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ESPECIAL DOSSIER

Indigenous Digital Communicative Forms:
Transpecific Networks and Non-Western Ecological Practices

Massimo Di Felice, Eliete Pereira, Thiago Franco & Josias F. de Souza (Sateré) (Editors)

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INTERVIEW

Denilson Baniwa

por Evandro J. M. Laia e Lara Linhalis Guimarães

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Notes for the creation of a transdisciplinary field of Latin American communication studies

Indigenous Digital Communicative Forms: Transpecific Networks and Non-Western Ecological Practices

THIS DOSSIER PRESENTS the progression of studies initially conducted at the Atopos International Research Center and the Postgraduate Program in Communication Sciences (PPGCOM) at ECA-USP, which, starting in the first decade of the 2000s, began to analyze and monitor the digital interactions developed by indigenous peoples in Brazil. Pioneering in Latin America and Brazil, these investigations, which have expanded over time and attracted researchers from various states and indigenous peoples, now underpin the opening of a transdisciplinary area of study on indigenous digital practices of communication and connectivity. This area is not configured as a disciplinary "field," but as a convergence of approaches from various areas of knowledge, aiming to promote development and improvement through its confrontation with non-Western knowledge, whether in studies of contemporary communication theory and social theory, or in the philosophical, health, botanical, educational, anthropological fields and, above all, in relation to the meanings attributed to technology and the environment. Confrontation and dialogue with non-Western forms of knowledge, and their complex interactions and connections, can benefit distinct areas of knowledge, providing, among other things, the opportunity to question their disciplinary boundaries and limits.

The digitization process of indigenous villages and peoples, which began in the 2000s in Brazil with the advent of broadband and public policies for digital inclusion, is currently constituting the expansion and consolidation of various types of networks. While initially this process led to the empowerment of forest peoples through activism and the empowerment of their voices, now, with the advent of satellites, sensors, and the Internet of Things, it has extended connectivity to the environment, enabling new ecological practices through the monitoring, preservation, and digital defense of their territories. As evidenced in several studies conducted over the last two decades by the Tekó research line

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of the Atopos International Research Center at the University of São Paulo, the digitization process of villages, unlike urban and Western experiences, has taken place within a pancommunicative context, in which things, plants, animals, and spirits compose a reticular social network characterized by trans specific communicative architectures. These networks, rather than being based on disseminating and media-based communication models, present themselves as hybrid and emergent networks, through which it is possible to move between diverse species and inhabit, at the same time, as in shamanic contexts, multiple forms.

More than an informative and external practice, the polymorphism of these connective communicative forms expresses, among other things, metamorphic (Coccia, 2021), transitory (Perniola, 1989) and transubstantiative (Di Felice, 2020) qualities.

Before the Internet of Things, satellites, sensors, and the digitization of territory, these populations already inhabited a connected world and a polymorphic society, not composed only of human actors and subjects, but constituted by networks formed by diverse entities, both human and non-human, and by connected ecologies (Di Felice & Pereira, 2017).

The study of digitization practices and processes in indigenous villages and territories, taking into account their specificities and non-Western epistemic matrices, gives rise, within the scope of Latin American studies, to the possibility of the emergence of a connective and decolonial conception of the social and the idea of communication. The study of these processes and communicative practices can lead to an epistemic shift in the humanities that, based on the hybrid and non-anthropocentric morphologies of the various Latin American indigenous peoples, can help to understand the meaning of contemporary connectivity, contributing, in an original way, to the global scientific debate.

The field of study of digitization processes and practices of indigenous peoples aims to combine research and theoretical contributions, both indigenous and non-indigenous to the construction of a decolonial, trans specific, and connective idea of communication.

As presented in the collection of articles that make up this anthology, the digitization process of indigenous villages and peoples, which has developed over the last twenty years in Brazil, occurred in a "pancommunicative" and "multinaturalist" cultural context (Viveiros de Castro, 2013), distinct from the Western one, in which plants, objects, and animals communicated with humans as members of the same community. Sensors, the Internet of Things, satellites, and digital social networks thus gave digital form to the already pre-existing trans specific networks, creating another type of connective complexity that

expanded and redefined the dimensions of ecosystems, which were already communicating and interacting.

This specificity highlights the issue of the non-uniformity of technological processes and the non-universal dimension of technology. The Western episteme's misconception, throughout the centuries, of conceiving technology as a universal category (Hui, 2020) has become, today, an obstacle to understanding the connectivity and specificities of digital processes produced among indigenous peoples, as well as among the diverse cultures that make up the mosaic of cultural and linguistic heterogeneity in Latin America and the world.

The opening of an area for the study and practice of digital communication among Amerindian peoples is situated within a critical moment of reflection on the future of technology, driven by the advent of artificial intelligence, automated neural networks, bioinformatics, Large Language Models, and all forms of a new technological protagonism, in the face of which the instrumental technological conception, produced by Western episteme, becomes evidently inadequate.

In this context, the digitization and computerization processes of indigenous villages and territories, in addition to their socio-anthropological dimensions, related to the empowerment and cultural and economic protagonism that such technologies have provided to these populations, take on the specific meaning of an important rupture in the hegemonic epistemic paradigm of communication studies. This rupture presents itself as a qualitative shift that does not only concern the phenomenological dimension of communicative practices, related to semiotic and content studies, or to those media of impact or reception, but reaches the deepest dimension of the very idea of communication and its meaning.

The digitization of the connective and trans specific spheres of indigenous ecosystems offers us, in the contemporary data-driven, programmed, automated and simulated context, the opportunity to formulate the question "what is communication?". At the same time, this question echoes as an irrefutable accusation against the simplistic, instrumental and market-driven idea of media communication, which, in its anthropocentric absolutism, completely disregarded the ecological, environmental and non-human dimensions.

The origin of this process, which culminates in the proposal to open a new area of study, began within the scope of research on networks and connectivity at the Atopos International Research Center (USP). The first step was the holding of two seminars with the aim of bringing together the main indigenous digital productions being developed in Brazil at that time. The first, "Native Media," was held in conjunction with the Center for Studies on Ethnicity, Racism and Discrimination, coordinated by Prof. Dr. Maria Luiza Tucci Carneiro, in the former Library of the Faculty of Philosophy, Letters and Human Sciences

(FFLCH-USP), in the Department of History and at Sesc Paulista, in 2006, and was attended by indigenous videomakers, bloggers and digital activists who stood out in their work in digital contexts. The second "Native Media" event was held in 2008 at the São Paulo Cultural Center (CCSP), and included, in addition to indigenous communicators, the participation of young communicators from the outskirts of São Paulo. These two events created a network of contacts and experiences that were consolidated in the studies and investigations developed during this initial period.

Of particular note is the master's thesis conducted during this period, "Indigenous Cyborgs.br: the Brazilian Indigenous presence in cyberspace" (2005–2007), by researcher Eliete Pereira, defended at the Center for Research and Graduate Studies on the Americas, currently the Department of Latin American Studies, at the University of Brasília, and later published in 2012 by Annablume Publishing House. The researcher's doctoral thesis (2013), defended at PPGCOM-ECA/USP, expanded the reflection on the digitization of the digital locality through a comparative analysis of the experience of Ashaninka shamanic communicative ecology (Acre). Following this, a second phase of studies on the digitization of Indigenous peoples in Atopos began, characterized by the creation of a specific research line called Tekó. This line expanded the network of relationships, conducted exchanges in Indigenous Lands, seminars, and publications.

From this phase, Fernanda Moreira's research on shamanic networks and their contribution to an idea of communicative ecology (2014) and Thiago Franco's research on the connectivity of Krahô communicative dwelling (2019) stand out. In a third phase, the research line on indigenous digitization carried out other investigations with the Ikpeng (Xingu Indigenous Park, Mato Grosso), Suruí Paiter (Sete de Setembro Indigenous Land, Rondônia), Sateré-Mawé (Lower Amazon), among others. The results of these studies were compiled and published in the work Indigenous networks and communicative ecologies: The contribution of indigenous peoples to communication theory (2017), organized by Massimo Di Felice and Eliete da Silva Pereira. Based on the evolution of connectivity practices and the digitization process, the contributions of indigenous peoples to the development of a non-Western, connective, and Amerindian idea of communication, inspired by the pancommunicative practices of these peoples, began to be analyzed.

The contributions gathered in this dossier show the current state of this research path, which now presents the valuable contributions of Indigenous scholars and researchers. At this moment of crisis in Western episteme and the idea of instrumental and media-driven communication, the importance of these

studies becomes evident, as they propose to collaborate in the construction of a connective idea of Latin American communication, based on Indigenous perspectives, contributions, and viewpoints, that is not exclusively Western nor limited to interactions between humans and technologies.

The contributions of the articles gathered here, most of which were co-authored with Indigenous researchers and authors, differ from traditional ethnographic accounts, as they do not aim to merely report the characteristics and communicative practices of "other" cultures from the perspective and paradigms of our knowledge. Nor do they seek a "purist" account that describes, through the direct voice of some Indigenous researchers, the authentic essence of these peoples' communication. Our approach is different and is inspired by the sympoietic and metamorphic format of connective technologies, as well as the hybrid complexity of the formation of Brazilian and Latin American peoples.

We are Westerners; academic culture, our arguments, and scientific knowledge are too. As M. Heidegger reminded us, "our way of asking questions is Greek," and we will never be able to become what we are not. Trying to overcome the limits of Western thought and episteme does not, therefore, mean seeking its complete annihilation, but rather the possibility of its hybridization and alteration through dialogue with the cultures and worlds that have historically resisted and survived its cultural domination.

In the contexts of crisis of modern language, challenged by the social protagonism of non-humans and the emergence of new and powerful social actors, such as viruses, climate, and artificial intelligence, rethinking technique, the idea of communication, the complexity and format of the social, connectivity, and interactions with the environment, through dialogue with indigenous populations, becomes a great opportunity. The opening of a study area on indigenous digital communication can offer the Latin American academic community the opportunity to create an original perspective, capable of repositioning, at an international level, the specificities of the contributions of studies from various areas of our subcontinent.

The set of articles presented here, written in collaboration with indigenous researchers, shows the "transdisciplinary" quality of this study area. The interdisciplinary quality that naturally accompanies studies on communication, networks, and digital technologies is enriched here by the introduction of non-academic and non-traditionally Western forms of knowledge, which extend the analysis beyond the dialogue between the various disciplines.

Here we have gathered ten fundamental works that reposition the field of communication from the perspective of Indigenous epistemologies, ontologies, and practices, shifting the focus from media as an instrument to communication

as relational ecology. Massimo Di Felice opens the dossier by critiquing the Western conception of technology and proposing technological dwelling, where communication is a property of the environment, emerging from the co-existence between humans, machines, and nature, in dialogue with Amerindian cosmotechnics. Following this, Eliete da Silva Pereira analyzes studies on Indigenous digital communication in Brazil that address the appropriation and incorporation of technology, the latter derived from cosmologies, corporealities, and the specific relationships with their territories.

The cosmological dimension is explored in depth by Eli Borges Jr. and Fernanda Cristina Moreira, who present shamanic communication as an alternative epistemological matrix to Western logical-transmissive theories, highlighting its metamorphic, trans specific, and polymorphic nature. Still on the theoretical plane, Thiago Franco, Josias Ferreira de Souza (Sateré-Mawé People), and Taynnara Franco contrast Western "cosmophagy" with Sateré-Mawé cosmology, highlighting ritual knowledge and guarana as communicative technologies that resist the universalist prototyping of the West.

Marina Magalhães, Ana Beatriz Viana de Melo, and Cláudia Ferraz (Wanano People) analyze the net-activism of the Wayuri Network in the Upper Rio Negro, demonstrating how digital narratives articulate alliances between humans, spirits, forests, and technologies. Marcelo Rodrigo da Silva, Iranilza Cinésio Gomes Félix, and Luiz Manoel Pereira Filho present the communicative ecology of the Potiguara people, where dreams, enchantments, and territories act as living systems of knowledge and communication. Meanwhile, Thiago Allan Ribeiro, Katêjuprêrê Burjack Parkrekapare (Akrotikatêjê people), and André Demarchi show how the Gavião people of Pará indigenize radio, telephony, and the internet, reconfiguring these technologies towards their autonomy and internal fields of dispute.

At the intersection of art and ancestry, João Dantas dos Anjos Neto, Marcos Costa de Freitas, and Kamani Waurá (Waurá People) discuss Xingu body painting and its expansion into digital spaces, highlighting generational tensions and symbolic reinventions. Anápuàka Tupinambá Hãhãhãe, a pioneering Indigenous communicator in the country from the Tupinambá and Pataxó Hãhãhãe peoples, presents ethnomedia as a historical movement of narrative reclamation, with initiatives such as Rádio Yandê, the country's first web radio.

Finally, in the interview conducted by Evandro J. M. Laia and Lara Linhalis Guimarães, Denilson Baniwa shares his reflections as an artist-shaman and art hacker, translating worlds and challenging the canon through ritual, digital, and aesthetic practices. In 2025, in the context of the 30th Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (COP-30), held

in Belém, Denilson Baniwa will act as co-curator, alongside Leandro Varison, of the exhibition Amazônia—Créations et futurs autochtones, at the Quai Branly Museum in Paris, France. Constructed from the perspective of its inhabitants, the indigenous peoples, the exhibition—on display from September 30, 2025 to January 18, 2026—presents the Amazon as a living and plural territory, where human beings, spirits, forests, and technologies intertwine in continuous creation and transformation. Like its original peoples, the Amazon emerges as a communicative-connective center, radiating innovation and the future.

Taken together, the texts reveal that communicating, within the Indigenous horizon, is existing-with—a gesture that repositions the idea of communication as connective ecology, and not as a medium or as an instrumentality.

The introduction of viewpoints from the cultures and languages of Indigenous populations, when mixed with knowledge produced in various fields of knowledge, has the effect of expanding and transforming academic content through the creation of a hybrid language, no longer built exclusively on the Western matrix.

The transdisciplinary nature of this operation represents, epistemologically and historically, a partial victory for Indigenous resistance and a defeat for Western civilization which, driven by its faith, absolute truths, interests, and ordering reason, expanded throughout the world, (de)classifying everything that was different from it. M

Massimo Di Felice
Eliete da Silva Pereira
Thiago Franco
Josias Ferreira de Souza (Sateré-Mawé people)

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DOSSIER

Indigenous Digital Communicative Forms: Transpecific Networks and Non-Western Ecological Practices

From communicating to dwelling: the contributions of indigenous peoples to the construction of a connective idea of communication

Do comunicar para o habitar: as contribuições dos povos originários para a construção de uma ideia conectiva de comunicação

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ABSTRACT

The article discusses the crisis of the modern idea of communication by critically examining the Western conception of technique, often assumed as universal and understood as a human action and an external instrument for transmitting content. In contrast, it proposes, based on new forms of connectivity and digital ecosystems, the notion of a technological dwelling, in which humans, technology, and the environment constitute symbiotic and inseparable dimensions. In this scenario, communication ceases to be an exclusively human prerogative and becomes a property shared among all elements of the ecosystem—including plants, animals, and inorganic components—thereby approaching the cosmological perspectives of Indigenous peoples of Brazil.
Keywords: Technodiversity, digital ecosystems, Indigenous communication, dwelling technology.

RESUMO

O artigo discute a crise da ideia moderna de comunicação a partir da crítica à concepção ocidental de técnica, frequentemente tomada como universal e entendida como ação humana aplicada e instrumento externo de transmissão de conteúdos. Em contraste, propõe, com base nas novas formas de conectividade e nos ecossistemas digitais, a noção de um habitar tecnológico, no qual humano, tecnologia e ambiente constituem dimensões simbióticas e indissociáveis. Nesse cenário, a comunicação deixa de ser uma prerrogativa exclusivamente humana e torna-se propriedade compartilhada entre todos os elementos do ecossistema — incluindo plantas, animais e componentes inorgânicos — aproximando-se das cosmovisões dos povos originários do Brasil.
Palavras-chave: Tecnodiversidade, ecossistemas digitais, comunicação indígena, tecnologia do habitar

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INTRODUCTION

THE EVOLUTION OF information technologies and digital networks has altered the architecture of communicative processes, transforming the disseminative and dialogical structure characteristic of mass media (Peters, 2015) into environments and ecosystems of interactions in which, for the communicative process to occur, it has become necessary to enter and inhabit a network, an environment, a platform, or a metaverse. This paradigmatic transformation has rendered the media-centric conception obsolete, problematizing the very meaning of communication as it developed in the Western industrial contexts of the post-war period, which reduced the idea of communication to a set of practices based on interactions between people, media, and content. The diffusion of the Internet of Things, sensors, satellites, and geographic information systems has extended communicative interactions to the environment, forests, waters, atmospheric and geological phenomena, transforming techno-human and socio-technical interactions into ecological interactions, in which diverse entities, human and non-human, once connected, come to inhabit the same communicative ecosystem.

Alongside these technical transformations, the advent of the pandemic and the increase in climate change have introduced a new type of discussion about the quality and complexity of interactions, as well as about the very morphologies of the common. Lovelock's Gaia theory (2000), the debate about the advent of a new geological era, as well as Morton's architecture of hyperobjects (2013), have contributed to definitively problematizing the industrial, media-centric, and anthropocentric idea of communication. The protagonism of non-humans (Di Felice, 2021)—the biosphere, the climate, the virus, software, big data—has shown, once and for all, not only the vitality and agency of other actors not contemplated in the polis and in the Western idea of society, but also the need to extend the idea of communication and communicational processes beyond the triad of people, media, and content. In these contexts, it became necessary and urgent to consider the communication of the Earth, the climate, and viruses, since these diverse entities, transformed into "data," became communicating parts and interacting and active entities.

The advent of big data, generative algorithms, technology networks, and automation processes that comprise what is commonly, and roughly, called "artificial intelligence," has rendered obsolete one of the main foundations of Western culture, expressed by the distinction between *episteme* and *techné*. The opposition between thought and technique, between the human world and the material world, has been replaced by the hybrid and sympoietic form (Haraway, 2019) of transorganic phenomena (Barad, 2007).

In these contexts, it becomes necessary to rethink not only the communicative dynamics of informational practices, but the very idea of communication, since it is no longer a prerogative of humans, now developing at a geological, climatic and trans specific level, that is, in atopic architectures (Di Felice, 2009), in which information flows extend far beyond human interactions, reaching the internal dynamics of organisms and the very composition of materials.

Where to begin analyzing this new connective context that leads us to rethink the idea of communication? Dialogue with non-Western peoples and with the non-philosophical forms of knowledge of indigenous peoples constitutes an important opportunity for Brazilian researchers who wish to contribute to the development of an idea of communication that is no longer exclusively Western and, therefore, no longer universal, but hybrid, mestizo, full of contaminations, without a single origin and, therefore, typically Latin American.

"TECHNODIVERSITY" AND THE CRITIQUE OF INSTRUMENTAL MEDIA REASON

In his book *Technodiversity* (2020), the philosopher de Hui criticizes the idea of Western technology, questioning its supposed universality and simultaneously defending the urgency of the advent of a plurality of interpretations, which he synthesizes in the term "sociotechnique":

> To move forward, it might be interesting to reposition this discourse of the new axial age as the emergence of a critical moment for reflection on the future of technology and geopolitics. This critical assessment requires a rearticulation of the question of technology. We can suspect that there has been a misunderstanding and a lack of understanding regarding technology in recent centuries, since it has been seen as something non-essential and of a merely instrumental nature—but more significantly, as homogeneous and universal. This universalism favors a fundamentally European technological history. (p. 23)

Paradoxically, the critique of the Western concept of technology finds one of its earliest expressions in Europe itself.

In the essay *Die Frage der Technik* (1954), Martin Heidegger[1] highlights how philosophy and knowledge developed throughout history in the West have failed to produce an adequate thought to analyze the complexity of our relationship with technology. More than a critical text—as it is often interpreted—its content points to a departure from the instrumental conception of technology, which,

[1] This essay was published in Portuguese in the Classics of Communication Collection, by Paulus Publishers in 2020.

as proposed by Western thought, should be understood only as an external "artifact" and an instrument mastered by man.

The text is widely known for beginning with the question of what technology is, followed by a critique of the two traditional answers offered by philosophy: technology is a "means to certain ends" and technology is "a human endeavor."

In the German philosopher's conception, these statements demonstrate the abstract nature of the idea of technology, which, according to Western philosophical tradition, should be understood as a means subjected to the domain of the subject's thought and action. It is precisely in this sense that, in defining technology as "the metaphysics of the modern age," Heidegger (1977, 2006) positions himself against this conception, defending throughout the text the indistinction and inseparability between human destiny and that of technology. The critique of technology proposed in the text is, therefore, a critique of the thought that produced it, and not of technology itself, which, contrary to the instrumental view, the philosopher comes to define as the "essence of man."

The overcoming of the oppositional logic, instituted by philosophy in separating the human from the world, is found by Heidegger (1977) in "*Gestell*"—imposition and framing—and, at the same time, in "*aletheia,*" that is, in "discovery" and "unveiling."

Therefore, by imposing and conditioning itself, technology offers human beings access to a new condition and a different kind of world, acting not only on their perception and ideas, but also on their own living conditions and their essence.

According to the German philosopher's thought, the non-technical essence of technology corresponds to the technical essence of the human being from a non-dialectical perspective, nor based on the dispute between the domination and control of the subject over the object or of technology over the human being. Instead of such an antithetical and agonistic perspective, Heidegger proposes the perspective of dwelling and "being with" (*Mitsein*):

> Dwelling emerges in all its breadth when we consider that the being of man resides within it, understood as the abiding of mortals on earth. But on earth means under heaven. Both signify abiding before the divine and imply a belonging to the community of men. There is an original unity within which the four: earth, heaven, divine and mortal are one and the same … This simplicity of theirs, we call Geviert, the Quadrature. (Heidegger, 1977, p. 105)

The Heideggerian concept of dwelling—described as a fourfold unity that forms an ecology of inseparable entities—underlies and describes the German

philosopher's original conception of technology, positioning it as an alternative to the instrumental perspective characteristic of Western epistemology.

Although widely used in the fields of computer science and communication, the term "tool"—far from explaining the complexity of the interactions between technologies, people, and the environment—reflects a functionalist and simplistic view of this relationship with technology. This term underpins a conception of communication based on the "use" of "instruments" and technologies seen as "artifacts" to be used by humans for the transfer of information.

This conception, despite having a very ancient philosophical origin—recognizable in the European humanist epistemological tradition, especially in Aristotle's "*techne*"—would become the main interpretation of informational and communicational processes at the beginning of the industrial era, and in the context of mass society. Indeed, it was between the two world wars and subsequently in the context of industrial development and mass society that the main theories of communication were developed. Both in the field of cybernetics and in empirical studies on effects and persuasion, as well as in critical theories, during this period, the instrumental idea of technology, characteristic of the mechanical and industrial culture of the time, was reinforced in various Western societies. Furthermore, it was during this same historical period that the culture of efficiency and productivism—synthesized in Fordism—disseminated and influenced not only the process of industrialization, but also the conception of technology and the very idea of communication, which came to be conceived and narrated as a process divided into stages. accomplished using external technical means and instruments, used as "channels" and viewed as artifacts controlled by humans.

During this period, there were almost no dissenting voices against this instrumental culture of technology and the mechanistic idea of communication. Among them, the almost prophetic reflection of the Danish philosopher Søren Kierkegaard stands out, who, by distancing himself from the media-centric perspective, defended the complexification of the idea of communication, proposing to extend its meaning to the relationship with the environment, the dead, and the divine:

> Whenever we speak of medium or communication, we need to distance ourselves as much as possible from the opinions of journalists or fashionable intellectuals. On the contrary, we must recognize that when we mention the word communication, we are not simply referring to information and messages but are defining the way in which an era or a particular society relates to the dead, the living, and nature. (Kierkegaard, 1995, p. 230)

Criticism of the instrumental reason of technology also found space in communication theory. One of its earliest expressions is contained in the work of Umberto Eco (1972) and in the writings in conjunction with the semiotician Paolo Fabbri (Eco & Fabbri, 1978), in which the semiotic-textual model was presented. This model, by complicating the communicative dimension, was not limited to the description of the informational-media flow between senders and receivers, but inevitably involved the semiotic-interpretative dimension and, therefore, the cultural, linguistic, and social context of both senders and receivers.

In other words, according to the two Italian scholars, for the communicative process to occur, it was not enough for the message to simply reach the individual or the population; it was necessary for the information to be properly understood by the receivers, who had an active role throughout the informational process, identified in the decoding and interpretation of the messages.

Therefore, for Eco and Fabbri (1978), communication would not only be the product of media-information processes, but the result of the set of its relations with culture, codes and interpretations, thus forming a complex ecology, neither purely human nor exclusively technical:

> For the recipient to understand the signal correctly, it must refer to the same code, both at the time of transmission and at the time of delivery. The code is a system of rules that assigns a specific value to certain signals … The recipient adds meaning by attributing the message to the code … it is only by interacting with the code that the message is completed. (Eco & Fabbri, 1978, p. 83)

The rethinking of an idea of communication that is neither instrumental—neither technocentric nor human-centric—will gain greater momentum with the advent of technologies and digital networks.

According to Hui (2020), cybernetics would be responsible for modifying the format of information flows, which would change from linear to recursive:

> The rise of cybernetics was one of the most important events of the 20th century. Unlike mechanisms based on linear causality (abc), cybernetics operates on circular causality (abca), meaning that it is reflexive in a basic sense that it is capable of self-determination in the form of a recursive structure. By recursion, we refer to a non-linear reflexive movement that moves progressively towards its telos, whether predefined or self-imposed. (p. 89)

According to Hui (2020), cybernetics will produce a new type of technique and expression of a complexity that is no longer mechanistic, but organicist and, therefore, closer to the assimilative processes typical of living organisms.

According to Pierre Lévy (1999), the logic of communicative processes based on linear information flows will be replaced—with digital networks—by a modular architecture and by forms of agency between the sensory, technical, cognitive, and environmental dimensions:

> Digitization allows the transition from copying to modulation. There would no longer be "receiving" devices, but rather an interface for selection, recomposition, and interaction. Technical arrangements would then resemble human sensory modules which, in the same way, do not "receive," but filter, select, interpret, recompose … Techniques, therefore, act directly on cognitive ecology, insofar as they transform the configuration of the metasocial network in which new arrangements between humans and natural multiplicity are cemented. (pp. 130–131)

The overcoming of an instrumental logic is also highlighted in Scolari's work (2015):

> The instruments that we create in humans, ready to be a docile prosthesis in our hands, end up remodeling us. *New media* is not good at all, but without a doubt it is reformatting our cognition, our perception and many aspects of cultural and social life. (p. 54)

More recently, the non-antagonistic dimension and complexity of the forms of agency that are established between technologies, environments and people—developing hybridization processes between humans and extra-human entities—are analyzed by Peters (2015) in his work *The marvelous cloud*: "digital devices invite us to think of media as environmental, as part of the habitat, and not just a semiotic input into people's heads" (p. 37).

Within the framework of communication theory, it is possible to recognize the traces of a line of thought that describes communicative processes not only as flows of messages conveyed through media, but as complex ecosystems in which technical elements—in their non-instrumental dimensions (Heidegger, 1977, 2020)—sensory spheres (McLuhan, 2012), interpretative dimensions (Eco, 1972; Eco & Fabbri, 1978), cognitive spheres (Lévy, 1999; Scolari, 2015), and environmental components (Peters, 2015) produce communication, articulating and influencing each other.

This line of thought acquires particular importance today in the context of a post-colonial perspective—that is, in non-Western cultures—in which the relationship with technology is not expressed in an instrumental way—as narrated by the Aristotelian conception—and the very meaning of communication transcends the anthropomorphic dimension, extending to plants, animals, and things. In culturally heterogeneous contexts, where different languages and ethnicities coexist—as in many Latin American countries—it becomes necessary to open oneself to a polysemy of conceptions, both about the concept of technology and about the sense and meaning of communication.

It is in this direction that Hui's (2020) critique of the Western idea of technology, through the concept of "cosmotechnics," should be understood:

> An investigation into technodiversity proposes to rearticulate the question of technology: instead of understanding it as an anthropological universe, we need to rediscover a multiplicity of cosmotechniques and reconstruct their histories to project onto the Anthropocene the possibilities that lie dormant within it. (p. 25)

MEANS FOR THE TECHNOLOGIES OF LIVING

The replacement of the instrumental conception of technique and, at the same time, the overcoming of an exclusively human and disseminative idea of communicative processes implies not only the extension of communicative activities to other non-human agents, but also a rethinking of the very idea of communication. What was previously seen as the disseminating transfer and exchange of information between people and media becomes an ecosystemic practice, articulated by the connective synergy between agents—be they human, surfaces, environments, or diverse entities (Di Felice, 2021).

This reticular communicative model, involving multiple agents, constructs an architecture of interactions capable of forming a "dwelling" (Heidegger, 1977), that is, an emergent network model, like the complexity models of living ecosystems, in which the alteration of one of its members generates transformations in all the others (Morin, 1995). Given the trans specific quality of these ecosystems (Haraway, 2019), the characteristics of the changes generated by this process are not limited to the informative flows of content and codes but also involve the production of metamorphic processes (Coccia, 2020), which cause transformations—and not just effects—in all its parts and members.

In contrast to the Aristotelian conception—which viewed technology as a means and as the act of domination by the human subject over the world—from a metamorphic perspective,

> Technology is the way in which each living being communicates with itself and which leads it to radically modify its own body and identity … We should learn to see in each technical object a cocoon that allows this transmutation: a computer, a telephone, a hammer, a bottle, are not simple extensions of the human body, but manipulations of the world that make possible an alteration of personal identity. (Coccia, 2020, p. 67)

To describe an idea of communication that is no longer disseminative and anthropocentric, that is, that is no longer based on dissemination through media and technologies—nor on the interpretation of content carried out only by humans—but rather, is characterized by the construction of habitats of connective and transorganic relationships (Di Felice, 2017), which means rethinking communication as a habitational condition (Di Felice, 2009) and an ecological practice. This describes transubstantiative processes (Di Felice, 2017) that occur in an expanded "common"—composed of connective complexity—in which relationships and networks are not formed only by humans.

The description of this communicative form, which presents itself as a dwelling (Di Felice, 2009), finds its inspiration in the work of Martin Heidegger (1977, 2006). As interpreted by some critics (Levinas, 1949; Olasagasti, 1967, etc.), the work of the German philosopher sought to construct a language capable of narrating the non-instrumentality of technology (*Die Frage der Technik*) and, at the same time, the non-externality of space.

> To speak of the relationship between man and space makes one think that man is on one side and space on the other. Instead, space is not something that is ahead of man. It is neither an external object nor an internal experience. There are not men and beyond them space; since if I say a man and understand by this term that being who is in the world of man, that is, who inhabits it, with this I already infer with the term a man the remaining of the quadrature alongside things. (Heidegger, 1977, p. 61)

This non-separation between the human, space, and technology—which expresses the ecological quality of being—is further explored by the German philosopher through the concepts of "*mitsein*" (being-with) and "*mitwelt*" (co-worlds). Both terms refer to the specific quality that underlies the realization of the "fourfold constellation" of being and which is realized while being dwells under heaven and earth, before the divine and alongside mortals. Humans, divine beings, mortals, heaven, and earth, in Heidegger's thought (1977), are not separate entities, but inseparable parts that compose being, which transforms

itself over time only while it dwells and, simultaneously, is also heaven, earth, divine beings, and mortals.

Thinking about a communicative perspective of dwelling (Di Felice, 2009), which extends the concept of communication beyond the separations between man, technology and nature—including surfaces and ecosystems—implies attributing to technologies the capacity to construct and shape dwelling.

In this sense, still within the work of the German philosopher, we find the concept of a bridge—which is presented not as an artifact or a material construction that imposes itself externally on the environment and landscape, but as an integral part of them and as an articulating element of a transformation in their own original nature:

> The bridge spans the river lightly and powerfully. It not only connects the two existing banks. The connection established by the bridge, above all, makes the two banks appear as banks. It is the bridge that properly sets them against each other. One bank stands out and opposes the other by virtue of the bridge. The banks then do not simply follow the river … The bridge brings the land together as a region around the river. Thus it conducts the river through the fields … So the bridge does not come to occupy a place that already exists, but the place originates from the bridge. (Heidegger, 1977, p. 56)

Heidegger's conception of the bridge helps us understand the non-instrumental dimension of technology. From a Heideggerian perspective, it is possible to reconstruct a meaning of technology as a habitational condition that, throughout history, finds diverse examples in different contexts and disciplinary fields. One of the most emblematic examples in this regard is the particular type of agency that develops between the telescope, Galileo Galilei, and the universe.

As discussed in Di Felice (2009), pre-Galilean knowledge was based on access to the universe and explanations through sacred scriptures, that is, through written text. The knowledge about the stars that developed in Europe in the 16th century confirmed what was written in the Bible, and in observing the universe, it only saw and recognized the phenomena described in the sacred text. It was the observations made through the telescope that allowed Galileo to see sunspots, the various craters of the Moon, and gave him access to another type of universe, hitherto unknown. This universe, reached by Galileo through technique—that is, interaction with the telescope—possessed other characteristics and other laws that could only be known and discovered through technically produced observation, capable of allowing the amplification of vision and, through this, the exact measurement of phenomena.

Unlike the previous universe, which was already fully contemplated and explained in the sacred scriptures, this new universe needed to be reached and measured through a technically constructed lens that had the power, by expanding human vision, to discover—that is, to see—what was not yet known. The complex relationship between Galileo, the telescope, and the universe does not allow for any kind of instrumental conception based on externality and essentialist distinctions of phenomena. It would be inappropriate to define the telescope as a simple means or instrument used by the scientist, just as it would be incorrect, on the other hand, to attribute to it the absolute power of discovering the new universe. The universe, the telescope, and Galileo and other elements form an inseparable ecology, similar to that formed by the quadruple constellation described by Heidegger (1977, 2020), which would produce, decades later, a technologized nature and, with it, the advent of another type of universe.

Just as the bridge in Heidegger (1977, 2020) is not reducible or comprehensible as a mere means—an external "tool" used by a subject to act upon the world—but rather as a technology of dwelling, part of a metamorphic ecology that will engender the alteration of the relationships between heaven, earth, the divine and mortals, producing a new habitational condition. It is possible to find other examples of non-instrumental technologies, expressions of a metamorphic dimension of dwelling, also in the work of other authors who, in different periods, describe the conceptual complexity of another type of relationship with technology, which is formed and articulated as a habitational condition.

Benjamin (2018) stands out, who, in describing the advent of the photographic camera and cinema, analyzes them not only as realities produced to disseminate information and content, but as active and destabilizing entities, capable of altering the ecology and the very shape of the environment and nature:

> Then came cinema, and with the dynamite of tenths of a second it blew up this world like the walls of a prison, so we are now able to regularly undertake adventurous journeys amidst its scattered ruins. With the close-up, space expands; with the resumption of slow motion, movement expands … It is thus understood how the nature that speaks to the camera is different from that which speaks to the eye. (p. 78)

Another important contribution is that offered by McLuhan (1985) who, in clarifying the importance of the introduction of alphabet technology, differentiates it from orality by the way it allows access to the universe and nature:

> The educated and civilized man tends to restrict space and separate its functions, while the tribal man freely projects the form of his body to contain the universe … Having accepted a fragmented analytical technology, the educated man does not find access to cosmic structures as easily as the tribal man. He prefers separate and compartmentalized spaces to the open cosmos. (McLuhan, 1985, p. 99)

The particularity of these synergies between humans, technologies, and the environment—characteristic of the technologies of dwelling—presents a peculiar type of complexity that is no longer merely systemic, that is, not produced by the interactions and informational exchanges between diverse entities—human, technology, and environment—but formed by connective and holographic networks, that is, without internality and externality, as explained by the particular type of complexity analyzed by Morin (1995):

> In a physical hologram, the smallest point in the hologram image contains almost all the information of the object represented. Not only is the part in the whole, but the whole is in the part … In the biological world, each cell of our organism contains the totality of the genetic information of that organism. (p. 74)

The technologies of dwelling thus become describable by the principle of holographic complexity, since they develop and, at the same time, are part of a particular type of architecture composed not of an aggregative dynamism—based on an informational exchange that links diverse surfaces (Latour, 2012)—but of a metamorphic and atopic habitational condition (Di Felice, 2009).

From this and other analogous examples, it is possible to reconstruct the idea of another conception of technology, one that does not produce and transmit human action upon the world, but which, like Heidegger's bridge, produces a way of inhabiting and altering the landscape, the environment, and the relationships that develop within it.

Unlike the instrumental conception—which limits the description of agency to the relationship between humans and technology—explaining it in media and tool-related terms, technologies of dwelling describe the ecosystemic and non-anthropocentric complexities of a condition that can no longer be narrated by the ontological distinction between humans, technology, and nature.

If Friedrich Hölderlin (1984) expressed the idea of a poetic dwelling—synthesized in the expression "man dwells poetically," taken up by Heidegger (1977, 2020)—it is possible, in light of the conception presented here, to affirm that "man dwells technically."

DIGITAL ECOSYSTEMS

The concept of dwelling technologies and the idea of communication as a dwelling (Di Felice, 2009) gain special relevance in next-generation digital interaction architectures, such as digital platforms, metaverses, and *blockchains*, which represent a qualitative break from traditional forms of media communication.

The evolution of connectivity has established the implementation of interactions in digital environments in which, in order to communicate, it becomes necessary to enter and inhabit connective architectures and spatiality. These digital environments are not external media or tools used for the dissemination of content but are configured as habitats that invite inhabitation through their connective properties.

The innovative and unconventional nature of these digital interaction environments is supported by several authors whose research unfolds in this field. Among them, the study by Van Dijck et al. (2018) stands out, highlighting the socially transformative dimension of digital platforms. In fact, according to the authors, digital platforms do not present themselves as a digital version of life and existing social relations, but, on the contrary, as architectures capable of creating and establishing new formats of coexistence and unprecedented relational dynamics: "we prefer the term *platform society*, a term that emphasizes the inextricable relationship between online platforms and social structures. Platforms are not a reflection of the social: they produce the social structures in which we live" (Dijck et al., 2018).

The innovative nature of these digital architectures is also highlighted by Accoto (2020), who defines platforms as a socio-technical and hybrid dwelling, as well as a new type of architecture of complexity that escapes institutional boundaries and traditional definitions:

> Platforms are simultaneously forms of human organization with a high technological component and, conversely, technological structures capable of creating and managing an extraordinary level of organizational complexity. They have an institutional logic that cannot be attributed to markets, states, organizations, and companies as we have historically known them. (p. 133)

Digital platforms, geographic information systems, and metaverses, more than just channels for disseminating and exchanging content, present themselves as environments of sociability that enable interactions and technological solutions of various types, becoming accessible through entry into their ecosystems.

In his work *The stack* (2016), Bratton conceives of digital architectures as a global hyperinfrastructure and a complex architecture composed of layers that,

by providing logistical solutions, service implementation, cloud applications, and the positioning of objects and people on the network and in space, produce a new habitat and a new type of geography, which he defines as "terraforming":

> As a form of political geography and the architecture of computing on a planetary scale, the *Stack* is an accidental megastructure that we are building deliberately or unintentionally and that, in turn, is building us in its own image. (p. 78)

It is from this perspective that we can analyze digital platforms, *blockchains*, geographic information systems, and metaverses as a particular type of ecosystem that, by connecting people, services, technologies, devices, and locations, creates a computerized environment capable of producing a networked way of living and a specific habitable condition. In the biological sciences, the definition of ecosystem, as elaborated by Tansley (1935), highlights the transorganic quality of the interactions between the various surfaces and entities that inhabit this complexity:

> Although organisms claim our primary attention, when we analyze them in depth, we cannot separate them from their spatial environment with which they form a physical environment … Our human bias leads us to consider organisms as the most important part of these systems, but certainly inorganic factors are part of them—there would be no system without the latter, and there is an intense and constant exchange between the different elements and between systems, not only between organisms but between the organic and the inorganic. These ecosystems, as we may call them, are of different types and sizes. (Tansley, 1935, p. 285)

Since they create interaction environments that bring together not only people, but also technologies—software, algorithms, big data, devices, etc.—biodiversities and territorialities, it is possible, according to this perspective, to see the various architectures of digital interaction—digital platforms, metaverses, and *blockchains*—also as environments composed of diverse entities and actants (Latour, 2012). However, unlike the networks proposed by B. Latour, in living ecosystems—as well as in platforms and metaverses—the nature of relationships does not result from simple aggregations between diverse entities.

