considered indigenous peoples homogeneously, within a single category – the "Indian" – as if they were a single group with an equally unique cultural spectrum. We reinforce the recognition of the plurality of indigenous peoples – or traditional peoples and forest peoples – when we speak of existence and resistance movements related to hegemonic modes affirming the multiethnic condition of these peoples' territory. I believe we can indeed refer to indigenous peoples because they have much in common in their ways of producing life. There are also differences since the various ethnic groups have specificities and particularities, which requires us to be attentive to their plurality.

We understand indigenous peoples as a category we situate in the counter-hegemonic, with common points that operate by articulating them. In the Amazon region, indigenous peoples call each other relatives, like brothers. There is then something we can refer to as a collective identity, which is built together with various specificities. I wanted to briefly introduce and situate the subject, and I would now ask you, Valéria, to talk about your trajectory as an indigenous woman and your Baniwa specificity.

Valéria Marques Batista: Good afternoon everyone. I am immensely grateful to Claudia and the VIRUS journal committee for the invitation. I am Valéria Marques, I worked as a teacher at the Amazonas Department of Education, in social projects in partnership with NGOs in Manaus, at the Museum of the Amazon - MUSA, and the Vitória Amazônica Foundation¹. I also worked in a secretariat for social movements and, more recently, in housing projects in vulnerable areas. Within the ONGs projects, I worked on the issue of indigenous digital school education, seeking to develop a digital tool with indigenous teachers. I worked with a big, well-known multinational called Telefônica Vivo Foundation, in partnership with an NGO and the Manaus Department of Education, targeting riverside, rural, and indigenous teachers.

I am currently preparing a doctoral dissertation at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro - UFRJ in the area of community psychosociology and social ecology after completing a specialization on coping with domestic violence and a master's degree

¹ Vitória Amazônica Foundation. Additional info: <https://www.fva.org.br/en/about/>.

in sociology, both at the Federal University of Amazonas - UFAM. Until I got my master's degree, I dealt with public policies for women in the city, but now in psychosociology, I decided to work with my people. You are probably aware that indigenous people in the Amazon are currently the object of a necrophiliac political project which aims to exterminate us. We came to think that now chaos had arrived, that it was the end of everything, but we resisted and will always resist, as Conceição Evaristo² says: "they agreed to kill us, but we agreed not to die". This is how we live the idea of Re-exist, or "resisting to exist", as Ailton Krenak³ once said.

We are currently strengthening ourselves in what we call the resumption of the indigenous social movement, starting mid-March 2022 in Manaus. We are seeking to reorganize ourselves to make ourselves visible again, as our invisibility is one of the objectives of that political project that understands that our memory must be erased. By understanding this desire to exterminate us, we seek to lead white people to reforest and heal their minds in this land. Because there is still a way. We can still walk the river. We understand that we, indigenous peoples in the urban context, must reorganize ourselves. That is why we will soon hold the first National Conference of Indigenous Peoples in the Urban Context, followed by municipal conferences.

My mother's family came from São Gabriel da Cachoeira, an Amazonian municipality of Alto Uaupés, on the Içana River, where the biggest number of indigenous people in Brazil live. I am from the Baniwa people, a shaman people, of healing, of magic, but which had many people converted to the evangelical church from 1987 onwards. As you know, the evangelical influence in indigenous communities is very strong, and Christian missionaries contribute to culturally colonizing us, taking away our language. On this issue, I recently had to confront one major leader of our people, André Baniwa, during field research for my dissertation. He wrote a book⁴ about the culture of Good Living and living well according to the Baniwas, and when I read it, I felt uncomfortable because I realized that the indigenous culture was quite impregnated with evangelical issues. I questioned him arguing that I learned from my grandmother in my community that our people are shamans. I was also catechized by missionaries, but my grandmother instilled in her children and grandchildren the Baniwa customs and culture – the culture of the swidden, of *ajuri*, which is collective work, of *coivara*, which is the practice of burning the swidden, of medication, and the medicine through blessing and smoking.