As clarified in Tansley's (1935) definition of ecosystem, interactions in these environments do not occur through informational transfers between separate parts—such as organisms, animals, plants, and minerals—but through a particular type of "holographic" connectivity (Morin, 1995). This connectivity, by overcoming the distinctions between organic and inorganic, and between

internal and external, forms a "sympoetic" habitat (Haraway, 2019), in which each member contains within itself the environment it inhabits.

Therefore, as connective architectures, in digital ecosystems, as in all natural habitats, members are not merely "aggregated" (Latour, 2004) and gathered in a common environment—from the Latin *ambire*, "that which is around"—but situated within each of the diverse members that inhabit the same space. This model of holographic (Morin, 1995), sympoetic (Haraway, 2019), and transorganic (Di Felice, 2017) complexity surpasses the dimension of the transfer of information flows to achieve a shared transubstantiative condition (Di Felice, 2017).

The ecosystem complexity format describes a communicative model that is not merely disseminative—that is, based on the transfer of information from one point to another—nor simply a model of interaction carried out between diverse entities and surfaces, both organic and inorganic. In ecosystemic contexts, whether natural environments or digital platform architectures, communicative models refer to the metamorphic processes (Coccia, 2020) that occur through the connection between entities that mutually inhabit each other and that, by composing and shaping the environment, are also constituted by it.

In an ecosystem, whether natural or digital, the opposition between internal and external dissolves. More than a set of artifacts and instruments to be used, digital environments express a connected, non-autopoietic way of inhabiting. To describe these connective dimensions, Haraway (2019) uses the term "sympoietic," whose Greek etymology refers to the meaning of joint creation— *συν*, "with," and *ποίησις*, "creation." "*Sympoiesis* is a simple word, it means 'created together.' Nothing is created by itself, nothing is truly autopoietic. The inhabitants of the Earth are never alone. *Sympoiesis* is the most appropriate word to describe complex historical systems" (Haraway, 2019, p. 32).

Therefore, a digital ecosystem, in addition to being an infrastructure composed of technological layers (Bratton, 2016) capable of creating a social (Dijck et al., 2018)—composed of the connection between people, territories and technologies (Accoto, 2020)—, can be considered a terraforming architecture (Bratton, 2016), that is, a metamorphic (Coccia, 2020) and *transubstantiative* (Di Felice, 2017) architecture of dwelling and its set of interactions.

This last aspect reinforces the need to rethink communication in digitally connected environments as an emerging and atopic habitable condition (Di Felice, 2009).

THE COMMUNICATION OF ALL THINGS: THE CONTRIBUTION OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES TO A CONNECTIVE IDEA OF COMMUNICATION

The critique of instrumental logic and the anthropocentric view of communication gains relevance in our time, marked by large-scale climate events, the hyperconnectivities generated, the Internet of Things, sensors, Big Data, and the advent of *Large Language Models* and automated neural networks. All these phenomena can no longer be narrated as the result of exclusively anthropic activity; they express the generalized protagonism of non-human entities (Di Felice, 2021).

The idea of a non-exclusively human dimension of communication already appears in the work of Serres (2022), who, starting from Leibniz's idea (1991)—according to which the world is a system in which everything communicates—describes in *Hermes I*, communication as a complex network, in which the material and informational dimensions are mixed in an indistinguishable web:

> Bacteria, fungus, whale, sequoia: we know of no living being that we can say does not emit information, does not receive it, does not store it, and does not process it … Crystal, rock, sea, planet, star, galaxy, we know of no inert thing that we can say does not emit information, does not receive it, does not store it, and does not process it … Individual, family, farm, village, metropolis, nation, we know of no human being, alone or in a group, that we can say does not emit information, does not receive it, does not store it, and does not process it. (Serres, 2022, p. 67)

According to studies by Pereira (2008, 2012), Moreira (2014) and Franco (2019)—who analyzed through ethnographic and netnographic research the digitization process that involved a large part of the indigenous ethnic groups in recent decades in Brazil—, the internet has superseded the already existing trans specific communication networks, which formed the complex ecologies and interactive dynamics of the cosmogonies and environments of these peoples.

According to these studies, the digital technological network models that spread through the forest and villages were inserted into an original context, where there was already widespread communication between various entities: animals, plants, things, spirits, and people. Before the arrival of sensors, satellites, and the Internet of Things, the Ashaninka, Krahô, Munduruku, and Sateré-Mawé populations—analyzed in these works—already inhabited connected environments, in which each surface, element, object, animal, spirit, and plant possessed communicative and agentive properties. Considered speakers, they were seen as full members of their communities.

Analyzing these communicative spheres, unshaped by Western categories, allows for a confrontation with another idea of communication not based on ontological distinctions between human, technology, and nature.

One of the main contributions of the communicative practices of indigenous peoples highlighted by studies lies in the "pan-communicative" qualities of their interactions and environmental architectures. In other words, for these populations, communication does not occur, nor is it perceived, as the transmission of messages between humans through channels. On the contrary, for these peoples who inhabit forest ecosystems, communication is a quality common to all entities that inhabit the world, whether organic or inorganic.

Among the Krahô people, for example (Franco, 2019), there is a talking stone axe that tells stories and moves autonomously, appearing in different locations. This axe is not a spirit, as it has a material body, is made of stone, and exhibits the properties of speech and the power of interaction.

Far from being an isolated quality, this communicative property of non-humans—things, plants, and animals—constitutes one of the peculiarities of the communicative practices of indigenous peoples, based on a conception that Viveiros de Castro (2015) defined as "multinaturalism":

> The ethnography of indigenous America contains a treasure trove related to a cosmopolitan theory that imagines a universe populated by different types of agency or individual agents, human and non-human, divine, animal, dead, plant, meteorological phenomena, often also objects and artifacts, all endowed with the same basic set of perceptive, appetitive, and cognitive dispositions or, in other words, with such a soul. (p. 68)

What the tradition of anthropological studies clearly shows is the existence, in Amerindian contexts, of a communicative complexity and interactions based on a conception of the common good distinct from the idea of society elaborated by the Western European tradition—the latter based on restricting coexistence to humans and grounded in the ontological distinction between humans and nature.

> This ethnographically motivated reshuffling of conceptual letters leads me to suggest the expression multinaturalism to designate some of the contrasting traits of Amerindian thought in relation to modern multiculturalist cosmologies; while the latter are based on the mutual implication between the unity of nature and the multiplicity of culture … the Amerindian conception would, on the contrary, presuppose a unity of spirit and a diversity of bodies. (Viveiros de Castro, 2025, pp. 348–349)

The observation of the existence of a "multinaturalism" and of a speaking nature and materiality among these populations (Di Felice & Franco, 2017) is fundamental to understanding the impact of the digitization process that began to affect various ethnic groups in Brazil, since the *Pontos de Cultura* digital inclusion project, implemented from 2007 onwards.

Beyond the "pan-communicative" quality—which reveals the non-anthropocentric dimension of their forms of interaction—another important contribution of indigenous practices to the development of a connective idea of communication lies in their trans specific and non-disseminative dimension. The communicative complexity of these populations—presenting a reticular structure in which all members of an ecosystem and its various surfaces participate in a dense informational network—evidences the existence of distributed informational architectures that are not based exclusively on the linear transmission of information from a main sender to receivers.

Beyond the exclusively human dimension, in indigenous contexts, communication occurs in a trans specific manner between diverse entities. It is not a disseminating flow of content transmitted through channels or means, but an interaction that encompasses biological, geological, atmospheric, and other levels that comprise the complex network of interactivity of a tropical forest and a living ecosystem.

Based on the connective ancestry of these peoples, which recognizes the multi-naturality of each member and each element, trans specific communication is based on the existence of a common property that connects and makes each surface or entity part of the others, bringing together in each of them the ecosystem.

Among the Ashaninka, trans specific communication develops through connectivity with *kamãrapi* (Ayahuasca), which occurs through the ingestion by Ashaninka shamans of tea made from the jagube vine (*Banisteriopsis caapi*) and the leaves of the chacrona plant (*Psychotria spp*). In this people's conception, knowledge does not reside in the human mind or in the root of the plant but arises from the trans specific connection between the human and the plant (Pereira, 2013). In this context, there is no transmission of knowledge from the plant to the human, nor is the human the autonomous producer of their knowledge; knowledge is generated only through this connection.

Finally, a third contribution to a connective conception of communication, identified in ethnographic research—and, in some cases, in studies conducted directly by members of these peoples—is the metamorphic character of shamanic practices. As is known, in the shamanic context, both the entities and the shaman possess metamorphic properties, being able to assume different forms and temporarily transform themselves into plants, animals, fish, or objects.

This metamorphic process, as observed among the Ashaninka people (Pereira, 2013), is described as a connection with the forest through ayahuasca, which creates a communion between the various parts—generating a transubstantiative process (Di Felice, 2017)—in which specificities fade and everything becomes traversed and inhabited by all: "throughout the western Amazon, shamans, as is known, are the travelers par excellence. Under the effect of ayahuasca or other hallucinogens, shamans see everything" (Cunha, 2009).

Shamanic communication (Moreira, 2014) differs from "pan-communitarianism" in that it is not based solely on the interaction and exchange of speech between diverse entities, species, and surfaces, but rather on metamorphosis:

> After cutting me up, the xapiripe quickly escaped with the different parts of my body that they had just sliced off and flew far away from our forest, far beyond the land of the white men. I had lost consciousness, and it was my image that they dismembered while my skin remained on the ground … Later the xapiripe returned to reassemble my body … They arranged me upside down … They also replaced my throat with a tube that we call purunaki, so that I could continue to learn their songs and speak clearly. This tube is the larynx of the spirits. (Kopenawa & Albert, 2013, p. 96)

Communication with the *xapiripë*, as reported by Kopenawa and Albert (2013), goes beyond simple dialogue; it has the power to dismember and transform one's body, inserting "tubes" and inorganic parts into it, altering its original form and condition. This phenomenon reveals a connective communication process capable of generating metamorphic changes in the original nature of bodies and objects.

The difference between this type of communication and the informational models disseminated in the Western tradition is clear. Shamanism does not fit into a form of media or anthropomorphic communication but expresses a specific type of connection that alters the original state of those involved, manifesting itself as a temporary "transit" between different species and forms. Shamanism develops in a complex connective ecology, in which any connotation of ontology or fixed nature dissolves. In its metamorphic processes, everything is decomposable and alterable, as there is no provision for a singular and delimited essence or identity.

In this sense, the connectivity expressed by the trans specific complexities of shamanism more closely resembles a "transit" (Perniola, 1989)—an alteration without explicit action—than a set of aggregations resulting from a social event (Latour, 2012). Here, the alteration is not so much a consequence of the action

of one agent subject towards another, but rather a "passage from the same to the same" (Perniola, 1989). At the same time, this connectivity manifests a transubstantiative and metaphorical process, in which the original forms and surfaces alter and transform into others, without visibly losing their original form (Di Felice, 2017).

Unlike the media-driven communication model—characterized by the interaction between people and media and by the flow of information between separate parties, which expresses strictly social qualities of communicative practices, the shamanic form provokes an alteration of the original bodily condition, without necessarily changing its external form. This expresses the connective dimension of an emergent dwelling, which can no longer be defined as "natural," that is, possessing a single original essence. This dwelling condition—metamorphic, transubstantiative, and connective—reveals a world where everything is modifiable and alterable; a world inhabited by all worlds, without borders or natural distinctions.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The perspective of Amerindian communication studies must be based on the assumption of the non-universality of the idea of technique and, consequently, the non-universality of the Western and media-based idea of communication. Within the Latin American context, the construction of a transdisciplinary communication theory, inspired by and built in dialogue with non-Western matrices—taking into account indigenous practices and those of other mixed cultures, such as those of African origin and all others—and therefore based on other types of ecologies and other conceptions of technique, becomes an important contribution, particularly necessary to the contemporary international scientific debate.

The possibility of constructing a connective, rather than instrumental, idea of communication through dialogue and the contributions of Indigenous peoples—victims of a historical process of extermination and exclusion—also takes on the important significance of constructing a Latin American idea of communication that does not intend to oppose the European idea but rather includes and incorporates other perspectives. From this perspective, while at first it may seem natural to contrast the Western conception of communication with the Amerindian one after the digitization process that interested and involved Indigenous villages in Brazil, the only possible analysis is that of the contamination and narration of hybrid processes, capable of rejecting and altering any conception that refers to an abstract idea of essence and purity.

The pan-communicative, trans specific, non-disseminating, and metamorphic qualities of indigenous communicative networks become extremely useful for rethinking the complexity of communicative processes in post--media contexts—such as those that develop in digital platform ecosystems, metaverses, blockchains, and the qualitatively non-oppositional dimensions of Big Data neural networks and automated language forms. Analyzing these forms of communication requires a paradigmatic epistemic rupture. Studies of indigenous digital practices can point us in the right direction to understand Latin American technodiversities and the connective forms of another way of inhabiting. M

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Indigenous digital connective communication in Brazil: between appropriation and technological incorporation[a]

Comunicação conectiva digital indígena no Brasil: entre a apropriação e a incorporação tecnológica

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ABSTRACT

This article analyzes Brazilian digital connective communication, the interaction of Indigenous peoples with digital media devices and languages. Based on a study of Indigenous experiences and a review of research produced by Indigenous and non-Indigenous people, the objective is to reflect on the epistemological perspectives of this communication. The results point to two visions: "appropriation", which interprets the uses of these technologies as strategic instruments, and "incorporation", which focuses on the specificities of Indigenous communication linked to a complex connective ecology or cosmotechnics of these peoples, and their experimental relations with digital Technologies.

Keywords: Digital communication, indigenous peoples, ecology of communication, cosmotechnics.

RESUMO

Este artigo analisa a comunicação conectiva digital brasileira, a interação dos povos indígenas com dispositivos e linguagens midiáticas digitais. A partir de um estudo sobre as experiências indígenas e da revisão de pesquisas produzidas por indígenas e não indígenas, o objetivo é refletir sobre as perspectivas epistemológicas dessa comunicação. Os resultados apontam duas visões: a "apropriação", que interpreta os usos dessas tecnologias como instrumentos estratégicos, e a "incorporação", que foca nas especificidades comunicativas indígenas ligadas a uma ecologia conectiva complexa ou cosmotécnicas desses povos, e suas relações experimentais com as tecnologias digitais.

Palavras-chave: Comunicação digital, povos indígenas, ecologia da comunicação, cosmotécnicas.

[a] This article is an expanded and updated version of the work "Indigenous Digital Communication in Brazil" presented to the Working Group "Communication and Culture" at the 32nd Annual Meeting of Compós, University of São Paulo (USP), São Paulo, July 3-7, 2023. Given the theme of "Communication for Life" at this meeting held at the School of Communications and Arts of the University of São Paulo in 2023, we felt it pertinent and necessary to reflect on Indigenous digital communication in Brazil. Certainly, it is the Indigenous peoples who teach us the most about communication for life from the "Earth-Forest".

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Indigenous digital connective communication in Brazil: between appropriation and technological incorporation

INTRODUCTION

THE FIELD OF communication in Brazil has shown a growing interest in Indigenous experiences with digital technologies, recognizing the epistemic value of their worldviews for rethinking communication. This attention, although belated, is partly due to the increasing Indigenous visibility in debates about the environmental crisis and in various spheres of culture, driven by the works of Indigenous thinkers such as Davi Kopenawa (2015) and Ailton Krenak (2019, 2022). Research linked to decolonial critique, with its focus on valuing Indigenous and Afro-diasporic epistemologies, has been fundamental to the construction of a critique of Western communication (Moreira, 2014; Torrico, 2019) and to the valorization of non-Western knowledge.

It is in Amerindian cosmologies, in their languages and mythical narratives, as well as in their intensive relationships with spirits, animals, plants, and other beings, that we find levels of intense communicative and connective complexity in their territories. For Westerners, the "forest" populates our imagination and demarcates the epistemic and ontological field of the Nature/Culture, Nature/Society separation and its derivations. It also lies between a place of abundant vegetation and a "resource to be exploited," the "lungs of the world," almost always marked by its functionality to "us humans." Far from becoming raw material or a commodity, for indigenous peoples this place is a living entity—not separate from their bodies—endowed with complexity and intense interdependent interactions. This place is *urihi*, in the Yanomami language, the "Earth-Forest" that Omama, the creator, gave to his people.

Indigenous peoples, with their languages and traditional knowledge, reveal a profound understanding of the networked complexity present in the forest. In the Amazonian biome, studies on "flying rivers" (Nobre et al., 1991) and the social and biological networks of plants (Mancuso, 2017) corroborate this view, highlighting the importance of indigenous knowledge for understanding natural systems.

All this complexity is fascinating, and it is necessary to recognize that Amerindian peoples have always recognized the communication of life and the connectivity of the forest, due to its biological, social, and cosmological complexity.

This environmental communication of Indigenous peoples is a striking specificity that also impacts the configuration of Indigenous digital communication. Therefore, this article focuses on the analysis of Brazilian Indigenous digital communication, and the interaction of Indigenous peoples with media devices and languages. In fact, much of what we know about these peoples and about the forest itself—the resistance of both, forest-peoples—is influenced by contemporary Indigenous communicative activity on digital networks.

This reflection stems from a long research journey, initiated in 2005 during my master's degree, when I began studying the participation of Brazilian indigenous people on the Internet. Today, a little over 10 years after the publication of the book *Ciborgues indígen@s.br: A presença nativa no ciberespaço* (Pereira, 2012)—in dialogue with some Western authors and with indigenous communicators, intellectuals, and thinkers—it is clear that it is necessary to question the current configurations of Brazilian indigenous digital communication and its contribution to rethinking the epistemologies of communication.

Delving into these issues implies considering: a) the diverse indigenous experiences in the country with communication technologies since the advent of the internet and b) the analyses made by researchers on these experiences. Given the growing number of studies, this text presents a partial reflection on recurring approaches, highlighting the need to abandon classic assumptions of communication, such as human centralization and technological determinism, to avoid reducing indigenous experiences to the debate of the moment.

INDIGENOUS DIGITAL CONNECTIVE COMMUNICATION IN BRAZIL

When discussing Indigenous communication, it is necessary to first consider "own communication" (Atillo et al., 2020), which refers to its traditional, community-based, cosmological, bodily, and ritual expression. It manifests itself in orality, songs, graphic art, and its most diverse bodily and material supports.

When reflecting on Indigenous digital communication, tracing its genealogy facilitates an understanding of the meanings of exemplary Indigenous cases dissociated from historical linearity. This is due to the heterogeneity of the technologies of the time and their relevance to the communities and collectives involved in projects and alliances with collectives and networks (both Indigenous and pro-Indigenous). The genealogical approach, inspired by Michel Foucault (1992), is based on the activation of discontinuous knowledge, understanding this method of investigation in the study of the emergence of singular configurations of subjects, objects, and meanings, as well as in power relations, expressive in discursive and non-discursive practices.

For Indigenous peoples, there is a permanent state of struggle that began with the invasion of their territories during the colonial process and continues into the contemporary formation of the Brazilian state. Indigenous digital communication becomes a field of practices, disputes, conflicts, and regimes of visibility, in which non-Indigenous technologies are incorporated, converted, or "tamed."

The emergence of the Internet and connectivity devices—and their pervasive and ubiquitous aspects spread on a global scale—have become the vectors of the digitization process, in which territories, people, and things are (info)materialized (Di Felice, 2009). As part of this informational context, indigenous peoples experience the complexification of their communicative practices, primarily connective between their diverse cosmological planes (visible and invisible).

In Brazil, data on indigenous people's access to the internet[1] is not detailed. In fact, difficulties in access and low coverage and quality of connection are concrete obstacles experienced by this population in their territories, mainly in the northern region of the country. As already mentioned in Pereira (2012), the digitization process emerged more broadly through initiatives of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and governmental organizations implementing public policies for digital inclusion, especially through the Electronic Government Program – Citizen Service and Indigenous Cultural Centers (2007-2016)[2].

The presence of Brazilian indigenous people on the Internet coincides with the growth of the web in the country starting in the 2000s. The first registered website with content produced by indigenous people dates from 2001[3], a period dominated by blogs (Pereira, 2012). In a mapping carried out in 2009, of 37 indigenous websites and blogs, 62% belonged to indigenous organizations, 21.62% to personal accounts, and 16.21% to ethnic groups (Pereira, 2012). The websites of indigenous organizations were a "business card" for their activities and, consequently, had little interactivity. The blogs were mainly by indigenous writers, notably Daniel Munduruku, Olívio Jekupé, and Eliane Potiguara.

On the other hand, through social networks like Orkut[4] and Facebook, the activity of Brazilian indigenous people on these platforms has become exponentially widespread since 2008. Fifteen years later, the current configuration is completely different. After the decentralized formation of the Internet, it is now observed that the network is shaped by the concentration of platforms and their algorithms. Instagram and TikTok are preferred in Brazil, even for indigenous people, although Facebook was widely used by them until about three years ago, facilitating exchanges between young people from various indigenous territories (Pereira & Franco, 2019). Therefore, the content and interactions of Brazilian indigenous peoples and individuals occur primarily on the aforementioned social networks and instant messaging applications, such as WhatsApp.

It is through these environments that we can access the articulation and mobilization of indigenous women and youth, as exemplified by the profiles of activists Txai Suruí (@txaisurui), Sâmela Saterê-Mawe (@sam_sateremawe), among others. Concomitantly, technologies for monitoring the territory and indigenous environmental management projects have emerged (the use of GPS

[1] According to the Survey on the use of information and communication technologies in Brazilian households—ICT Households 2021 (Internet Steering Committee, CGI.br/NIC.br), 63.20% of users of the Brazilian Internet Program are indigenous. However, the survey does not offer further details about this population: where they access the internet, frequency, etc.

[3] The Cultural Points were part of the Living Culture Program of the Ministry of Culture (2004-2016), configured as initiatives developed formally or informally within the scope of culture, organized by civil society. Although important in promoting internet access and forms of "indigenization" of communication, these digital inclusion policies are based on notions of development that equate "digital inclusion" with "social inclusion" (Morales, 2008; Renesse, 2011), and on the "communicative" variation of their insertion in the logic of "projects." This "beginning, middle, and end" process involves a non-indigenous temporality over indigenous processes that escape this logic, often with a much longer timeframe. Furthermore, the "end of resources," with the completion of the project, means that many projects are no longer continued.

[2] The website "Abiayala – Shamanic Works and Indigenous Art," by Roman Ketchua, an indigenous artist of Andean origin residing in Brazil at the time. The link (http://abiayala.vilabol.uol.com.br/index.html) is deactivated; it was accessed on February 15, 2007.

[4] Created in 2004, Orkut was a very popular social network in Brazil. It was deactivated on November 30, 2014.

by the Munduruku people for self-demarcation (PA), the Suruí Cultural Map (RO), the Listening to the Forest project of the Tembé people (PA). In addition, digital technologies are also being incorporated by indigenous peoples in safeguarding their knowledge and wisdom (Digital Documentation Center, Mawó Cultural Center—Ikpeng people of the Xingu Indigenous Park [MT]).

In an effort to systematize these exemplary cases, it is possible to classify Indigenous digital connective communication in Brazil according to its purposes as follows: a) *Connection networks:* those focused on offering network connectivity, information, and training in digital communication; b) *Environmental networks*: associated with environmental monitoring projects; c) *Memory networks*: actions of recording and circulating knowledge; d) *Net-activist networks*: configured by mobilization on digital networks. This classification is arbitrary and partial, helping us, researchers, to thematically organize this activity. However, it is fundamental to consider that all Indigenous activity on digital networks has a reticular and connective aspect with their territories, bodies, and cosmologies.

a) Connection networks

The first recorded Indigenous initiatives of a network associated with promoting internet connectivity emerged with the Rede Povos da Floresta (2003-2011) and the Portal Índios Online (2004), connecting their respective areas of operation. Subsequently, the Rede Yandê (2023)—the country's first Indigenous web radio—enabled a series of digital communication training programs aimed at Indigenous peoples, one of which gave rise to the current Rede Wayuri (2017), formed by young communicators from the Upper Rio Negro region.

The Forest Peoples Network (RPF) was created in September 2003, revitalizing the Alliance of Forest Peoples—a social and environmental movement active in Acre in the 1980s, led by Chico Mendes and indigenous leaders such as Ailton Krenak and Benki Pianko. The RPF brought together indigenous peoples—especially the Ashaninka, Kontanawa, and Kaxinawa—riverine communities, extractive populations, quilombola communities, and partner NGOs with the goal of strengthening the network of these traditional communities through digital technologies, satellite internet, and georeferencing systems. These communities used these technologies to preserve the environment, record their memories and narratives, and activate public agencies against invasions of their lands. The RPF operated until 2011 and, although no longer in existence, was a pioneer in creating other connective indigenous networks and contributed to

the creation of the Indigenous Cultural Centers, an important public cultural policy created in 2007.

One year after the creation of the RPF (Brazilian Indigenous Network), in 2004, a milestone in Brazilian indigenous activity on the Internet emerged: the Índios Online Portal. The portal was created by the non-governmental organization Thydêwá em Pankararu ("hope of the land"), composed of indigenous and non-indigenous people, coordinated by Sebastián Gerlic. It initially involved seven ethnic groups from the Northeast[5], connecting their villages through computers and internet access—initially via radio—and, simultaneously, within its information architecture (website), a chat feature. All the content produced and updated to date has been created by the indigenous members of the Índios Online Network and has led to many other initiatives (Digital Arch, Indigenous Cell Phones, among others) (Pereira, 2012). Índios Online was also a pioneer in the debate about the importance of using free software, making use of open--source code (Linux) in the portal's information architecture. It has received numerous awards and has been the subject of case studies in academic research (Bucchioni, 2010; Pereira, 2012; Tavares, 2013).

Índios Online no longer has the content production and update dynamism[6] of its first decade, but it is a landmark in indigenous communicative action due to its pioneering spirit and the creation of a first indigenous informational ecosystem with subsequent developments[7]. Its activity coincided with the indigenous resurgence in the Northeast[8], as well as the ethnic claim of indigenous people in the region, which until then was considered to have no indigenous presence.

Certainly, the popularization of social networks among indigenous people is related to increased access to cell phones and smartphones, as well as the ease of synchronous information exchange on these platforms. The "crisis" of the Online Indigenous Network therefore coincides with the platformization of the information ecosystem in recent years. Furthermore, costs, demobilization, and internal tensions prevented the continuity and growth of this network.

Currently, the Rede Conexão Povos da Floresta (Forest Peoples Connection Network) project[9], created at the end of 2022, has a similar purpose to the Rede Povos da Floresta network, strengthening the connection of diverse Amazonian communities through a connectivity kit consisting of a high-capacity router, satellite broadband internet antenna, cell phone, and computer. If the communities lack electricity, they also receive a solar energy kit with photovoltaic panels and long-lasting batteries, which allow the network to operate 24 hours a day. The project, currently in the implementation phase, is led by the National Coordination of Articulation of Rural Quilombola Black Communities, the Coordination of Indigenous Organizations of the Brazilian

[5] Over the years, approximately 22 ethnic groups have joined the Online Indigenous Network, including the Tupinambá, Kariri-Xocó, Pataxó, and Pankararu.

[6] Índios Online (2020). [Video posted by Patrícia Pankararu]. Retrieved January 27, 2023, from https://www.indiosonline.net/

[7] The reclaiming of indigenous lands in the Northeast stems from the ethnic claims of many indigenous groups who had been silenced by violence and the history of territorial occupation in the region. This phenomenon was analyzed by João Pacheco as a process of ethnogenesis.

[8] Índios Online (2020). [Video posted by Patrícia Pankararu]. Retrieved January 27, 2023, from https://www.indiosonline.net/.

[9] See more at: https://conexaopovosdafloresta.org.br/.

Amazon, and the National Council of Extractive Populations, in partnership with more than 30 civil society organizations, institutions and companies, donors, and volunteers.

In many Amazonian communities, internet access is precarious, hindering access to public services (such as Gov.br), telemedicine, education, and other rights. Undoubtedly, digital connectivity enables a new type of protagonism in the weaving of networks, including those formed by women, strengthening the sale of handicrafts and extractive products[10]. In August 2024, the Conexão dos Povos da Floresta (Connection of the Peoples of the Forest) project reached the milestone of more than a thousand indigenous, quilombola, extractive, and riverside communities connected to the internet in the Amazon, promoting digital inclusion and empowerment.

Another Indigenous network, Rádio Yandê[11]. was created in 2013 by Anápuàka Muniz Tupinambá Hã hã hãe—a programmer, artist, and originator of the expression "Indigenous Ethnomedia in Brazil"—and is the first Indigenous web radio in the country. Besides Anápuàka, the "Yandê Communication Group" includes Renata Tupinambá, a journalist, poet, visual artist, and cultural producer, and Daiara Tukano, a visual artist and curator. The artist Denilson Baniwá, one of the most important figures of the so-called Contemporary Indigenous Art generation, is also a founder of the radio station.

Radio Yandê is a unique communication platform dedicated to Indigenous voices. Operating 24 hours a day, it offers a space for Indigenous peoples to produce and share their content without intermediaries. One of its main characteristics is respect for orality, the valuing of Indigenous narratives, and the preservation of native languages. With a network of 800 collaborators throughout Latin America, the radio connects and amplifies the voices of diverse Indigenous communities (Maldonado et al., 2021).

On the Radio Yandê website, you can access various programs organized by *tags*. The content also includes bibliographic and cinematographic references produced by indigenous people.

In addition to producing programs for Radio Yandê, the group conducted a series of content production workshops in indigenous territories. One of these workshops, with support from the socio-environmental Institute and the Federation of Indigenous Organizations of the Rio Negro, was responsible for the creation of the Rio Negro Indigenous Communicators Network—now the Wayuri Network—composed of 17 communicators from the Baré, Baniwa, Desana, Tariana, Tukano, Tuyuka, Wanano, and Yanomami ethnic groups. Since 2017, this network has been producing the monthly audio bulletin (*podcast*) Wayuri, an informative program about the indigenous territories of the

[10] During the COVID-19 pandemic, Suruí Paiter women from the Sete de Setembro Indigenous Territory (Rondônia) reported using WhatsApp to sell their handicrafts to guarantee income and protection in the face of movement restrictions in the villages. Testimony recorded on May 17, 2023, during the author's visit to the Gapgir Village, Sete de Setembro Indigenous Territory (Rondônia).

[11] For more information, visit: https://radioyande.com/ .

Rio Negro for its 750 communities, as well as covering mobilizations, cultural events, and assemblies of various indigenous collectives (Franco et al., 2022).

b) Environmental networks

In 2007, in an unprecedented initiative, the Suruí Paiter people of Rondônia began a partnership with *Google Earth*, through Almir Narayamoga Suruí, leader of the Lapetanha Village in the Sete de Setembro Indigenous Territory. After learning about Google online, he was able to visit its headquarters in the United States to jointly develop a series of actions that could combine traditional knowledge and technology in the territorial and environmental management of their indigenous land.

At the time, the Suruí Paiter were meeting to develop the Territorial Management Plan for the Sete de Setembro Indigenous Land, better known as the Suruí 50-Year Plan. The first joint action was the development of the Suruí Paiter Cultural Map—a cartographic reconstruction of this people's territory—using Google Earth, Picasa, Google Docs, and YouTube tools. The Google Earth team, led by Rebecca Moore, went to the Sete de Setembro Indigenous Territory to teach young Suruí Paiter people how to take photos and record videos in order to collect stories from elders, the living memory of the community, photograph and film their territory and its biodiversity, and consequently, display all the material on the Digital Map. The traditional territorial perception reconstructed through technological interactions—originating from an intercultural network of interactions between this indigenous people and the Google team—was translated by the process of digitizing the territory, which made it possible to include the Suruí Paiter territorial cosmological perception in the digital cartographic representation (Pereira, 2017).

From this map, therefore, another sense of connective territoriality was established, one that does not limit the territory to its geographical and physical components, but rather reworks it, adding the particular immaterial modes of the Suruí Paiter cosmology. Therefore, these contents and ecologies are simultaneously disseminated online, conferring in a peculiar way a connective narrative and aesthetic situated in a hybrid and communicative locality, displaced between the local and the symbolic, the technological-communicative and the global. Since then, the Suruí have been monitoring the territory using GPS and co-creating other initiatives with partner institutions[12].

In a project to monitor and defend their territory using monitoring technologies, the Tembé people—traditionally known as Tenetehara—have been trying to face the constant challenges to protect their territory: the Alto Rio Guamá Indigenous Land. Located in Pará and shared with the Guajá and Ka'apor peoples,

[12] In 2025, the project "Citizen science and indigenous peoples: Digitization of the Amazon rainforest," coordinated by Ph.D. Massimo Di Felice, a partnership between USP (University of São Paulo), the Suruí Paiter and Yawanawá peoples, and other institutions, will begin installing sensors to monitor air quality and pollution levels in these indigenous territories. The initiative includes intercultural workshops with young indigenous people on environmental monitoring and digital citizenship, aiming to strengthen the monitoring of climate change and the defense of their territories.

this area has suffered from the invasion of loggers, mainly due to its proximity to municipalities that promote predatory economic activities.

This requires the Tembé people to maintain constant vigilance over their lands, which is why, starting in 2015, they partnered with the US NGO *Rainforest Connection* on a project to protect forest areas through the use of sensors installed in trees and activated via cell phone. Approached by *Rainforest Connection*, the Tembé developed the project with the participation of young people in the Indigenous Territory. By monitoring deforestation on their lands, a network of devices is activated. With devices powered by solar panels installed in the treetops, the sounds of chainsaws and vegetation clearing can be captured, and their signals can be sent to software installed on the cell phones of indigenous leaders, thus alerting the authorities responsible for monitoring their territories, which are the Brazilian Institute of the Environment and the National Foundation of Indigenous Peoples (Funai) (Pereira, 2017).

c) Memory networks

Alongside this process of digitizing territories, spearheaded by these communities, there is a growing concern among these groups for memory; an awareness of the importance of recording their narratives, rites, knowledge, and practices.

The memory initiatives promoted by these peoples represent an important moment of collective reflection on the processes of intense cultural transformation to which they are subjected. This includes everything from the loss of their distinctive cultural elements—language and the practice of rituals, festivals, etc.—to the difficulties in transmitting the knowledge of the elders (natural guardians of the oral knowledge of their peoples) to young people and children, as well as the discontinuity of traditional cultural practices. Furthermore, for indigenous peoples who no longer possess these elements, recording their specificities becomes a fundamental act of cultural affirmation and a claim to rights.

Memory is a prerogative of all collectivities, a notion referring to the act of societies communicating their particularities over time; it is an individual and collective construction of identities (Halbwachs, 2004). It is selective, and therefore, it is also made up of forgetting's (Nora, 1984). Memory is social, but not exclusively human, because the transmission of what one seeks to remember depends on technical factors, whether bodily—dependent on the senses—or those directly associated with communication and information technologies. Thus, memory is an act resulting from an entanglement of relationships between people (humans) and non-humans (objects, things, etc.), in which communication technologies are, at the same time, technologies of memory.

According to Nunes and Oliveira (2016), Dodebei (2011, 2012), and Dodebei and Gouveira (2008), when converted into binary code, expanded, disseminated, and shared online, memory is reconfigured. For Indigenous peoples, memory is an act of inscription in time updated in their bodily languages (oral–narratives, graphic–painting, etc.) mythical and ritual. Memory is, therefore, intertwined with Indigenous communicative ecologies. It is not only Indigenous people (humans) who "communicate," act, and create "memory," but also non-humans: the territory, the sacred, plants and animals, and the entire universe belonging to their cosmologies. It is important to consider that indigenous cosmologies differ from each other and reveal forms of ecological communication, marked by the process of heterogenesis and transgressions of boundaries (Moreira, 2014), see the shamanic techniques of communication and transit between different species (Kopenawa & Albert, 2015; Viveiros de Castro, 2015).

The appropriation, incorporation, and interaction with media technologies and languages by these peoples evoke this way of "communicating," "moving," and "acting" in the cosmos, where the continuous concern for their "lands"—the place of cultural, corporeal, and extracorporeal existence of all the beings that compose it—is reflected. Furthermore, it is through communication with this cosmos and by placing themselves "in relation" with its diverse entities that memory is made present. Indigenous experiences with communication technologies also prove important in interethnic political contexts, mobilization, and the defense of rights.

An exemplary case of indigenous action preserving memory is the *Digital Documentation Center Mawo Ikpeng*, created by the Moygu Village Association of the Ikpeng people of the Xingu Indigenous Park, with the support of the non-governmental organization Instituto Catitu. Originating from a research and documentation project on Ikpeng culture (2009), housed in a bilingual and digital database called *Ukpamtowonpïn. Mira Iwonpot*[13]. A group of young Ikpeng people, acting as researchers of their own culture, began to record, with the help of elders—the keepers of the oldest knowledge—the terms and expressions of their people's language[14], adopting their own etymological criteria and categories. In addition to recording the songs, narratives, myths, and stories of the elders in audio recordings, they transcribed and made this material available in a digital database containing photos, films, books, drawings, texts, maps, and all types of documents, oral or written, about Ikpeng culture, produced by themselves and/or by external researchers.

The entire process of registering and classifying this digital collection was carried out by them, with the assistance of an external technical consultancy. This transformed into a large laboratory of intercultural translation and an intense

[13] In Portuguese: Origin of the world: vocabulary of the Ikpeng language and culture.

[14] The language of the Ikpeng people belongs to the Karib language family, closely related to those spoken by peoples of the northern Amazon.

exchange of perspectives, in which non-indigenous knowledge—permeated by the technical knowledge of methodological classification criteria—and Ikpeng knowledge, formed by their language and thought transmitted orally, were reworked to constitute this multimedia digital bank (Pereira, 2018).

Following the development of the database and digital archive, this initiative resulted, in 2010, in the inauguration of the Mawó Cultural Center[15], a physical space in the Moygu Village of the Ikpeng people in the Xingu Indigenous Park. The center serves as a place for memory, education, research, recording, and dissemination of Ikpeng culture, also housing a hub for audiovisual production and various digital content. Created to encourage young Ikpeng people to value their language and the richness of their knowledge, the documentation center has become a new space for the transmission and sharing of cultural practices, enabling access to part of their cultural heritage for current and future generations[16].

In 2018, we developed the extension project "Ikpeng-Xingu Exchange," under my coordination at the time as a tenured professor at the State University of Minas Gerais (UEMG-Frutal), together with Ph.D. Thiago Franco (UFG). The project consisted of a technical visit by a team from researchers at the State University of Minas Gerais (UEMG), Federal University of Goiás (UFG), University of São Paulo (USP), and PUC Goiás to the Ikpeng cultural research and documentation center (Mawo Digital Documentation Center), located in the Moygu Village of the Ikpeng people, in the Xingu Indigenous Park (MT).

This exchange between researchers—professors and scholarship students from the participating universities—and the Ikpeng people aimed to learn *firsthand* about this unique experience in the country regarding indigenous databases and to offer Ikpeng youth workshops in audiovisual production and digital radio production. Furthermore, it sought to foster an intercultural exchange of knowledge between academia and this indigenous group. During the visit, a short documentary and the first program of Radio Mawo were produced collaboratively by the workshop participants, a result of shared production and knowledge.

The Indigenous Network of Memory and Social Museology, founded in 2012, is another Indigenous initiative, of national scope, composed of various initiatives that carry out processes of heritage preservation, memory recording, and musealization distributed across the following states of Brazil. Organized by the Indigenous peoples themselves, the network seeks to strengthen the memory of their communities, promoting the exchange of experiences and knowledge among different Indigenous peoples, and also counts on the support of various organizations and researchers.

[15] According to the Ikpeng in one of their myths, in the time before its divisions, when the sky was low and only night existed, "Mawo" was one of the first people to name all things.

[16] For more information, please visit: http://institutocatitu.org.br/projetos/mawo/ .

The network carries out various actions to strengthen indigenous memory—such as mapping initiatives, holding forums and training sessions—and sharing information on social media (Facebook and WhatsApp). Through these actions, the network seeks to strengthen the autonomy and empowerment of indigenous communities, as well as promote the appreciation of the country's cultural diversity.

d) Net-activist networks

The networking of Indigenous peoples in defense of their territorial and cultural rights within digital information ecosystems is a characteristic of all connective digital Indigenous communication. The mobilization of these peoples to defend their territorial rights directly evokes the struggle for land as a fundamental conquest for existence. The most emblematic experience of Indigenous net-activism in recent years is that of the Guarani Kaiowá of Mato Grosso do Sul, which reached national public opinion in 2012. In that year, Indigenous people from the Guarani-Kaiowá Pyelito Kue/Mbarakay community, camped in a territory undergoing recognition near the city of Iguatemi (MS), issued a declaration of collective suicide of 170 men, women, and children after receiving an eviction order decreed by the Court of Naviraí (MS). In a short time, the dissemination of the declaration on the Internet resonated in a spontaneous movement on digital networks. The viral spread of #SomosTodosGuaranikaiowás (WeAreAllGuaraniKaiowá) and #GenocídioGuarani (Guarani Genocide) on Twitter and internet pages, as well as the adoption of the ethnonym[17] "Guarani Kaiowá" by Facebook users and public figures, spilled over into the networks, leading to public demonstrations in the streets of various cities in Brazil and abroad. This action provoked unprecedented pressure on the government and Funai (National Indian Foundation) to act directly in mediating the conflict[18].

The spontaneous, unprecedented, and networked repercussion of the Guarani Kaiowá tragedy in 2012 exposed the conflict and solidarity of people previously indifferent to indigenous issues, which, according to Malini (2017, p. 2), inaugurated Brazil's insertion into "technopolitical" social struggles: "indigenous resistance definitively influenced the mobilizations of June 2013, divided the Brazilian left during Belo Monte, and laid bare the country's political polarization."

If the June 2013 protests—the large spontaneous demonstrations against the increase in public transport fares, corruption, public spending on the World Cup, among other issues—are still enigmatic for social scientists, the "historical thesis," according to Malini (2017, p. 3), is how "The #SomosTodosGuaraniKaiowas

[17] An ethnonym is the name used to designate a people or ethnic group, usually attributed by themselves or by other groups. Many indigenous people adopt their ethnonym as a public surname, such as Ailton Krenak (Krenak people), Daniel Munduruku (Munduruku people), among others.

[18] The injunction was quickly suspended by the Federal Court, and the public outcry in favor of this traditional Brazilian population dissipated. However, other problems of the Guarani-Kaiowá—who lived in Mato Grosso do Sul until they were expelled from their lands in the 1940s and 50s—have remained unresolved for years (Pellegrini, 2015).

movement opened waves of protests based on the defense of minority rights" on digital networks and in the streets.

Another example of Indigenous net-activism is Indigenous Media (MI), founded in 2017 by young Indigenous people—including journalist Erisvan Bone Guajajara—during the Free Land Camp. MI is a communication platform that aims to give voice to Indigenous peoples in the fight for their rights. MI covers mobilizations, denunciations, and cultural events, and uses the social network Facebook and Instagram to promote its content.

EPISTEMOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES: APPROPRIATIONS AND INCORPORATIONS

Early studies on internet use by Amerindian peoples in Brazil (Klein, 2013; Morales, 2008; Pereira, 2007; Renesse, 2012) pointed to the pioneering nature of these experiences and the indigenous perception of digital technologies. Through accounts from the indigenous people themselves, field observations, and content analysis of websites and blogs, it was observed that these significant experiences pointed to an innovative process of media practices in relationships with "Others" and cultural reflexivity (Klein, 2013), as well as the translation and visibility of knowledge and symbiosis with technologies (Pereira, 2012). The ideas of technology as an element of "acculturation" or "harmful to traditional indigenous culture" were thus dispelled. Indigenous people, by using the internet and being on social networks, do not become "less" indigenous. Although many elders cautiously approach these technologies within their contexts, and many accounts emphasize the importance of "meaning" (a community-oriented purpose), existing experiences point to a process of cultural strengthening and ethnic re-elaboration.

The growing academic interest[19] surrounding these relationships between the Internet and Indigenous Peoples has, to some extent, accompanied the increase and variation of Indigenous experiences with digital networks. Beyond the aspects already mentioned—ethnic re-elaboration and cultural strengthening—investigations have pointed to Indigenous protagonism, visibility, symbiosis, cyberactivism, net-activism, the strengthening and expansion of alliances and support networks, and the digitization of the locality.

From the set of research mapped during the literature review, most began to correlate indigenous experiences with instrumental forms (of the "uses") of media and digital communication, understood as strategies against political hegemony. Such reflections do not always consider indigenous thought and its cosmologies as possessing unique, sophisticated, and innovative aspects capable

[19] Academic interest in the field of Communication is growing, but discreet. There are dissertations and theses on the subject in the country that require mapping. For example, in the editions of Compós, between 2001 and 2022, only four works were recorded that address the issue in studies of image (photography), in indigenous cinema and in ethnocommunicative practice.

of rethinking some classic assumptions of communication theories, such as the modern view of information production and communicative capacity, seen as an exclusively human action (the sender, the receiver, etc.).

The works of Fernanda Cristina Moreira (2014), Thiago Cardoso Franco (2019), Eliete Pereira (2013), and Massimo Di Felice e Pereira (2017) mark this turning point in the study of indigenous digital communication. These studies stem from researchers at the Atopos International Research Center (ECA-USP) focusing on the line of research "Tekó: the digitization of local knowledge[20]." Of particular note is the important research by Moreira (2014)—in light of the ontological turn and Amerindian perspectivism—which pointed in a particularly compelling way to a set of ideas originating from shamanism (predation, trans-specificity, metamorphosis, etc.) for thinking about an ecology of digital communication.

[20] The work *Indigenous networks and communicative ecologies*, organized by Di Felice and Pereira (2017), brings together a collection of articles by researchers from the Tekó research line, and is a contribution to the debate surrounding the networked communicative aspect of indigenous cosmologies and their contemporary interactions with digital networks.

Franco's doctoral thesis (2019) points to "connected Amerindians," the communicative forms of dwelling among the Krahõ people, the digitization of territory, and the *onlife ethnography* of the Krahõ's experience with digital technology, based on a production of shared knowledge. This work touches on a fundamental ethical question and the impossibility of continuing to "study" indigenous peoples as "objects." Researching indigenous themes means establishing a lasting relationship that does not "end" with the completion of the work and that involves a respectful and necessary etiquette: dialogue, recording and inclusion of the interpretation of the subjects involved, return of the published work, co-authorship, and maintenance of ties with the community involved.

Furthermore, Indigenous peoples do not need to be spoken for. Not only that: they don't want to be spoken for. Thus, it has always been uncomfortable to speak about or for them, as it is inevitable to feel the nefarious weight of updating this historically colonial position of "representing" them in academic spaces, obtaining, in exchange, recognition and intellectual prestige. Numerous Indigenous students and intellectuals are involved in higher education as researchers of their own cultures (Kaiapó Brito, 2020) and in various disciplines, working towards the decolonization of knowledge, beginning with the claim of co-authorship over the accounts produced about them.

In general terms, and therefore approximately, it is possible to distinguish two epistemological perspectives produced since then on indigenous digital communication: that of indigenous "appropriation" of digital communication technologies and that of "incorporation." The first—already widely disseminated in ethnographies of uses, content analyses, interviews, among others—pointed to indigenous practices or to the "indigenization of technologies."

The second perspective, in dialogue with Moreira (2014), involves observing the coupling of digital technologies as modes of "alteration process" of "transit" and "action" in the cosmos: "we can think of the temporary identifications and materialities of digital contemporaneity as products of an alteration process promoted by the relations between technical alterities that constitute and reciprocally determine new conditions of existence" (Moreira, 2017, p. 126).

Therefore, the analysis of these experiences cannot be reduced to the study of content produced by indigenous peoples or collective subjects, even though the content produced and shared by them—on various platforms—is the visible way to verify Amerindian protagonism and their networking, aspects that have been widely studied. Opening ourselves to the "processes of alteration" and the "becoming other" of indigenous peoples—based on their cosmologies and cosmotechnics with digital technologies—seems to us a very stimulating horizon for us to exorcise the simplistic applications of communicative theories—with a predominance of the "medium," the way in which information is transmitted—that insist on explaining experiences that are not limited to visible exchanges when invisible actors (formless entities—spirits) communicate intensely.

In the words of Anápuàka Tupinambá (2023 as cited in Pereira, 2023), indigenous communication breaks with the Western perspective of media. It is the transits between worlds and the connection with others, with living and extra-human entities, that configure a communicative ecology devoid of human centrality or "enunciating subjects." This type of non-anthropocentric communication is even more understandable in the relationships these peoples establish with "images" of extra-human origin. There is an aesthetic efficacy of images, a "technology of enchantment" (Gell, 2005), related to the power of beings that emanates from them (Novaes, 2008).

For Yanomami, for example, the image does not coincide with the symbolic materiality of "representation" or with the opposition (real/false) present in the Western idea of image. The image for them is *utupë*, that is, the "essence-image of beings in the time of mythical creation" which designates "equally the inner corporeal image/vital essence of current animate beings" (Kopenawa & Albert, 2015, p. 615). It also corresponds to the image of the *xapiri* (the spirits of the Forest), which are small and dazzling image-beings, seen by shamans in their dreams and initiation rituals (Kopenawa & Albert, 2015).

If for the Yanomami, the image is a mythical visuality and a shamanic embodiment, for the Huni Kuin (also known as Kaxinawá), it is the graphic art and its agency that connect worlds, as well as open paths for the perceptive transformation of an "embodied" art. Els Lagrou (2007) analyzes these Huni Kuin aesthetic forms of alterity and agency, which go back to the agency of

forms, bodies, objects, artifacts, images, and songs, in "relation" with multiple worlds, no less conflicting with their solid and fluid forms (*yuxin* and *yuxibu*).

The Huni Kuin body art patterns are called "the language of the yuxin" and correspond to a unique graphic style (*kene*) used by women. The graphic design inscribed on the bodies establishes the "relationship" and gives the designs their ability to act within a network of perceptible worlds.

> On the bodies where the design adheres like a second skin and on the minds of those who travel to imaginary worlds in dreams and visions, where the visualization of the design functions as a map, allowing the *bedu yuxin*, soul of the eye, of men and women to find the abode of the *yuxibu*, owners of the designs. (Lagrou, 2007, p. 66)

These forms, from their mythical origin to their everyday constitution, engender an ecology of communication, of the creative and unifying action of bodies, in which "form and thought," "art and artifact" are inseparable. Not limited to humans, the quality of agent encompasses all objects, adornments, graphic elements, songs, materialized and imagined images present in the Huni Kuin cosmology, being capable of relating diverse worlds in a cosmic and multivocal communicability (Lagrou, 2007; Pereira, 2017).

This idea of "relating diverse worlds" and "metamorphosis"—alteration of form and agency of non-humans—present in the ecology of communication in mythical narratives (the *yube*, the boa constrictor[21], the ancestral snake) and in Huni Kuin aesthetic forms (Lagrou, 2007), corroborates our understanding of the incorporation of digital technologies by indigenous peoples, associated with taking an "Other" position (becoming other) in the creation of new relationships—whether political, cultural, etc.—and the complexification of the body-territory relationship (Xakriabá, 2020). This communication includes the environmental variety in which they are embedded. Therefore, indigenous communication is intrinsically environmental/ecological and multi-naturalist (Viveiros de Castro, 2015), relating intensely to the variety of bodies and natures. Their experiences in and with the digital, as we saw in the first part of this article, are the expression of these variations, of the intensive transit between territory, people, and non-humans.

[21] The boa constrictor (Yube) plays a central role in Huni Kuin cosmology, a fundamental being in the origin of present-day humanity. According to the mythical narrative, after a great flood that decimated previous humanity, the boa constrictor emerged from a couple who survived the catastrophe. From that moment on, the snake came to be seen as a mediator between worlds, with the ability to move between land, water, and sky. The connection between the boa constrictor and the designs is profound: the yuxibu (spirit with creative power) of the ancestral snake gave the knowledge of the designs (*kene*) to women and the knowledge of preparing and obtaining visions with ayahuasca to men (Lagrou, 2007).

ROTATION OF PERSPECTIVES AND PARTIAL CONSIDERATIONS

In a time when we are reflecting on Indigenous digital communication in Brazil, we have undertaken an unfinished exercise in describing and situating it epistemologically. Many studies have pointed to what has become commonplace,

associating these experiences with the protagonism, visibility, cultural strengthening, struggle, resistance, and networked activism of these peoples.

Indeed, we learn from these peoples the communication of the invisible, of a non-human language, and the recognition of a distributed agency. It is not limited to a phenomenological manifestation, even though their ways of relating to the world are endowed with aesthetic expressions. Not an aesthetic expression of beauty as "representation," but a way of feeling "with." Current indigenous communication indicates the protagonism of these peoples, not only in the contemporary act of incorporating indigenous technology into the digital world, but also in the enactment of their connective and metamorphic worldviews and modes of existence.

Indigenous peoples are experiencing intense transformations in their ways of life. Their culture is dynamic, and Westerners still believe that these peoples are confined to images produced in the past. On digital networks, we can visualize and connect with these beings who constantly rewrite their histories, connect with other worlds, rework and update themselves with the digital world and its cosmologies, highlighting their role in the world beyond a mere affirmation of identity.

As already mentioned in Pereira and Di Felice (2020), to understand the meaning and qualities of the digitization process, it is fundamental to situate the cultural dimension of these populations which, in a way distinct from the ecologies of the polis and the Western epistemic and dialectical universe (human-technique; human-nature; technique-nature), have always inhabited reticular and interconnected ecosystems. Furthermore, it is within this reticular complexity that the digitization process is embedded, making the constitution of their socio-technical networks an expansion of the set of already existing networks. Therefore, indigenous digital networks connect the social and relational sphere and extend to the biological level, thus assuming a meaning that surpasses the simple technical-instrumental dimension of this process. The digitization process of indigenous peoples in Brazil should be understood not as an external intervention—of *tekné* (Heidegger, 1977) in the symbolic world itself—but as an extension and translation of this world towards experimentation with audiovisual, digital, and connective languages (Pereira, 2013).

In other words, digital indigenous communication and its networks correspond, therefore, to the practices and thoughts of the original peoples in acting and moving through diverse suprasensible worlds and levels. This involves the deconstruction of stereotypical images about these peoples and enhances their own styles of recording and their memories, based on "regimes of visibility," beyond what can be narrated, said, shown, and shared on the networks. Digital

indigenous communication also equally indicates a cosmotechnics[22] (Hui, 2020), a native and local incorporation of technologies towards the very expression of interaction, inhabiting (Pereira, 2012; Di Felice, 2009), and variation of visions, as well as connection with other worlds.

In times of ecological crisis[23] and the abrupt "intrusion of Gaia" into human history—as Isabelle Stengers (2009) warns us—it is urgent to name our present in a different way. These populations, "experts in the end of the world," as Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (2015) once said, invite us to "disturb our Enlightenment heritage—rational and anthropocentric" (Moreira, 2017, p. 122) in communication studies, so that, perhaps, we can "make a world among humans and with non-humans, on Earth" (Ferdinand, 2022, p. 18).

New nuances are produced through these digital correlations, such as the constitution of interethnic cosmopolitical movements with the intense participation of indigenous women, overflowing into contemporary indigenous art. In all these areas, the digital realm has been fundamental for the constitution, circulation, and formation of networks and alliances.

Currently, Indigenous communicators, artists, and thinkers are focusing on rethinking these experiences from their own perspectives. The master's thesis by Ariene dos Santos Lima, from the Wapichana ethnic group, entitled "Indigenous communication in Roraima and the creation of new digital territorialities: *Wakywai* network, resistances, and amazonian knowledge" (2022)[24] contributes to this by reflecting on unique, transversal, and multidisciplinary methodologies.

In the text "To confront colonialism: Two indigenous theories of communication," by Atillo et al. (2020), Dora Muñoz Atillo, from the Nasa ethnic group of Colombia, a teacher and communicator, draws our attention to "own communication"—associated with the territory, the specificities of the people—language, rituals, songs, etc.—and "appropriate communication"—the use of communicative technologies—, which are two inseparable dimensions of the work of indigenous communicators (Atillo et al., 2020).

In the arts[25], two exhibitions launched in 2022 and produced by Indigenous people reflect on communication. The first is the exhibition "Nhande Marandu[26]: A history of indigenous ethnomedia[27]," at the Museum of Tomorrow in Rio de Janeiro, curated by Anápuáka Tupinambá, Takumã Kuikuro, Trudruá Dorrico, and Sandra Benites. Indigenous professionals participated in the entire creative process of their narrative about Indigenous communication—from conception, curation, assembly, writing, and translation of texts to audiovisual and sound production. The second temporary exhibition, "Nheẽ Porã: memory and transformation[28]," at the Museum of the Portuguese Language in São Paulo, curated by the artist Daiara Tukano, narrates the trajectory and sophistication

[22] Yuk Hui (2020) proposes the exercise of decolonial critique based on a critique of the assumption of the universality of the Western idea of technology, associated only with progress and the domination of nature. For him, technodiversity is the recognition of the complexity of the relationships between humans and technology. Cosmotechnics is the concept that underlies this idea. It invites us to see technologies not only as neutral tools, but as products of specific cultures and worldviews. Instead of a single universal technological narrative, Hui defends the existence of multiple technological worldviews, each with its own logic and values. This approach allows us to recognize the importance of traditional and indigenous technologies, which possess a profound knowledge of nature and community.

[23] This ecological crisis has been dubbed the "Anthropocene," a term coined to designate human action as a geological superpower, in terms of speed and scale. Created by Nobel Prize-winning chemist Paul Crutzen and biologist Eugene Franklin Stoermer (2000), the researchers proposed it as a name to indicate a new geological era in which humans have become an unprecedented geological agent, impacting not only the environment but also the subsoil, thus becoming responsible for the mutation of the climatic balance. Although the Anthropocene is a widely disseminated term among researchers in the social sciences and humanities, the International Union of Geological Sciences, the entity responsible for the official definition of the geological

of Indigenous languages in Brazil. In a space designed around the nest of the japiim, a songbird and skilled weaver, widely revered by indigenous peoples of the Amazon, such as the Ashaninka and the Huni Kuin, the exhibition dedicates one of its sections to contemporary indigenous communication (especially audiovisual) and indigenous art.

Indigenous peoples are interpreters of their cosmologies in various other instances, in museums, in politics, and in the debate about the current climate crisis. Although they have recently had a historic participation in the newly created Ministry of Indigenous Peoples (2023), with the appointment of the federal deputy elected for São Paulo, Sônia Guajajara, and the historic appointment of Joênia Wapichana, the first indigenous woman as Director of Funai, indigenous peoples have faced numerous human rights violations in recent years.

The shocking images shared on social media in early 2023 show the mark of contemporary genocide against the Yanomami[29], a re-enactment of the eternal return of historical violence suffered by these peoples. The perpetrators are the same: the lenient Brazilian State, illegal mining, and all those who profit, directly and indirectly, from the death of rivers by mercury and from the profits of this vile metal.

As stated by Kopenawa and Albert (2015), Ailton Krenak (2019, 2022), Célia Xakriabá (2020), among others, the defense of the territory is inseparable from their bodies, for it is a struggle for life. Indigenous bodies, inseparable from their cosmologies, "re-exist." They re-exist death and emanate a vital and poetic force in the profound sense of well-being.

Indigenous peoples in Brazil have been teaching us about the decentering of the human and the resilience of re-existence, both in terms of experimentation with languages—such as radio, writing, audiovisual media, and the arts—and in digital networks, a space of confluence between indigenous cosmological and ancestral connectivity and digital connectivity.

The connection is ancestral, just as the future is ancestral, as is the title of Ailton Krenak's work *Ancestral future* (2022), because it is these river-peoples, forest-peoples, mountain-peoples, clinging to the land, who decode the agency of other non-human entities. For the indigenous thinker, it is in these affective alliances between unequal worlds, bodies, and natures that the possibility arises of exercising *confluences*—a term coined by the quilombola popular master Antonio Bispo dos Santos (2023), known as Nêgo Bispo—the affectation between diverse worlds. Not through a narcissistic intellectual abstraction, but because indigenous peoples have recognized, since time immemorial, the dynamics of affects decentralized from the human and the spectrum of anthropocentrism. By giving new meaning to digital devices, these peoples challenge us, as researchers,

timescale, does not formally recognize the Anthropocene as a new epoch. According to the institution, there is still no clear, consistent, and universally accepted stratigraphic evidence to support the level of geological impact attributed to human action.

[24] Defended in 2022 in the Postgraduate Program in Communication at the Federal University of Roraima and discussed by the author Ariene Susui at the round table "Indigenous Digital Communication" at the III International Congress on Digital Citizenship, November 21, 2022, in Manaus.

[25] Although she does not take communication as a specific theme, Naine Terena de Jesus (2022) shares "'mental images' as interesting keys to thinking about the actions of local and global subjects" from the perspective of the mediatization of contemporary indigenous art.

[26] An expression in Guarani that means "our message."

[27] For more information, see: https://museudoamanha.org.br/pt-br/exposicao-nhande-marandu-uma-historia-de-etnomidia-indigena.

[28] For more information, please visit: https://nheepora.mlp.org.

[29] These same images of cadaverous Yanomami women, children, and men helped raise awareness of the gravity of the crimes that occurred on their lands, while at the same time this action clashed with the Yanomami people's concept of "image." One of the women photographed died, and for the Yanomami, everything that belonged to the deceased person must be buried or burned with them, including their images. After the images were

disseminated, many messages were sent requesting that photos or videos of deceased Yanomami is not shared, out of respect for their understanding of death and their relationship with images.

to rise to the occasion of this journey of re-existence, should we wish to co-create other trans and multi-species epistemic paths. M

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Shamanic communication: paths to decolonize communication theories

Comunicação xamânica: trilhas para descolonizar as teorias da comunicação

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ABSTRACT

In the field of communication, the founding paradigms were built around a logical-causal epistemic matrix. These Eurocentric roots diverted the possibilities for the emergence of theories capable of expanding the conception of communication based on non-Western knowledge. Among these other epistemologies, indigenous shamanism reveals itself as fertile ground for the decolonization of communication theories. Its technical, connective and metamorphic qualities can reveal dimensions and qualities underlying communicative technologies. We bring these reflections based on paths provided by the shamans themselves, who compare these technologies to their bodies and the connection processes with extra-human forces and different cosmic levels.

Keywords: Communication theory, decolonization, shamanism, indigenous peoples, digital networks.

RESUMO

Os paradigmas fundantes do campo da comunicação foram construídos em torno de uma matriz epistêmica lógico-causal. Essas raízes eurocêntricas desviaram as possibilidades de emergência de teorias capazes de alargar a concepção de comunicação a partir de conhecimentos não ocidentais. Entre essas epistemologias outras, o xamanismo indígena revela-se como um terreno fértil para a descolonização das teorias da comunicação. Suas qualidades técnica, conectiva e metamórfica podem revelar dimensões e qualidades subjacentes às tecnologias comunicativas. Trazemos essas reflexões a partir de pistas dos próprios xamãs, que comparam essas tecnologias a seus corpos e aos processos de conexão com forças extra-humanas e diferentes níveis cósmicos.

Palavras-chave: Teoria da comunicação, descolonização, xamanismo, povos indígenas, redes digitais.

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INTRODUCTION AND PROBLEMS

IN ONE OF HIS TEXTS on the Wajãpi, inhabitants of the border between Amapá and French Guiana, the anthropologist and professor Renato Sztutman rehearsed, in an attempt to describe the modalities of ritual communication of that indigenous people, the following maxim:

> To communicate is to get out of oneself … To get out of oneself in the sense of seeking both the human and the non-human other, which necessarily means an alteration—however reversible it may be, any act of this type implies a transformation that must reach sociological and cosmological levels. (Sztutman, 2003, p. 29)

If Sztutman's (2003) definition sounds like a challenge to anthropology itself, in the field of communication it may behave as a kind of provocation, as it suggests subverting the reading, not infrequently propagated, of communication as a logical process—that is, minimally organized—of "transmission" of information. This twist is a driving force of this text, which aims to articulate some of the contributions that the cosmologies of indigenous peoples can offer to the description and understanding of contemporary communicative phenomena. We will reflect here on "shamanic communication" and how its trans specific relations and reticular and polymorphic qualities may be able to broaden and redefine the margins of the notion of communication.

In the disciplinary field of communication, it is a very rare fact—not to say impossible—to find a theoretical program with a chapter dedicated to the communication of plants, to communication between non-human animals (let us not forget that we also belong to this phylum), or to communication of other natures, such as artistic, aesthetic, supernatural or spiritual. Resorting to argumentative platitudes that this would not be part of the discipline or that it would be an almost abominable abstraction to assume, in "communication," a matter of such a philosophical or anthropological nature, one ends up—by opting for the logical-transmissive models—incurring what Foerster (1993) had warned in his observations: the classical theory would forge a "metaphysical" communication, conceiving it as something interchangeable and submissible to rational organization and control, just like a substance in any scientific experiment.

This can be overwhelmingly attested if we pay attention to what can be identified, even today, as a fundamental part of the theory: mass communication. Manifesting themselves as a genetic inheritance of the European epistemic matrix, whose pillars we could associate both with Greek philosophy (especially that of Socratic-Platonic lineage) and with its survival (such as Renaissance humanism

or eighteenth-century Enlightenment), these epistemic roots could be identified, within the classical theory of communication, from some key aspects.

The first of them is the logical-causal aspect, in which communication is taken as a distinguishable procedure in instances that are arranged from a certain order. Studying the process means dismembering them, identifying details and focusing on their particularities. In the end, a general panorama is elaborated, which seeks to resume the totality constituted by the previously dismembered instances. With this, the fundamental construct inspired by the Cartesian method becomes evident, as well as its stages of evidence, analysis, synthesis and enumeration (Descartes, 1992a), which would become basic instructions of what we know as the scientific method. In an epistemological path that suggests these same expedients, communication is considered as a process to be "analyzed"—from the Greek *analogon*: "proceeding by separating"—whose parts (sender, receiver, message, channel, etc.) can be dismantled and finally recomposed.

If, on the one hand, it is important to recognize that the theoretical history of the mass media itself would make an effort to complexify its explanatory models, seeking to explore them in an increasingly detailed way, on the other hand, we can admit that, to a large extent, this does not seem to transform in an acute way—much less interrupt—the logic of the totality to be analyzed. Keeping in mind the due differences and recognizing the historical relevance of their approaches—from the observations of Lasswell (1927, 1936) to the functionalist studies of Lazarsfeld and Merton (2004), from the semiotic framing of the propositions of Eco and Fabbri (1978) to the interpretative openings provided by the studies of McCombs and Shaw (1972) and Noelle-Neumann (1993)—these theoretical constructs presuppose that we would be facing processes characterized by certain regularities whose fundamental principles would be up to the scientist to reveal. This perspective would appear in an even more emblematic way in the mathematical theory of information, as well as in its later reinterpretation by Jakobson, when he reformulated it as "schematized" factors of verbal communication (Jakobson, 1960 as cited in Sebeok, 1960, p. 353). Evidence of this way of understanding communication can be found in the lexical framework that we use to refer to such approaches: "transmission," "exchange," "exchange," as well as "diffusion," "dissemination," "filter," "support" and "flow."

In a partially elaborated manner, we can glimpse in these models the idea of a chain of functions and events, with observable and predictable causes and consequences. This would mean assuming that their processes would be, directly or indirectly, governed or at least protected by reason. In all of them, after all, communicating means mobilizing consciousness to some extent, either

by operating linguistic codes in hermeneutical processes, or by admitting its negative by making room for the participation of the unconscious in the processes of symbolic interaction.

If communication is, in this sense, considered as a logical process, what we have therefore is the assumption that it is fundamentally something human. This would be, therefore, a second aspect that we could identify as an inheritance of the Western epistemic matrix. Even if other modes of communication are admitted, it will be the rationally conceivable processes that will occupy a privileged position since the emergence of philosophical reason. By describing man as *ζωον πολιτικον* (political animal), Aristotle (1932) attributes to him not only the exclusive status of an animal that can think in an articulate and complex way, but also one that can communicate it—it is not by chance that politics would be the very exercise of public speech and rhetoric the ability to communicate effectively, from the balanced encounter between *logos, ethos* and *pathos*.

In the same way that rational thought would be the radiating center of the possibilities of truth of the world and its phenomena, only human communication—because it is rational—could also achieve it. "Man is the measure of all things" not only because he would enjoy the prerogative of thinking them by means of reason, but because, at the same time, he could also communicate them from the *logos*—whose polysemy, moreover, reveals precisely an inescapable relationship between "thought" and "word." It is in discourse, as well as in the way of committing it, that one can reach and, for a sophist like Protagoras, construct the truth.

With Greek philosophy and its ways of knowing and explaining reality, we have the cornerstone of an epistemic matrix in which something is true only if it is mobilized through discourse. This would mean, by extension, that only that which can be translated and enunciated by reason is considered as "existing." The human being would therefore have the task of decreeing, by word, what is worthy or not of the *status* of "true."

Now, if the classical theories of communication have the human mind as a privileged operational center, any non-human element that participates in the process must then be conceived as a subsidiary element to the main function of communicating. Just as the materiality of the body would open to the consciousness the work of reflecting, communicative technologies would function as "instruments" or "tools" aimed at the effectiveness of the communicative process. The technologies and materialities that participate in the process would then be defined as "means," that is, "everything that makes it possible to achieve an end, fulfill an objective or carry out a project" (Abbagnano, 2007, p. 657). The mass media would be, therefore, in this key of reading, the one which is aimed

at the purpose of communicating, the one from which one communicates to the so-called masses.

This aspect of the instrumentality of the media, which here we can characterize as a third legacy of the Western epistemic matrix, seems latent when we seek to understand emerging technological phenomena from already known frameworks. Underlying this context is the idea that communication would be a kind of absolute process (substantialized, metaphysical), capable of being operationalized based on predefined strategies and techniques, even if within the most diverse social and political contexts. It is around this idea that the first theoretical lines of communication would orbit, with studies influenced by statistical data and quantitative methodologies: under the paradigm of the unitary method of the natural and exact sciences, those investigations would act, to a large extent, as laboratory experiments, testing grounds with a view to "discovering" the most effective forms of production and dissemination of messages.

Having presented these three fundamental legacies, the critique of the Western epistemic matrix and the proposition of new epistemologies seem to require a reconfiguration of the very idea of communication. In other words, thinking about other epistemologies means, in a radical sense, not only the elaboration of new narratives about the world, but also reconceiving the very limits of those who can elaborate them—with the extension of the notion of agency to elements that are not only human. This means, at the limit (and so that differences are not covertly absorbed as "multiculturalism"), a profound work of "diplomacy" (Kohn, 2021; Latour, 2005; Stengers, 2011), which requires learning to listen to these other voices, understanding their signals, and admitting (in fact) their differences—without claiming from them a necessary correspondence with our human capacities and faculties. It is, therefore, a task that requires a true epistemic turn in communication, capable of destabilizing the functions of subject and object, seeking new forms of communication between the most diverse "actants" (Latour, 2007).

It is in this sense that we resort here to the cosmologies of indigenous peoples and shamanic communication as a way of presenting elements that can support a critique of the logical paradigm in communication. Digitization requires a new epistemic key to understanding communicative phenomena, since its modes of operation suggest that it takes place much more from the mobilization of sensible elements than rational ones: above all because we are dealing—and this is only one of the outstanding aspects—with a condition in which images are its main surface of operation. The relations with the supernatural, the function of images—subverting the very notion of representation—as well as the action of the objects used in shamanic rituals, demand an expansion of the concept of communication, decentralizing

the human figure in favor of other assemblages and thus insinuating traces of an ecological thought that includes both humans and the digital networks themselves.

COMMUNICATIONS *BELOW* AND *BEYOND* THE HUMAN PERSPECTIVE

Before moving on to our reflection on shamanic communication, it is imperative to recognize some efforts that, still within the Western epistemic matrix itself, propose alternative theoretical horizons within which we can think of an expanded idea of communication. Among these efforts are currents of thought linked to a new materialism, which recognizes the otherness and agency of natural processes, objects, and materials in symmetrical equivalence to human agency. Within the human sciences, as observed by Felinto (2013, p. 11), the references for a renewed materialist approach include, among other theoretical-methodological proposals, Harman's (2009, 2018) object-oriented ontology, Gumbrecht's (2004) non-hermeneutic paradigm and Latour's (2007) notion of agency, within the scope of the Actor-Network Theory.

Among Brazilian theorists, Felinto (2013) and Lemos (2013) have developed important contributions to this notion of communication that privileges the description and analysis of sociotechnical assemblages. Di Felice (2010), in turn, proposes fundamental epistemic ruptures for the construction of an ecological paradigm of communication, bringing the notion of atopic inhabiting to think about the ontological changes and the transit through informational territories promoted by the connections provided by the digital.

Although all these are fundamental contributions to the field of communication in the sense of breaking with its classical approaches, we have chosen here to unravel some other reflections that help prepare the ground for the perspective of shamanic communication. Our focus will be, within an extensive list of possibilities, on references that allow us to think, through radical expedients, about the agency and transit between different entities—such as rocks, landscapes, paintings, ritual objects—and these with human elements, destabilizing, at the limit, the boundaries between life and non-life.

In his text *On language as such and on the language of man* (Benjamin, 2020, p. 9)[1], Benjamin presents a general conception of language that extends to things and nature, differentiating it from the properly human language expressed by speech and text, or more properly, by "naming"—"naming things." For Benjamin, language is not exclusive to humans. What is properly human is language as the naming of things: as he asserts, "there is no event or thing, neither in animate nor inanimate nature, that does not participate in some way

[1] The excerpts on Benjamin and, in the following item, related to shamanic communication, are a revised and expanded version of contributions present in the master's thesis of Fernanda Cristina Moreira, under the title *Shamanic networks and digital networks: For an ecological conception of communication*, defended in 2014 at the University of São Paulo (Moreira, 2014).

in language, because it is essential to be able to communicate its spiritual content to everything" (Benjamin, 2020, p. 9).

Referring to a "communication of things," the philosopher then asks: "if the lamp and the mountain and the fox did not communicate to the human being, how could he name them?" (Benjamin, 2020, p. 12). Objects would express themselves to humans through specific types of language, which would allow us, as humans, to name objects. This would happen, for example, with the language of sculpture and painting:

> In this case, we are dealing with nameless, non-acoustic languages, languages constituted by the material itself; In this context, we can think of a material kinship of things in the context of their communication … The communication of things, moreover, is part of a type of community that allows them to encompass the world as an undivided whole. (Benjamin, 2020, p. 26)

Benjamin presents, in this sense, another understanding of language and, consequently, of the meaning of communication: both things would be addressed to man in his mute language—so that he would then give them names—and he would only be realized in his spiritual essence within language itself. But, unlike being an instrument subordinated to man, having an external purpose in relation to him, language is understood as an environment of communication that makes the spiritual essence of all things communicable: "what communicates a language? It communicates the spiritual essence that corresponds to it. It is essential to know that this spiritual essence communicates *in the* language, and not *through* the language" (Benjamin, 2020, p. 10).

Benjamin expands, therefore, the range of possibilities of communication: from an instrumental conception to a vision in which communication is carried out within language itself, that is, a way of communicating *in* language and not *through* it. In this other perspective, language is understood as a medium, an expression that differs from the German word *mittel*, also translated into Portuguese as "medium" and whose meaning refers to an "instrument for the transmission of an external content" (Felinto, 2013, pp. 6–7). In turn, the concept of *medium* can be understood from the notion of "environment," of *locus* (Felinto, 2013), transcending the instrumental function and pointing to an enveloping principle, which refers to the possibilities of existence and realization of any being or thing from its communicative dimension. Communicating acquires, in Benjamin, the meaning of "showing oneself":

> From this perspective, it becomes clear how Benjamin can attribute language to things as well as to men. Both can express something to the extent that they show something of themselves: the lamp shows itself by emitting light. With this, it is suggested that "communicating" means a movement which, as opposed to "communicating something to someone", is unidirectional, therefore not aiming at reciprocity. (Krämer, 2008 as cited in Felinto, 2013, p. 7)

By admitting, therefore, a communication of things, suggesting, in this sense, a kind of action of objects in relation to us humans, Benjamin opens a rift in the tradition of classical philosophy and theory of language: the philosopher urges us to think about language beyond the use of signs and the sound use of words aiming at rational human communication and the achievement of a result, knowable, controllable and predictable. We observe, with this, a way of thinking that would defy philosophical logic itself.

Another reflection that helps to problematize the Western epistemic matrix, especially from the critique of Cartesian metaphysics, is offered by Perniola's philosophy, in which the relationship between organic and inorganic, in his studies on "thingness,"[2] is explored in a much more complex way than by the dualities of modernity. There are several works in which the philosopher makes this approach explicit, but if we can point out an occasion in which it would occur in a very forceful way, it is in the book *The sex appeal of the inorganic* (Perniola, 1994). Starting from Heidegger's (1962) reflection on the concept of thing, Perniola (1994) promotes a radical analysis of its meaning in confrontation with the notion of "object": the thing [*das Ding*] would become an object [*die Sache*] when it reaches the world of representation, the symbolic field of language.

What Perniola (1994) intends to show—also following Heidegger's trail—is that the constitution of these concepts would appear as a decisive element within Western metaphysics in the sense of establishing a separation between a thinking consciousness—or a thinking subject—and a thought object. This is a specific way of accessing the world that understands the task of knowing as a process that is always composed and decomposable into two essentially distinct elements—clearly and distinctly delimitable flanks to the point that Descartes (1992b) describes them as two distinct substances (*res cogitans* and *res extensa*). To know the world, that is, to extract something "true" from it, would thus mean the action of a subject on an object, a process always in this order and never in the opposite direction, under penalty of the hardships of the kingdom of obscurity remaining. It is, therefore, in human consciousness—because it is governed by reason—that the only possibility of truth resides: it is not by chance that Descartes' classic maxim—*Cogito ergo sum*, present in his

[2] As Bianchi (2022) guides us, we can find them mainly in Enigmas: *The Egyptian moment in society and art* (Perniola, 1995), *Dopo Heidegger: Filosofia e organizazzione della cultura* (Perniola, 1982), *The sex appeal of the inorganic* (1994) and *Transiti: Come si va dallo stesso allo stesso* (Peniola, 1985).

Meditations on first philosophy (Descartes, 1992b) and a consequence of the rigorous use of his method—would function as a kind of cornerstone capable of sustaining, the philosopher announces, the entire edifice of knowledge: from mathematics to God.

One of the results of this metaphysical approach, which would have Cartesian rationalism as its main theoretical formulation, is the tendency to bequeath objects a less privileged, second-rate or even unqualified position in relation to the human domain. In fact, an object is, in this context, always described as something incomparable to a person, to the same extent that to equate a human being with any object would mean to relegate him to a lesser, despicable or even humiliating place—something like robbing him of his own "dignity." With this, a kind of moral concession would be instituted, which, at the level of action, results in the right to submit objects to our own will, to our possession or to our forms of power and domination.

This would be, therefore, one of the fundamental legacies of Western philosophy. We are beings who see themselves as having the right to submit the objects of the world to their own will. Perniola (1994) shows how critical approaches to the idea of objectification—notably Marxian thought and its situationist developments—even though they problematize the circumstances of human exploitation between social classes, would end up using the same anthropocentric starting point. Marx would therefore start from the same hierarchy between human and thing. E. Bianchi, one of the main commentators on Perniola, clarifies that, for the Italian philosopher:

> Marxist criticism, in other words, mystifies the thing. It remains anchored in metaphysical moralism, for which the human has a dignity superior to the thing. In doing so, the Marxist critique of alienation meets Cartesian anthropocentrism. Although these two traditions of thought start from incompatible premises and reach divergent conclusions, they both share the assumption that subjects (humans) are superior to objects (non-human entities) and that objects are ultimately inferior. (Bianchi, 2022, p. 87)

It will be precisely in this duality and in the superiority between humans and things that Perniola seeks to open a rift, in order to break with his naturalness, and, with that, conceive another reading of this relationship, to the point of fraying the differences. Thinking from this radical perspective and investigating its philosophical lineages, Perniola (1994) provokes us to think to what extent we "would be," in fact, distinct from what we call "things," or, in the same way, to what extent what we call "things" would be effectively different from "us."

Part of the answer to these questions will be offered by the philosopher through the concept of "neutral," through which Perniola (1995) conceives ways of feeling—and sexuality—that are positioned beyond the subject/object duality, seeking to overcome the predominance of the former over the latter and the existence of an autonomous and sovereign self-consciousness. In *Enigmas: The Egyptian moment in society and art*, Perniola describes the "neutral" as a "process of reciprocal osmosis … between man and things" (Perniola, 1995, p. 44). Thus, while things acquire qualities of living elements (such as the soul and the ability to feel), human beings would start to act as inorganic entities, "in which subjectivity disappears, leaving room for an impersonal feeling" (Bianchi, 2022, p. 88).