My grandmother raised us according to these customs. My family came from the Içana River to São Gabriel da Cachoeira, and was soon taken to the Lower Rio Negro, where we met evangelical groups and wealthy families who used to sponsor children. Here in Amazonas, we call *compadrio* the practice of people who look for indigenous children telling their parents that they will take them to the city to study, but in fact they enslave them. That is what happened to my family, brought to the city by a white family who abused them in many ways through slave labor, including child labor and all sort of violence. Very frightened, they managed to escape by canoe across the river, but my grandmother has lived in restrictions on speaking ever since. In an erased memory, she silently instructed us to keep our belonging to the indigenous people a secret. Violence had silenced us and attempted to erase our memory.

My mother decided that we would not be given to anyone and that we would continue our studies. As a child, she had been given to a family in the city who gave her a new name and date of birth, reaffirming the attempts at cultural erasure I mentioned. Enclosed in our silence, we lived outside the community, in a city neighborhood. My mother worked in the Industrial District and did many informal jobs to ensure our livelihood, from door-to-door sales to selling popular lottery games. There wasn't always bread at home, but my mother made flour balls, manioc balls, or something she invented, because women have that inventive strength in adversity. In my research, I seek to theoretically substantiate the hypothesis that, in the Amazon, society is matriarchal. I grew up with women who rebuilt themselves every day. Even to provide food in times of difficulty, they sought knowledge in ancestral knowledge. Ancestral knowledge is not only the past, but the future, and

² Maria da Conceição Evaristo de Brito is a writer and holds a Ph.D. in Comparative Literature, author of several fiction and non-fiction books and texts, addressing issues of Afro-Brazilian peoples. Additional info: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Conceição_Evaristo.

³ Ailton Krenak is a Brazilian writer, Journalist, Philosopher, and an indigenous movement leader of Krenak ethnicity. He is also a Doctor Honoris Causa by the Federal University of Juiz de Fora (UFJF), and is considered one of the greatest leaders of the Brazilian indigenous movement, enjoying international recognition. Additional info: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ailton_Krenak.

⁴ Baniwa, André, 2020. *Bem viver e viver bem segundo o povo Baniwa no noroeste amazônico brasileiro*. Curitiba: Ed. UFPR.

Ailton Krenak has just released a book⁵ about this topic.

Our ancestry is us. As we get older, we get wiser because aging brings wisdom and experience, and it's nothing to be ashamed of. Our grandparents who passed away are also our ancestors, who taught us all affective food, ways of dealing with the house and making a home. My grandmother used to make her house out of paxiúba⁶. Maybe you don't know this plant, a very thin but very strong one. My grandmother used to make her house out of paxiúba, sometimes she used white straw, sometimes clay, but she used to do it herself. I was impressed with how easily she changed uses in her house: sometimes she brought the kitchen to the front rooms, sometimes moved the kitchen to the back and performed the rituals and prayers to Saint Anthony in a front room because she had also been catechized. The house was raised off the ground. It was a stilt even though it was built on solid soil, because Rio Negro is solid soil. There she grew many fruits with my uncle. When she passed away, my uncle stopped going fishing, didn't want to go planting anymore, asked my mother for a freezer and started buying frozen and canned food. Nothing from then on was the same as before.

My mother didn't know what the indigenous organization was, which I got to know at university. When I started my undergraduate studies in Social Sciences, an Anthropology professor encouraged me to embrace my cultural roots, which awakened me to the debate on the indigenous issue within the university. I then began to connect various aspects of my history and met other indigenous people, including those from São Gabriel da Cachoeira, who told me about the indigenous movement in that city. Slowly I understood how indigenous movements organized themselves to claim social policies aimed at achieving better education, health, housing, employment, and social security.