Expressions of this neutral experience can be found, according to Perniola (1995), in the Paleolithic inscriptions of the Côa Valley, in Portugal, or in reliefs from Ancient Egypt. These expressions were not, however, forms of subjectivation of the individuals inscribed in the stones (desires, contacts with the gods and magical entities), but rather modes of abstraction, through which the intention was to animate the inorganic. In the context of the Portuguese archaeological site, "the incisions show a kind of suspended and artificial life, a 'living mechanics' … in which the limits of organic mobility are transgressed and 'energy is poured into the deadlines of stone'" (Bianchi, 2022, p. 89). In the same way, objects of Egyptian art (its bas-reliefs, statues and monuments) would not be simple representations of the consciences of the subjects who created them but would have the capacity to guard sacred sites and observe those who frequented them. These objects would be endowed with life.

Examples such as these invite us to think of an alternative key to the Western European reading, admitting a fluid line, indefinable and inconstant transit between living and non-living, human and non-human, helping us to elaborate, more precisely, on the issue of hybrids and contemporary hybridizations. As Bianchi (2022) concludes:

> The advent of artificial intelligences, robotic prostheses, robot prototypes and cyborgs does not pose for the first time the perennial question of the exchange between organic and inorganic but rather repeats this line of thought between natural and artificial and between subjective and subjective non-feelings. (p. 88)

Perniola's reflection allows us to radically problematize the boundaries of the definitions between organic and inorganic, making explicit the fragility of the principles that seemed to underlie them. His reflections expand the limits of the meaning of communication to the extent that "things" appear as new

characters. How to describe these other types of communication? How can we admit an equivalence between us and objects? And how to define a common point—a language?—where we can find ourselves in? Evidently, all these questions do not fit in the Western European logical universe, since the very premise of the autonomy of human consciousness would preclude any other possibility of life or non-life capable of communicating with us or of acting on us by itself. By affirming the existence of the *Cogito*, of a thinking self, Descartes also decrees the impossibility of any other thought or existence being admissible as true, with a status as worthy as that of humans. This premise, as a modern and anthropocentric way of thinking, would constitute the genetic material of the classical theories of communication themselves, prohibiting—since naturalized—the emergence of other perspectives from which we could understand communicative phenomena.

Decolonizing the theories of communication, in our view, seems to require—in addition to the adherence of our analyses to a theoretical framework of non-European or Anglo-Saxon authors and discussions—the radical critique of the epistemic matrix that sustains the so-called field of communication. What is at stake, in fact, is a radical turn, which requires a step back to recognize the most hidden recesses—including the ideological implications—that would be behind the logical-rational-linguistic ways in which we have understood communication until now. In summary, we suggest here that the point of seriousness of the problem would even be prior to the communication itself.

If Perniola helps us to undertake this effort from the critique of the hierarchy between humans and things, Povinelli clarifies how, in fact, the decree of what exists and what does not exist, of what has life or does not have life, would operate as a true form of power. In *Geontologies: A requiem to late liberalism* (Povinelli, 2023), the philosopher demystifies the opposition "life X non-life" by inviting us to think about the criteria from which we define these categories. What might, at first glance, seem "natural" would actually mean a kind of strategy of "late occupation liberalism" in the sense of controlling what should and should not be considered alive. It is at this point that Cartesian rationalism would find capitalism itself, offering it a kind of moral support in order to legitimize certain forms of control over what is considered inanimate. Seen as lifeless entities, these "things" could then be transformed into "resources," raw material to be "used" and, sometimes, extinguished: minerals, soil, water, forest wood, landscape, and all other known material entities would be part of this set.

The naturalization of certain forms of existence and the disregard of others would be, for Povinelli (2023), one of the keys to the operation of another type of power that she calls "geontological power" or "geontopower." If Foucault's

biopolitics would act as forms of government of life and its tactics of death, geontopower, prior to biopolitics itself, could be defined as a modality of "power of non-living beings and power over them" (Povinelli, 2023, p. 23). In other words, the geontopower would have as its fundamental forum not only the terrain where life emerges, but that from which life itself starts (hence also the root *geo* itself), thus defining what could or could not be described as alive. It is, ultimately, a way of seeing and thinking about things specific to our economic system and to our contemporary forms of organization and governance of the commons, operating, to speak with Povinelli (2023, pp. 22–23), as a "set of discourses, affections, and tactics used in late liberalism to maintain and shape the future relationship of the distinction between Life and Non-Life."

The delegitimization of other knowledges and their central importance for certain indigenous peoples in favor of an alleged universality of scientific knowledge would only confirm the presence and action of geontopower; its ideological trait, in turn, would be precisely in the naturalization of this process. Geontopower acts on every occasion in which Western European ways of seeing the world, based on their criteria of knowledge, do not admit as "true" and "existing" talking hatchets, mountains that weep, fogs that communicate with us, or spirits of ancestors that return as large and ferocious jaguars. We can observe manifestations of this geontological power at every moment in which our Western context judges such expressions as "inferior," "savage," "primitive," "backward"; when they describe them as "naïve" or rob them of the privileged place of truth in favor of the discredited and—almost non-existent—of legend or anecdote; or even, in a superficial effort of assimilation, when they consider them as simple cultural expressions, participants in a hollow and abstract plurality, thus failing to recognize other "modes of existence" as real[3]. Povinelli (2023) demonstrates that the forms of power that govern relations between humans actually reproduce something even deeper and earlier: the domination we inflict on things. Our resistance to admitting an equivalence in relation to them—every time, for example, when we claim the supremacy of the human over machines or artificial intelligence devices—perhaps denotes a kind of fear, or dread, in perceiving the very common, non-spatial or exclusive matter of which we are composed.

We would already learn from Foucault (2013, 2014) that the establishment of regimes of truth is one of the first faces in which power is crossed, defining what can or cannot be considered as legitimate or existing. In his own way, Horkheimer (2015) would highlight, in *Notes on science and the crisis,* the arbitrariness in the objectifying effort of human reason, exposing the ideological character of traditional theory. If, on the one hand, the scientific method

[3] A reflection on the expression "modes of existence" and its relationship with the concept of "real" or "truth" can be found in the book *Algorithmic mode of existence: From truth as image to image as truth* (Borges Junior, 2023, pp. 323–377).

would bring innovations never imagined, its pretensions of universality would make it impossible for other peoples and communities to have the prerogative to constitute their own system of values of truth and to become recognizable as *others in fact* and not only as *others in law*.

Disregarding other modes of existence and forms of communication between beings of different natures, deeming them unfounded, out of context or even prohibiting them as research topics, manifests, therefore, not only the platitude of our epistemic matrix, but also symptoms of geontopower. The prerogative of defining what exists and what does not exist, of determining the living and the inanimate, exercised by Western knowledge, would reach an even more finished form in another type of domination: the one between human beings themselves. As Povinelli (2023, p. 23) asserts, "the attribution to a series of colonized peoples of the *inability* to differentiate between things that possess agency, subjectivity, and intentionality—the kind that emerges with life—has been the basis for launching them into the pre-modern mentality and post-recognition difference."

Having made these considerations about theoretical efforts to detach communication from human protagonism and language, we will proceed to outline shamanism as a communicative system whose practice and underlying epistemology are directed to this same movement of reformulation of the predominant conception of communication in the West. This movement is essential for the studies of digital communication technologies and their potential for connection and transfiguration of multiple natures, human and non-human.

SHAMANIC COMMUNICATION

Shamanism, an essentially communicative activity, is marked by a technique of deep connection with the supernatural and the natural, of mediation between humans and non-humans and, above all, of metamorphic transformation based on the connection (or entry into trans specific relationships and alliances) and the transit between worlds and other spatial-temporal dimensions. Before moving on to the principles and operations that involve interspecific transit and modulations in the forms of inhabiting, it is necessary to recover the anthropological definition of the term itself[4]

> The term shaman (and shamanism) derives from *saman*, which originally designated the ritual specialists of the Siberian peoples speaking Tungusian languages, and gradually became enshrined as a generic category for a certain form of cosmology and ritual practice. It can be considered as the equivalent of "pajé" (and "pajelança"),

[4] As shamanism acquires variable expressions among different indigenous peoples, we will seek to point out common and disseminated elements in the anthropological literature that bring to the fore its communicative dimension, starting mainly from the Yanomami shamanism described by Davi Kopenawa and Bruce Albert, in the book *The fall of the sky: Words of a Yanomami Shaman* (Kopenawa & Albert, 2015).

> of Tupi origin, which came to designate the ritual specialists of the indigenous peoples of the South American lowlands. (Cesarino, 2013, p. 15)

Although its origin refers to "ritual specialists," shamanism is less associated with a function exercised by subjects (in practices of healing and care for the cosmos, for example) than with ontological and epistemological principles distributed throughout the sociocosmos. In general, in the Amazon, the term "shaman" designates less a fixed class of beings than a potential quality available to many agents—animals, humans, spirits—who are "capable of dreaming"[5] (Castro, 2002, p. 322).

In addition to a cultural religious system, therefore, shamanism brings together "a set of ecstatic and therapeutic methods whose objective is to obtain contact with the parallel but invisible universe of spirits and the support of the latter in the management of human affairs" (Eliade & Couliano, 1999 as cited in Ferreira, 2006, p. 117). This definition leads to two fundamental aspects to be briefly addressed here. The first relates to the methods and process of obtaining contact or, more precisely, connection with beings and worlds other-than-human; and the second to the nature of the beings with whom the shamans interact, generically treated as "spirits." These, in themselves, shift us from the notion of self-contained entities that interact within the confines of their "skins" towards diffuse and interstitial zones between humans and animals—thus directly challenging the Western European epistemic matrix and its logical dimension.

For indigenous peoples, in general, shamans can transit through other worlds, assuming the perspective of others (of animals, natural phenomena and spirits) without losing their condition as[5] subjects. Shamanic metamorphosis, therefore, expresses less a desirable option to become completely Other—a process to cease to be human (Yanomami, Yekuana, Kayapó, etc.) and become in fact animal or spirit, enemy or white—than an awareness of the multiple condition that does not admit the permanence of a univocal identity. Instead of a de- subjectivation process, we see an "othering" movement (Luciani, 2001, p. 100), which implies a change/exchange of perspectives without a complete dissolution of the self in the other.

For this reason, they are the ones who inform their community about the other worlds (or about the human side of the Others). As "mediators of worlds" (Sztutman, 2005), "interlocutors of cosmic dialogue" (Castro, 2002) or "translators" (Cunha, 1998), shamans operate "in a cosmopolitical arena where different socio-natural categories are confronted" (Castro, 2002, p. 468). This transition process is intrinsically related to his ability to "become other" through several techniques, including the use of hallucinogens and certain bodily restrictions.

[5] The dream capacity, in turn, is not necessarily associated only with the night dream. As Limulja (2022) demonstrates, for the Yanomami, the night dream and the visions caused by the effect of the *yākoana* (hallucinogenic plant) represent a *continuum* of experiences that extend and determine daily life as well as the myths themselves.

[6] We refer to a conception of subjectivity related to that of humanity, present among many indigenous peoples and which is not to be confused with the notion of human as a species or the notion of the rational and self-centered modern subject. It refers, rather, to the ability to assume a subjective point of view, associated with the possession of "spirit" or "soul" (the background humanity), available to many beings of the cosmos and not only to the human species (humanity of form), according to the perspectivist theory. The "background humanity" that hovers over the Amerindian universe derives from the original pre-cosmological state, narrated in its mythology, in which each being was in an unstable condition that brought together human and animal attributes (Castro, 2002, p. 355). Later on, we will resume the coming to the forefront of this soul background and this generalized background humanity to various beings through shamanic activity.

The remodeling of the body and the transfer of bodily techniques are one of the central elements of shamanic initiation, as it is what allows transit between other perspectives. In addition to acquiring new organs that allow them to function differently—seeing, hearing, acting, and speaking as Others—shamans often undergo the implantation of objects "of power" within their bodies. Ferreira (2006) analyzes this technological transfer in the light of Mauss's concept of body technique, which defines "the way in which men, society by society and in a traditional way, know how to use their bodies" (Mauss, 1974 as cited in Ferreira, 2006, p. 130). Since the technique is an "effective traditional act … of a mechanical, physical or physical-chemical order," shamanism is understood as an essentially technical activity, capable of connecting and promoting a communication between the shaman's body and the supernatural, a world beyond the physical or the "perceived by ordinary eyes."

In this sense, the prosthetic extension of the shaman's body is precisely what allows him to know the world of the Other:

> The animal clothes that shamans use to move through the cosmos are not costumes, but instruments... What is intended by wearing a diving suit is to be able to function like a fish, breathing under water, and not to hide in a strange form. (Castro, 2002, p. 394)

Clothes, adornments, various objects, as well as food, the use of hallucinogenic substances, musical instruments and the enunciation of chants are essential conditions for the construction of the network of shamanic operation. In the Yanomami context, for example, Kopenawa and Albert (2013) tell how the *yãkoana powder*[7] allows him to see and hear the *xapiripë*, shamanic spirits:

> We do not become shamans by eating game or food from our fields, but through the trees of the forest. It is the dust of the *yãkoana*, the sap extracted from the *yãkoana hi* trees, that reveals the words of the spirits and propagates them widely. Ordinary people are deaf to them, but by becoming shamans we can hear them clearly. As I said, *yãkoana* is the food of the *xapiripë*. (p. 79)

The communicative qualities of shamanic action are also expressed in the ontology of the *xapiripë* spirits, since the contact of shamans with these beings involves manipulation and transformation into their "images"[8]. The *xapiripë* are images of *the Yarori* ancestors who transformed into animals at the beginning of time, *mistakenly* treated by spirits: "you [whites] call them spirits, but they are others" (Kopenawa & Albert, 2013, p. 55). Their bodies/skins are transformed

[7] Prepared from the burning of resin taken from the bark of a tree that they call *yãkoana hi* (*Virola elongata*, of the myristicaceae family), with which they mix leaves and bark of different trees and whose powerful hallucinogenic effect (derived from tryptamine) resembles that of LSD, being feared and dangerous to those who have not undergone a long shamanic initiation.

[8] The xapiripë shamanic spirits, however, would be only a species of the genus "invisible non-human beings" (yai thepê), which also includes spectres of the dead and evil beings, with whom they share the ghostly or image condition.

into hunts with arrows today by the Yanomami and their images have become *xapiri* spirits. These images correspond to the ancestral form of animals, they are the "true interior of the beings of the forest" (Kopenawa & Albert, 2013, p. 60).

The concept of image here is not associated with that of representation, but with a basal principle of primordial mythical times, in which the background of humanity determines possibilities of communication between variable beings and of continuous transformation of their bodies. In the mythical operation, the transformation of the image of the ancestors into shamanic spirits extends the concept of image also to the *xapiripë* themselves and to everything that designates some form of representativeness (and not representation).

What defines Yanomami shamanic spirits, according to Castro (2006, p. 235), is their ability to index the affects of what they are images of. The *xapiripë* function as indices rather than as icons and are inaccessible to the empirical exercise of the common vision. Spirits are called images because they assume the conditions of what they are images of. Therefore, it is not expected that each shamanic spirit resembles the image of ancestral animals, but that it embodies their potentialities. For this reason, there are many more spirit-images than name-images of the ancestors: "when we speak the name of any of these images, we are not talking about a single *xapiripë*, but a multitude of similar images of that spirit. Each name is unique, but the *xapiripë* who refer to it are countless" (Kopenawa & Albert, 2013, p. 61).

More than a class of non-human beings, the concept of "*xapiripë*" spirit designates, according to Castro (2006, p. 326), an interstitial dimension between the human and the non-human, "a secret communication that does not pass through redundancy, but through the disparity between them." Spirits are beings not identical to themselves, they embody the polymorphous mythical condition, that is, they have no gender identity, species or individual, and allow humans to know the affections of non-humans when they descend to help their "parents," the shamans. They are the supernatural dimension that intertwines the Nature and Culture poles.

> A spirit, in the indigenous Amazon, is less like a thing than an image, less a species than an experience, less a term than a relation, less an object than an event, less a transcendent representative figure than a sign of the immanent universal background—the background that comes to the surface in shamanism, in dreams and in hallucination, when the human and the non-human, the visible and the invisible switch places. (Castro, 2006, p. 326)

To communicate with the human (subject point of view) of non-humans, that is, with their images, the shaman navigates through this basal mythic background. He can only assume the point of view of the other, the true "image" or the humanity of others, when he metamorphoses his body and starts to function as those he will "represent." Among the Yanomami, becoming a shaman means becoming a spirit (*xapiri pru*), since they are beings of "the same nature." Shamans only see other spirits because they become spirits themselves.

The ability reserved for the shaman to assume different positions and conditions in this energy field or in these networks (and to mobilize them) is what grants him the "true power": "the most powerful people are those who are able to 'jump' from one reality to another; these are the shamans" (Guédon, 1984 as cited in Castro, 1998, p. 87). Engendering a multiple subjective condition, shamans connect the human and non-human Amazonian worlds: "By 'dying' under the effect of *yākoana*, a shaman identifies himself with the being-images of the *xapiri* (spirits) that he 'lowers', and in doing so, incorporates his gaze (his perspective)" (Albert, 2013 as cited in Kopenawa & Albert, 2013, p. 540).

Shamanic knowledge, unlike Western knowledge, is not a practice related to the mind or the "soul," but to the corporeal. It is only completed from direct bodily metamorphosis. To represent (in the political sense) the spirits with which they connect, shamans transform their bodies. The shaman overcomes his human condition (as a species) to assume the humanity of others and see spirits and animals as humans, based on their "spirit-images" (Albert, 2013 as in Kopenawa & Albert, 2013). But this overcoming is never total, since, like a "diplomat," the shaman is also tied to his group/time of origin and uses his references and techniques in the actions and negotiations he operates in the supernatural sphere.

As we have already seen, the various techniques that transform the shaman's body allow him not only to function as other-than-humans, to cross specific and temporal barriers, connecting different cosmic levels and perspectives, and to spread the knowledge acquired in these journeys to humans. This mediating quality is what makes shamanism understood as a "communication system" that is essential for the cosmopolitics of these peoples (Sztutman, 2005). This reverberates in the speeches of the shamans themselves, who compare themselves to communicative technologies, such as radios, telephones, cinema, and computers.

According to Kopenawa, the ropes of the Yanomami shamans' hammocks are like antennas that allow the *xapiripë* spirits to dream as television images (Kopenawa & Albert, 2013, p. 375). The comparison with the radio system and telephone lines also offers a picture of how the spirits and their music are led to the shamans (Kopenawa & Albert, 2013, p. 36). In addition to manipulating

communicative technologies, shamans, on their own terms, transform themselves into them. It is very common for shamans to compare themselves to the media and reinforce their "mediatic" role on occasions when they transmit words or songs coming from the supernatural dimension, whether from the gods, as among the Araweté, or from the *xapiripë spirits*, as among the Yanomami. In the case of Araweté, the shamans often compare themselves to a radio, because, according to Castro (1986 as cited in Ferreira, 2006, p. 195), the expression "music of the divinities" indicates that he is only a vehicle of a voice that is not in his body and that he, the shaman, does not invent or control the songs, but only brings them.

In the Yanomami case, the songs reproduced by the shamans are part of a vast network of communication that begins with the various language-knowing trees created by the god *Omama* at the beginning of time. The xapiripë spirits travel to them, planted on the borders between the forest and the sky, to collect the songs in invisible baskets like the "cassette players of the whites," in which Omama also inserted an image of these musical trees (Kopenawa & Albert, 2013). By learning them, the shamanic spirits perform their presentation dances to their parents so that they can "imitate" them and bring to the common people the songs of the beginning of time: "do not think that shamans sing on their own initiative, without reason! They reproduce the songs of the *xapiripë*, which enter one after the other in their ears as if they were entering microphones" (Kopenawa & Albert, 2013, p. 59).

Some analogies of native discourses are also advancing in the direction of digital communication technologies. The Yanomami shaman Levi Hewakalaxima pronounces during a ritual: "tell them that I am 'lowering' on my chest the image of the song-words of the oropendola bird" (Santos, 2013, p. 57). Davi Kopenawa comments to Laymert Garcia dos Santos that the "body of the shaman is the computer of the whites" (Santos, 2013). In this sense, the ideas of *downloading* and the body as a "computer" are as close to the shamanic experience as (but still in other terms) as radio, television, and cinema.

The contact with the technologies of the whites allowed, therefore, an unprecedented reflection and elaboration by the indigenous people about the very meaning of shamanism and its communicative dimension. Although particular and contextually produced, it is possible to find general principles among these approximations and experiences with different machines, which say a lot about both shamanism and these technologies. Thinking about the means of communication from the functioning of hallucinogens and shamanism means understanding them not only as instruments for transmitting or passing on messages, but as connectors that allow images (and, therefore, realities) that were

not visible before and inaudible audios to become sensitively apprehensible and, above all, to "penetrate the person's body" (Ferreira, 2006, p. 194).

If we stop seeing shamanism as a watertight conceptual category that refers to an exclusive property of certain cultural systems and start to think of it, as indicated by Sztutman (2005), as a "communication system"—or even, we would say, a "communication network" (connection) between perspectives—it seems possible to affirm that, among its contemporary machinic variations already indicated by the native discourse itself, digital networks emerge as shamanic powers that engender fundamental principles for this practice and operation. Among them, we highlight the transit between space-time dimensions different from everyday ones: a metamorphic condition necessary for this transit, being essential the occupation of the perspective of others through the temporary and controlled transgression of borders based on the standard digital language, the "capture of the imperceptible (making accessible to the senses and intellect what was previously inaccessible to them [through the organized use of reason])" and the "channeling of forces until then uncontrollable," making the intangible manipulable (Ferreira, 2006, pp. 204–205).

Shamanism therefore opens a bias for us to think about communication theories in dimensions that are still little explored, admitting the connection with non-humans and exploring transitive ways of inhabiting oneself (Di Felice, 2010; Di Felice & Pereira, 2017). Digital networks, in turn, suggest taking on specific shamanic functions and capacities. Digital technologies, in this sense, provide experiences that are qualitatively different from analog media and especially favor the transgression of borders and the manipulation of this "supernatural" other, the vast world of interconnected networks. The conception of communication used to describe and think about these technologies must go beyond that restricted to human language and to the passing on of messages rationally apprehensible by senders and receivers.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Thinking about shamanic communication thus leads us to a critical view of our own ways of knowing communicative phenomena from the Western epistemic matrix. Moreover, it allows us to show how the communication model based on the notion of emission and reception is directly dependent on the asymmetrical relationship between the subject that thinks and the object to be thought, which has its theoretical construct best finished in Descartes' rationalism, its universalizing project in the European Enlightenment and its practical application in what was called the American and African "civilizational

project." The perspective of communication as a transmissive process—where the sender is active and the receiver is passive, the former is a subject and the latter is an object, the former holds the prerogative of action and the latter has the fundamental function of receiving it—not only perpetuates this asymmetry between the speaker and the listener, but, from a symbolic and moral point of view, legitimizes it.

The logic of the sender-receiver (a premise that, although problematized in theory, still seems to be quite alive in practice) may not only mean a first and less sophisticated way of understanding communicative processes in the history of communication theories, but rather a central symptom of its own ideological character: this interpretation perpetuates and naturalizes a qualitative difference whose result is the subjection of one to the other: the one who speaks (subject of reason), in doing so, exercises power over the other, object, who *depends on* and *is subject to the* action of another.

If this dynamic is reconfigured by admitting new human actors as holders of the prerogative of speech—by "multiplying voices," as Vattimo (1989) would say—on the other hand, it is maintained as an authoritarian logic (which concentrates in itself the *auctoritas*, the quality of what it "produces," which centralizes the action in itself), which means maintaining discursive practices as an expedient of power (in spite of all the changes verified in the territory of what we could name, with reservations, "public opinion"). It seems, then, impossible to imagine possibilities of decolonization without involving what this process would mean from the communicative point of view, of elaboration and operationalization of discourse. If this hypothesis is correct, wouldn't the perpetuation of the anthropocentric approach to communication promote, in the last measure, a kind of concealment of the civilizational project, admitting certain flexibilizations, but maintaining its fundamental substrate? Wouldn't it mean putting old wine in new bottles?

If we can admit the verb "decolonize" in the context of communication and if, in fact, this is possible from a material and symbolic point of view, a true process in this sense must imply a complete change of thought, based on the assumption of alternative epistemic matrices that allow us to think in other keys, identifying, in the context of what we call "world," new beings, relations and modes of existence. It is in view of this that such a task suggests involving, so to speak, a lexical change in the very sense of proposing new languages inspired, for example, by indigenous cosmologies.

As we have seen, there are Western theorists engaged in a growing effort to subvert their legacies—rational and anthropocentric—towards the destabilization and reconfiguration of the boundaries between organic and inorganic, life and

non-life, human and non-human. Affected by indigenous Australians, Povinelli (2023) warns of the multiple semiotically mediated meanings, beyond human language, such as olfactory stimuli and other forms of assemblages involved in the relations between humans, mountains, fogs, and other landscapes reconfigured by geontopower in the late liberalism of occupation. In turn, Benjamin (2020) and Perniola (1994), in the face of communicative technologies and the feelings that emerge from them, present possibilities of resignifying the world and things, more than their representations.

Shamanic ecological networks appear, finally, as indispensable allies in this endeavor, since they derive from a thought and an attitude towards the world that challenges the "modern rupture" between nature and culture and the centering and privilege of anthropos, showing themselves close to the conceptual reformulation and modes of thought necessary for the conception of a more-than-human communication, ecological and reticular. Shamanism, because it can make the voice of the forest heard, has always operated in this hybrid zone between nature and society, regulating the reciprocal interferences between one and the other.

In short, the idea of communication suggested by shamanic action opens paths for the decentralization of the European epistemic matrix in the field of communication. Originally reticular and ecological, it presents an indigenous communicative perspective, capable of encompassing trans specific assemblages between humans, spirits—or images in their multiplicities—, objects and landscapes. Through these, multiple voices are not only heard but effectively taken as legitimate in their own terms and modes of existence. M

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Sateré-Mawé notes on Western cosmophagy: between the prototyping of worlds and Nusoken

Notas Sateré-Mawé à cosmofagia do ocidente: entre a prototipação de mundos e o Nusoken

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ABSTRACT

The text addresses how the west has prototyped a worldview based on its form of knowledge, which encompasses philosophy, religion, science, and technology. In doing so, it ignores the perspective of other cosmologies. The article also highlights the tensions and contradictions in the relationship between humans and nature. It demonstrates the encounter between the west and the sateré-mawé ethnicity and the vast differences in their cosmological conceptions. It discusses communication in the practices of the sateré-mawé, emphasizing the importance of guaraná and initiation rituals as forms of knowledge and cultural resistance.

Keywords: Cosmophagy, western, reason, Sateré-Mawé.

RESUMO

O texto aborda o modo como Ocidente prototipou uma visão de mundo baseado, na sua forma de conhecimento, que perpassa pela filosofia, pela religião, pela ciência e tecnologias. E, desse modo, ignora a perspectiva de outras cosmologias. O artigo destaca ainda as tensões e contradições na relação entre homem e natureza. Demonstra o encontro do ocidente com a etnia Sateré-Mawé e o seu abismo de distintas concepções cosmológicas. Recorta a comunicação nas práticas dos Sateré-Mawé, enfatizando a importância do guaraná e dos rituais de passagem como formas de conhecimento e resistência cultural.

Palavras-chave: Cosmofagia, ocidental, razão, Sateré-Mawé.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTES: THE WEST AND GLOBE PROTOTYPING: TO INVENT OTHER WORLDS

IT SEEMS TANGIBLE to us to affirm that the West has projected itself in the world as truth(s) about other peoples. These are truths with philosophical, Judeo-Christian, informational, scientific and technological bases. However, the statement would also be an inappropriate reduction of what the *western modus operandi* is. We then use to think of the Westerner as a prototype that is born as a bubble, seeks historically its global project, presents itself porous and explodes; it becomes foam and ceases to be an image reference.

One can trace the traces of the foams and aporias that Westernism marks on the globe and on non-Western bodies, as if they were drawn by sharp points or blades, as well as by a cartography of the terrestrial body and the body of the other. If you want to find out about these aporias, just ask one question: what is the Western world?

The answer will not be given or exhausted in this short text, but we will follow some clues. We could follow a non-historicist path, close to Heidegger (2014), for the unveiling of the world in the way we move and perceive what is at hand, as well as what we use and undertake. However, it seems unfeasible, for the purpose of this article, to centralize it on Heidegger's image of the world. Even so, we will rescue this author throughout the work in primordial circumstances. Finally, it is important to note that there is a deviation in the previous question. Heidegger (2014) was partially concerned with the understanding of the world. We will address, in this first moment of the text, the image that the Western world has produced of itself and of others.

In this way, we prefer to perceive the world, according to the West, closer to the perspective of Sloterdijk (2004), because he brings to light prototyping. According to this author, the Greek geometers and philosophers began the globalization of the universe more than two thousand five hundred years ago, while the West is partly self-explained by the process of globalization. His interest was ignited by its round perfection and its geometric constructability. Therefore, anyone who was not a geometer or ontologist was not worthy of being a connoisseur of beautiful things.

> Under the sign of the round shape, a geometrically perfect shape, which to this day we call the Greek sphere and, even more, the Roman globus, the business of Western reason with the whole world begins and ends. It was the first European cosmologists, mathematicians, and metaphysicians who imposed a new factual definition on mortals: being creative animals and inhabitants. of spheres. Globalization begins as the geometrization of the immeasurable. (Sloterdijk, 2004, p. 43)

Sloterdijk (2003) suggests that the memories of the venerated ancient doctrines are discovered in the philosophical origins of a process that is now in crisis under the heading of globalization. "Its true history must be told, from the geometrization of the world in Plato and Aristotle to the circumcircle of the last sphere, the earth, by means of ships, capitals and signs" (Sloterdijk, 2003, p. 69). Therefore, modern globalization—which expands with maritime expansion—is the result of a previous idea of the globe. Therefore, the Greek philosophical bubble already projects the conception of the world and the globe (Figure 1).

Figure 1

Philosophers in the Academy[1]

Note. Galileo Museum (approx. 100 a.C. a 79 d.C.).

[1] The mosaic is dated to the first century A.D. and is a copy of a Greek original made in Hellenistic times around 200 B.C. There is the identification with Plato and his school; There is a representation of the globe and a figure holding a stick that indicate that they are discussing astronomy problems.

Therefore, the Western can be understood here—groping for Heidegger's clues (1977, p. 16)—as all that thought that is structured from classical Greek philosophy and that goes through a process of translation of Greek words into Roman-Latin thought.

Notably, not all classical thinkers dealt with the same themes. Physicists were concerned with material things—*physis* and *kosmos*—and with the conditions surrounding nature. However, there was a turn: a discontinuation of the *episteme (επιστήμη)*, in which Socrates' philosophy of interiority, his rational dialectic and Socratic pedagogy are assumed.

Another circumstance is that, according to Heidegger (2015), the word *philosophía* points, first, to the existence of the Greek world. In fact, there would

be no *philosophía* without *polis*, based on an ideal model of collective vision of welcoming one's peers and expelling foreigners—the basis of being a citizen—in the classical Greek form.

More than that: this same *philosophy* determines the path in Western history, which is permeated by different cultures, but which establishes a very specific way of seeing the world. Philosophy is born Greek in its essence, incorporates other peoples such as the Macedonians, but, even when reappropriated, it assumes a tautological role. It is reasonable to argue that the Western globe project is porous. Non-Western influences emerge along with Western thought, but the Greek-Roman-Judeo-Christian cosmological configuration is so enduring that it remains the reference base of the Westernized world.

The originally Greek Eurocentric gaze becomes amalgamated with a later model of the ideal world by representations of Christianity, which emerges in philosophical thought during the Middle Ages, as well as permeates the conception of another question: "what is[2] Western man?". Aristotle (2014), in *Nicomachean Ethics*, indicates that if the answer about man were answered easily, it would not be necessary to think about it. The origin of the construction of Western man stems from the study of the soul in classical philosophy and/or from the conception of fallen man (Scheler, 1986).

Max Scheler (1986), a predecessor thinker who received criticism from Martin Heidegger and who appears directly in his work and in the texts of Peter Sloterdijk, explains the configuration of the world through five visions that converge on the interiority and history of the Western anthropological condition. This author understands that the Western world is willing to some aspects, which determine what he calls philosophical anthropology.

The first conception of the idea of (human) man, which will interfere in the Western view, is not a product of philosophy or science, "but of religious faith" (Scheler, 1986, p. 77). In addition, it represents the result of the Jewish religious conception and its documents, especially the Old Testament—, conceived as the myth of a creation of man (body and soul) by a personal God, whose creation unfolds in the figure of the woman; therefore, a primitive couple. The first conception up to the New Testament will merge with classical philosophy and usher in a new perception in the Patristic and Scholastic tradition.

> The anthropology of the Christian-Jewish faith has also, as is well known, given rise to an enormous number of historical conceptions and perspectives of universal history, from Augustine's City of God to the most modern trends in theological thought, including Otto von Freising and Bossuet. (Scheler, 1986, p. 77)

[2] The question of men in classical philosophy does not consistently consider the condition of women. In fact, the conception of the term man from this period, nowadays, is outdated and inadequate. When the term man is used, the original terms of the chosen works are preserved, the anthropological condition is addressed. Thus, the figure of the woman is historically placed in a place of exclusion in the description of descendants in the Old Testament and/or in the Greek Agora.

The second idea about Western man, which still prevails among us and "is an invention of the Greeks, of the bourgeoisie of the Greek city" (Scheler, 1986, p. 79), is the conception of *homo sapiens*—more clearly derived from the philosophy of Anaxagoras, Plato and Aristotle. It is this idea that distinguishes man from animal.

Thus, Scheler (1986) argues that among these Greeks it is understood that the human species belongs to a specific agent that only it can belong to. According to Scheler (1986), "irreducible agent to those elementary agents that belong to the souls of plants and animals—reason (*λόγος, ratio*)" (pp. 79–80). Reason, on the other hand, is configured in the unit of measurement that distinguishes man from plants and animals.

Obviously, in the first moment of the West, reason is not a modern conception. Later, it goes through Descartes (1980), and thus, it is gradually configured in the organization of the process on reason that will be repeated with few changes in the history of Western man. Man guided by reason and separation from nature is a classical Greek invention (Di Felice, 2009) and lasts until Kant (2007):

> the idea of a pure intelligible world, as a collection of all intelligences, to which we ourselves belong as rational beings (since, on the other hand, we are at the same time members of the sensible world), remains a usable and licit idea in view of a rational belief, even if all knowledge ends at the border of this world, in order to produce in us by means of the magnificent ideal of a universal kingdom of ends in themselves (of rational beings), to which we can belong as members as soon as we conduct ourselves carefully according to maxims of liberty as if they were laws of nature. (p. 116)

The ability to think abstractly and universally—allowing people to produce concepts and inferences and reason logically—is fundamental to Kant, who, in turn, was deeply influenced by Newtonian thought. In this way, he emphasizes that reason has limits and that it cannot go beyond possible experience. Thus, science, since Descartes, has radically reorganized the introduction of the dichotomous method that separates body and mind; man and nature; subject and object.

In Scheler's (1986) third position on man, the notion of *homo faber* prevails and the inheritance in the naturalist, positivist and, later, pragmatist traditions predominates. This tradition denies the particular and specific rational capacity of man. There is no difference in essence between man and animal; There is only a difference in degree. Man is subject to the same elements, forces and laws as other living beings, but he is an instinctive being. Thoughts, wills, and

emotional acts are only a kind of sign language, by which instinctive impulses communicate with each other. What we mean by knowledge, for this current, would be a series of images that is gradually richer between the stimulus and the reaction of the organism. An example would be the signs of things—manufactured by man himself—and the conventional relations between these signs.

> So what is man here essentially? He is: 1st, an animal of signs (language); 2nd, the instrument animal; 3rd, a cerebral being, that is, a being that, for the brain, especially for the cortical function, consumes a much greater portion of energy than other animals… Slowly, from the Greek sensualism of Democritus and Epicurus, to the powerful currents of thought of positivism of Bacon, Hume, Mill, Comte, Spencer, later mainly by the theory of evolution linked to the names of Darwin and Lamarck, and later still by the pragmatic-conventionalist philosophies (also functionalist), the image of man as *homo faber* was elaborated—in very different individual senses that do not concern us here. (Scheler, 1986, p. 85)

It will not be possible to deal here with all the positions pointed out by Scheler (1986), but we will highlight the naturalist's excerpts. If we consider the reference of the world by instincts and man as essentially an instinctive being in history—which corresponds to his naturalistic idea—we can adopt three basic forms or three systems of instincts pointed out by the author: 1) the conception of history called economic (Marxism), for which history is essentially the class struggle, which thinks of finding in the system of the instincts of nourishment the most powerful and the most decisive driving force of every collective event; 2) the second naturalistic conception corresponds to the theory that sees the *primum movens* of history in the primitive instinct of reproduction and its quantitative and qualitative effects, and 3) the last naturalistic conception is that of political power. Scheler (1986) understands that the general thinking of Thomas Hobbes and Machiavelli would deal with the results of political struggles and not economic ones for power.

The fourth position of Scheler (1986) presents a total, strange and disconcerting dissonance in comparison with previous conceptions when it shows the need for man's decadence. It is the opposite of all other conceptions: *homo sapiens* or *homo faber*—the Adam of Christians—fallen but again raised and redeemed during time or, again, of the instinctive being. Man is considered, in this current, a dead end of life in general; its ratio is unhealthy, the spirit is born of pain and suffering. According to this school of thought, man has lost more than he has gained in his history.

The last and fifth point is the Nietzschean position on man in Zarathustra, man as a being of vital potency—the superman—which reflects the skeptical perspective. Nihilism is the posture of denial or skepticism in relation to the value and purpose of life and existence. It is characterized by the rejection of traditional values, distrust of absolute truth, as well as a lack of faith in the meaning of life. They are part of the foundations that underpin the postmodern perspective. Friedrich Nietzsche's cynicism is not the same as that which prevails in modernity (Scheler, 1986). He was probably the last *kynikós* (*κυνικός*), who practiced something that referred to the cynic of Diogenes (Sloterdijk, 2012). Sloterdijk (2012) contributes to this debate by showing that cynicism is no longer a form of transgression and of seeing the world and has been converted into a form of self-centered gains and attacks.

Following the thought of Scheler (1986), contemporaneity is marked by uncertain positions about the essence and origin of man. Within a history of approximately ten thousand years, Western man has become aware that he is totally problematic for himself; he no longer knows what he is, to the extent that he knows that he does not know. The idea of man as the center of the world is going through a catastrophic process.

> The myth of anthropocentrism, which arose with Socrates and Platonic philosophy, forever distanced the subject from nature, leaving to the mystical experience and the various forms of trance the possibility of occasionally reversing this distance created by the separatist order. Written language and a good part of rational thought disseminated in this culture the assumptions of contemporary environmental catastrophe, spreading an anthropocentric and logocentric culture that made it impossible, with few exceptions, to think about the world beyond man. Much more than the external landscape of the territory, of human action, the environment, through its written representation, ceased to be an experience to become a text—a conceptual and imagined reality. (Di Felice, 2009, p. 28)

It is centuries of common absorption that have determined Western perception and this way of thinking, which is the foundation of what we call *Western Gestalt*—that is, the formatting of cosmology in the West, partly influenced by the model of the humanist current of interpretation of the world (Franco, 2019).

We are domesticated to think this way, or rather, we live under training; in enlarged hordes and coming from the Greek City-States. We have inherited a false sense of equality in the systematization of the constitution of citizenship and in the inhabitation of cities, which, in practice, is reflected in mutilated rights. Not everyone enjoys equality and, therefore, it is verified that the exercise of

equity is deficient. Sloterdijk (1999) reminds us that living in the city, for many, also means suffering with the city.

Thus, according to Sloterdijk (2000), the phenomenon of humanism and rationalization are directly linked to this process of systematization of knowledge, of contracts between men and of the *homo-urbs-civitas centrality*. An example in German thought is that: "if human affairs are discussed in German here today, this possibility is largely due to the willingness of the Romans to read the writings of the Greek masters as if they were letters to friends in Italy" (Sloterdijk, 2000, p. 9).

Humanity, in general terms and from the Western perspective—since Classical Antiquity—can be defined as consisting of those animals, some of which can read and write, and others not. It is a thesis that promotes an audacious step towards understanding that men are animals—, some dedicate themselves to the creation of their fellow men—while others are created men to be small, and still others as supermen.