Today, we use the designation "indigenous" instead of "indian", which has become a pejorative term, and we also refer to different peoples: Baniwa people, Tucano people, and Baré people. These names help us not to suffer anymore with pejorative terms because among indigenous we feel part of each other, we have a pact of brotherhood between us, and that's why we are relatives. I feel good about meeting relatives in the city and feeling part of this culture. It makes me happy to meet some of our people at the university, in a mall or at some event. Because my mother didn't even call herself indigenous anymore, my uncles already called themselves riverside people for fear of suffering violence again. But when I got to university and learned about the indigenous issue, I decided I would no longer be silent. I want to openly live this culture in the urban environment. Many people do not want to recognize us, who live in the city, as indigenous. But even though we left our village or community, we remain indigenous. Even having come to the city and accessing Western and academic knowledge, we remain indigenous. Life is easier in the city, but life in the forest, in the collective, in community, fishing in the river are sorely missed. Indigenous people remake themselves in life in the city as in the villages we have our customs of planting and harvesting, of making tea, and of not buying culinary herbs. After all, it is grown at home. Life is connected to the cycles of nature, as we wake up at 5 am to go fishing, prepare lunch at 7 am to take to the fields, and have lunch at 10 am.

In the city, indigenous collectives live in communities, some having become neighborhoods. Parque das Tribos⁷ is a pioneering and well-known example in Manaus, an old community transformed into a neighborhood through a hard struggle, led by my close friend Cláudia Baré⁸. She founded the Park's indigenous school, a grand achievement, and has dedicated to the causes of indigenous peoples. However, we are suffering a lot from the [drug] trade, which unfortunately does not only exist in white society, but also within communities. Those residents with greater expression in the collective, they [the people involved with trafficking] try to silence them. The Covid-19 pandemic also constituted a great aggression against our people, made worse by the absence of urban and social policies. We got united through social media to save each other, including by radiophoning with those in the forest. State aid was late, food baskets almost did not exist, and we were not even authorized to bury our dead according to our rituals. Indigenous women were once again at the front of the fight, confirming my hypothesis that we Amazonians are matriarchal.

⁵ Krenak, Ailton, 2022. *Futuro Ancestral*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras.

⁶ Paxiúba, additional info: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Socratea_exorrhiza.

⁷ Parque das Tribos, additional info: <https://outraspalavras.net/outrasmidias/parque-das-tribos-mulheres-indigenas-lideram-resgate-cultural/>.

⁸ Cláudia Baré, additional info: <https://acervo.socioambiental.org/acervo/noticias/claudia-bare-professora-que-luta-pela-alfabetizacao-nas-tribos-indigenas-do>.

Public infrastructure in Manaus is very poor: the city has no urban planning, and public administration is not concerned with human rights or the quality of urban life. We have almost no health posts in indigenous communities. The various governments that succeeded one another in Amazonas were and continue to be all oligarchic. There has never been a left-wing state government here that cares about minorities, even though there was a left-wing Brazilian President who worked on policies for the Environment, on the issue of housing and our cultural identity. Such issues must be prioritized.

We currently have in Manaus seventy-seven indigenous communities in the urban context and twenty-five in its surroundings and the rural area. They all live without basic sanitation and public health equipment. That's why Vanda Ortega, another great leader in Amazonas, denounced to the whole world during the pandemic that we weren't being taken care of, and at that moment, it was really because they [the public administration] didn't want to recognize us. They made us invisible. Once again, women from the communities went to the forefront of the struggle asking for health and an indigenous hospital, which resulted in an indigenous wing and later a temporary Basic Health Unit. The Parque das Tribos community itself had to take the initiative to create a campaign hospital supported by donations. They also created the slogan "Indigenous Lives Matter!" and started a campaign that received support from artists across the country and even the Pope. Some women's associations helped other women living in an emergency due to Covid-19, such as the Associação de Mulheres do Alto Rio Negro - AMARN⁹, created in the 1980s to support women who come from Alto Rio Negro to work as maids .