> Where literacy became fantastic and immodest, there was produced the grammatical or literal mysticism, the Kabbalah, which deliriously seeks to gain insight into the way of writing of the Creator of the world. Where, however, humanism became pragmatic and programmatic, as in the gymnasium ideology of bourgeois nation--states in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the pattern of literary society was extended to the norm of society. (Sloterdijk, 2000, pp. 11–12)

The rationalization of the world involves knowing how to read and write: a fantastic event at certain moments in history. Not by chance, the term glamour is, in part, a variation of *grammar* for those who can read and write and, in this way, shares origins with the word *magic*, which, consequently, refers its genealogy to "grammar"—originally found in literature with the meaning of "enchantment," "spell," in the sense of "hidden knowledge." Gradually, however, magic is taken over by the exacerbation of human reason, that is, by the issues that interest the centrality of man in the world (Sloterdijk, 2000).

For the Old World—and even the eve of modern national states—knowing how to read meant participating in an elite surrounded by mysteries. Knowledge of grammar was formerly equivalent in many places to the purest sorcery. In medieval English, the word *glamour* develops from *grammar* for those who can read and write. Other impossible things will be just as easy (Sloterdijk, 2000).

In the West, images of the world accompany us with the environment represented by writing and shaped by the myth of human rationality. The *on-site* experience was set aside to promote the experience of text, mathematics and/or

epistemic reality. The West's distancing from nature promotes a romantic view of the world, and at the same time, the domestication of its members within this standardization. In addition, social performance is shaped by the manuals of behavior that are in place: the primacy of values, norms and ethical conduct; the ways of behaving and/or labeling—of the same origin as the *ethos*—in front of the French table—with emphasis on Louis XIV—and the rationalization and systematization of the various doctrines, instituted laws, among others (Franco, 2019).

The Westerner shapes the city to stay safe from the dangers of nature and its adversaries. In addition, it systematizes an expansionist economy of accumulation and projects it in its discovery—removal of the veil—outsourcing the process in the hands of mercenary navigators—or Jesuit missions—who record their legacies in logbooks and/or by intermediate modes, such as reading rooms (Franco, 2019).

The distancing from nature through the subject-object is notably a type of reduction of society and nature, or even of culture and nature. The idea of "natural" in the West—according to the classical dualist tensions—shows us, in part, the reductionist view of everything that is produced without the interference of human action or, even, of that which sets man apart: around him, the external, the distant, what will exist after him—such as the mountains, the oceans and the forests. In the face of a consonance, the culture would be everything that is produced by human action. The natural is related to non-humans, while the culture is related to humans. The dichotomy of subject and object can also be seen in the contractualist form: the contract between *partner subjects*—friends, allies, comrades, and society—that is, an agreement between gentlemen with power for the transformation and domination of nature (Franco, 2019).

Philippe Descola (2016) shows that the subject in classical research is traditionally the holder of rights and duties over the objects researched. The subject is dominant over the object; It can be said that man plans and projects the domination of nature. The big issue is that the subject, in this process, assumes an authoritarian position and lets slip some elements that are proper to the object.

> In short, between humans and non-humans there is an important difference: humans are subjects who have rights because of their condition as men, while non-humans are natural or artificial objects, who do not have rights by themselves. This way of thinking, which we were taught in school and which seems to have evidence of common sense, is perhaps, after all, the most common way of making the distinction between nature and culture. (Descola, 2016, p. 9)

We propose the extension of the systematization of the West, as categories of the possession of knowledge and as a dispute for truth: theogony; philosophy; Judaism and Christianity; the emergence of the printing press; revolutions and the improvement of the systematization of the storage and transmission of information; science and the systematization of the scientific method; technological revolutions and *Big Data* and artificial intelligence (AI).

In the same categories as above, there are places of dispute over knowledge, the conquest of a reason, and finally, the defense of truth(s). Each category has its own complexities and specificities. There is no intention here to encourage reductions, however, we can think of general descriptions considering the restricted space that an article requires. In theogony, knowledge was consulted to the Gods and through the oracles. In philosophy, knowledge is an element of scope and categorized by the Platonic refutation of opinion and belief—*doxa* (δόξα)—, by the Aristotelian investigation of reputable opinion—*endoxa* (ἔνδοξα)—and by the Cartesian position of reason, until finding the truths embodied in crystallized metaphors, already in the process of wear and tear, which leads us to an addendum by rescuing a position under the Nietzschean gaze. In Judaism and Christianity, knowledge is in the grace of God, in truth, in the sacred word and word. With the emergence of the printing press and the printing press, knowledge is systematized by production on a large scale, while truth is in books, in the press, and in specialized intellectuals—in which the latter could translate the world. Science, in turn, produces knowledge by testing the truth and sometimes requesting it through the method. In the context of *Big Data* and AI, knowledge is in the algorithm and truth emerges in a fluid and fragmented way.

In fact, *Big Data* and AI have opened a movement that emerged before immediatist and reticular technologies; the end of certainties and the word "possibility" seem to indicate the categorical process in which we find ourselves. Thus, in fluid or foam environments, to recover the expression of Sloterdijk (2006), there is no right method in the world of uncertainties. The subject and the object are not and are not distant as we imagined. What seems to exist are open possibilities for a shared and sensitive experience.

Descola (2013) argues that in recent decades there has been no consensus on which direction to take to combat the dualism about the subject-object split, as well as its variations, including man's distancing from nature. The[3] most adopted path can be qualified as phenomenological in the broad sense of the term; a path that describes the interweaving of the experience of the social and physical worlds. The phenomenological approach would be a mode that challenges the search for transcendent principles of a sociological, cognitive or

[3] To consider the path as a method, according to Heidegger: The term "method" is formed from the Greek μετα [meta] and οδοσ [odos]. ηοδοσ it means the way. μετα it means: beyond, there. "Method is the path that leads to something, an area, the path by which we study a subject" (Heidegger, 2001, p. 128).

ontological nature. Likewise, it rejects cultural categories that are particularized or historicized. The experience of the phenomenon seeks relationships that unite humans and non-humans in a network of reciprocal and complex identification.

> Because it tries to get as close as possible to the way in which the described collectivities live and perceive their engagement in the world, this approach undoubtedly gains fidelity or credibility, compared to ways of knowing that emphasize the unveiling of causal structures or determinations. However, it must be admitted that the advantage of a more realistic account of local complexity is acquired at the expense of a lower intelligibility of global complexity, that is, of the multiple forms of relations between beings. The right to transparency obtained on the ethnographic scale becomes a factor of opacity as soon as one tries to explain the reasons for the diversity of instituted points of view witnessed by ethnography and history. That is what we must consider now. (Descola, 2013, pp. 64–65)

It seems to us that any Western category applied to the other is an unsuccessful attempt to translate the non-Western world. This way of inhabiting the world is in crisis, in part, due to the anthropocentric condition we have acquired and the fact that the West constructs a rationalist truth (Di Felice, 2009) about itself and about the other.

By distrusting contracts, friendships and certainties that have always been concrete, Maffesoli (2010) understands that we cause a kind of malaise to the extent that we share the modern Western vision. In a way, for similar reasons, Descola (2013, 2016) invites us to a more vigorous questioning of the foundations of our own position in the world.

THE PROTOTYPING OF BODIES

So far, we have noticed in Eurocentrism/West the construction of an extensive narrative of its own about the world to the detriment of other modes of existence. Since the classical Greek era, humanity has supposedly been set apart from nature: in the name of a way of rationalizing thinking about the environment, creating environments according to new languages, configuring them and exercising the authority of the thinking subject over the observed object—nature itself.

The West systematized and legitimized specific places of recognition of knowledge—through writing—and in this process, excluded the spaces of voices of oral ethnic diversities. The use of the letter builds points of view, reasons

and truths, which are restricted to Western literates. Orality dissolves through air, while writing is cataloged, recorded and its version is the one that prevails.

Obviously, the Western bubble carries striking ethnocentric characteristics. When a cosmological way of perceiving the world meets a different one, it is possible to notice the emergence of the misunderstandings that are established: ethnocentrism emerges and, on blatant occasions, racism. Perhaps one of the most didactic examples to explain this situation is the episode that narrates Lévi-Strauss (1987).

> In the Greater Antilles, a few years after the discovery of America, while the Spaniards sent commissions of inquiry to inquire whether or not the natives possessed souls, the latter dedicated themselves to drowning the whites taken prisoner to verify, through prolonged surveillance, whether or not the corpse was subject to putrefaction. (p. 21)

This brief excerpt was taken from a text on racism initially written in 1952 for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (Lévi-Strauss, 1987) and if we think about the different attitudes of the natives and the Spaniards—much more than a cultural relativism—we will probably fall into a question of perspective. While the West was concerned with the prospect of God-fearing man and the salvation of the soul, the non-West sought the bodily resistance of the Gods, since the soul was given. Basically, the Europeans included the indigenous people in the category of animals, as they had no soul, were objects and became means for material gain. The natives suspected that Europeans were gods, and therefore, the concern with the resistance of the flesh; There was the importance of observing the rotting of the body.

It is essential to emphasize that the Western view of the time revealed the certainty of the indigenous body, as well as the existence of all animals. At the same time, the original peoples did not doubt that Europeans had a soul and spirit. In general, the indigenous conception reveals the settlement of humans and non-humans, distinguished by different points of view (Franco, 2019).

The West, since the invasion and occupation of the Americas, has romanticized the wild environment. The very concept of forest is an invention based on the experiences of European forests. In the sixteenth century, even during the first contacts with the indigenous people, all European scholars followed the texts that narrated the new Eden and the beautiful and imprecise maps of the Americas. Many villages were ghosts, but they remained on cartographic maps, since few checked them *in loco* (Franco, 2019).

Cartographers and copyists filled the empty spaces with a handful of trees, imaginary villages, and text. The writings were sparse to account for the immense emptiness in the engravings and in the unknown, that is, the emptiness was filled with letters; the certainty of the rational and the world that could be read. "To enliven the large space of unexplored lands, the copyist spread the name of the inexpressive villages in huge letters, decorating their outline with miniatures of imaginary animals or well-civilized little forests" (Descola, 2006, p. 26). In the same way, one can pay attention to the invention of America, according to Mignolo (2007) as a world inferior to the West and with the Western written form, burying countless other conceptions from here, such as *Tawantinsuyu*, *Anáhuac, Abya-Yala, Pêjê Carõn*, etc. (Figure 2).

Figure 2

América sive Novus Orbis respeita Europaeorum inferior globi terrestris pars[4]

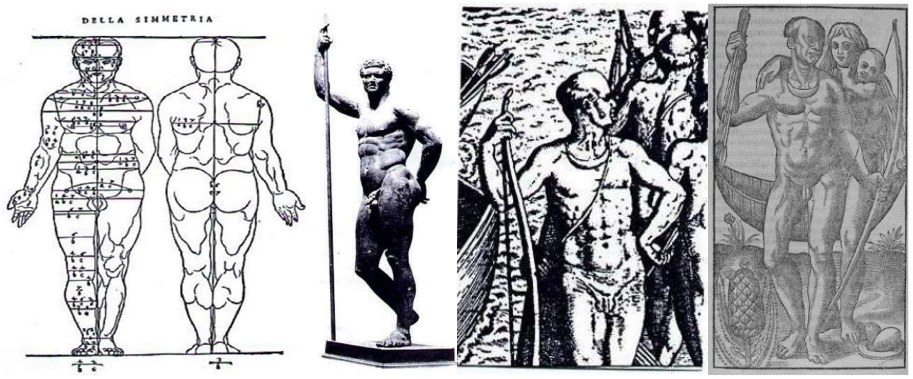
Note. Bry (1596).

[4] The four people who appear on the letter, clockwise, from the upper left are: Christopher Columbus, Amerigo Vespucci, Francisco Pizzaro and Ferdinand Magellan.

The stories that circulated in the sixteenth century were ornamented by monsters, treasures and cannibals. However, the Eurocentric view ignored anthropophagic practices and reduced them to indigenous cannibalism and was described and drawn within Renaissance standards. Human bodies were shapely and perfectly proportioned, as were maps. Modern geographical tradition is based on the premise that we are all cartographers in our daily tasks. The Westerner puts on paper the way of seeing the world and its interpretation. In addition, he uses his geographical perceptions like a surgeon and/or a surveyor uses his instruments to dissect bodies and the world. Cartography ends up producing a mosaic that implies the division of the world and bodies (Figure 3).

Figure 3

The symmetrical canon, the Hellenistic body and the Tupinambás



Note. Adapted from Bayonne (2004).

Thus, it was not new for the cartographic influence of the Renaissance to appear only on maps, but also on bodies. In the sixteenth-century illustrations, the facial features of the indigenous people were not distinct from those of Europeans and resembled the Greek gods. During the Renaissance, clothing, ornaments, and weapons were the adornments that set them apart. However, they were prototyped from the already pre-established models, that is, the bodies were represented based on aesthetic-mathematical standards (Franco, 2019).

In the last illustration (Figure 3), one can see on the left side the geometric and symmetrical canon of Alberti Dvreri, from 1557 and the Hellenistic sovereign body. On the right side, the Tupinambá warriors of Jean de Léry and Theodore de Bry. The indigenous bodies were reproduced from geometricized and cataloged bodies, as well as the text that occupies the nautical charts from a Western artistic value. Bayona (2004) argues that there was this type of canon that helped copyists with engravings.

> The existence of a kind of canon of perfect beauty derived from Alberti, who, based on Marcus Vitruvius, considered variety as artistic value, and not the possibility of varieties of beauty. One of the followers of Alberti's precepts was Albrecht Dürer, who, after his trip to Italy, became much influenced by classical art, and in the course of repeated attempts to 'extract from nature' a canon of perfect proportions, concluded that there were several human types that could be attributed beauty. (Bayona, 2004, p. 427)

Bayona (2004) understands that the Renaissance mixed the cosmological interpretation of the theory of proportions, Hellenistic times and the Middle Ages with the classical notion of symmetry as a fundamental principle of aesthetic perfection. Bayona (2004) argues in his thesis that the classical Roman works of the first and second centuries—discovered in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Italy—will profoundly influence the Western view of the original peoples, who will assume the roles of a Greco-Roman beauty and its use based on mathematical perfection.

Renaissance art takes classical sculptures as models of beauty. Thus, according to Bayona (2004), the postures and actions of the body present in sculptures from Roman and Greek times were rescued in the Renaissance, also finding their equivalent in the figures of the indigenous people. Images of gods and/or athletes with sculptural bodies were reproduced with minimal changes in the bodies of the native peoples of Brazil and Florida.

COSMOPHAGY AND FIRST CONTACT WITH THE SATERÉ-MAWÉ

Traditional and ethnic knowledge is projected into the world and emerges historically in the literary and/or anthropological word protected by third parties—generally Western—while the reach of non-Western populations to external spaces of voice is a recent phenomenon. The crises of the West reach the villages, like terminal illness—which devours the flesh and the mind—manifesting themselves in the practice of violence of attack on bodies and in the form of symbolic violence, such as cosmophagy, which erases the body of the community and its memory as existence. It enters the forest through a mentality of the subject who can do anything, legitimized, on certain occasions, by the State (Franco & Silva, 2021).

There is a new Western cynic who arrives in the territories occupying the role of colonized and colonizer—sometimes he is administered, sometimes he takes over the administration—; a democratic agent—who is both the bringer of destruction—and a pacifist who chains catastrophes. The modern cynic is the schizoid profile itself within the logic of enlightened false consciousness (Sloterdijk, 2012).

In this sense, cosmophagy is revealed as a phenomenon of the West for the dissemination and homogenization of its values—distorted or not—over others, in a process of domination and destruction of communities (Franco, 2019)—now violated and fundamentally distinct in their cosmopolitical formations. Cosmophagy is the extinction of non-Western memories, bodies, and ancestral practices in the name of maintaining a single mode of existence.

Sateré-Mawé notes on Western cosmophagy: between the prototyping of worlds and Nusoken

The first recorded contact of the West with the Sateré-Mawé ethnic group occurred in 1669, when the Society of Jesus, through the Jesuits, founded the Mission of Tupinambaranas. Father João Felipe Betendorf describes in his notebooks the existence of a small fruit, in Andirazes territory, called *guaraná*. The description of the religious man portrays well the Western view of the other.

> the Andirazes have in their woods a little fruit that they call guarana, which they dry and then trample on, making of it balls, which they esteem like the whites their gold, and undone with a pebble, with which they brush them, and in a gourd of drinking water, it gives such great strength, that when the Indians go hunting, One day until the next they are not hungry, in addition to what makes them urinate, it takes away fevers and headaches and cramps. (Betendorf, 1910, p. 41)

Betendorf (1910), while recognizing its importance, objectifies guarana within its limitations of interpretation of the world. However, there is a logic in this model of interpretation, after all, in the West, plants and animals are poor in the world and stones are devoid of the world. This conception appears in Heidegger (2011) and is replicated in Viveiros de Castro (2015, 2010) as a critique of the Western position. In fact, this is nothing new. Heidegger (2011) brings to the debate the taxonomy that already appeared from Aristotle. However, the emphasis of this worldview is not Heidegger's, but the West's.

In the West, man would be the universal animal and the lord of the world, while inanimate beings would have no world. Man is rich, while non-humans are poor in the world. The Westerner's look at the guarana fruit will never be able to make its translation. The most logical non-indigenous path would be to describe it as an object and recognize its medicinal value.

Brazil, a country of multiplicities, of distant cosmologies, has historically denied its own diversity and has even reproduced Western colonizing modes in education, law, art, etc. The process of taking over spaces of voice and the recognition of this indigenous ethnic diversity is very recent. Communities have always expressed themselves, but they have been silenced in the Western agoras.

What we call voice taking is a mode of translation for dialogue, vindication, protest, occupation of places, resistance, etc. However, they are ways of dealing with the West. Indigenous communication goes through other values that are different from the Western one. In the shamanic mind, there are specificities in relation to each ethnicity, but apparently, it is always an ecology. There is no separation of man-nature and elements of nature. The physical and spiritual worlds are connected. Humanity is not restricted to human bodies. The jaguar,

the monkey, the snake and the trees are also "people"; Each of these actors takes on their own rituals, hunts and shares knowledge.

THE *NUSOKÉN* AND *THE WARANÁ*, COMMUNICATION WITH NON-HUMANS AND THE SOURCE OF SATERÉ KNOWLEDGE

The origin story of the Sateré-Mawé people takes place in Nusokén (Noçoquém). From a cosmological perspective, Sateré-Mawé Nusokén literally means talking stones; it would be the place of the stones that speak and the abode of the animal-people. It is the place that corresponds to a shamanic region between the Waikurapá (Uaicurapá) and Andira rivers. It is "a kind of botanical garden where the best of all the species of trees and vegetables in the world grew" (Yamã, 2007, p. 63), full of fruits and nuts. The gods also lived there; it is where the animals spoke and the place where everything necessary for the community dwelt (Franco et al., 2022).

In addition, Nusokén had many talking stones and dense forests, and it was here that the Sateré-Mawé clans (*ywania*) began. According to Souza (2019), several authors claim that it was an existing and ancestral region, remembered by the ancients before the official demarcation of the Indigenous Territory.

> It is said that before the existence of the Sateré-Mawé, there were both humans and non-humans (as well as animals and invisible beings), and that through the story of the talking parrot (Mawé), the Sateré (fire caterpillar) was born. This is because there was a tree on which the fire caterpillars fed on its leaves and were later transformed into human beings. And the narrative extends as it contemplates the formation of the clans of the Sateré-Mawé ethnic group. (Franco, 2023, p. 34)

The origin story of the *ut* (sateré) clan is related to the origin myth of the clans. The clans are distinct families that are part of the Sateré-Mawé people with their own characteristics and mention of plants, birds, fruits, etc. In addition to contributing to the strengthening of the people, they perform specific work that they express in actions (leadership), activities (*puxiruns*), soil cultivation, agriculture, storytelling, myth, etc., as well as the production of home remedies (shamanism, healers, traditional medicine, etc.).

The elders report that in the past there was a great war, where families were involved: they were rival peoples who united to face their adversaries. During the war and with the advance of the enemies, the end of the families was glimpsed, where they were forced to hide. Without saying anything—just by mention and

codes—they asked their own to protect themselves. Those who understood the message, lived, and those who did not, died.

In other words, with the arrival of the end of the world, the only solution was to hide to protect yourself. After the turmoil, the survivors began to come out of their hiding places and, from this episode, the clans emerged. The families that hid under the açaí trees were called the açaí clan (*wasa'i*); those who were close to the snakes were called by the snake clan (*moi*); those who hid under the *guaranazais* were called by the *guaraná* clan (*waraná*) and those who hid near the fire caterpillars were called by the Ut clan (*sateré*). Among the more than twelve clans of the Sateré-Mawé people, the *Ut clan* received from other families the responsibility of leading the other clans that lived and came together to form a single nation and people.

The *waraná* (*guaraná*) is a planted human eye and entity of origin of the Sateré-Mawé People. The ethnic group is known as "children of the *waraná*," who live in the Central Amazon, Andirá-Marau Indigenous Land, on the border of the states of Amazonas and Pará. Briefly, the Sateré-Mawé report that, in their origins, there were three siblings: *Yakumã, Ukumã'wató* and a young unmarried woman named *Anhyã-muasawyp*. The young woman

> was very beautiful, so all the animals in the jungle wanted to copulate with her. The brothers didn't like the idea, they were very jealous. They tried to always put her in their company, because, in addition to protecting her from the intrusive animals, they would always be in good health. (Yamã, 2007, p. 63)

However, a male snake promised himself that he would have her as a wife and spread it to all the animals in the region. The Male Snake lured her with a perfume and, by touching her feet, *Anhyã-muasawyp* became pregnant with a boy named *Kahuẽ* (Yamã, 2007). The child was sworn to death and then murdered. *Anhyã-muasawyp*, after burying the Kahuẽ eyes, took his son's body and took it to the region of the Abacaxis River, burying him. She requested the help of a beautiful singing bird, *Karaxué*, so that she would always watch over her grave and that when she heard any noise, he should call her immediately. And so, Karaxué did it over the days. Each plant and animal that appeared from inside the grave, *Anhyã-muasawyp* cursed, until one day, the noise was louder than the other days and a dark boy with a beautiful smile came out of there (Yamã, 2007). And so, the first Sateré-Mawé emerges, the first leader (*tuxaua*) later forming the children of guaraná (*waraná*).

The eye is planted and all those who consume it, a posteriori, share the wisdom of the first leadership. Sapó is a drink resulting from *waraná* grated

on the tongue of the pirarucu fish or on a stone blade, transformed into a stick, dissolved in water. There is clearly a transubstantiation of the body when ingested and passes knowledge. Sapó must be prepared by a woman who has had the experience of motherhood. The woman is the dwelling of the other. She carries it and is responsible for the organization of knowledge when taking care of the preparations of the *Frog*, which, at a different time, will be shared among men—the wise men.

The *waraná* (*guaraná*) is not simply a fruit for the Sateré: rather, it is an entity and a leader, who acts with the leaders, through their teachings derived from the practices that are proper to the ethnic group. As much as men, the *waraná* is rich in *yi wato* (world) and, in this way, mobilizes the symbolic and ethnic leaders, respectively, the current *tuxauas* (leaders): the heads of families, teachers, *panels*, bone pullers, farmers and tucandeira singers.

Unlike the Western model, Sateré knowledge permeates an ecological and predation relationship. Knowledge is linked to the ingestion of *Sapó* and, more than a drink, it is a sensitive relationship with a non-human actor. The *Frog* is an interactor in the composition of wisdom, an actor or even an entity. It is revealed in the communion, in the Amazonian cosmological logic, of ethnicity, in which knowledge comes from connections and not from Platonic/Cartesian Western separations: body and mind; subject and object; man and nature; society and culture.

Sateré knowledge puts into debate the Western view of the *táwa* (village). It is not a polis, but a place of connection, where everyone—human and non-human—cohabits. The *ga'apy* (nature) is arranged as an integral entity. *Ga'apy*—itself—is wisdom. In the same way, knowledge is in the *frog*, just as the *frog* is in the wise. The body is a place of wisdom insofar as it interacts—in ingestion and predation—together and/or with the other, in human and non-human relationships. Thus, wisdom reveals itself in the understanding of an expanded, shamanic collectivity.

In general, for the Amazonian indigenous people, as Viveiros de Castro (2015) points out, when ingesting the other as a shamanic practice, it is a matter of anthropophagic heritage, since "having once been human, the animals and other beings of the cosmos continue to be human, even if in a non-evident way" (Viveiros de Castro, 2002, p. 356).

We can remember that the Tupinambás ingested their enemies to acquire their skills. Anthropophagic practice also emerges in the spiritual world. The ingestion of animals, vegetables—among others—is humanity's own. Animals, plants, and minerals are ex-humans. Everyone is humanity, they are "people." What changes is the body and nature, but they all share the same ritualistic practice.

MODES OF ACCESS TO KNOWLEDGE

In the Sateré-Mawé territory, there are several indigenous schools that serve the villages. They are organized by the community and funded by the government. It is not uncommon to find in these places of teaching and in the buildings of the associations a circular figure representing guarana seeds, the glove of the tucandeira, the *Porantim* and the bow and arrow (Figure 4).

Figure 4
Representation Sateré-Mawé

Note. Sateré Community.

In a way, it can be said that Figure 4 represents the modes that make up Sateré knowledge. The knowledge generated by the ingestion of non-humans; the knowledge ingested by *Warana*, the first leader; the knowledge in the act of conversation with non-humans—in this case with *Porantim*; and the knowledge acquired in lived experience, marked by rites of passage—an example is the ritual of the *tucandeira*. Finally, to know the adversary by hunting or by the act of war: the bow and arrow. We have already dealt in this text with the way of acquiring knowledge by ingesting *waraná*. We will focus on other contexts. All are interconnected; there is no separation.

The Sateré-Mawé childhood is the period in which the indigenous children remain until they go through the ritual's characteristic of their people—the ritual of the *tucandeira* and the young girl. There are several free games that take place in the spaces of the community. They demonstrate the assimilation of the daily life of adults—that is, the daily observations that children make of their parents and older family members—which portray the way they play through

imitation, and, especially, "make-believe" (Franco, 2023). Among these games and imitations are: handicrafts; fishing and roasting the fish; orientation in the forest; gather sticks; the dances of the village rites; the making of bows and arrows, among others. Thus, we find the meaning of non-Western learning, in which children are prepared for adult life (Franco, 2023).

The ritual of passage of the boy to adulthood—*waumat* ritual or *tucandeira* ritual—has as one of its objectives to make man a good warrior and hunter. Normally, it occurs at 11 years of age, and, from there, the young person starts to qualify in the training position, but he also has recognition from the community, gains wisdom from his elders and becomes stronger, healthier and more resistant to pain and diseases, which determines his virility (Figure 5).

Figure 5

Meeting between the clans of the Sateré people

Note. Almeida (2021).

The other mode of knowledge is through conversation with non-humans (Franco et al., 2022). *Porantim*, to Western eyes, appears to be a paddle or club, but it is more than that: it is an active player in the community. Sateré-Mawé cosmology describes that there was a conflict between two gods in the past, in which one dies. The surviving God donated the *Porantim* to the Sateré-Mawé people. This symbolic act became part of the community, guiding them towards the solution of any territorial problem.

It is through the *Porantim* that the Sateré-Mawé have access to the knowledge of the ancient residents of *Nusokén*. The communication relationship extends to gods, animals, humans, non-objects, etc. *Porantim* is the integrating actor who is read in the form of the law and who governs the Sateré-Mawé society. In tradition, the *Porantim* is a cacique who guides and organizes the people. His public appearance is forbidden. When there is the presence of *Porantim*, those who participate in the meeting will always be in a reserved space.

Finally, we highlight the bow and arrow. The war is part of the history of Sateré-Mawé resistance. After the arrival of the Westerners, they suffered several invasions into their territory, even after having their land demarcated; War occurs in the physical and symbolic sphere. In more recent periods, village sages have shown the importance of considering pencils as arrows. Western formal education became a paradox in the territory. While this external knowledge is absorbed—as a war strategy for the maintenance of internal practices—it also loses a little of what is local.

The same occurs with mobile devices and communication technologies that arrive in the villages. While they are re-signified to denounce illegal land grabbers, loggers and miners, these technologies distance young people from rituals and collective games. And when we contrast the Sateré-Mawé ways of communicating, we realize that external technologies are not always integrative of local knowledge. However, it is important to emphasize that these same technologies have proven to be essential for the defense of territories and, in this context, there is a communicational complexity that is amalgamated with the traditional, connecting humans and non-humans: it is the connection of ecological networks of the forest with the technological ones.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

This text is the result of ethnographic research in the Lower Amazon region, between the years 2019 and 2023. It is important to note that one of the authors of this article is a member of the Sateré-Mawé ethnic group. The central theme of the article is the contrast between the prototyping of the world that the West employs to others—the Western contact with the Sateré-Mawé—and the world-view from the local ethnic perspective. In this same process, the communicational modes are analyzed from the community's point of view.

The analysis of some of the cosmological foundations of Western thought reveals a complex trajectory of imposition and cultural domination, marked by the geometrization and rationalization of the world. This process culminates in modern globalization, which in order to maintain its operation marginalizes

and/or destroys non-Western cosmologies. We call cosmophagy the process of physical and symbolic death practiced by the West to these communities.

The historical and philosophical analysis presented in the text shows how the Western conception of the world—from classical philosophy to the era of Big Data and AI—has the pretension of hegemony over other cultures. Contradictorily, the technologies that arrive in the villages are extremely important for combating invasive practices; Mobile devices are resignified as agents of war.

The Sateré-Mawé perspective, on the other hand, offers a contrasting view, where wisdom and knowledge are deeply rooted in interaction with nature and non-humans. It is not a matter of thinking about whether one cosmology is better than the other, or of questioning scientific truth, but it is a way we find to expose the existing abysses. The way in which Western reason manifests itself in the encounter with indigenous peoples translates into how the West operates in the subject/object relationship, that is, in the domination of Western society over nature.

The importance of guaraná as an entity of the community and the practice of rites of passage illustrate how knowledge is passed between generations, valuing ecological and spiritual integration. This approach challenges the Western dichotomy between man and nature, suggesting more holistic and sustainable ways of understanding and inhabiting the world.

Western globalization and modernization, despite their innovations and advances, also bring crises into the forests and culminate in the fall of the sky, according to the words of Kopenawa and Albert (2017). The imposition of a single model of rationality and progress results in environmental and social disasters and exterminations of populations, while the West tries to standardize and prototype various forms of existence and knowledge.

The resistance of indigenous peoples, such as the Sateré-Mawé, is a reminder of the importance of recognizing and respecting other ways of knowing and living. Reflection on the role of the West in the construction of the modern world must take into account not only its achievements, but also its failures and negative impacts. Thus, these are the Sateré-Mawé notes to the West for the present and tomorrow. M

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The indigenous net-activism of the Rede Wayuri: trans-specificity of the networks of the Amazon rainforest

O net-ativismo indígena da Rede Wayuri: transespecificidade das redes da floresta amazônica

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ABSTRACT

The advance of the digitalisation process, especially broadband and mobile connectivity devices, has caused profound transformations in villages and among indigenous peoples over the last 20 years. While in the Brazilian Amazon there is no shortage of examples of the introduction of satellites, sensors and the internet of things in defence of their rights and territories, in the interior of the state of Amazonas there are predominantly net-activist actions that hark back to a first phase of this phenomenon, marked by the collective taking of the floor in search of the empowerment of those who live in the forest. This article presents the initiatives of the Wayuri Network, an indigenous communication network in Alto Rio Negro-AM, which produces and circulates narratives as modes of resistance, in collaboration with all sorts of entities, human or not, and technologies digital or not, making up a new form of the social.

Keywords: Indigenous net-activism, Rede Wayuri, Amazonia, technologies, forest peoples.

RESUMO

O avanço do processo de digitalização, em especial da banda larga e dos dispositivos móveis de conectividade, vem provocando profundas transformações nas aldeias e entre os povos indígenas nos últimos 20 anos. Enquanto na Amazônia Brasileira não faltam exemplos da introdução dos satélites, de sensores e da internet das coisas na defesa dos seus direitos e territórios, no interior do estado do Amazonas predominam ações

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net-ativistas que remetem a uma primeira fase desse fenômeno, marcada pela tomada coletiva da palavra em busca do empoderamento dos que vivem na floresta. Este artigo, amparado metodologicamente em uma revisão bibliográfica, entrevista semiestruturada e análise de conteúdo, apresenta as iniciativas da Rede Wayuri, uma rede de comunicação indígena do Alto Rio Negro-AM, que produz e faz circular narrativas como modos de resistência, em colaboração com toda sorte de entidades, humanas ou não, e tecnologias digitais ou não, compondo uma nova forma do social que é também transespecífica.
Palavras-chave: Net-ativismo indígena, Rede Wayuri, Amazônia, tecnologias, povos da floresta.

INTRODUCTION

IN THE WAKE OF THE TRANSFORMATIONS driven by the arrival of digital technologies, we have observed the emergence of numerous cases of net-activism: collaborative actions that are born *in networks*—formed by human and non-human actors—and *in internet networks*—more recently, *in digital* social networks. In the midst of a horizontal and hyperconnected communicational landscape, a myriad of movements emerge that differ from traditional activism—union, student, identity, and environmental—in that they do not present fixed flags, leaderships, or hierarchies, as well as because they have these networks not only as a means or instrument, but as part of their very nature (Magalhães, 2018, 2021).

The first net-activist cases date back to an early phase of the internet, between the late 1980s and early 1990s. Massimo Di Felice (2017) defined the evolution of the movements based on three milestones: 1) the *preparation phase*, with connectivity conditions still limited to the exchange of electronic messages, the organization of discussion forums and teleconferences promoted by networks around environmental, theoretical, aesthetic and media themes—such as *the Association pour le Progrès des Communications, Tactical Media, Luther Blissett, Hakim Bey,* etc.; 2) the *phase of experimentation of new forms of conflict*, which in the mid-1990s, was inaugurated by the Mexican indigenous movement Neozapatista, disseminating a digital form of participation in conflicts, being supported by the dissemination of communiqués through networks and focusing on the involvement of other movements and international society; 3) the *phase of digital* social networks, which emerged at the turn of the 2000s, from the diffusion of broadband, wi-fi and mobile networks, combined with the creation of a multitude of social networks and platforms within "a digital and informative dimension and, at the same time, conferring on participation itself the characteristics of a collaborative action

in a network between humans, connection devices, data and territories" (Di Felice, 2017, p. 180).

Since then, according to the author, we have witnessed new forms of network participation characterized by a kind of "collective taking of the word," based on net-activist movements that have erupted in various parts of the globe. Among them, the *hackitivism* of *Anonymous* stands out—present in various parts of the world—, the Arab Spring (North Africa and the Middle East), the 15-M Movement (Spain), Occupy *Wall Street* (United States) and the June 2013 Days (Brazil).

Especially in our country, the phenomenon of digital mobilizations of indigenous communities—which is the subject of this dossier—began to be observed from the 2000s onwards. The turn of the century was marked by a notable increase in the interactions and participation of these communities in the digital scenario, thanks to the increase in a series of public policies and digital inclusion projects led by public agencies, foundations, non-governmental organizations, and even companies. From them, indigenous peoples of different ethnicities began to access digital technologies and inhabit the new digital territories created, adopting strategies to incorporate them into their political, environmental, and cultural struggles.

In the text "Genealogy and epistemological perspectives of digital indigenous communication in Brazil," researcher Eliete da Silva Pereira (2023) presents a kind of inventory of these movements, highlighting initiatives such as the Forest Peoples Network, Online Indians, Yandê Radio, Suruí Cultural Map, Ikpeng Digital Documentation Center, #SomosTodosGuaraniKaiowás, Forest Listening, Muká Mukau Portal, and Indigenous Media. Such actions have been studied under the sign of *indigenous net-activism*—or *Amerindian net-activism*—which can be understood as one of the facets of resistance of forest peoples "that involves technology, algorithms, cybernetic intelligences, human and non-human, in the use and context of claiming actors" (Franco et al., 2021, p. 3).

In fact, it is not new that indigenous communities have appropriated the internet and digital platforms to disseminate information, report rights violations, promote initiatives, interact, share knowledge and experiences, establishing ties with other communities and organizations that share the same causes (Milhomens, 2022). These mobilization networks have been making indigenous communication "the bow and arrow of the 21st century," as stated by researcher Ariene (Susui) dos Santos Lima (2023), of the Wapichana ethnic group, as they challenge stereotypes and prejudices, and contribute to their own representation of their realities and aspirations.

However, such networks can be seen beyond a system of anthropocentric interaction, which involves entities that are only human or created around these subjects—such as social movements, non-governmental organizations, political groups, government agencies, etc. This participation of indigenous communicators, both in physical and digital environments, is articulated with all sorts of entities—from rivers, trees, spirits, languages and graphics to sensors, radars, satellites, software, connectivity devices and hyper intelligences. This represents a phenomenon that should not be analyzed only from the point of view of the media and the production and circulation of narratives elaborated by native peoples, but from an ecological point of view, which takes into account the multiple forms and species that weave the threads of these networks.

> Transspecies studies (Dooren, Kirksey, Munster, 2016) propose an approach of participation and attention to these worlds, which, like ours, are marked by contingency and uncertainty. They also contribute to the debate about what life is and how to blur the boundaries between living and the non-living. These studies ask whether other species are just fungi, bacteria, microorganisms, or could also be a rock, a volcano, a tornado, and how they interact with each other and transmute each other. (Hernández-García, 2022, p. 123).

It is through this look—attentive to the trans specificities of the networks of the Amazon rainforest—that we will address in this article the Wayuri Network, a collective of indigenous communicators formed by young people of different ethnicities, distributed in various locations in the Amazon—on the banks of the Rio Negro—in collaboration with multiple technologies—digital or not. This approach is built on the experience of two researchers from the Amazon region: Marina Magalhães, a university professor based in Parintins (AM), who between 2022 and 2024 coordinated the Digital Citizenship[1] Project in the Lower Amazon; and Ana Beatriz Viana de Melo, a researcher from Parintins who has been investigating indigenou[2] net-activism for years, as well as the founder of the Wayuri Network, Cláudia Ferraz of the Wanano ethnic group, who contributed orally to this article, by granting a videoconference interview to the second author[3] .

Methodologically, the study that originated this article is based on a combination of bibliographic review and content analysis of the networks, in addition to the semi-structured interview cited here. As a result, the research highlights indigenous net-activism actions adopted by the Wayuri Network, which include audiophonic production—as a resistance strategy—and the promotion of relevant discussions, addressing topics such as leadership and institutions, indigenous

[1] Research developed at the Federal University of Amazonas, within the scope of the Amazonian Visualities research group (VIA/CNPq), in partnership with researchers from the Atopos International Research Center, funded by the Government of the State of Amazonas with resources from the Amazonas State Research Support Foundation – FAPEAM (Public Notice No. 005/2022 - Humanitas CT&I Program).

[2] As an undergraduate, she developed the scientific initiation projects "Net-activism and Amazonian communities: An audiophonic study in digital networks" (UFAM Scholarship, 2020-2021), supervised by Ph.D. Thiago Franco, and "Amerindian net-activism: Resistance in digital social networks" (FAPEAM Scholarship), supervised by Ph.D. Marina Magalhães.

[3] Part of the transcript of the interview can be read in the text "The digital bow and arrow of the Wayuri Network: Interview with the indigenous communicator Cláudia Ferraz," authored by Cláudia Ferraz and Ana Beatriz Viana de Melo, in the book *Relatos de uma (in) certa Amazônia,* organized by Marina Magalhães, Evandro Medeiros, Thiago Franco and Sebastião Nascimento, currently in press by Editora Alexa Cultural/ Editora da Universidade Federal do Amazonas (EDUA).

organization, indigenous lands and the environment, community health and well-being, initiatives and the indigenous movement. In addition, it reveals the social forms of the Amazon rainforest networks based on trans specific compositions—plant, digital, animal, ancestral, and human—in a piece of the Amazon, where the river commands lives and digital networks can help protect and resignify them.

THE TRANSSPECIFICITY OF FOREST NETWORKS

In the text "Digital citizenship and Amazonian complexity: Ideas to postpone the end of the Anthropocene," Di Felice (2023) criticizes Western knowledge for having invented a type of ecology that is based on the separation between human, nature, and technology. Since Ancient Greece, scientific knowledge has opposed "parts" that should never have been thought of separately.

> It is this type of episteme that represents an ecology of action in which the human is not part of a world, but acts on it to achieve its purposes and fulfill its journey, as the only communicative being capable of discernment (Di Felice, 2023, p. 30).

Such an episteme helped to forge an idea of society formed only by humans, those who, for millennia, have played a leading role in public and collective life, denying any form of participation and protagonism to other entities—technology, forests, biodiversity, etc.). "The Western idea of citizenship is based on the exclusively human power of action and on an ecology submitted to and victim of this isolated action" (Di Felice, 2023, p. 31).

This conception would have influenced Western thought for centuries, until in recent decades this question has been problematized with some breath. One of the milestones of this epistemic turn can be attributed to Martin Heidegger (2007), who in the 1950s challenged the conception of an instrumental relationship between man and technology. For the German philosopher, the problem of large studies should not revolve around the risk of technology dominating society—an issue that resurfaces with each new technology created, especially in the current scenario of the rapid advance of generative artificial intelligence. Instead, Western thought should concern itself with the idea of a technique different from that which separates man, a condition without which we can never experience a free relationship with it.

In the 1980s, the Actor-Network Theory, developed by researchers such as Michel Callon, Bruno Latour, John Law, and Madelaine Akrich, took new steps in this problematization, by conceiving an idea of the social no longer restricted

to humans, as it understood that animals, things, objects, and institutions were also capable of acting (Latour, 2012). Therefore, this theoretical current brought non-humans to the center of the debate in the social sciences, challenging sociology to move from the study of the social to the study of collectives, associations and movements of aggregation of these elements.

In the book *Reaggregating the social: An introduction to the actor-network theory,* Bruno Latour (2012) highlights the importance of observing man in his intertwining with things, also considered to be active in this process, as they can authorize, allow, grant, stimulate, encourage, influence, interrupt, enable or prohibit any action. Although it was not originally thought of from a digital perspective, this conception helps us to realize how the complexity of the social has become even more evident with the arrival of the last generations of digital networks—such as hyperconnected platforms, the internet of things, blockchain technology—which began to connect not only data and people, but biodiversity and the environment to satellites. sensors, databases, etc.

In the Amazon, specifically, we can think of different initiatives that employ different technologies—sensors, algorithms, and Big Data—in the monitoring of different species—plants or animals—, in the fight against deforestation, and in the creation of a database on peoples, as well as on forest territories. Among the projects developed here, we can mention the "*Street view* for the Amazon" Ribenboim (2025), created by the Amazonas Sustainable Foundation and executed in partnership with *Street view* and Google Earth Solidário, which employs technologies to capture images of the Rio Negro, the Amazon Rainforest and local riverside communities interested in sharing with the world the way they live, the environment and the challenges faced. The initiative bets that, with the possibility of visualizing the forest, rivers and communities that exist in the region, users can engage more effectively in the fight for preservation.

In the same direction, in recent years, the non-profit organization *Rainforest Connection* has brought to the Brazilian Amazon a technology that transforms old cell phones into anti-deforestation sensors. The devices—connected to the mobile phone network and kept autonomous by capturing solar energy—are installed in the treetops in order to identify the sounds of chainsaws in the forest. With the ability to detect sounds within a radius of one kilometer, these sensors issue warnings to the authorities in real time about illegal activities, thus constituting a protection network formed by different species and intelligences, in line with the needs of local communities.

Such examples of the Amazonian reality invite us to rethink our idea of society, based on the networks that constitute and inhabit the forest, "delineated

by a variety of ecosystems modulated by countless biological, cultural, and social diversities" (Pereira, 2018, p. 47), such as the networks of rivers, trees, plants, animals, fungi, mosses, peoples, rituals, traditions, sensors, radio waves, satellite signals, big data, etc. Such thinking, according to Di Felice (2023), does not fit into a communicative logic, but a habitative one, since "when we enter a forest, we become a forest, because not only does our inhabitation start to transform it, but also because it starts to inhabit us" (p. 35).

If only in the last 70 years has the debate on the social followed a new course—albeit not hegemonic—in Western thought, epistemic complexity has always been present in the worldview of native peoples. This has been portrayed in numerous works by indigenous authors—of different ethnicities—that go against the grain of world narratives in which only the human acts, silencing other presences.

In works such as *Ancestral future*, for example, Ailton Krenak (2022) deals with this. The indigenous thinker of the Crenaque ethnic group salutes rivers in their different forms, as a central—and ancestral—part of an idea of Pacha Mama (Mother Earth) without borders. "I like to think that all those we are able to invoke as becoming are our companions on the journey, even if they are immemorial, since the passage of time ends up becoming a noise in our sensitive observation of the planet" (Krenak, 2022, p. 11).

Among these companions, the rivers mentioned are seen by the author as sacred entities, roads, sources of life, food and abundance, although their bodies have been appropriated as a resource by humans—not indigenous—in incessant activities in hydroelectric plants, power plants, industries, agriculture and agribusiness:

> These people who are pestering the planet only perceive rivers as energy potential for the construction of dams or as a volume of water to be used in agriculture ... it gives the impression that they have suffered an affective collapse in relation to the preciousness that life provides us here on Earth. (Krenak, 2022, p. 22)

Rivers are not alone. In the list of companions on the journey of indigenous populations, there are several others—from the physical to the spiritual, from the vegetable to the animal, from the ancestral to the digital—who come together in affective alliances in which all worlds affect each other. For Krenak (2022, p. 101), "our sociability has to be rethought beyond human beings, it has to include bees, armadillos, whales, dolphins. My great masters of life are a constellation of beings—human and non-human." In other words, human centrality is displaced, and all other existences are considered within the idea of "us."

Therefore, let us carry out the exercise proposed by Ailton Krenak of thinking about cartographies and layers of worlds, in which the narratives are so plural that we will not need to conflict when evoking different foundation histories. The Wayuri Network of Indigenous Communication—a collective with members of various ethnic groups from Rio Negro, Amazonas—is one of the initiatives that have been contributing to the construction of these new narratives, along with the collaboration of digital technologies and other types of entities, as we will describe later.

FOREST REPORTERS' NARRATIVES: THE WAYURI NETWORK

The Wayuri Network of Indigenous Communication was created in November 2017, in Amazonas, and was initially called the Network of Indigenous Communicators of Rio Negro. The initiative, made up of 17 indigenous communicators from eight ethnic groups—Baré, Baniwa, Desana, Tariana, Tukano, Tuyuka, Wanano and Yanomami—produces informative content about the region's indigenous territories for about 750 communities from 23 different ethnic groups.

Although the production and dissemination of content occurs in a decentralized way, most of the experiences take place in the municipality of São Gabriel da Cachoeira—a region also known as "Cabeça do Cachorro"—which houses the trinational border between Brazil, Colombia and Venezuela. This Amazonian municipality is recognized for the largest concentration of indigenous population in the country, estimated at 51,795 inhabitants (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics, 2022), who speak at least one of the four languages considered official—in addition to Portuguese, Tukano, *Baniwa*, and Nheengatu.

The common thread of this network created in the middle of the Amazon rainforest is inspired by the meaning of the word "Wayuri," which represents the idea of "collective work" or "collective effort" in the Nheengatu language. In this way, the collective effort of those involved is focused on the production of media content for areas known as news deserts—that is, that do not have local journalistic media or do not attract the interest of the mainstream media. Thus, on their own initiative and in a decentralized manner, these communicators take and receive information produced and disseminated in indigenous communities located from the Lower to the Upper Rio Negro, between the municipalities of Barcelos, Santa Isabel do Rio Negro and São Gabriel da Cachoeira.

This collective strengthens the voice and autonomy of indigenous peoples through activities that include exchanges with other networks and collectives, workshops, and coverage of important events, such as the Free Land Camp.

The network trains its communicators with the support of the Federation of Indigenous Organizations of the Rio Negro (FOIRN) and the Socioenvironmental Institute (ISA). The FOIRN was created in 1987—as part of a movement to recover the ethnic autonomy and self-esteem of the indigenous peoples of the Rio Negro—and ISA is a non-profit organization founded in 1994, whose focus is on the protection of territories and the cultural appreciation of indigenous, quilombola, and extractivist communities. These institutions cooperate in terms of logistics and team training, promoting workshops according to the demands of the communicators.

During the constant effort to ensure the dissemination of information to the entire community, it is possible to observe the presence of the Wayuri Network on various digital platforms, in which they publish information such as videos, photos, live broadcasts, audios and texts, allowing indigenous peoples to create and share their own narratives. In addition, the network's communicators are dedicated to combating the spread of fake news that often defames indigenous peoples, perpetuates stereotypes and prejudices, often with underlying economic and political interests.

Given the connectivity conditions that are not always stable in Amazonas, which make it difficult to circulate heavier files, such as videos, most of the news produced by the network circulates in audio format. The newsletter *Áudio Wayuri*—presented by the network as the most popular podcast in the Amazon—had its beginning in the first training workshop, held in 2017 by ISA. The distribution of the bulletin takes place mainly through WhatsApp for indigenous lands, but it is common for it to be shared also via Bluetooth connections and made available on audio platforms.

The comprehensive presence of the Wayuri Network in all communities is one of the main objectives of the organization. However, achieving this purpose faces significant difficulties, especially due to the high logistical costs associated with reaching remote areas of the Amazon. "An alternative for Indigenous Lands with low connection or that are geographically distant has been the installation of radio poles or radiophony through electromagnetic waves, because through them the news is disseminated" (Lozovei, 2021, p. 248).

Within the network's communicative ecosystem, one of the main ways to bring access to information is through water. The communicators operate in territories characterized by rivers, rapids and waterfalls, facing considerable challenges when transporting information, since communities without an internet signal need to take the news by canoe or tail. Often, USB sticks are sent by boat and take hours or even days to reach the destination community. Their contents then circulate through sound cars, radio poles or radio trees—with

sound boards attached and speakers installed at the top of the pole or in the treetops—to collectively disseminate the news produced in native languages, to ensure understanding and connection with community members.

With the purpose of providing essential information for the well-being of these communities, the agendas are defined collectively with the grassroots communicators and those spread across other points of the network. Members value caution in dealing with sensitive topics—such as complaints or investigations—to maintain the safety of communicators both on site and in surrounding areas.

Among the characteristics of Wayuri indigenous communication, the accessible and inclusive character stands out, which seeks understanding by all, regardless of the level of formal education or technical knowledge. In search for anti-colonial communication, the network adopts digital languages and creates its own content on social media platforms.

WAYURI NETWORK COMMUNICATION CHANNELS

The Wayuri Network has been expanding its digital presence with various platforms for dissemination and content production. In November 2020, the group launched its YouTube channel[4], entitled Rede Wayuri, which so far[5] has 87 subscribers and a total of 7 videos published, excerpts from reports originating from Jornal Nacional, Rede Globo, and Jornal da Tarde, from TV Cultura, evidencing the strategy of expanding the reach of these articles, without creating original content for these specific publications.

Exploring the Network's official website[6], the platform works as a channel of information about the collective, mainly related to reports published by the media, with an emphasis on the official channels of ISA and FOIRN. The site covers several informative sections, including topics such as "Who we are," "Where we talk from" and "Wayuri Communicators," as well as spaces dedicated to podcasts, videos and support for the collective. All these sections are developed by the Network itself, presenting summarized information on each topic.

On Facebook, the Wayuri Network page[7] was created in November 2021 and has 35 publications and 283 followers so far. The last content was published in October 2022, referring to the second round of that year's elections. Analyzing the official profile on Instagram[8], with 3,277 followers and 370 publications, there is a weekly frequency of posting videos.

During the period of analysis of this study, between January 1, 2023 and May 30, 2023, the network was preparing the release of the documentary Wayuri in various locations in the state of São Paulo, accompanied by a series of events such as meetings, debates, exchanges, and workshops. Specific editions of the

[4] See: https://www.youtube.com/@redewayuri405.

[5] All data regarding the collective's digital social networks were updated on May 13, 2024.

[6] See: https://redewayuri.org.br.

[7] See: https://www.facebook.com/redewayuri.

[8] See: https://www.instagram.com/rede.wayuri/.

weekly bulletin were released, including the 139th edition, the activities of the Rio Negro Indigenous Fund (FIRN) and FOIRN, as well as the importance of the Women's Health Program; the 142nd focused on the Carbon Credit and the Free Land Camp 2023. Therefore, Instagram stands out as the main channel for daily dissemination of the Wayuri Network, surpassing the engagement and reach of the Facebook page.

Regarding the presence on local radio, the program "Papo da Maloca" is broadcast by FM O Dia in São Gabriel da Cachoeira, every Wednesday, from 10 am to 12 pm. The program—which began in 2020 with the support of the Internews fund to disseminate information about Covid-19 to indigenous peoples—continues with the support of singer Bera and the Rainforest Foundation's ForEco. The Wayuri Network launched its online radio in November 2023, aiming to expand the reach of communication and provide easier access to information and cultural content for local communities and interested parties in other regions.

The *Wayuri* Network has also been using streaming platforms such as Soundcloud and Spotify since 2017 to disseminate vital information to communities and indigenous territories. Such platforms are in addition to the other modes of circulation described here, such as the sharing of audio bulletins through WhatsApp, radio broadcasts and sending files on USB sticks.

Áudio Wayuri: analysis of the guidelines

The main production of the Wayuri Network is the weekly radio program called Papo da Maloca, broadcast by FM 92.7 in São Gabriel, presented by Cláudia Ferraz (Wanano people), Juliana Albuquerque (Baré people) and José Paulo (Piratapuia people). After the radio broadcast, the program is edited by Cláudia Wanano and made available as an audio bulletin, in podcast format, entitled *Áudio Wayuri*.

By the end of this study, the community had released 174 bulletins[9] on the platforms. In addition, the collective allows listeners to subscribe to the bulletin via WhatsApp, with the aim of ensuring the maximum reach of information and widely promoting the recognition of indigenous communities.

[9] Information updated on May 13, 2024.

The thematic analysis of these bulletins considered a corpus composed of eight editions published during the research period. Apart from a recess period in the Papo de Maloca program, between the months of January and March 2023, the newsletters vary between monthly and weekly publications, depending on the agendas produced by the communities.

We adopted an approach of thematic analysis of these agendas based on a criterion of semantic categorization. Therefore, we organized the topics based

on the similarities of meaning and meaning and on Bardin's (2016) guidelines, which highlight the importance of finding what each topic has in common with the others in order to group them in a meaningful way.

Given the breadth of content covered on the Wayuri Network, we chose to divide the categories into subcategories as a way to make the thematic division and categorization more precise, despite recognizing that the topics intertwine and complement each other in podcasts. In the process, we define "agendas" as the main themes—addressing the central aspects of *podcasts*—while "related topics" complement these agendas.

Regarding the agendas, we defined the following categories: 1) Leaders and institutions; 2) Indigenous organization; 3) Indigenous Lands and the environment; 4) Health and well-being in communities; 5) Activities and initiatives; and 6) Indigenous movement. In each of these categories, the thematic variations classified as subcategories were identified as follows:

1) Leadership and institutions:

1.1) National Foundation of Indigenous Peoples (Funai): appointment of Joênia Wapichana as president of the National Foundation of Indigenous Peoples and Dadá Baniwa as Regional Coordinator of Funai in Rio Negro. Debate on the advancement of indigenous women in leadership positions and in key positions in government, generating the expectation of an opening of dialogue on the demands and claims of indigenous communities.

1.2) FIRN: discussion about the FIRN, created with the purpose of strengthening the indigenous associations that are part of the network of the Federation of FOIRN. The purpose of FIRN is to support community projects aligned with the following objectives: cultural appreciation, strengthening of the sustainable indigenous economy, ensuring food security and strengthening territorial and environmental management.

1.3) Special Indigenous Sanitary District (DSEI): approaches related to the work of the DSEI Alto Rio Negro—an essential part of the indigenous health system in Brazil. The dialogues address the changes and challenges involving the management and practices of health care in the indigenous communities of the Rio Negro region, especially about the appreciation of traditional medicine and the culture of indigenous peoples.

2) Indigenous organization:

2.1) FOIRN: information on FOIRN's commitment to defending the rights of indigenous peoples in the region, with emphasis on the participation of a FOIRN representative—Marivelton Barroso, from the Baré people—in the

transition team of the government of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva. Explanation of the work of the Department of Indigenous Women, aimed at encouraging the active participation of grassroots women, including the fight against violence against women and the search for means of subsistence for their families; the Department of Environmental Business, dedicated to the production of various products from the communities—fruit pulps, Baniwa pepper, black tucupi, flour, handicrafts, etc.—and the sale of items outside the Rio Negro region; and the Legal Department of FOIRN, which acts in the legal representation of indigenous communities and in the defense of the collective rights of these peoples.

3) Land and environmental issues:

3.1) Environment: addressing the growing concern about global climate change, especially on the issue of carbon credits and its consequences in this process, especially with attention to indigenous lands in the Rio Negro region. Community awareness of the importance of observing environmental criteria when building partnerships in the field of business and projects.

3.2) Indigenous lands: debate on the importance of demarcation and preservation of indigenous lands in the fight against global warming and for the protection of biodiversity, recognizing the value of the knowledge of indigenous peoples and traditional communities in the hope of containing the climate crisis.

4) Health and well-being in communities:

4.1) Vaccination: discussion about the importance of the vaccine for children, adults and the elderly, in preventing or reducing the intensity of diseases in indigenous communities. Vaccination against HPV and covid-19 was highlighted in the Wayuri Network's approach, which also addressed the importance of combating misinformation on the subject in the villages.

5) Activities and initiatives:

5.1) Workshops and events: dissemination of activities promoted in indigenous communities and in the areas of sustainability, culture, economic development and preservation of traditions—such as a *titica* vine basketry workshop. Such actions are carried out with the aim of building economic opportunities that align with local values and principles.

5.2) Campaigns: dissemination of news and calls for the mobilization of community members around specific health campaigns, such as raising awareness of cervical cancer prevention or related to the fight against sexual abuse and exploitation of children and adolescents. The emphasis on prevention,

reporting and justice for victims highlights the importance of promoting a safe and secure environment, especially for women and children.

6) Indigenous movement:

6.1) Struggles: information on the creation of the Ministry of Indigenous Peoples in the current Federal Government and the appointment of Minister Sônia Guajajara, known for her work as coordinator of the Articulation of Indigenous Peoples of Brazil. Discussion on the importance of implementing an indigenous policy coordinated by their representatives at all levels of public management.

6.2) Mobilizations: news about mobilizations of indigenous communities in the region, highlighting the importance of participating in events and conferences to address essential issues related to rights, land demarcation and the environment—such as the State Conference of Indigenous Organizations and Peoples of Amazonas, in Manaus—, and the 19th Free Land Encampment, in Brasília, whose agendas focused on land demarcation and democracy.

From the analyses summarized here, we realize that indigenous communicators select agendas aligned with the needs of the community and verification of information. As Nascimento (2021) states, the construction of news in Indigenous communication adopts a broader and more respectful approach towards the individual, in contrast to non-Indigenous news formation methods. This is due to the need to consider the time of maturation of thought[10], as well as the specific experiences and experiences associated with each event.

[10] Nascimento (2021) explains that the productions deeply respect the time of the indigenous people, the time of history, memory and how all this will be built.

In this way, we can say that the *Wayuri Audio program* presents a characteristic example of popular and indigenous communication, characterized by a horizontal structure, an ethnomedia emphasis and a connection with community communication, which characterizes it as a model of "all-all" interaction (Nascimento, 2021; Martins, 2008). These characteristics highlight the uniqueness of this means of communication and its relevance in a specific sociocultural context, being clearly demonstrated on the network.

We can understand ethnomedia as a tool for cultural and ethnic empowerment, through the convergence of various media within a vision—which explains the use of the prefix. It is a form that promotes the decolonization of the media and can be carried out by different ethnic and cultural identities. The appropriation of the means of communication has made it possible for peoples to be their own interlocutors (Tupinambá, 2016), actively participating in all phases of the communicative process.

Horizontal and dynamic communication in the Wayuri Network thus represents a significant change from traditional communication models, which

often adopt a vertical structure, with clearly defined transmitters and receivers. By adopting this communicative approach as a strategy of resistance, these communities take control of their own narratives and their agendas without the need for external intermediaries. Collectively, this is in the form of a network and in contrast to the hierarchy found in traditional media.

Despite recognizing the important role of narrative productions within the Wayuri Network, it is possible to interpret their articulations beyond a purely media perspective. Therefore, we will address the trans specific characteristics of these networks in the next topic.

BEYOND THE MEDIA: CONSIDERATIONS ON THE LAYERS OF WORLDS OF THE WAYURI NETWORK

In this study, we realize that the actions of the Wayuri Network are characterized by their distributed and horizontal approach, in which information flows in a democratic and collaborative way. Each node in the network has equal importance—at least potentially—and power of interdependence, reflecting the principles of contemporary net-activism. Members not only share information or opinions but also produce and disseminate their own narratives—a fundamental practice for the promotion of indigenous culture and voices. However, there are still other "layers of worlds," as Krenak (2022) would say, between the nodes of this network.

First, we observed that the integration of indigenous communities into digital platforms—such as social networks and streaming platforms—contributes to the symbolic expansion of their territories, generating significant ecological connections. According to Pereira (2018), such convergence forges a complex and interconnected ecology, which connects individuals, their cultures, their territories and their biodiversity to global digital information circuits, through a unique dynamic that involves technology, communication and inhabiting. In a similar direction, also from an ecological perspective, Kopenawa and Albert (2019, p. 16) express that "ecology is us, humans. But also, both us, the xapiri, the animals, the trees, the rivers, the fish, the sky, the rain, the wind and the sun!".

From this perspective, we highlight, secondly, the diversity that characterizes this network as trans specific, by bringing together different species and types of intelligence capable of connecting worlds and entities. In other words, human communicators produce content in several languages, from the collaboration with cell phones, computers, tablets, recorders (*hardware*), etc.; edit the contents with the help of programmed intelligence (*software*); distribute the narratives through the electromagnetic waves (radiophony) or through the website itself,

profiles on digital social networks (YouTube, Instagram, Facebook), applications (such as WhatsApp) and streaming platforms (SoundCloud and Spotify), connected by mobile data networks, cable internet, fiber optics or satellite; and, in the absence or instability of the digital connection—which still occurs in most of the region—USB sticks, boats, rivers, cars and speakers, speakers, trees, poles, among other actors of the Wayuri Network, come into play.

This is only the description of a more evident part of the network, which we must also include—in the symbolic field of processes and products woven in a reticular way—the cosmovisions, the ancestry, the traditional knowledge of these peoples, the institutions, among other entities. By promoting an ecological perspective of communication, valuing the interconnection and collaboration between participants—human or not—as part of a communicative ecosystem, the Wayuri Network prioritizes the interconnection between communities and cultures, creating meaningful connections *with* and *through* technologies—digital or otherwise—to strengthen these community ties and promote voices that have been silenced for centuries. Its distributed and horizontal approach reflects the principles of interdependence and cooperation with nature, in which everyone contributes to sustaining the communicative environment.

Thirdly, as Sartoretto and Caffagni (2022) state, collaboration with digital technologies provides a broader and more robust connection, and it is essential to recognize that this technological insertion also causes transformations in indigenous cultural practices. If, on the one hand, such technologies impose challenges related to cultural preservation, as the authors point out, on the other hand, by providing new channels of expression and organization, they contribute to the construction of a digital memory of these peoples.

To illustrate such complexity, we can mention the digitization of traditional languages and narratives, such as tales and stories transmitted orally over generations. Another example is the recording of ritualistic sounds and dances for sharing on digital platforms, as a cultural expression through the arts. This reflects, however, a transformation of the cultural essence when exposed as digital material, since photographic documentation of cultural practices and rituals can be seen to alter its original substance when disseminated on the internet. These examples lead us to question the existence of a "pure" substance within this new digital ecology, especially when we consider the preservation and transmission of the traditional knowledge of indigenous communities.

Finally, we can think of the actions of the Amazon rainforest networks—especially the Wayuri Network—no longer as conducted by subjects who "use" the technologies, but as an action that moves away from the traditional, Western, humanist idea of citizenship and activism. When actors of different

natures—human, non-human and territorialities—are connected in transspecific networks, whose involved change their own substances in the course of action (Di Felice, 2017), we are summoned, also by native peoples, to reflect on who we are (as social) and what other ideas of world(s) and future(s) we can inhabit. M

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Communicative ecology, Cumade Fulozinha and Potiguara cosmology in Paraíba

Ecologia comunicativa, Cumade Fulozinha e cosmologia Potiguara na Paraíba

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ABSTRACT

This article discusses traditional Indigenous knowledge from the communicative ecology of the cosmology of the Potiguara people, who inhabit the state of Paraíba, in northeastern Brazil. It focuses on the enchanted being called Cumade Fulozinha, a forest spirit who protects the woods and animals. In addition to the Potiguara people, the Paraíba region is inhabited by three other Indigenous ethnic groups: Tabajara, Cariri, and Tarairiú. The article explores the perspective of dreams as a technology for accessing, maintaining, and engaging with ancestral knowledge. This knowledge goes beyond the mythological sphere and is processed daily, in the modern immediacy of the networked existence of living beings interacting with Mother Earth.

Keywords: Traditional indigenous knowledge, dream technology, ancestry, enchanted.

RESUMO

Este artigo se propõe a falar sobre o saber tradicional indígena a partir da ecologia comunicativa da cosmologia do povo Potiguara, habitante do estado da Paraíba, Nordeste do Brasil. Tem como foco o ser encantado chamado Cumade Fulozinha, um espírito da

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floresta protetor das matas e animais. Além do povo Potiguara, o território paraibano é habitado por outras três etnias indígenas: Tabajara, Cariri e Tarairiú. Põe-se em tela a perspectiva dos sonhos enquanto tecnologia para acesso, manutenção e diálogo com o saber ancestral. Um saber que vai além da esfera mitológica e se processa cotidianamente, no imediatismo hodierno da existência em rede dos seres vivos interatuantes na Mãe Terra.
Palavras-chave: Saber tradicional indígena, tecnologia dos sonhos, ancestralidade, encantados.

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Indigenous peoples of Paraíba

IN THE STATE OF PARAÍBA, four indigenous ethnic groups reside: the Potiguara, the Tabajara, the Cariri, and the Tarairiú. According to data from the Demographic Census of the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (2022), the cities of Marcação and Baía da Traição, located on the northern coast of Paraíba, occupy, respectively, the 6th and 7th positions among the cities with the most indigenous residents in the country. In Marcação, which has 8,999 inhabitants, 88.08% of its population is indigenous—equivalent to 7,926 people. In Baía de Traição, with 9,224 inhabitants, 86.64% are indigenous, totaling 7,992 people, according to a report published on the G1 Paraíba Portal (G1 PB, 2023)[1]. Among the ethnic groups, the Potiguara stands out, known, among other reasons, for being the only one that has never left its territory of origin[2].

> The Potiguara continued their struggle to recover their territory and official identification as indigenous people. Meanwhile, the Tabajara survived in anonymity, subordinated as residents and rural workers to landowners, in various forms of survival dispersed along the southern coast. However, in the dynamics of life, events would modify this reality, giving rise in 2006 to a movement for the recovery of their territory and the re-signification of their cultural and religious traditions. (Farias & Barcellos, 2012, p. 23)

Potiguara managed to remain strong and advanced in their social and political organization in the face of the Brazilian State. The Tabajara, on the other hand, remained silenced for almost 150 years, initiating a process of ethnogenesis[3] in 2006, starting with the actions of Chief Ednaldo—the current leader of the Vitória Village—located in the municipality of Cond (Paraíba). The Cariri and Tarairiú continue their quest for recognition of their origins and identities by the State.

[1] More information is available on the G1 Paraíba Portal (2023) and on the IBGE institutional website (2022).

[2] More information can be found in the project "The First Brazilians/UFRJ" (see: https://osprimeirosbrasileiros.mn.ufrj.br/).

[3] Ethnogenesis is understood from the perspective adopted by Oliveira (1999), who understands it as a process of historical emergence of a people who define themselves in relation to a sociocultural heritage, based on the reworking of symbols and reinvention of cultural traditions, many of which were appropriated from colonization and reinterpreted through the indigenous lens.

According to Costa (2022), since 2013 the shaman[4] Guarapirá Potiguara has been performing a ritual on the first day of the full moon as a way of reviving the religious and spiritual life of his people. He has the support of elders and reveals that he was guided by dreams in which he saw himself performing the ritual. In this experience, the Encantados (spirits)[5] asked him to conduct the ritual in the forest or on the beach, as they were concerned about the possibility of indigenous spirituality disappearing.

Potiguara cosmology involves ancestral knowledge, technologies, and communication processes that connect nature, the human, and the non-human. In the indigenous territory of this people—especially in the region where the Boa Esperança Site is located, in the Jacaré de César Village, in the municipality of Marcação on the northern coast of Paraíba—there is living ancestral knowledge that interacts with forest spirits and sacred entities belonging to the indigenous cosmology, such as Cabocla Jurema, Mãe d'água, the Bruxas de Coqueirinho, Cumade Fulozinha, and Pai do Mangue, among other beings, which, in scientific and literary contexts, are translated into the field of mythology (Eliade, 1984, 1992; Navarro, 2014).

1.1.1 Communicative ecology of the Potiguara people

This article understands traditional indigenous knowledge as a real, effective, and everyday experience that, even when translated into the scientific and academic field—circumscribed to mythical and mythological narratives—expands beyond them and establishes itself in the present, in the now, and in the flowing life of this people's contemporary experience. Thus, living knowledge is constituted from ecologies of indigenous communication, which manifest themselves between material and immaterial beings, reticular intelligences, technologies, Gaia[6], Pachamama[7], Mother Earth[8], and the Cosmos—a communication that is established from a deep ecology.

Di Felice (2017) observes that, in various ethnic groups, one finds the presence of trans specific communicative practices, that is, the diffuse conception of a pan-communicative ecology in which all parts and surfaces, whether organic, material, vegetal, etc., communicate with each other. The author proposes new perspectives on communicational thought based on theories that carry ecological and connective forms of communication and the common.

> Contemporary communication has acquired ecological dimensions and qualities, ceasing to be merely circuits for the exchange of data and information and becoming environments and conditions of habitation. These changes necessitate rethinking the idea of communication beyond its industrial and modern conception, bringing

[4] "People … who aimed to promote the spiritual and physical healing of their people, made prophecies, and believed they controlled natural phenomena" (Costa, 2022).

[5] "The Encantados are spiritual beings, guardians and protectors of sacred indigenous spaces" (Costa, 2022).

[6] Gaia would not be a living organism, but the result of the interaction of networks of agents. Planet Earth would be conceived as a shapeless system integrating not only living beings, but also technologies, algorithms, humans, and non-humans (Franco & Silva, 2020).

[7] According to Zaffaroni (2010, p. 24), "the concept of Gaia comes from Europe and Pachamama is ours, but these are names for the Earth, in which we not only exist, but also form a part of it. It is a meeting between a scientific culture that alarms and another traditional one that has known for centuries the danger that they have now come to announce and its remedy."

[8] Mother Earth is how the Potiguara people understand the origin and great receptacle of life, like a great womb where all forms of life are connected to each other and to its creative energy, in constant evolution. "Mother Earth, the representation of divinity in feminine form, fecundity, creation, the maternal arms that cradle life" (Brito, 2021).

> studies in this area closer to those of living networks and ecosystems developed by the biological sciences, to those carried out at the subatomic level by quantum physics, and even to those that study the reticular and complex relationships between various molecules within the field of chemistry. (Di Felice, 2017, p. 10)

Di Felice's communicational thinking from the perspective of a pan-communicative ecology also engages with the concept of deep ecology discussed by Capra (2006), insofar as it proposes interconnected and interdependent reticular communication processes.

> Deep ecology does not separate human beings—or anything else—from the natural environment. It sees the world not as a collection of isolated objects, but as a network of phenomena that are fundamentally interconnected and interdependent. Deep ecology recognizes the intrinsic value of all living beings and conceives of human beings only as a particular thread in the web of life. (p. 23)

These are epistemic forms of knowledge that depart from the logic of an objectivist epistemology, close to the model of directed thought, questioned by Heidegger (1959) as that which is focused on an object to be investigated, aiming at the conquest of mastery and results. It is a planning and investigative thought, a metaphysical representation oriented by functionality and always conditioned by prior assumptions, in function of a narrative objective and the prediction of results. In contrast, Heidegger presents meditative thought, which requires great effort, long practice, and delicate care, a thought that "needs to wait for the seed to sprout and its fruits to ripen" (Heidegger, 1959, pp. 13–14).

A similar antithesis is made by Viveiros de Castro (2017), when he contrasts scientific objectivism with the worldview of indigenous Shamanism, in which to know is to personify, to subjectify—because it is necessary to personify to know. Closely, Boff (1993) also proposes:

> Imagination, fantasy, utopia, dreams, emotion, symbolism, poetry, and religiosity should be valued as much as production, organization, functionality, and rationality. Masculine/feminine, God/world, body/psyche should be integrated into the horizon of an immense cosmic community. (p. 33)

Di Felice and Franco (2017) remind us that, in the pre-scientific tradition of Western philosophy, ecology, with few exceptions, assumes the dimensions and meanings of the human habitat, identifying itself as a human ecology that makes *anthropos* the measure of all things. Therefore, the authors emphasize the need

to identify the constituent elements of a non-Western ecology that overcomes both the centrality of the human and the consequent determination of realities around it—nature, technology, the inorganic, etc.—considering that "the narrative of the human developed by Western thought does not allow us to describe the contemporary transition from urban and national political ecologies to those connected and interdependent with Gaia" (Di Felice & Franco, 2017, p. 66).

Following the ecological perspective on communication proposed by the authors, we observe the traditional knowledge of the Potiguara people of the municipality of Marcação. Within the ethnic dimension of this people, there are several elements that connect in their worldview, among which are the healing processes through prayer women and healers, shamans and midwives, and the power of plants and traditional forest medicines (Barcellos, 2014). The ecology of communication among traditional peoples occurs between humans, non-humans, and the various interconnected intelligences; these are primordial elements in the ethnogenesis processes of this people (Bartolomé, 2006).

The Potiguara worldview is rarely present in the literature of the Western scientific universe, but it is addressed by Barcellos and Nascimento (2017) from the perspective of spirituality.

> Indigenous spirituality is in the air, in the rain, in the wind, in the waterfall, in the caves, and in everything that is seen, felt, and heard, conceived by nature or created by man. Indigenous religiosity is latent in the intimacy with the supernatural "magical" world that is passed down from generation to generation by the Potiguara elders. (Barcellos & Nascimento, 2017, p. 25)

Barcellos (2014) addresses myths as a source of Potiguara spirituality, through which relationships of approximation with enchanted beings are established, above all

> because they contribute to giving meaning to life … they bring memories of past generations … they perpetuate ethnic identity, because, through myth, the people first see themselves, relate to others, to nature, to the sacred dimension. (Barcellos, 2014, p. 46)

Eliade (2002) reinforces the author's approach, insofar as he links myths to religiosity.

> "Living" the myths, therefore, implies a truly "religious" experience, as it is distinct from the ordinary experience of daily life. The "religiosity" of this experience is

> due to the fact that, by re-enacting the fabulous, exhilarating, significant events, one witnesses again the creative works of the Supernatural Beings; one ceases to exist in the everyday world and enters a transfigured, auroral world, impregnated with the presence of the Supernatural Beings. (p. 18)

According to the authors, myths are responsible for bringing forth memories that are shaped in the present through symbolic representations. Among the Potiguara people—from a mythological perspective—living the myths implies (re)constructing in the present the memory and ancestry of their people.

1.2 Potiguara Cosmology and the Enchanted Beings

In the cosmology of the Potiguara people, some of the enchanted beings described in mythological narratives are the Father of the Mangrove, Mother of the Water—spiritual entities that inhabit the waters—, Cumade Fulozinha—a female entity that protects the forests—, among others, who exist and perpetuate themselves, maintaining concrete knowledge and experiences about their lives and ways of being (Barcellos, 2014; Félix, 2018; Paiva, 2013).

Among the ways in which the Potiguara people express their spirituality are through body paintings that, in addition to reproducing images of elements of nature and other meanings, also represent spiritual protection—*aesthesis*[9]—as well as revealing their creativity and subjectivity. The colors present are "red extracted from annatto and black from the fruit of the green jenipapo" (Barcellos, 2014, p. 301). They present diverse meanings, such as "[the] feelings of pain, affection, respect, spiritual protection, among other expressions and behaviors, as well as the affirmation of one's own identity" (Barcellos, 2014, p. 301). The representations of elements of nature, generally the most painted on the bodies of the Potiguara, are the beehive (representing the collectivity and unity of the Potiguara people through the representation of the beehive); the Jurema leaf (a sacred plant as a symbol of spirituality); Guarapirá (a bird native to the Potiguara territory) and the Boa Constrictor (a snake used as a symbol of wisdom, strength, and defense of the territory) (Félix, 2018).

Another cosmological manifestation of the Potiguara is the Toré ritual, which is "a dance that proves the permanence of the minimum tradition necessary for the recognition of remnants of their indigenous ancestry, it has come to figure as an obligatory expression of Indianness" (Arruti, 1995, p. 82).

In this text, Cumade Fulozinha is the enchanted being focused on, as a Potiguara cosmological element, given its intense presence throughout the communication ecology of this people in Paraíba and other states in the Northeast region, as well as in other regions of Brazil. The focus on this entity also stems

[9] In this reflection, we share the understanding of the word *aesthesis* as "sensation," "process of perception," "visual sensation," "sound sensation," "tactile," and "gustatory sensation"—partly apprehended—as presented by Walter Mignolo (2011) when proposing a discussion about the colonization of aesthesis by *aesthetics*.

from the epistemological experiences and traditional knowledge of one of the authors of this article, Iranilza Félix, belonging to the Potiguara ethnic group and inhabitant of Sítio Boa Esperança, Aldeia Jacaré de César, located in the municipality of Marcação, Paraíba.

In the Potiguara territory, the enchanted being is also called "Lady of the Woods," "Flower of the Woods," and "Little Flower of the Woods." Among the people of this ethnic group, she is one of the main spirits present in their cosmology and is present in individual and collective daily life. Cumade Fulozinha is understood as a spirit of the forest; a mystical female entity that inhabits and protects the woods and the beings that inhabit them. Assad (2014), from a mythological perspective, speaks of Cumade Fulozinha, inserting her into the studies of Northeastern culture, where she is also known as "Flor-do-Mato" (Flower of the Woods).

> spirit of a long-haired cabocla (a woman of mixed Indigenous and European descent), who lives in the forest protecting nature from hunters and who likes to be pleased with gifts, especially porridge, tobacco, and honey … Cumade Fulozinha presents herself as a girl of approximately twelve years old, with long, straight hair and a friendly appearance. (Assad, 2014, p. 21)

Cumade Fulozinha is part of the northeastern culture of the country and, therefore, is often confused with characters from Brazilian folklore, which is rich in cultural symbols. However, she is not a folkloric symbol by origin, but a legacy of traditional knowledge left by indigenous peoples to Brazilian culture, as are various other forms of knowledge described in the form of myths present in indigenous cosmologies.

Following the approach from the perspective of religiosity, Sousa (2019) considers that Cumade Fulozinha can be understood in the category of entities, ceasing to be a character of folklore because she receives offerings and has a marked presence in the Jurema cult, belonging to the line of caboclos, this line of entities is characterized by being of indigenous origin, they live in the forests and are considered healing entities and therefore "elevated souls" (Sousa, 2019, p. 3).

Besides being mistaken for a folkloric character, Cumade Fulozinha is also often described in a pejorative and/or sinister way, being placed in a position of haunting, terror, and fear among ordinary people unfamiliar with traditional indigenous knowledge, when in fact, she is an enchanted being of the woods who protects the forests and animals.

This understanding is largely due to colonialist influence. For Mignolo (2017a), coloniality is equivalent to a colonial matrix or pattern of power, which

is a complex of relations hidden behind the rhetoric of modernity (the narrative of salvation, progress, and happiness), thus justifying the violence of coloniality. "And decoloniality is the necessary response both to the fallacies and fictions of the promises of progress and development that modernity contemplates, and to the violence of coloniality" (Mignolo 2017b, p. 13).

> Therefore, we can affirm that the war of colonization is nothing more than a territorial war, a dispute over territorialities. In this context, we, the peoples against the colonizers, have demonstrated at many points in history our capacity to understand and even coexist with the complexity of the issues that these processes have presented to us. For example: the successive resignifications of our identities amidst the most perverse contexts of racism, discrimination, and stigma; the readaptation of our ways of life in fragmented, decharacterized, and degraded territories; the interaction of our oral languages with the written language of the colonizers. (Santos, 2015, p. 97)

As Franco and Silva (2020) discuss, the West has created a cosmophagic and world-devouring model that prioritizes a lifestyle over life itself. "We adopt the term cosmophagy to explain a movement of attacks on the diverse cosmologies existing in Gaia. The attacks are not only carried out by the State, but also by those who disregard the diversity and richness of cosmological knowledge" (Franco & Silva, 2020, p. 183).