CS: Valeria, your testimony is very rich and confirms some of the issues I consider crucial for us to discuss. I want to highlight one of your statements on Good Living or what well-being is. The New Social Cartography of the Amazon Project¹⁰, coordinated by professor Alfredo Wagner Berno de Almeida, a researcher at UFAM and UEA, has already carried out surveys with more than four hundred groups of traditional populations in the Amazon, asking about their collective identities that reaffirm their territory, their space, and their lifestyle. As an anthropologist and researcher, Professor Alfredo listens and discusses how these peoples understand what Good Living means. He also discusses how they define their territory: what is important, what is essential to living, and affirm their identity and way of life, both in material and symbolic terms, as in the example of shamanism you brought.

By the way, you bring magnificent examples of how to discuss the urban space according to the understanding of Good Living and report resistance movements from your personal history. For example, you mentioned that your family came to the city and remained isolated from other relatives until you entered university and had the opportunity to reflect and even recover the historical memory of your people, recognizing yourself in that identity. Another example is the joy when relatives meet in the city, whether in a mall or in more organized places, such as Parque das Tribos, and how this meeting between relatives is essential to affirm collective identity.

It seems to me that the issue of identity recognition and the strengthening of this identity does require a meeting with relatives. I wonder if our cities can provide places for such encounters beyond the physical space of the associations which make up a resistance movement. Does the city allow encounters, or, on the contrary, does it segment, fragment, and isolate us? These issues are part of the background of the Good Living issue. Because the non-recognition of one's identity already derives a weakening of it, as you expose in your family history. And conversely, recognition brings about the strengthening and recovery of these ways of life. You also brought up a touching experience remembering that fruits and herbs were grown at home, meaning that there was no separation between the housing and food production spaces.

It is interesting to think about this way of life, which we understand here as counter-hegemonic, compared with the violence of the hegemonic logic of the city that segments all areas of life. In our way of life, we hold religious services in a specific place, carry out our work in another place, and move from our home to yet another place where the production of material life takes place. Our children also study in another place, far from where we live. Faced with this segmentation of life, you bring some examples of resistance and memory that show that Good Living articulates many dimensions of the organization of material and everyday life, which are segmented in the hegemonic model. The indigenous ritual, healing processes, health care, education, material production seem to be gathered in a much

⁹ AMARN, additional info: https://www.artesol.org.br/associacao_das_mulheres_indigenas_do_alto_rio_negro_amarn.

¹⁰ The New Social Cartography of the Amazon Project, additional info: <http://novacartografiasocial.com.br/apresentacao/>

more collective space, a territory that includes them all.

On the one hand, we have the thought of Boaventura de Souza Santos, who talks about intercultural dialogue, which is a bit of what we are doing here now in this conversation, where there is recognition of the difference in knowledge that comes from different places. But there is, on the other hand, the process of cultural violence, of which a good example is the New Tribes Mission in Brazil. It is an evangelical mission that has been working in the Amazon region for many years, and its objective is to evangelize indigenous peoples. There is a process of cultural violence in there that even leads to a transformation that you identified in André Baniwa's book, in which the description of Good Living was impregnated with evangelical meanings.

So I see two possible movements: one, which seems to me to be still very strong, of cultural violence, and another, which would be intercultural dialogue. I would like to know how you see the current scenario and if you agree that it is possible to sustain a way of life and production connected with the affirmation of indigenous identity in the urban context, given the strong power relationship guided by the hegemonic model.

VMB: It is hard to think about that at this moment, Cláudia, when the state and local governments are collaborating with the Federal Government for our extermination. It is horrifying to see that the state governor has been re-elected. At that difficult time of the pandemic, when we thought we would get a hospital the mayor gave us an indigenous cemetery. All of this revolts me because, for us, Good Living or living well means being well with nature and with each other. It means being well with the river and the human beings with whom we live. These are healthy exchanges and relationships: I shouldn't harm nature because I will extract many things from it, but I will not overdraw since I don't need to. But today, even in the surrounding communities¹¹ – our communities – this is not the reality.