> Cosmophagy is a process of Western predation that reaches villages and swallows worlds. Predation occurs in two ways: in the extermination of populations themselves; and in subtle acts, in symbolic violence, in the presence of politics, in the transmission of diseases. Memories are erased; ritualistic practices, playground games, and entire populations disappear from the map. It is the mark of our history, the extinction of peoples who have existed here for thousands of years. (Franco & Silva, 2020, p. 186)

Franco et al. (2023) observe that the West establishes the religious models and policies to be followed, standardizes daily practices and healing knowledge, and discards the diversity of other modes of existence. Furthermore, the process is strengthened in Greek philosophy and expands with the Roman-Judeo-Christian-scientific-informational matrix.

> Throughout the Western context, it is possible to see wars, conquests, and the expansion of empires. If at some point we lived under the violence of conquests, we

> also went through the empires of communication and information, of the symbolic domination of narrative, of how things are told. Western man, and the humanist perspective, centers his ego on his own disorganized figure and forgets that we all inhabit a network of human and non-human organisms, known as Gaia, or the diversity of possible worlds. (Franco & Silva, 2020, p. 185)

Oliveira (2005) observes that the indigenous peoples of Northeast Brazil suffered the most from the advance of civilization. Being the first to be contacted by the colonizers, they were quickly baptized and incorporated into the work of the nascent society. According to the author, through a compulsory form of mobilization, they served in the construction of public works and private enterprises, becoming the object of a disguised form of enslavement. Furthermore, they were displaced from their lands, forced to cross the hinterlands, constantly seeking new areas of refuge, form previously unthinkable alliances, and radically modify their customs. "They came to live under the protection of others, in mission lands (later invaded and reduced) or subjugated in lands they never 'owned'" (Oliveira, 2005, p. 9).

Even today, indigenous populations face the repercussions of colonialism in their territories. Each ethnic group experiences this reality in a specific way, seeking to adapt to the customs imposed by the colonizers.

> For a long time, the indigenous peoples of the Northeast were seen as remnants of ancient nations, once numerous, complete, and sovereign. Their history was considered the unfolding of demographic, economic, and cultural losses that transformed them into remnants to the point of taking the final step towards complete assimilation into our society: the inevitable abandonment of the awareness of a distinct ethnic identity in favor of integration as proletarianized peasants. (Palitot, 2005, p. 6)

Mignolo (2011) points to oppression and denial as two aspects of the logic of coloniality. According to the author, the first operates in the action of one individual upon another, in unequal power relations; the second acts upon individuals, in such a way that they deny what they fundamentally know. Decolonial processes consist of removing both from their repressed positions, also revealing the imperial characteristics of "negation."

Faced with centuries of colonial influence, Indigenous peoples needed to develop mechanisms for survival, resistance, and struggle *alongside* various migratory and/or concealment movements. They had to articulate ways of rescuing and maintaining their memory, their language, their traditional knowledge, and

other diverse aspects of their cosmologies that gradually expanded the complexity[10] of their communicative ecology. During the process of ethnic emergence of the Indigenous peoples of Northeast Brazil, "they assume their own meanings that recover forgotten images and relationships, produce rites, engender myths, elect heroes, in an intense re-enchantment of the world" (Arruti, 1995, p. 76).

[10] What is complexity? At first glance, complexity is a fabric (complexus: that which is woven together) of heterogeneous constitutions inseparably associated: it poses the paradox of the one and the many. Secondly, complexity is effectively the fabric of events, interactions, feedback loops, determinations, and chance occurrences that constitute our phenomenal world. But then complexity presents itself with the unsettling traits of entanglement, inextricability, disorder, ambiguity, and uncertainty (Morin, 2011, p. 13).

1.3 Dream Technology

The communicative ecology of indigenous peoples relates technologies, intelligences, energies, and connections involving the earth, fire, water, air, sounds, graphic representations, animals, plants, rivers, rituals, ancestral spirits, enchanted beings, worlds, cosmos, and dreams. In the book *The fall of the sky* (2015), the Yanomami shaman Davi Kopenawa and the French anthropologist Bruce Albert discuss communication through dreams.

> We Yanomami, when we want to know things, strive to see them in dreams. This is our way of gaining knowledge … We, inhabitants of the forest, never forget the distant places we visited in dreams. In the morning, when we wake up, their images remain vivid in our minds … These images remain clear and always return to our thoughts. The words of the spirits that accompany them also remain within us. (Kopenawa & Albert, 2015, p. 465)

Krenak, in 1992, already highlighted the role of dreams in the social life of indigenous peoples. For him, all these institutions—education, school, and university—are in the dream and in the house of knowledge. This dream has a learning process for the dream. "And, when we dream, we are entering another plane of knowledge, where we exchange impressions with our ancestors, not only in the sense of our elders, my grandparents, my great-grandfather, previous generations, but with the founders of the world" (Krenak, 1992, p. 202).

In the fourth episode of the podcast *Another world pod* (Pereira Filho, 2024b), within the multiplatform journalistic production The *world will end in a dream* (Pereira Filho, 2024a)—which involves the indigenous worldviews of the Potiguara, Tabajara, and Cariri peoples of Paraíba—, social anthropologist Ligia Rodrigues recounts how the Tupi-Guarani peoples, in the region of Barão de Antonina, in the interior of the state of São Paulo, received through dreams a map indicating the traditional indigenous land originally occupied by their ancestors, between the Verde and Itararé rivers. She explains how this map served as a document to seek the demarcation of the territoriality of this ethnic group.

Iranilza Félix, one of the authors of this article, communicates with Cumade Fulozinha through dreams. In states of consciousness and unconsciousness

during sleep, the ancestral being reveals itself with diverse sensory perceptions—visual, auditory, tactile, and intuitive; this communication also extends to the waking state. These are senses, meanings, and interactions that remain connected through the forests, animals, and winds. Dreams would thus be a technology for accessing, maintaining, and dialoguing with ancestral knowledge.

In a verbal account given to Iranilza Félix (2018), Chief Portiguara Josecy, from the Três Rios Village, on the banks of the PB-041 highway, in the municipality of Marcação-PB, spoke about his communication with spirits and with Cumade Fulozinha.

> Cumade Fulozinha is a partner, we need to believe she exists and does not play with her. I believe she exists; she is my partner, I ask everything about her. Not everything Cumade Fulozinha does can be undone. There is the father of the mangrove … We shouldn't play with the spirits. When I went to the mangrove, I always asked him to give me food to bring back to my family. We can't stop believing, because they can surprise us. (Interview with Chief Josecy given to Félix, 2018, p. 79)

Throughout the ecology of these indigenous communicational relationships, traditional knowledge is generated by fluid, subjective, and interconnected intelligences that guide the organization and conduct of each human being's life collectively in villages and communities. The technology of dreams allows for the preparation, teaching, warning, signaling, and illumination of knowledge assimilated and shared in the shared (co)existence of all. This is how it happens with dreams, as well as with Cumade Fulozinha and her reflections in the waking life of the Potiguara people.

> The Potiguara people cultivate practices that commemorate their ancestors. They recognize the importance of Mother Earth to their existence, respect sacred environments and the spiritual entities that inhabit each space in nature, and use the teachings of their elders to fish, hunt, plant, harvest, and perform other daily activities. They learn from the old tree trunks that each entity cares for a sacred space in nature and that it is necessary to observe the most appropriate phase of the moon to carry out each activity. (Félix, 2018, p. 82)

Communication through dreams is experienced in a unique way by each human being. The senses and the lessons learned from them mature as the wisdom of elders is also shared. Lights, images, sounds, textures, tastes, and other forms of life intertwine and connect the *psyche* to the non-human, far beyond a scientific rationale for understanding reality.

Communicating with Cumade Fulozinha through dreams is a Potiguara cosmological experience that occurs in a time and space outside of matter, yet still connected to it, where knowledge is refined, understanding is directed, and decisions are guided toward the waking state, the collective, and the maintenance of life.

SOME CONSIDERATIONS

Every scientific endeavor toward understanding indigenous ancestral knowledge illuminates the fragilities and limitations of a supposedly rigorous secularized scientific knowledge, present in academic institutions and based on canonical models, rigid standards, and replicable schemes, in search of guarantees and proofs of absolute truths about life. Listening to the oral accounts of indigenous elders, learning from the pedagogy of dreams, and understanding the communicative ecology that involves nature—its diversity of living beings, energetic vibrations, luminescence (Silva et al., 2022), spirits, and the cosmos—are challenges almost insurmountable for rational thought anchored in visible, tangible, and/or measurable matter.

Understanding that the cure for an illness lies in the leaves of herbs, whose locations and species are indicated through dreams; that the protection of the people of a village is achieved through dialogue with other worlds and intelligences; and that communication with ancestors is established through rituals of dance and prayer, is the result of observations that demand non-objectification, non-method, non-systematization, and non-scientism. Indigenous traditional knowledge challenges us to subjectify to understand, seeking knowledge not through formulations and categorizations, but through unique and individual experiences, even if felt and lived collectively.

Writing about Cumade Fulozinha and the traditional Potiguara knowledge is another step in the quest to demarcate physical and symbolic territories. In the face of models consolidated by the Western logic of knowledge production and storage, the academic universe derived from Greco-Roman philosophy is also engaged as a way of recognizing and, above all, respecting, valuing, and applying the legitimate knowledge of indigenous peoples.

As Krenak (2022) states, "the future is ancestral." The ancestral technologies of original knowledge reveal a complexity still unattainable by the illusory domain of Western scientific knowledge. The future on this planet demands a look towards the beginning, towards the origins and integrated ecologies among living and interacting beings. It also demands an awakening to the connection of all things and respect for the fluidity of life among all inhabitants of Mother Earth. M

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Indigenizing digital communication technologies: Autonomy and struggle of the Gavião indigenous collectives (Pará)

Indigenizando as tecnologias digitais de comunicação: autonomia e luta dos coletivos indígenas Gavião (Pará)

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ABSTRACT

The article presents (counter)narratives aimed at constructing a history of the incorporation of industrial communication artifacts by a collective of peoples known as the "Gavião," who inhabit the Mãe Maria Indigenous Land (Pará, Brazil). Based on a collaborative and multi-sited ethnographic research, the proposal is to foreground the voices of key figures in the contemporary history of this people regarding the impacts of electricity, radio, telephone, television, internet, smartphones, and digital applications on their sociality. The research indicates that the indigenization of these technologies fosters autonomy in relation to the State and facilitates access to rights and public policies, while also intensifying internal divisions and schisms among the different groups that make up the "Gavião people."

Keywords: Indigenous people, resistance, whatsapp, internet, smartphones.

RESUMO

O artigo apresenta algumas (contra)narrativas para construir uma história da incorporação dos artefatos industriais de comunicação por um coletivo de povos conhecido como "Gavião", e que habita a Terra Indígena Mãe Maria (Pará, Brasil). Com base em uma pesquisa etnográfica colaborativa e multissituada, a proposta é trazer as vozes de personagens da história contemporânea desse povo sobre os impactos da eletricidade, rádio, telefone, televisão, internet, smartphones e aplicativos em sua socialidade. A

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pesquisa indica que a indigenização dessas tecnologias estimula a autonomia perante o Estado e o acesso à direitos e políticas públicas, acirrando, por outro lado, divisões internas e cisões entre os diferentes grupos que compõem o "povo Gavião".
Palavras-chave: Povos indígenas, resistência, whatsapp, internet, smartphones.

INTRODUCTION

THIS ARTICLE PRESENTS some (counter)narratives to construct a history about the incorporation of industrial communication artifacts—and the necessary paraphernalia—by a collective of peoples known in Brazilian society as "Gavião," who currently inhabit the Mãe-Maria Indigenous Land, located in the state of Pará, Brazil. Our proposal is to bring the voices of some fundamental characters in the contemporary history of this people, such as Dona Conceição and her son Katêjuprêrê—who is also one of the authors of this text—to understand the impacts that electricity, radio, telephone, television—as well as the internet, smartphones, and their applications—have produced and continue to produce on these groups. Moreover, and more importantly, we are interested in understanding the processes of "indigenization" of these technologies within these groups throughout the second half of the 20th century.

The concept of "indigenization" is presented by Marshall Sahlins (1997) in his discussion of how indigenous societies not only resist the global capitalist system but also incorporate and transform elements of that system according to their own cosmologies and ways of life. In this article, we follow the definition given to this concept by the indigenous thinker Célia Xakriabá, in her dialogue with the American anthropologist. According to the author, the other concept we discuss is that of indigenization. This is a concept already known among anthropologists and historians, coined by the American Marshall Sahlins (1997).

In this work, we use this concept to discuss the strategies with which the Xakriabá people deal with the school that reaches us and how we resignify it. Sahlins (1997) presents the category of indigenization, seeking to differentiate it from the concept of acculturation, and this interests us, above all, as a way to counter the preconceived image that we, indigenous peoples, are "acculturated." In this sense, we seek to reinforce the power of the act of indigenizing, because, as Sahlins (1997) points out, this consists of the way in which indigenous peoples "have been culturally elaborating everything that has been inflicted upon them," incorporating "the world system into a new, even more comprehensive order: their own world system" (p. 52). The choice of indigenization means, in this research, a way of emphasizing the agency of the Xakriabá people in

our historical narratives. Therefore, it is important to reaffirm the process of resistance and subversion to what is imposed by colonial logic (Xakriabá, 2018).

Engaging with the author's ideas, we can say that Sahlins (1997) suggests, therefore, that this indigenization of capitalism is a form of creative resistance, where indigenous peoples are not merely victims of global and local forces, but active agents who reshape these forces to suit their own "world systems."

To understand this complex process, we conducted a multi-site, collaborative[1] ethnographic research in the Akrôtikatêjê village during 2022, between the months of November and December. During this period, long-term interviews were conducted with Dona Conceição and Katêjuprêrê and their brother Krytpytiti, as well as other family members. At the end of the research, we submitted the results for the appreciation of Katêjuprêrê, who in addition to having the indigenous leadership of his people, also has a degree in Social Sciences from the Federal University of the South and Southeast of Pará. Katêjuprêrê's considerations were so fundamental to this text that they explain his presence as an author as well.

Field and bibliographic research has demonstrated that the indigenization of communication technologies and their equipment—media, networks, and screens—as well as their occupation by these collectives, evidences, following the findings of Xakriabá (2018) and Sahlins (1997), the processes and challenges that point, on the one hand, to the achievement of autonomy from the State, facilitating access to rights and public policies; and, on the other hand, to the intensification of internal divisions and schisms among the different groups that make up the "Gavião people." We also note that important moments in the recent history of these collectives coincide with moments of incorporation of communication technologies.

We present as a guide to our text a timeline (see Figure 4) constructed in dialogue with our interlocutors during ethnographic research. On this timeline, represented by an arrow characteristic of this people, we present sequentially the different moments of contact with electrification instruments, as well as their devices and means of communication. However, to understand how this people incorporated these devices into their lives, it is necessary to look at the histories of resistance and the ways in which—at different historical moments—the Gavião collectives resisted the colonial incursions of missionaries and state officials; merchants and exploiters of Brazil nuts; and executives and employees of Eletronorte and the mining company Vale S/A.

This brief historical overview will be presented in the first section of this article. In the following sections, we will follow the milestones of the timeline, presenting the memories, reflections, and challenges that the incorporation of communication technologies has brought to our interlocutors from the Gavião people.

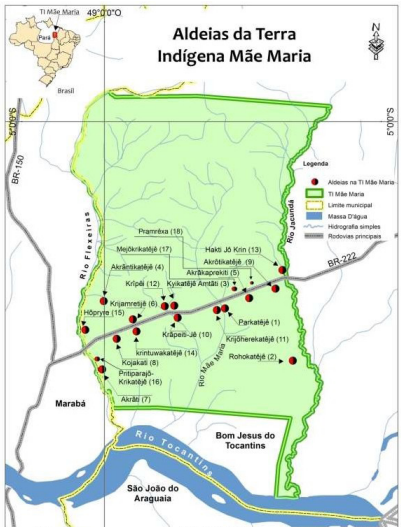
[1] "In very general terms, multi-sited ethnography, like all ethnography, is a mode of investigating social reality that involves the researcher's displacement from their original cultural context to others that are unfamiliar to them. It also implies that the researcher's subjectivity is deeply implicated in the investigative process, since it is the contact between this subjectivity and other subjectivities that constitutes the production of knowledge in a movement of approximation and distancing, familiarity and estrangement. Ortner (1995, p. 173) states that ethnography minimally means the effort to understand another world 'using the self as an instrument of knowledge.' As a technique, it involves what we call participant observation and the maintenance of systematic modes of recording the information collected. It is demanding in terms of time and in the need to build relationships of trust between the researcher and the researched." (Oliveira, 2017, p. 17)

THE "HAWKS" ARE MANY PEOPLES

Currently, the group known as the Gavião people is in the Mãe Maria Indigenous Land, whose territory overlaps with the municipality of Bom Jesus do Tocantins, Pará. It is in this territory, about fifteen kilometers from the city of Marabá (Pará), that the villages of this people are spread, as we can see in Figure 1 below.

Figure 1

Location of the Indigenous Land Mãe Maria and its respective villages



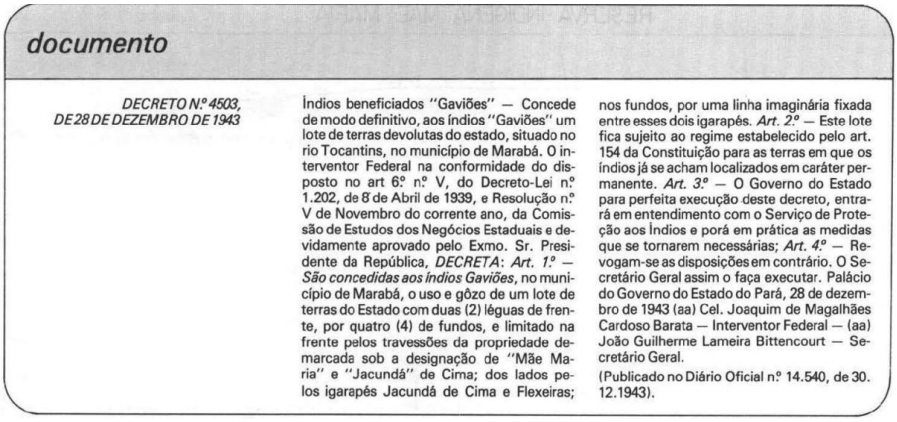
Note. Ribeiro Junior (2020).

The Mãe Maria Indigenous Land was declared an indigenous territory by Decree No. 4,503, of December 30, 1943, of the State of Pará. In Figure 2 below, we present the wording of the aforementioned decree as a historical document for the Gavião people.

It is important to note that this land was demarcated from an already existing area which, as we will see below, was intended for attempts to catechize the Gavião people in 1921. Its demarcation and expansion are related to the forced removal—promoted by the Brazilian state and the collectives that make up this people—to a land area of 62,000 hectares. The main objective in placing all the indigenous people in this territory was also related to the exploitation of cheap labor for the collection of Brazil nuts in that region, often under working conditions analogous to slavery (Ribeiro Júnior, 2020).

Figure 2

Decree granting definitive concession of the Mãe Maria area



documento

DECRETO Nº 4503, DE 28 DE DEZEMBRO DE 1943

Índios beneficiados "Gaviões" — Concede de modo definitivo, aos índios "Gaviões" um lote de terras devolutas do estado, situado no rio Tocantins, no município de Marabá. O interventor Federal na conformidade do disposto no art 6º nº V, do Decreto-Lei nº 1.202, de 8 de Abril de 1939, e Resolução nº V de Novembro do corrente ano, da Comissão de Estudos dos Negócios Estaduais e devidamente aprovado pelo Exmo. Sr. Presidente da República, *DECRETA*: *Art. 1.º — São concedidas aos índios Gaviões*, no município de Marabá, o uso e gôzo de um lote de terras do Estado com duas (2) léguas de frente, por quatro (4) de fundos, e limitado na frente pelos travessões da propriedade demarcada sob a designação de "Mãe Maria" e "Jacundá" de Cima; dos lados pelos igarapés Jacundá de Cima e Flexeiras; nos fundos, por uma linha imaginária fixada entre esses dois igarapés. *Art. 2.º* — Este lote fica sujeito ao regime estabelecido pelo art. 154 da Constituição para as terras em que os índios já se acham localizados em caráter permanente. *Art. 3.º* — O Governo do Estado para perfeita execução deste decreto, entrará em entendimento com o Serviço de Proteção aos Índios e porá em prática as medidas que se tornarem necessárias; *Art. 4.º* — Revogam-se as disposições em contrário. O Secretário Geral assim o faça executar. Palácio do Governo do Estado do Pará, 28 de dezembro de 1943 (aa) Cel. Joaquim de Magalhães Cardoso Barata — Interventor Federal — (aa) João Guilherme Lameira Bittencourt — Secretário Geral.

(Publicado no Diário Oficial nº 14.540, de 30. 12.1943).

Note. Adapted from Silva (2020).

In this sense, it is necessary to remember that, when we speak of the Gavião people, it is essential to understand that they are actually composed of three different peoples, who were forced by the Brazilian State to live in the same territory when they were forcibly removed, in the mid-20th century, from their different territories to a single Indigenous Land. In this respect, it is important to highlight that, in the mid-19th century, there was probably a prior separation between the peoples who currently make up the Gavião and some other people classified as Timbira[2], leading to the occupation of these different territories around the Tocantins River (Silva, 2020).

According to Ferraz (1998),

> All the groups that occupied a vast territory on the right bank of the middle course of the Tocantins River, extending from the headwaters of the Moju and Capim rivers (to the north) to the vicinity of the city of Imperatriz, MA, became known as "Gaviões" (Hawks); they were indiscriminately called "Gaviões" due to the fear they caused the sparse riverside populations, the Pykopkatêjê (or Pykobêjê, the "Hawks of Amarante/MA"), the Krînkati, and the current Parkatêjê, or "Western Hawks," located in the westernmost portion of the "Timbira country." (Ferraz, 1998, p. 3)

Regarding this process of occupation of different territories by the Gavião, Ferraz (1998) highlights that a process of division occurred among these peoples, due to different factors, such as internal conflicts and persecution by the Brazilian State. Therefore, it is important to observe this displacement

[2] The peoples classified under the name Timbira are a group of indigenous peoples who share cultural and linguistic traits and are located mainly in the central region of Brazil and belong to the Jê linguistic family, which is part of the Macro-Jê linguistic stock. According to Nimuendaju (1946), they are: the Apinajé, the Krahô, the Krikati, the Canela and the Gavião.

movement so that we can understand the existence of three groups that make up the Gavião people: the Gavião Akrãtikatêjê; the Gavião Parkatêjê; and the Gavião Kyikatêjê.

The Parkatêjê people The Kỳikatêjê were contacted in 1956 by Dominicans on the Praia Alta River, located in the municipality of Itupiranga (PA), and in 1965 they were removed by the Indian Protection Service (SPI) to the Mãe Maria Indigenous Land. The second group to be forcibly removed by the State to the same territory was the Kyikatêjê in the second half of 1970, who settled 4km from the Parkatêjê village in a village they called Ladeira Vermelha. The Kỳikatêjê group—where *Kỳi* It's your head, *Katê*. The word "*dono*" (owner) and "*controlador*" (controller) are both used in Brazil, and "*Jê*" means "we," "us," or "people," so it means "People and Owner of the Upper River"—they were contacted in 1968, near Imperatriz, MA. For this reason, they came to be called the "Maranhão group" (Ferraz, 1998).

The last people to be removed were the Akrãtikatêjê – where *Akrãti* means mountain, *Katê* means "owner," "controller," and *Jê* means "us," "people," therefore "People and Owner of the Mountain" or "mountain group." These were led by a chief named Krôti and occupied the headwaters of the Capim River. In the early 1960s, they were located near the SPI post—which was opposite the city of Tucuruí (PA)—but it was between 1971 and 1983, with the construction and installation of the Tucuruí hydroelectric plant (Pará) during the civil-military dictatorship that plagued Brazil, that the last "remnants" of the Akrãtikatêjê group were removed by the National Indian Foundation (Funai) to the interior of the Mãe Maria Indigenous Land (Parkrekapare, 2017).

Thus, we can note that during a certain period a process of displacement of the Gavião People occurred, and, according to studies about them and the sources already reviewed, we can consider that the Gavião were dispersed throughout a huge region that extends from the interior of Maranhão—in a large area bathed by the banks of the Tocantins River—to the state of Pará (Ribeiro Júnior, 2020).

In this process of territorial displacement, the German ethnologist Curt Nimuendaju (1946) demonstrated that there is a fundamental distinction between the different Gavião groups: on one hand, we have the groups that make up the "Eastern Gavião," who remained in the state of Maranhão and are mostly known as *Pykôbijê*; and on the other hand, we have the groups that form the "Western Gavião," who moved along the banks of the Tocantins River, reaching the territory of the state of Pará, and who are known as *Parkatêjê*. Our interlocutors belong to this second set of groups.

The exact reason for the separation between the two groups is unknown, but as Nimuendaju (1946) points out, it possibly occurred after the Western

Gavião occupied a region in the *terra firme* forest, located between the right bank of the lower and middle Tocantins River and the headwaters of the Capim River, after having separated from the Eastern Gavião, around the year 1850.

During this period of separation between the Eastern and Western Gavião, we must also observe that this displacement process resulted in the first contacts with white people. We can highlight that during the mid-19th century, the flow of extractive activities towards the Amazon—with the beginning of the so-called "rubber cycle" and later also the "Brazil nut cycle"—attracted various merchants and workers from different parts of Brazil to this region, and the Gavião lived precisely in these lands, and came to be considered enemies of "development" (Silva, 2020).

An example of the resistance of this people was their desire to possess tools for harvesting Brazil nuts, such as axes and machetes, which can also be considered technological instruments. This desire for integration led the Gavião people to increase their incursions into the Brazil nut groves along the banks of the Tocantins River. Thus, the period between the 1930s and the early 1940s became a time of conflict between them and the small local riverside population, further reinforcing the stereotype of savage indigenous people in the press of that period (Ferraz, 1998).

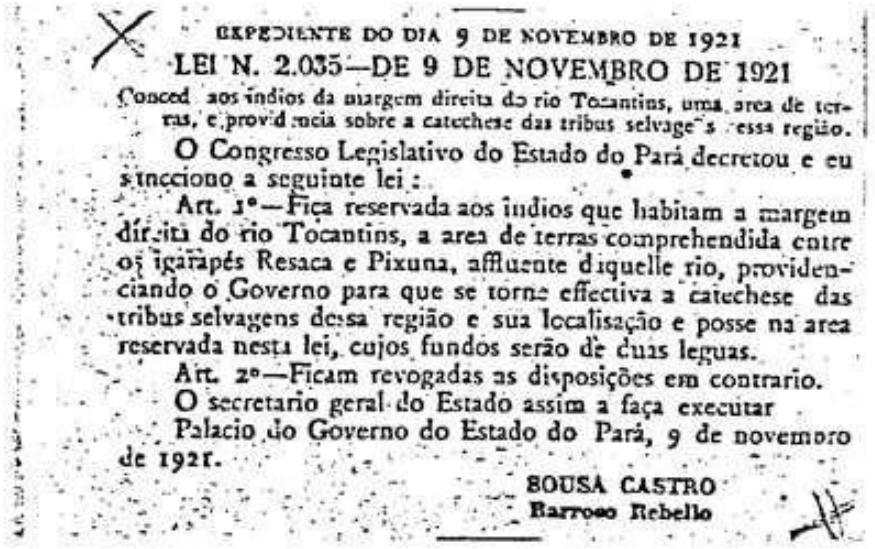
Following the aforementioned research by Nimuendaju (1946), it is important to highlight the work of Matta and Laraia (1978) on the relations between "Indians and Brazil nut harvesters," to demonstrate precisely that the Gavião were incorporated into a Brazil nut exploitation system, which drastically reduced their population. The authors state that, despite the economic and social pressures imposed by the extractive economy, the Gavião groups developed strategies to maintain their culture and way of life. These strategies included both direct resistance against exploitation and adaptation and negotiation with the Brazil nut harvesters and other external forces (Matta & Laraia, 1978). In this way, they managed to preserve important aspects of their social organization and autonomy—even in a context of intense exploitation and change, also caused by many deaths from epidemics and violence.

Similarly, with the arrival of missionaries in their territory at the beginning of the 20th century, the different groups had to adapt and resist this pressure. In a scenario of contact—in which conflicts intensified and the stereotype of "savage Indians" in relation to the Gavião was strengthened—another form of domination and exploitation was adopted by the local public authorities of the time against the indigenous people: the attempt to catechize these peoples. It is also very important to note here that the first territory granted by the Brazilian

State to these groups was conditional "on an effective catechization of the savage tribes," as can be seen in the document (Figure 3) reproduced below.

Figure 3

Decree No. 2,031 of November 9, 1921, granting land for the catechization of the Gavião Indians



EXPEDIENTE DO DIA 9 DE NOVEMBRO DE 1921

LEI N. 2.035—DE 9 DE NOVEMBRO DE 1921

Concede aos indios da margem direita do rio Tocantins, uma area de terras, e providencia sobre a catechese das tribus selvagens dessa região.

O Congresso Legislativo do Estado do Pará decretou e eu sinccciono a seguinte lei:

Art. 1º—Fica reservada aos indios que habitam a margem direita do rio Tocantins, a area de terras comprehendida entre os igarapés Resaca e Pixuna, affluente daquelle rio, providenciando o Governo para que se torne effectiva a catechese das tribus selvagens dessa região e sua localisação e posse na area reservada nesta lei, cujos fundos serão de duas leguas.

Art. 2º—Ficam revogadas as disposições em contrario.

O secretario geral do Estado assim a faça executar

Palacio do Governo do Estado do Pará, 9 de novembro de 1921.

SOUSA CASTRO
Barroso Rebello

Note. Facsimile of Indigenous Peoples in Brazil (1985).

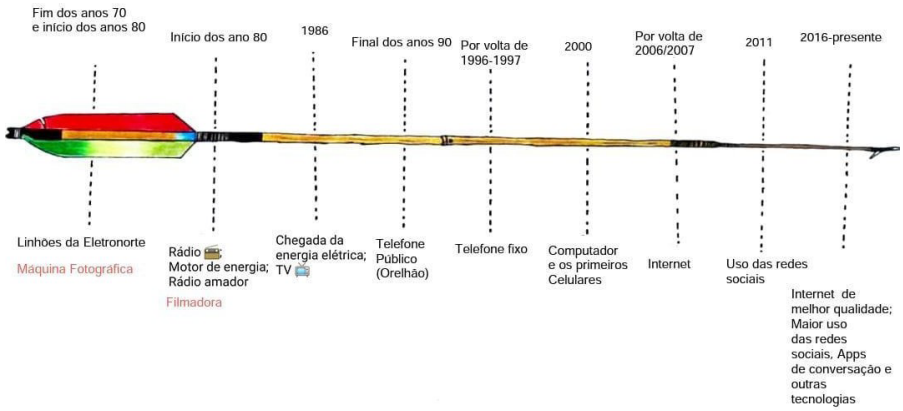
It is important to highlight that in this context, the Gavião people employed strategies to protect themselves, often hiding their cultural traits to survive. As our interlocutors say, this is a very painful moment in people's memory, and it is still very difficult to talk about this period. Here, however, we can see once again how the different groups that make up the Gavião people resisted missionary attempts and how important it was to maintain their cultural autonomy, just as in the time of the chestnut groves.

All these scenarios of exploitation and domination to which these groups were subjected seem to have prepared them for their encounter with information and communication technologies and, more than that, for their process of indigenization. As we will see below, this process is based on maintaining their autonomy and unity as a people in relation to the Brazilian State and, on the other hand, on maintaining and exacerbating the differences between the groups that make up the Gavião people.

FROM ENERGY TO THE INTERNET: INDIGENOUS TECHNOLOGIES

Figure 4

Timeline constructed from the interviews



Note. Prepared by the authors (2022).

Based on the oral narratives collected during the field research, it was possible to construct the image of this timeline (Figure 4) presented above as a heuristic tool for exposition and analysis, intended to facilitate our understanding of the process of indigenization of communication technologies by the collectives of the Gavião people. We are fully aware that this process was not linear, but rather complex, full of twists and turns and various recurring situations of resistance, which this chronological exposition seeks only to organize.

On the back of the arrow, we can see that the words "Camera" and "Film camera" are highlighted in red. This is because the indigenous people had contact with these technologies but did not necessarily have access to them; that is, they did not appropriate them when they appeared, but only after this period, from the arrival of electricity in 1986 (Ribeiro Junior, 2020).

Furthermore, it is possible to find some photographic records of the Gavião people even before the 1970s, but as the work sought to follow the narratives, we did not include this period in the timeline above. However, it is important to highlight that Parkrekapare (2017) presents some photographs provided by the American missionaries João and Judy—who worked with the Gavião in the 1960s—evidencing the indigenous people's contact with these technologies at an earlier time.

Furthermore, it is important to highlight that the processes of indigenization of these technologies and their technical apparatus point, as Hui (2020) states,

to their own "technodiversities" that constitute possibilities for "different technological futures" from those produced by the agents of "capitalist modernity" (p. 46). In the case of the Gavião, such possibilities raise important questions for dialogue between the different generations that constitute this people. Here, as we will see, autonomy and struggle are the key words for an ancestral future (Krenak, 2023).

Analyzing the timeline, we can see that starting in 1986, electricity arrived in the Mãe Maria Indigenous Territory, which likely increased access to certain technologies. This is what Dona Conceição, one of the guardians of this history, told us.

> We have to tell everything correctly so we understand. What arrived here first was Eletronorte, I think it was around the 70s or 80s, because under those power lines it was all forest, there were pequi trees, ochi trees, lots of chestnut trees, and then Eletronorte came and we lived on the other side, where people call 30 Velho, there were already little houses, straw houses, we didn't have electricity, we had oil lamps and a generator, when it was eleven o'clock the generator would turn off, the generator would turn on in the late afternoon, around five o'clock, and when it was around eleven o'clock at night it would turn off. And then we would stay up until about eleven o'clock, watch television, then turn off the engine … there was already a television, it was the first one, the Captain put it in the middle of his house, in that big straw house , he had one there and put a television and everyone watched it, it was a television that we watched … at that time there was also the radio, it came before the TV, and it was one of those with thick batteries, at the beginning few people had a radio, only later did everyone start to have their own in their house, until one time lightning struck and buried the radio in the ground like this (laughs), the radio was on and lightning struck the village and hit the wire like this and buried it inside. (Interview with Dona Conceição, 2022)

Dona Conceição's memories take us back to a time before the arrival of electricity, with oil lamps and fuel-powered engines. A time when radio and television already existed, but only one set was acquired by Captain Krôhôkrenhum[3], an important leader of the Gavião people. A time also when lightning struck radios; a time of resistance against the passage of Eletronorte's power lines through the Mãe Maria Indigenous Territory. What came first to Dona Conceição's memory was not electricity, but Eletronorte (Figure 5).

Based on Dona Conceição's memories, we can observe that the arrival of the first technologies is associated with the movement of large projects that took place in the Amazon from the 1970s onwards, with the developmentalist

[3] Toprãmre Krôhôkrenhum Jõpaipaire, better known as "Captain," was a political leader who experienced the struggles and adversities of the Gavião people in Mãe Maria. He led his village for over 60 years (he passed away in 2016) and was one of the first to inhabit the Mãe Maria Indigenous Land (Silva, 2020).

discourse of "integrating so as not to surrender," which directly impacted indigenous peoples. As we know, these projects developed during the period of the civil-military dictatorship in Brazil did not consider the diversity of these peoples who had already occupied these territories long before. In the case of the Mãe Maria Indigenous Land—in relation to Eletronorte—according to Ribeiro Junior (2020, p. 128),

> Starting in 1977, a dual power transmission system with 500 kW, called the 1st and 2nd circuits, was built with the Tucuruí-Presidente Dutra transmission line. This utilized a 500-meter right-of-way, running parallel to the BR-222 highway to the municipality of Açailândia (MA), connecting to the municipality of Presidente Dutra - MA, which is part of the national circuit 128 known as SIN (National Integration System). This corridor of large power towers was built directly by Eletronorte and, in addition to crossing the Mãe Maria Indigenous Land, also cut through three other indigenous lands in Maranhão: Krikati, Morro Branco, and Cana Brava.

Figure 5

BR-222 highway and the Eletronorte power line

Note. Ribeiro Júnior (2020).

In this sense, we can observe that the arrival of large power towers will have a direct impact on the sociocultural dynamics of the Gavião people's collectives, and that this impact continues to this day (Ribeiro Junior, 2020). Regarding Dona Conceição's statement, it is already possible to analyze which technologies were the first to be indigenized and incorporated from the late 1970s and early 1980s.

Thus, radio, along with the generator and later television, can be considered the first technologies to be part of the indigenization process. It is important to emphasize that this entire context of the emergence of technologies precedes

the arrival of electricity via the grid (Parkrekapare, 2017). Furthermore, a unique and collectivist way of using these technologies stands out, characterizing a specific "cosmotechnics" of this people (Hui, 2020). In Dona Conceição's words, we perceive that the radio was collective, that is, it was used by the entire village, mainly to communicate with state agencies; while the television, although belonging to the leader Capitão, was watched by everyone at a ritually defined time and place. Thus, we see that the first communication devices that arrived in the villages were initially used collectively and, gradually, became individualized: first, one radio for the village; then, over time, each person had their own, as did the television.

During our conversation, Dona Conceição highlighted other elements that helped us understand the arrival of the first technologies.

> Back then, when I 'm talking about this, we only had the generator; even when we celebrated Carnival, we used oil lamps to save money. The old folks would go to the woods to pick Brazil nuts, the husbands too, and we'd put up a bunch of oil lamps around the house, and use those lamp holders … It was all about the radio, back in the radio days … Then I saw the electricity arrive; we were still living in the village back in the 30th century, and then Eletronorte came, right?! Back then, we used to catch a lot of colds because there was so much dust, because we lived right by the roadside, not a little further inland like it is today. Then they came up with this proposal to remove the trees to put up the Eletronorte power lines. The Captain and these people talked, and he said that we would clear (where the Parkatêjê are), the tractor would come and clear everything, and each of you would choose the location for your house. We were going to choose the location of our houses, and then people came from Brasília to build the houses, a group that worked for Eletronorte, and they built some very small houses, very quickly, they built the houses for us, you know?! "So when we went there, when they built the village, it already had electricity. The houses only had two rooms, then they expanded them … this was before 1990 because I already had Ajrom. Then, since they built the village where we chose, we made the proposal: you will build the houses, we will go to the village, you will install electricity and we will not pay, our electricity will be forever, and we will want electricity all the time, because the grid will be here forever too … at that time when electricity arrived, the Captain would buy televisions and distribute them to the people. I remember the signal was bad because it was that thin antenna that went up high and my husband would turn around and shout 'it's working!' then he would turn to one side and then to the other, oh, those were good times." (Interview with Dona Conceição, 2022)

We can see, from Dona Conceição's narrative, that the arrival of electricity in the newly built village was the result of the Gavião people's struggle, as they were and continue to be aware of the impacts caused by large projects within the indigenous reserve. The installation of electricity in the Parkatêjê village occurred in 1986, carried out at the time by the former Centrais Elétricas do Pará (Ribeiro Junior, 2020). Therefore, the incorporation of electricity was collectivized and indigenized, being used free of charge and permanently.

It is also important to highlight that this process occurred within the context of the articulation of the leader Captain Krôhôkrenhum for the creation of the "Parkatêjê Community." According to Silva (2020, p. 41),

> In the process of establishing the villages, based on their experience on Indigenous land, the Gavião began to present themselves to non-Indigenous people, for a certain period, as the '*Parkatêjê Indigenous Community,*' a move orchestrated by *Krôhôkrenhum*. as a political strategy of territorial negotiation (Ferraz, 1983). These groups, whose villages were previously distinct, did not cease to be *Kỳikatêjê* or *Akrãtikatêjê* to become *Parkatêjê*, but gave rise to the '*Parkatêjê Community*' to deal directly with white people, as a defense mechanism for their land rights, especially in claims for compensation for the use or entry of private concessionaires onto Indigenous land.