If the community is close to an environmental protection area, all extraction is prohibited, including fish and timber for sale. With such limits to produce income and the need for financial resources, residents of surrounding communities become dependent on government aid, such as Bolsa Família and Auxílio Floresta, whose value is far too low to meet the needs of families. These people struggle for their survival day after day. We must debate this problem along with the environmental issue. Waters are polluted, and we are dealing with a serious problem with fish consumption and outbreaks of rhabdomyolysis. Relatives are dying because mercury contaminated the water, and they cannot eat fish. With regard to housing, only relatives who organize themselves get houses, and their neighborhoods are being taken over by drug trafficking, as I said before. How, then, can we experience our collective Good Life without education, health, and urban planning? They live in precarious wooden rented houses. Only a few build their houses with mud and straw, as they do in their territories, since in the city they are not granted a territory. We must educate children, just as Vanda Ortega and Cláudia Baré have done. With the support of the city hall, some communities even managed to organize the [Indigenous] Intercultural Games, with swimming, canoeing, archery and other traditional sports.

If we indigenous people want our generations to cultivate our things, we have to teach them, otherwise they will forget how to do it. If we don't cultivate neither teach them how to plant, they will eat apples and no longer plant our fruit. We have to teach them our language, or it will be erased. And then, what will our Good Living be like if we continue to be colonized, having our house the way the whites decide, our school according to the whites' rules? In our villages, our territory, our community, how can we handle the environment? We need to decide which housing and cultural identity we want. We must struggle to preserve our historical, material, and immaterial heritage, indigenous cemeteries, archeology, food, and homes.

We don't have our place in the urban space. We have to fight all the time to keep the spaces we occupy, always in confrontation with the state and municipal governments. We are still renegotiating the same things with anthropologists, who think they own the indigenous people, with the church, which has always been the owner of the indigenous people, with political parties, etc. We are autonomous, and today more than ever, we are discussing the question of our autonomy and the ethnic-racial issues, the prejudices we suffer in schools and at the university, struggling for quotas, access, and permanence.

¹¹ Surrounding communities are small human settlements close to environmental protection areas, which are protected areas in the Amazon and conservation units.

We have the right to access and permanence, but this is a partial right because there is no indigenous student house and no scholarships for indigenous students to remain in the city. We know that many people are benefiting from indigenous grants, indigenous quotas and black quotas that have not gone through hetero-identification commissions. And finally, there is the issue of sexual diversity, which is never discussed as it is still a very stigmatized subject in the Amazon. But Good Living is also about gender. So it is urgent to think about these issues in the city and the academy because from the academy, we can go beyond walls, build criticism, and contribute to the struggle of the indigenous people.

CS: I want to highlight something you said regarding the absence of an urbanization project for Manaus and the state of Amazonas. The proposal for the region's development, conceived in that Brazil under the military government¹², did not contemplate the indigenous people, neither did it contemplate any of the groups that lived in the region. This proposal was structured around industrial development in Manaus, prioritizing interests that did not respect the ways of life of the different traditional populations either. Some studies on Amazonian workers in the industrial district outline lines of flight on how this work could be subverted within the imposed logic, along with the subversion of the idea that indigenous people and caboclos are lazy. This idea is often mistakenly linked to Amazonian ways of producing¹³.

I agree with you about the extreme difficulty of putting cultural diversity and ways of life under the same umbrella. Because, particularly in everyday life, hegemonic forces impose themselves and tend to erase cultural diversity. Even when an intercultural dialogue takes place, it seems to me that it happens only one way. Western hegemonic modes transfer Western knowledge, and many indigenous people appropriate them by subverting them. They do it when they go to university not to accept this hegemonic way of life but to empower themselves to build a dialogue capable of recognizing equal rights of different ethnic groups.

You also mentioned the fragility caused by the pandemic, when Manaus was perceived as a territory of death, of discarding life, especially that of indigenous populations. The cultural, human catastrophe resulting from the pandemic made this profound inequality explicit, and an urban space not designed for any local groups expresses it. Among indigenous populations, where aging means accumulating knowledge, we had the death of many elderly leaders who died with their ancestral knowledge and knowledge of the language.

In indigenous groups, historically treated with the most intense and cruel mechanism of violence, the non-recognition of their humanity also destroys their knowledge. I defend the Amazon and Manaus as a multiethnic territory, where different cultures and ways of living well are in contact and producing a hybrid culture. The cultures of the various groups are not static. They move around to different places without necessarily losing their identity. They involve several collective identities, also in motion, that can exchange knowledge through a dialogue of mutual recognition, even if this practice still encounters many barriers.

Contributions of knowledge by indigenous populations to non-indigenous ways of life are still limited. Non-indigenous ways continue to prevail, and I dare say that it is not just the non-indigenous way of the white man but ways that are not culturally related to the Amazon region in general. They were imposed on us by a project disconnected from our reality. During the pandemic confinement period, we found ourselves ill but beyond physical illness because we only knew how to work in our segmented spaces for life production. Having to produce all spheres of our life in a single place was something we didn't know how to do because our urban architecture – from the perspective of social psychology – segments our way of doing things. If we don't leave home, our relationship with time changes, perhaps because, within our ancestry, we don't trust the transmission of knowledge through orality. We tend to transfer this role to the school, and the school also had to work through online classes with our children at home, simultaneously with our work produced at the home office. Many people could not produce their food because we don't use to produce our food in our backyard. This indigenous knowledge could have been extremely useful to us during the

¹² A reference to the Brazilian military dictatorship that lasted from 1964 to 1985.

¹³ See Moraes, R. D.; Vasconcelos, A. C. L. (Org.), 2011. *Subjetividade e trabalho com automação: estudo no Polo Industrial de Manaus*. Manaus: EDUA.

pandemic.

I would like us to close our conversation by thinking about strategies for this intercultural dialogue to have more impact on our lives, promoting changes in the relationship between the hegemonic and the counter-hegemonic. I am thinking of changes capable of making the knowledge of indigenous populations more valued as part of our learning and of joint construction, perhaps, of a new sense of Good Living. I would like to hear from you about strategies to make this cultural heritage known, which indicates new ways of organizing our lives. We need a new concept of Good Living that differs from the hegemonic ways of organizing life, which, from my point of view, have led us to live unhealthy lives and deprived us of a sense of collectivity that is absent from our urban structure.

VMB: Claudia, it is crucial to emphasize that there is no such thing as a loss of indigenous identity. That is the idea I am working on in my doctoral research: it is not possible to lose indigenous identity. We are indigenous people, Manaus is ours, and we were the first to be here. They exterminated us, they committed genocide against us, they expelled us, and that's why our people went to live far away, in São Gabriel da Cachoeira, Maués, Santo Antônio do Içá, in Alto Solimões. And it is also because there is no such thing as loss of indigenous identity that we are back, and we are again populating the city. Soon, Manaus will be indigenous again because we have appropriated Western academic knowledge and their weapons to learn how to fight. It's a fight, and we're reorganizing for that fight.

When we talk about reforesting the mind for the earth's healing, it is for you all to do the work you are doing, which is to listen to us. We want a space in the city. Several non-indigenous occupations were organized and managed to get housing and urban sanitation, even if precarious. These achievements were made possible through the support of the church, Pastoral da Terra, politicians, and evangelical churches. Now more than ever, we are reorganizing ourselves, especially the indigenous people who live in the cities, because we cannot have a Good Living if white people do not listen to us about our real needs.

If we have education and health within our small territory, everyone is supported. But one must realize that there are several cultural barriers to accessing these services. I studied at the university, and thus I understand how to behave in an education and health service. But my relative that didn't go to school, who has just arrived from his village, still speaks his language, and is living in the poor Tarumã neighborhood, has a different understanding and will act differently. Therefore, it is essential to offer education and health care that seeks to understand why indigenous people behave that way, why they speak that way, and why they ask for things that way. It is necessary to figure out why an indigenous student speaks in his language and try to understand what he says.

We have been fighting in colleges for the creation of indigenous entrance exams. This fight will endure because we lost our Deputy, who got a parliamentary amendment to create the Center for Indigenous Knowledge at the Federal university. They should have started this Center a long time ago. We never had this space, despite so many indigenous students who have already studied at UFAM and continue to study in various courses, and some are even PhDs. Many of these graduates are invisible because they do not attend churches and are not influential members of political parties. So this Good Living, this living well, will only really exist when our voices are listened to when we say, for example, that drug dealers and miners can no longer enter our territories and contaminate rivers.

Because residents don't have money to buy what they can no longer extract from the forest in compliance with environmental legislation. Fishing and crafts depend on our relationship with the forest, and we don't need to withdraw any surplus from it because our minds are not capitalist. We need to take care of the forest and preserve it, recalling that there is no such thing as sustainable development, that this notion is nonsense, a fallacy. There is no such thing as social responsibility because no company wants to exercise social responsibility. Thus, we are the ones who have to fight to live and save our identity and our ways of living, our rituals, and for this, we must have our space. Any planning never envisaged this space. This is why we attend Indigenous Peoples' Conferences: to be listened.

We are also afraid of interculturality today. We receive people in the communities considering what they expect to gain because, generally, only they earn without bringing any benefit to the community. This thought is quite common, especially concerning academic researchers, who always ask many questions, but do not bring anything to the community. So, I repeat that there is no such thing as a loss of indigenous identity. There are stereotypes created by white society – and even by

some relatives – who think that if you are indigenous, you cannot live in a gated community as I do. You must live in a hut and walk with a headdress on your head. As if I don't have the dignity to study and work and live wherever I want.

But I know Marx, and he didn't say we should be poor. Marx said that as a worker, I have the same rights as other workers and employers. We are preparing the conference of indigenous peoples in the urban context to fight for equal rights, to be included and have our values considered in city planning processes, and to make it clear that, even living in the city, we do not lose our identity.

CS: I thank you, Valéria, for your enormous contributions and rich reflections that are particularly interesting in Social Psychology, my field of study, and the Architecture and Urbanism area, helping us to think about places of the counter-hegemonic. I want to point out that these movements and indigenous women associations you mentioned, these resistance and existence movements, are conducted by women whose will is to keep in check three systems that feed each other, e. g., patriarchy, colonialism, and capitalism. These women have great power in handicraft production associations and ways of organizing themselves. And I, as a researcher who is also a woman, would like to highlight, in your speech, this movement of indigenous women against these three powerful forces that articulate the hegemonic modes of production of contemporary life. Thank you, Valéria, for the richness of this exchange and this moment, and thank you, Marcelo and the VIRUS committee, for making this encounter possible.

MT: It is our pleasure! I thank you, Cláudia, and Valéria, for such a rich dialogue, so dense with information, reflections, and new understandings. You are right to highlight the need to reforest our understanding of the world and to include, in our references, different knowledge from the industrial modernity somehow imposed on us. I am immensely grateful to you, Valéria, for your generosity. I wish the conference to be successful, and I hope we can recover this knowledge that is not lost because you are preserving it in a very potent way. I hope we can join the fight to share it with Brazilians and the world and that it becomes a greater good in our society and our civilization.

VMB: Dear ones, I wish that the forest goddesses bless and protect you. May all that energy from the Amazon be over your heads and your minds so that you believe that the future is ancestral and that we indigenous people are here and we are part of it. We also built this Brazil, and we will not stop on our journey. Reforesting minds means doing what you are doing: listening to me, listening to the quilombo, as Antônio Bispo¹⁴ says. And when you go to a city, don't visit the city because you already know how to build cities. Go to a village, an indigenous community, an indigenous neighborhood, a quilombo, the favelas, because that's where you have to walk to build a new Brazil, new homes, new architectures, thinking about these identities. May the forest goddesses bless you all.

¹⁴ Antônio Bispo dos Santos. Additional info: <https://www.saberestradicionais.org/antonio-bispo-dos-santos/>.