Regarding this passage, we can analyze it from the perspective of the idea of "culture in quotation marks," presented by Cunha (2018), where we visualize the idea of a cultural tradition that adapts to new media and environments, as well as perpetuating itself through resistance in the face of the obstacles that this new environment presents. Here, to confront Eletronorte, a very powerful enemy, the Gavião collectives collectivized themselves as a communication strategy with this large company. On the other hand, it is important to highlight that internal differences were maintained, because, as Dona Conceição recalled, televisions began to be distributed to all families by the Captain. The idea of "culture in quotation marks" presents precisely this double face of culture: that which is shown as a strategy of resistance to the white man and which tends towards collectivization and momentary suppression of differences; and that which is lived on the ground in the village with its internal differences and specific social organizations.

Continuing our conversation with Dona Conceição, she told us that

> When the TV arrived in the village, Katêjuprêrê had already been born. I remember because he was very small and he liked to watch the soap opera Top Model.

> He watched … it was one of those big televisions with a large background … So, I remember many things from when Eletronorte arrived here. It was like this: first the radio, then we had the generator, and when the electricity arrived, things became much easier. Before electricity, some things were difficult, like communicating with Funai, but we had those amateur radios to talk to Funai. There was the Funai post, and there was the post chief, who at that time was Cotia, and next to it was the radio house, right?! That amateur radio, the one that talks and communicates. Before radio, the Captain would send telegrams and letters to Funai (National Indian Foundation), and when they didn't respond, he would go to Brasília. But amateur radio was what started to facilitate communication and was the first thing to arrive … Then, when electricity came, sometime later, those Telemar payphones arrived. There was one in the village, right at the entrance. The boys were already quite grown up. I remember that payphone was at the guard post of the Parkatêjê Village … When someone called, we would answer and have to run after the person to talk on the payphone. Sometimes the person would take so long to come and talk that the call would even drop, and back then we had to buy the tokens because they didn't give them to us. (Interview with Dona Conceição, 2022)

With this narrative full of details, we can already observe new elements in the timeline after the arrival of the battery-powered radio, the electric motor, and amateur radio; in the mid-1980s, we have the appearance of television. Dona Conceição also introduces us to the arrival of the public telephone in the Mãe Maria Indigenous Territory, shortly after the first electrical installations.

In another part of our conversation, Dona Conceição (Figure 6) presents the scenario that existed in the late 1990s and early 2000s, regarding the arrival of the first landline and mobile phones:

> After the payphone arrived, a few years passed and the teachers were already here, even your mother was, and they went and installed a landline that was at the chief's house, at the captain's house. The signal wasn't very good because we were far away, but it helped a lot for us to communicate with FUNAI (National Indian Foundation), to send messages to the street. I remember the first teachers here used it whenever they could to talk to their husbands in the street, to find out something … Then some time passed and cell phones started to appear, but they were the old ones, you know?! They were very expensive and not everyone could afford them. They were the big ones that people call "brick phones," the ones that flip and close. But it took us a long time to get them, at least my family did, because they were very expensive. (Interview with Dona Conceição, 2022)

Thus, analyzing the statement above, we can see the introduction of telephone equipment into the Mãe Maria Indigenous Territory: first with the arrival of public payphones; soon after, landline telephones appeared, and finally, the first mobile phones began to emerge. With the arrival of cell phones in the early 2000s, access to them was limited due to the cost of the devices at the time.

Figure 6

Dona Conceição during an interview conducted in November 2022

Note. Authors' collection (2022).

Later in our conversation, Dona Conceição highlighted some points related to the arrival of the first computers on Indigenous land, which occurred from the beginning of the 21st century.

> So, Thiago, I remember that after the electricity arrived, and some time passed, and then came the television, the telephone, the cell phones, the more modern things, you know?! That's when the first computer arrived here, because we set up an association there in Parkatêjê, and there was an office there, and there was a computer that people used to do some things, I don't know what they were, but it was mostly the more knowledgeable ones who used it, or some teachers from the school, but not all of them, some of them liked to use the children's notebooks or that thing that printed the paper, put alcohol on it, and the paper came out smelling only of alcohol, I even used to argue with the boys because they liked to smell that stuff (laughs) … but there was only the computer, there was no internet yet, that only appeared a little later. (Interview with Dona Conceição, 2022)

According to Dona Conceição's account, the year 2000 can be considered the starting point for the introduction of the first computers into the Mãe Maria Indigenous Territory as a work tool within the indigenous association, which emerged during that period in the Parkatêjê village. Thus, from the conversation with Dona Conceição, we were able to formulate the first milestones of the timeline presented above. However, to further understand this process of indigenization, it was necessary to speak with other people.

Following Katêjuprêrê 's suggestion, we went to speak with her brother Krytpytiti. He told us the following:

> Man, back then I think I was about 18 or 20 years old, things were more modern, you know?! Like, there were already computers, but not everyone could use them, and those big cell phones were starting to appear, I don't know if you remember?! It was around the time Zeca left the Parkatêjê and went to another village … I didn't have a cell phone yet because it was expensive, and we only gradually started buying them here. The Captain helped a lot of people to acquire these things, like televisions, cell phones, and so on, because I remember that until the very end of the 90s, there weren't many of these technological things in the village. We already had television, electricity, and we used the radio a lot. Then some more modern sound systems with those big speakers started appearing, and only later did things start to change. But I think it was in accordance with what appeared on the street as well. We didn't have that much difficulty getting these technological things to our village because the elders always tried to pursue them, especially the Captain. (Interview with Krytpytiti, 2022)

This testimony, in addition to corroborating numerous pieces of information provided by Dona Conceição, presents even more details of this process that we are recounting here. Now we know, for example, that the arrival of computers and cell phones is related to the movement to create indigenous associations, which began to occur among the Gavião collectives in the 2000s to deal not only with Eletronorte, but also with the passage of the train line known as Carajás—built by the mining company Vale SA—for the transport of iron ore to the port of São Luís (MA).

An important piece of information provided by Krytpytiti is the reminder that the computer appeared around the year 2000, precisely "around the time Zeca left the Parkatêjê and went to another village," that is, around the time a process of division between villages began, a process that has now reached very high numbers. From the 2000s onwards, the Gavião underwent a strong process of social reorganization with the separation of different groups and the formation

of new villages. During the 1970s, there was a common coexistence, in which all groups lived in the same village. However, in 2001, the Kỳikatêjê They took the initiative to reorganize themselves into their own village, followed later, in 2009, by the Akrãtikatêjê, all in distinct villages, but within the Indigenous Land Mãe Maria territory (Silva, 2020).

Ribeiro Júnior (2020) refers to this continuous process of division as "neo--village formation", because, according to the author, this concept "clarifies the possibility of seeing the movement of production of new villages underway within a different context than that experienced by this indigenous society in the times of the 'forests'" (Ribeiro Júnior, 2020, p. 22).

Parkrekapare (2017), in one of his accounts, shows us that one of the causes of these divisions can be observed in the narratives of the older indigenous people, when they report that they occur due to internal conflicts, ranging from family feuds to the management of resources transferred by the mining company Vale. In this sense, each people and village sought a unique identity—and at the same time very similar to the old groups—during the time they lived together.

It is important to understand and highlight that the movements of division are also related to the process of appropriating technologies, since they are capable—as we saw earlier—of producing a process of internal differentiation and, at the same time, the creation of an external identity. This dual movement constitutes the way in which each of the Gavião collectives indigenizes technologies in its own way.

Furthermore, the arrival of the internet coincided with the intensification of internal divisions and the appearance of the first pages on digital social networks. Katêjuprêrê told us a bit of this story in an interview:

> I can remember moments like these because they're so memorable, they stay in your memory, right?! I remember that the internet that arrived here was via radio, right?! That was when we had an association and we lived in the village there on the 25th[4], it was around 2006 or 2007 … Well, Thiago, it started like this, I remember that signal came from Bom Jesus, it seems, and it was via radio, I remember it was really bad because it dropped out a lot, but then it got better, then they put it in the houses and each house had to have a little antenna, because to get the signal you had to have that antenna, so everyone started using it in their house, because before everyone used it at the association, back when it was on the 25th, and they would take that cable and connect it via USB to the notebook or computer … So, it was a struggle because it dropped out a lot, then it went on and on, and then in 2016 onwards, cable internet came in, but still with the radio signal, and then around 2018 or 2019, fiber optic internet came in. I even bought those internet modems

[4] The village of Kỳikatêjê is known by its location at km 25 of the BR-222 highway (Parkrekapare, 2017).

> at one point, but since it was a carrier signal, it didn't work here … so that was it, today we have fiber optic wi-fi, but mobile data or even calls only work in some spots here in the village, but there are villages where mobile data works well, but it's rare. (Interview with Katêjuprêrê, 2022)

Katêjuprêrê's memories connect us to different moments in the arrival of the internet among the Gavião people: first via radio; soon after with cable and, finally, the fiber optic system with Wi-Fi. He also highlights the use of mobile data from telephone operators and, in addition, emphasizes the transformations in a world already full of different villages of the collectives that make up the Gavião people—a world very different from that time narrated by Dona Conceição, where people living in a single village collectively watched television in the Captain's house. Again, we find resonances between the movements of diffusion and dispersion of the internet in the territory and those of dispersion and occupation of the territory by different villages that, in addition to internet access, have schools, health posts, association offices, and other devices that guarantee the autonomy of each group that makes up the Gavião people.

During our interview, Katêjuprêrê highlighted that in the case of the Akrôtikatêjê village, the process of incorporating technologies had already been consolidated among the indigenous people, but in terms of infrastructure, he and his siblings had to fight again for electricity, water pumps, and the infrastructure necessary for the internet to function, as well as antennas and modems.

> When we first came here, it was more complicated. People didn't want to stay in the area we're in now; they wanted to stay near the lake, but that was closer to the road and the terrain wasn't flat because it was on a slope, and there was also the rain, you know!? When it rained, it could flood, so I came alone with my wife to where the village is today, around 2014/2015, and I built a shack and we started living there. I started cleaning around here by myself, and you can see that it's very flat and high up. After a few months, people started coming here. At first, we couldn't get electricity or internet, but after I started the association with my brothers, things started to work out. When the electricity arrived, we immediately got internet, so everyone has their own internet and pays for their own plan … but we already had good cell phones, people already had laptops, top-of-the-line televisions, sound systems, because we like a good melody here (laughs). So, the village gradually became structured, and today it's much better. The only real problem is this electricity issue; we have to clean the road more so it doesn't go out constantly. (Interview with Katêjuprêrê, 2022)

As we said before, the narratives demonstrate how the process of incorporating technologies is not linear, since the creation of each village requires a collective effort to regain electricity, and now, also the internet—a network that brings together different communication devices that are indigenized and put into circulation within the indigenous logic. After all, as Katêjuprêrê says, "we here like a *melody*." This continuous process of struggle for autonomy can be understood as the very way in which the different Gavião groups indigenize technologies, to which, more recently, mobile devices and their messaging applications have been added.

WHATSAPP IN THE HAWK STYLE

To conclude this article, we propose to add one more point to this intricate network, which is a brief description of the current intense use of cell phones and WhatsApp, which, in our view, is concomitant with the contemporary process of "neo-village formation" (Ribeiro Junior, 2020) and the challenges it imposes on the different collectives of Gavião.

We begin with the narrative of Katêjuprêrê, one of the authors of this text:

> We use our cell phones a lot because it's the most practical way to talk to each other, right?! But the cell phone network doesn't work very well here; we only find a good spot with a signal once in a while, so that's why most people in the village have Wi-Fi at home, because the internet is good … we send messages on WhatsApp, or we make phone calls. We make more calls through WhatsApp than on regular phones, because of this signal issue. So, if someone doesn't have internet at home, they usually go to someone else's house and use the internet. WhatsApp is what we use most here in the village. It's only really bad when the power goes out, and lately there have been a lot of problems with the power. Then we must go to the nearby village to get a signal or something if we want to solve a problem, because unfortunately, our electricity isn't very good yet. (Interview with Katêjuprêrê, 2022)

From this narrative, it is possible to note that cell phones, along with certain messaging applications—especially WhatsApp—are frequently used by indigenous people, even though some problems related to electricity and poor-quality mobile phone networks still exist. In this way, messaging applications are incorporated as means of communication between members of the villages to resolve collective demands, providing dialogue not only between members of the internal community but also with external people.

In another narrative, Katêjuprêrê also shows us how WhatsApp is important for the autonomy of different groups within the Gavião people, using the Akrôtikatêjê village as an example:

> These messaging apps like WhatsApp really help our lives because we can now share the information we want in the way we want, and it wasn't always like that. I remember a time when we had to talk to FUNAI (National Indian Foundation) to resolve something, and people had to leave the village and go out into the street just to deliver a document or demand something, or others would speak for us. It was as if we weren't capable of doing these things ourselves … Nowadays, not everyone in the village is proficient in these technologies, but there are people here who can manage. So, technology has been important for us. It might seem trivial to you, but it's not for us. Because when we talk about Indigenous people, about ourselves, we're always raising issues that wouldn't be necessary if we relied on the law. But we constantly have some right denied, rights that are ours and that we have to fight for. For example, if we want to organize a protest, like blocking a highway, we organize ourselves through WhatsApp, Facebook, but … It's mostly WhatsApp, and by the time people are surprised, we're already in the streets protesting. (Interview with Katêjuprêrê, 2022)

In this powerful narrative, it is possible to see how this process of indigenization of technologies directly and indirectly constitutes the culture of the Gavião collectives, insofar as community members reinterpret their uses according to their realities, contributing to their causes and guaranteeing the autonomy of these collectives in relation to Brazilian state bodies. This is why Katêjuprêrê highlights at a certain point that the invisibility of indigenous peoples is closely related to the denial of their rights, and that this has a direct impact on access to technologies and how they can assist in this process. Thus, it is also noted how these devices are incorporated as instruments of political and social organization for these collectives, serving the struggles for legally established rights.

Throughout our conversations, we sought to understand the workings and dynamics of the main WhatsApp groups, since this was the most widely used application for exchanging messages.

> So, there are the WhatsApp groups, right?! We hardly ever have groups just for those silly jokes. We have the village group where we post information about meetings, courses, university stuff—it's more of a general group, where my brothers and I, as leaders, are the administrators. This group is good because there are some people, like the older ones, who aren't so connected and receive

> news through the groups when someone comments … Then we have the school group, because as you know, there are teachers here who aren't Indigenous, and since they don't live in the village, information about school things is passed on there. There's also the general group for the entire Mãe Maria Indigenous Territory, where we post information of interest to all the people, information about events, things like that … and there's also the SESAI group, which is for the Indigenous health secretariat staff. In that group, there are the leaders from each village of the Gavião people here in Mãe Maria and from other villages in the region. (Interview with Katêjuprêrê, 2022)

During that conversation, Katêjuprêrê showed four existing groups on her cell phone, as can be seen in Figure 7 below:

Figure 7

WhatsApp groups on Katêjuprêrê's smartphone

Note: Authors' collection (2022).

According to him, the group "TI MÃE MARIA. GAVIÃO" has the highest volume of conversations, as it brings together leaders from all the villages in the Mãe Maria Indigenous Territory, posting content daily on various subjects, but highlighting events and political meetings with the companies Vale and Eletronorte, as well as rituals and festivities organized by the different villages.

Another important group is the "Akrôtikatêjê Leadership" group—the most widely used among the members of the Akrôtikatêjê village—as it is a specific group for the village, where daily tasks and announcements are organized and communicated, as well as reports on meetings with the companies Vale and Eletronorte, in addition to other matters directly related to the village.

The last two groups shown in the image are more specific and localized groups designed to address the demands, challenges, and problems of Indigenous education and health. The "Akrôti Teachers" group is used by teachers and students from the village school to share information, coordinate educational activities, discuss the school calendar, and debate the structural difficulties the school faces. The "Marabá Hub Advisors" group receives messages about Indigenous health in the region, serving as a point of discussion and information about the needs faced by health posts in the different villages of the Gavião collectives, as well as communicating about meetings and vaccination campaigns.

In this sense, a key element we note about the process of incorporating these devices and applications is that WhatsApp—and its potential to create different groups for different purposes—was very well indigenized by a people who, as we have seen so far, are composed of distinct collectives and are accustomed to organizing themselves into distinct collectivities in the different contexts of their history.

Thus, we perceive the composition of the more general groups—which address problems and issues that permeate the entire Mãe Maria Indigenous Territory, as is the case with the "TI Mãe Maria. Gavião" group, as well as the specific groups to resolve issues restricted only to the Akrôtikatêjê village—in addition to the even more restricted groups, directed towards specific issues of the schools and health centers.

The WhatsApp in the Gavião style, it reproduces and, at the same time, feeds the distinct ways in which these collectives produce collectivities and singularities, uniting and separating in strategic contexts and groups to guarantee their autonomy.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Up to this point, we have seen how different groups that make up the Gavião people have asserted their autonomy at different moments in their history—whether in their relations with the businessmen and workers of the Brazil nut industry, with the missionaries, with the colonial officials of the State, of Eletronorte, or, more recently, with the mining company Vale.

In all these contexts, the Gavião collectives managed to resist and maintain their cultural independence, sustaining their autonomy in the face of the challenges imposed by their relationships with these agents of the State and capitalism. Thus, as we have argued in this article, these collectives indigenize not only digital technologies, but also, as Sahlins (1997) says, "everything that has been inflicted upon them" (p. 52).

As we have seen, the arrival of the first radio and television sets—in addition to mains electricity—coincided with a process of political collectivization of the different groups that organized themselves as a single "Parkatêjê community" to engage in dialogue with non-indigenous people, who were representatives of the large development projects that surrounded their territory.

Nevertheless, we also saw that internally the Gavião collectives began a process of autonomization—which culminated in several splits starting in the 2000s—concomitant with the arrival of the first computers, cell phones, and internet networks. The second decade of the 2000s seems to consolidate this process of autonomization, with separation movements that forced the collectives that built new villages to fight again for electricity and internet infrastructure—which often comes accompanied by state institutions, such as schools and health centers, which, in turn, are also indigenized.

WhatsApp groups They emulate the very capacity of these collectives to organize and reorganize themselves, respecting collectivities and singularities depending on the contexts, specificities, and resistance strategies. Gathering in groups with distinct purposes, agendas, and organizations is something that, as we have demonstrated, the collectives of the Gavião people have been doing for some time now, when, as Sahlins (1997) says, they began to incorporate "the world system into a new, even more comprehensive order: their own world system" (p. 52).

In these movements of collectivization and singularity, the struggle for autonomy, as well as its challenges, are unquestionable elements of the process of indigenization of technologies that we are describing and that pose new challenges for new generations. We would like to end this text with the wise words of Dona Conceição—she who guided us through the intricacies of this timeline and who, in turn, remains open to the possible future ancestors (Krenak, 2023) of the collectives that make up the Gavião people.

> This whole technology thing is kind of complicated to talk about, because in part I see that it doesn't help much and in part it helps a lot, for example, cell phones, television, I love a good soap opera (laughs), the radio itself, and nowadays the internet, all of that has been very good in helping us, you know!? Because, as I said,

> everything was very difficult, because if there was a serious problem on the land, it was a huge struggle for us to talk to those people from FUNAI (National Indian Foundation). So technology has made things easier. But on the other hand, I say it hasn't helped much because I see that the younger people here don't have that great interest in participating in the things that my boys here had before. Today I see people somewhat disinterested in participating in some things in the village, not all of them, but I see that it has shaken the culture, you understand what I 'm saying? Before, we had a lot of parties, we painted ourselves, there were many dances, many fights too, but I think people got more involved, maybe it was because everyone was together. (Dona Conceição, 2022). M

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Body painting, digital technologies, and ancestrality in the Upper Xingu

Pintura corporal, tecnologias digitais e a ancestralidade no Alto Xingu

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ABSTRACT

The study explores the relationship between body, memory, and territory, focusing on the indigenous peoples of the Upper Xingu. Body painting is examined as a practice that inscribes memory onto the body, linked to tradition and ancestry. This practice, historically connected to the preservation of identity and the transmission of ancestral knowledge, is undergoing a process of transformation among younger generations, who are beginning to incorporate elements of non-indigenous culture into their body art. This phenomenon generates tensions between generations, revealing uncertainties about the preservation of tradition in light of the demands of contemporary indigenous life.
Keywords: Xingu body painting, memory, territory, ancestry.

RESUMO

O estudo explora a relação entre corpo, memória e território com ponto focal nos indígenas do Alto Xingu, a pintura corporal é indagada como uma prática que inscreve a memória sobre o corpo, vinculada à tradição e à ancestralidade. Essa prática, historicamente ligada à preservação da identidade e à transmissão de saberes ancestrais, passa por um processo de transformação entre os jovens, que começam a incorporar elementos da cultura não-indígena em seus grafismos corporais. Esse fenômeno produz tensões entre gerações, revelando incertezas sobre a preservação da tradição, diante da necessidade da contemporaneidade indígena.
Palavras-chave: Pintura corporal do Xingu, memória, território, ancestralidade.

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INTRODUCTION

THE BODY PAINTING PRACTICES of the indigenous peoples of the Upper Xingu have always played a central role in expressing identity, maintaining tradition, and structuring social and cosmological relations. However, in recent years, these practices have undergone notable transformations, mainly due to increased contact with external influences such as television, social media, and more accessible interaction with non-indigenous people. Based on preliminary observations, it is hypothesized that these changes lie at the intersection of a struggle for protagonism between young people and elders, revealing a possible generational conflict. Thus, the theme of this study lies in the blurred boundary between ancestry and contemporaneity.

The methodology integrates three complementary approaches: ethnography, literature review, and iconographic analysis. Ethnography, combined with fieldwork, is crucial for closely observing how these body painting practices are reinterpreted and given new meaning by new generations. Direct contact with the communities allows for a deeper understanding of the meanings attributed to these transformations. The literature review complements this empirical perspective, providing a theoretical basis that connects the changes observed in the field with broader debates on Indigenous art, symbolism, and cosmology. Finally, the iconographic and symbolic analysis offers an interpretative key to the visual elements present in body painting. It allows us to examine how the chosen forms and colors express both continuity and cultural adaptation, operating as tools of resistance, communication, and affirmation of identity, especially in a scenario where digital media plays an increasingly present role in Indigenous lives.

The body painting examples used in this study were observed and collected *in situ* between 2021 and 2023, as well as social media posts from the indigenous people themselves. From this, a repertoire of elements treated in the research as evidence of an ongoing transformation was established. To investigate the phenomenon, a bibliographic study of academic production by the Xingu indigenous people themselves was carried out, which was worked on in a dialogue approach with non-indigenous researchers. Finally, semi-structured interviews were also conducted with indigenous people from the upper Xingu, with the primary objective of understanding the changes in body painting for the peoples of the upper Xingu, considering contemporary facts and the tradition of these peoples.

The territory of this study is the Xingu Indigenous Park (PIX), located in the state of Mato Grosso, which is one of the most important indigenous territories in Brazil, both in terms of its territorial size and the ethnic and cultural

diversity it harbors. Founded in 1961, the park demarcates an area of over 26,000 km² and is home to 16 different ethnic groups: Aweti, Ikpeng, Kaiabi, Kalapalo, Kamaiurá, Kĩsêdjê, Kuikuro, Matipu, Mehinako, Nahukuá, Naruvotu, Tapayuna, Trumai, Wauja, Yudja, and Yawalapiti. These groups speak languages from the Tupi-Guarani, Karíb, Aruák, Jê, and Juruna families, in addition to the isolated Trumai language. Portuguese has been increasingly used as a contact language between different ethnic groups with different languages and in situations of interaction with non-indigenous people (Instituto Socioambiental [ISA], 2023).

"Xingu Indigenous Park" (PIX) is a normative name, but the indigenous people adopt the term "Xingu Indigenous Territory" as a kind of resistance to the ambiguities of the word "Park," which seems to shift towards the idea of a nature reserve or leisure activity, according to non-indigenous culture. They understand the Xingu as the place from which the whole world originated—this cosmogony is similar to the creation described in Genesis in the Christian Bible, therefore, it has a much more complex meaning than the idea of a park created by non-indigenous people. Asariku Yamayawa Waurá (of the Wauja people, Piyulaga village, meeting in January 2024) states that the name change from Park to Territory has already occurred in the Xingu, but even so, it is constantly reinforced in multi-ethnic meetings. Asariku, a student in the Intercultural Indigenous Program at the Federal University of Goiás (UFG), also states that he always makes a point of bringing this review to the attention of people at the University, to teach in the cities that the Xingu is not a park, it is an ancestral territory!

The organization of the villages in the upper Xingu reflects the cultural similarity of the region and is circular—with large, oval-shaped houses arranged around a central plaza—where the men's house is located. Although there is strong cultural similarity—such as festivals, dances, use of adornments, body painting, etc.—languages and specific aspects of culture may be unique to each people. This synergy between similarity and difference is essential to the upper Xingu identity, where the culture of an entire region does not threaten ethnic particularities (ISA, 2023).

The Upper Xingu region has 11 ethnic groups: Aweti, Kalapalo, Kamaiurá, Kuikuro, Matipu, Mehinako, Nahukuá, Naruvotu, Trumai, Wauja, and Yawalapiti. The Wauja people are known for their rich material and artistic culture; they stand out for their ceramic crafts, visual culture of graphic designs, feather art, and ritual masks. Wauja cosmology is complex, with connections between humans, animals, objects, and extra-human beings, these links being fundamental to their shamanic practices and rituals. They speak a language of the

Maipure-Arawak family and inhabit the region around the Piyulaga lagoon, in the Batovi River basin (ISA, 2023).

The article's theme requires clarification of some ambiguities surrounding the meaning of the word "indigenous." The concept of three races—whites, blacks, and "Indians" [sic], which developed throughout Brazilian colonial history—leads to the common belief that there is a unified ethnicity of original peoples in the country, creating a mistaken generalization that homogenizes many ethnicities, social conditions, languages, cultures, histories, etc. The reality is one of great diversity: a study by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (2010) concluded that 305 ethnic groups still exist in Brazil, which keep alive at least 275 languages, according to the National Indian Foundation (Fundação Nacional do Índio, 2022); an updated study of this data has been underway since 2022. This diversity poses a challenge in the task of coining a definition for the concept of "indigenous" that enunciates both the specific and the universal without the risk of ambiguous or pernicious simplification.

The traditional view generally associates Indigenous peoples exclusively with geographically isolated territories and ignores the contemporary realities of Indigenous peoples who live in urban contexts or who do not have demarcated territories. This generalization fails to recognize the multiple levels of connection that Indigenous peoples have with their spaces of origin, their ancestries, and cultural identities, which can be equally preserved outside of physically isolated territories.

Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (2023) defines the concept of "indigenous" as a person from a specific place who maintains an immanent relationship with the territory, feeling a sense of belonging to it, rather than its ownership. This definition contrasts with the colonial notion, associating indigenous peoples with the idea of peoples who were invaded by European colonizers. The author also characterizes indigenous peoples and communities as individuals and communities who do not adhere to the linear and Cartesian logic of capitalist progress. He further emphasizes that in contemporary times, this spatial relationship of indigenous peoples with the land plays a crucial role in the preservation of biodiversity and the future of the human species, highlighting them as barriers to planetary monoculture. Therefore, he considers the concept of indigenous as a place of resistance that has the potential to involve non-indigenous people in the political struggle for land, beyond state borders and against the advance of nationalisms and fascisms.

Tirawá Waurá (2016)—from the *Wauja ethnic group* and resident of the *Piyulaga village*, Alto Xingu—presents and describes his people through their daily lives, only mentioning their history, practices, and customs without any apology for the historicization of non-indigenous people. He states that:

> In this geographical area, the Waurá know their history, the place where they lived and cultivated their fields, where they find raw materials to make handicrafts, the types of materials they use for musical instruments, and how to make buriti masks for spiritual rituals. Therefore, the Waurá consider themselves native to this region in the Batovi River basin, where the ancient people sought everything necessary to carry out their own culture and rites. (Waurá, 2016, p. 15)

Daily life, spirituality, culture, rituals, etc., are sufficient for the *Wauja* and most Xingu peoples to describe their condition of "being in the world," as well as their cultural and territorial struggles and resistance. Life is understood as a set of actions that take place around the body and the territory; being is a consequence.

The thoughts of Tirawá Waurá and Eduardo Viveiros de Castro converge on fundamental points regarding the definition of indigenous, emphasizing the profound relationship between territory and indigenous identity. Both highlight that being indigenous cannot be understood without this inherent connection to the territory. For Tirawá Waurá, the identity of his people is rooted in daily life, cultural and spiritual practices, and the use of the territory's resources, without needing to resort to external historicization or the influence of non-indigenous people.

For Indigenous peoples, the concept of territory can refer both to the maintenance of demarcated areas and to the struggle for the return of expropriated areas, or for spaces of participation in a broader aspect of contemporary society. Therefore, the relationship between territory and identity must be understood as a fluid spectrum, with many diffuse nuances between those who live in remote territories and in cities. Indigenous peoples who inhabit cities face different challenges than those who live in remote areas, but they share the struggle against the consequences of coloniality. They also claim the redefinition of their Indigenous identities in modern and urban contexts, challenging the idea that being Indigenous is stuck in a "remote past," as Castro (2023) points out in his critique of the imposition of Eurocentric temporality.

XINGU: A KALEIDOSCOPE OF REPRESENTATIONS

In the festivities of the Upper Xingu, the representations of adults and elders value ancestral imagery, and therefore defend the traditional forms of body painting, featherwork, artifacts, dances, music, fights, etc. Young people are more inclined to experiment with body painting, sometimes pushing the boundaries of traditional representation, as seen in Figure 3. Festivities, such as the *Quarup*, are grand events that bring together many ethnic groups or relatives—as the indigenous people refer to them. During festive moments, people

paint themselves and adorn themselves with their best attire to participate in the ceremonies. It is also the time when young people compete for attention with their aesthetic innovations, provocations, and playful antics.

The Wauja people paint themselves to express joy, mark festive moments, and participate in collective rituals. The repertoire of paintings and their respective meanings were developed throughout their ancestry and, therefore, do not have individual authorship; they emerge from memory and oral tradition as a collective heritage of the ethnic group. Autaki Waurá—from the Wauja people of the Upper Xingu—states that:

> Body painting has various meanings, not just to beautify people's features in rituals. Each design has its own expressive function, meaning, and representation. They are considered the greatest ornament and attire for the peoples of the Upper Xingu, such as the Wauja people. (Waurá, 2018, p. 5)

Rituals and body painting imbue the individual with energy and the power of representation, inserting them into the realm of cosmogony and ancestry. For the Xingu peoples, body painting indicates good personal presentation, connection with extra-physical dimensions and beings, etc. In this context, the body, the graphic designs, and all their symbolism constitute an indivisible unity—the painted or masked body that brings forth a fantastic reality, marking a rupture with ordinary reality.

Throughout the history of the Xingu Wauja people, the tradition of body painting was taught through a type of didactic liturgy coordinated by elders, guardians of tradition, and chiefs (Waurá, 2016, p. 24). In this way, the aesthetic and formal aspects were preserved.

However, recent history shows changes in body painting: young people with access to the internet, satellite television, or who constantly travel to cities—influenced by non-indigenous visualities—are experimenting with body painting. During festivities, paintings inspired by Marvel superheroes, such as Spider-Man (Figure 1); Hulk, and *blockbuster movie characters*, such as Joker and *It* (Figure 2), etc., are observed. The body is also occasionally painted with phrases from political demonstrations (Figure 3), as well as emblems of football teams, etc.

Instead of using traditional resins, binders, and natural pigments, young people today use industrial or artistic paints purchased in cities. Given these facts, community leaders are concerned about the risk of forgetting their culture: they consider this a disregard for tradition and an indication that young people are losing their ancestral references.

Figure 1

The warriors of the Mehinako people

Note. Instagram @waxamani_artegrafismo_indigena (2023).

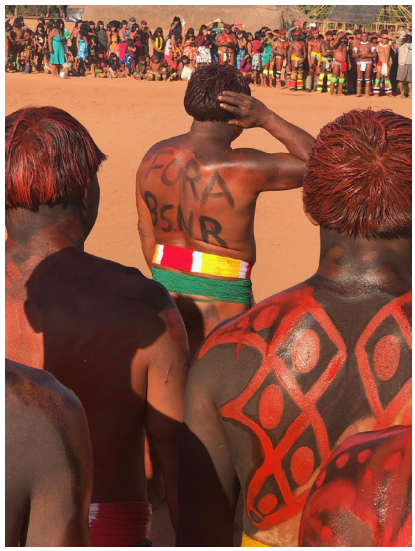
Figure 2

Body paintings inspired by movie characters

Note. Personal archive of the authors (2022).

Figure 3

Political demonstrations: "BSNR OUT"



Note. Author's archive (2021). On-site observation record. Body painting with a political motif recorded in the Piyulaga village, Xingu, in 2021.

PARADOXES OF THE PRESENCE OF TECHNOLOGY IN THE TERRITORY

Tirawá, a teacher and leader of the *Wauja* people, states that "currently, Waurá society [sic] uses a lot of technology produced by the kajaopa (white man in Arawak), all children, young people and adults go to school to study, learn and understand the reality of the Brazilian people" (Waurá, 2016, p. 31). Most villages in the upper Xingu have access to satellite internet and use solar panels to provide basic electricity for electronic devices. Smartphones are the main means of accessing the internet, and social networks and WhatsApp are very popular.

Smartphones have also made photographic documentation much more accessible; most young people have Instagram and post constantly. The daily life of the communities and moments of celebration are widely shared on the internet by the indigenous people themselves.

Despite the challenges, it is observed that social networks and information technologies are important for the activism and resilience of their cultures. Just as with non-indigenous people, young indigenous people learn more easily than elders. The prominent presence of indigenous people on the internet is a common occurrence.

Although there are no specific studies on how the peoples of the Upper Xingu are subject to the use of digital technology, we can adopt as a similar situational analysis the research by Layana do Amaral Rios and Cláudia Silva, published in the *Brazilian creative industries journal* in 2023, which offers an analysis of the use of social networks—particularly Instagram—by indigenous digital influencers from the Brazilian Amazon. The study focuses on how these influencers use the platform for identity expression and digital activism, subverting the traditional role of media and positioning themselves as protagonists of their own stories. The study involves the analysis of posts in the Instagram news feed. Between March 15 and April 19, 2022, a total of 239 posts from ten Indigenous profiles were analyzed, resulting in 80 posts with activist characteristics, 70 with identity-related content, and 71 with personal content. Digital activism was especially represented by posts related to the 2022 Free Land Camp—a crucial event in the fight for Indigenous rights in Brazil. It is considered that the internet and social media have been powerful tools for Indigenous peoples to organize and claim their rights. It is suggested that influencer marketing may be a promising new front for Indigenous peoples, especially in relation to brands committed to the preservation of the Amazon and Indigenous culture.

The study by Rios and Silva (2023) reveals the capacity for adaptation and resistance of these peoples in the face of transformations imposed by modernity and the remnants of colonialism. The active presence of indigenous people on social media thus becomes a form of cultural contestation and reaffirmation, where the body, image, and discourse are used to deconstruct stereotypes and rewrite their histories.

CHANGES THROUGH THE EYES OF WAUJA LEADERSHIP

> Yanahin Matala Waurá (of the *Wauja* people, resident of the Piyulaga village) states that—Nobody thought about studying or even speaking the Portuguese language, until one day, the first kajaopa, a German, appeared in the Tsariwapoho village, an ancient village of the Waurá people, before contact. Nowadays it is very different from how we were before. And then, the two Villas-Boas brothers, Orlando and Cláudio, arrived. Orlando began to bring ethnic groups from different nearby peoples and then demarcated the Xingu Indigenous Territory. He appointed the chiefs, and then the internal conflicts of the Xingu people's communities began. He named the Indigenous Park Xingu and brought the villages closer together, and we remain in this place to this day. The Villas-Boas brothers brought a lot of things,

> like machetes, axes, mirrors, cauldrons, etc. Even so, we continue to maintain our customs, language, beliefs, religion, and culture. That's how we live to this day! (Matala Waurá, 2022, p. 41)

From the same critical perspective that attempts to situate the white man in relation to change, Tirawá Waurá developed his monograph research investigating a broad cycle of cultural transformations of his people. According to his study, the main intervening factor for coexistence with non-indigenous people has always been the need for translation between Arawak and Portuguese.

> When non-indigenous people approached the territory, that is, when they arrived in the village, they began to choose the sons of the chiefs as members, and they would choose one of the sons who spoke Portuguese in order to translate the non-indigenous language for the main chief of the village. (Waurá, 2016, p. 32)

This choice of young people to act as translators disrupted the authority and leadership relationships of the Wauja people. Tirawá states that "because of this, the Waurá elders were disregarded as chiefs, to respond to the policies in the meeting with the authorities by the people" (Waurá, 2016, p. 33). Thus, the young people found themselves elevated to a new position of power, which arose from factors external to the tradition and culture of their people.

The elders are aware of the value of tradition for the preservation of culture and territory, and therefore, they resign themselves to accepting this condition of representation acquired circumstantially by the young people. In the words of Waurá (2016): "we, the Waurá people, do not want to modify our reality in terms of the social aspect, we want to continue in the way that the people obeyed our internal governance of indigenous politics" (p. 32).

With the weakening of the chiefs' authority, rites, and customs—which were central to the community's daily life—underwent modifications. Waurá (2016) states that in the tradition, the chief and his wife had significant educational functions during community meetings at dawn. But, "nowadays, they do not raise awareness at dawn, explaining the relationship of domestic activities, such as caring for their family, they do not offer food among the women, and they do not guide the women when spiritual festivals take place" (p. 24).

The change has interfered with the dynamics of ancestry and tradition, and has accentuated the exposure of young people as the group most vulnerable to external influences. Currently, the greatest fear of the guardians of tradition is that this situation will lead to the erasure of ancestry and original identity.

> The concern of the wise men regarding young people and children is that they risk losing or forgetting our traditions, such as songs, ritual practices, and religion. The Waurá learn to speak Portuguese at school to facilitate communication with other peoples, and young people also commonly use technology. This is very different from the customs of the people in the past, when the Waurá lived in the tranquility of the village. (Waurá, 2016, p. 35)

In this context, leaders and elders emphasize the urgency of finding ways to teach tradition, involve young people, and strengthen the sense of belonging within communities.

Autaki Waurá—an academic student from the Wauja people of the Upper Xingu—developed his study on the body painting tradition of the *Wauja people,* entitled *Wauja Ogana, Oganala: Graphic art and body painting of the Wauja people*. The project was presented to the Takinahakỹ Center for Indigenous Higher Education at UFG (Federal University of Goiás) as part of the requirements for obtaining a degree in Intercultural Education. Referring to the people of his community, the author states that "not just anyone has knowledge of the paintings; only the person who usually paints objects … knows and understands the value and rules of the paintings" (Waurá, 2018, p. 21). Learning the culture requires dedication with a specific focal point; it does not occur spontaneously. Autaki Waurá (2018) states that "the knowledge of the Wauja people explains that body paintings are traditional garments and, moreover, symbolize the identity of our people, that is, a material heritage of the community" (p. 20). Barcelos Neto (2004) reaffirms this in his study:

> From the more or less informal conversations about the selected material, I was, above all, surprised by the lack of knowledge that many Wauja demonstrated regarding the identity of certain masks, especially the *Sapukuyawá masks,* precisely the type of mask that is by far the most common and numerous in the rituals. (p. 194)

Waurá (2018) is concerned about the careless way young people are working with body painting: "the new generations are painting themselves without much appreciation, which signals a concern for culture. Body paintings are often done haphazardly" (p. 23). Young people seem to be caught between two worlds: that of non-indigenous people, who arrive via the internet; and the tradition of their people, which is fading because "it is no longer taught at dawn, as in ancestral times" (Waurá, 2016, p. 37). There are many indications of the risk of the tradition collapsing. Waurá (2018) states that

> Young people are no longer interested in learning about the painting and do not seek out the elders to ask about the stories related to their people's body paintings. To acquire the wisdom and ensure that this painting is not forgotten by future generations, these paintings still exist in the Wauja community. However, only the older members of the community understand the importance and rules for using body art in their culture. (p. 23)

In the words of Waurá (2016) and Waurá (2018), a disruption and sometimes a break in the continuity of the transmission of tradition is observed. In this way, memory—which is a kind of reserve of tradition—has entered a process of damming up, and therefore, is not flowing towards young people, as it did in ancestral times. This represents a risk when learning depends on orality.

Among non-indigenous people, there are many misconceptions about indigenous people; common sense leads to the belief that everyone has a deep understanding of their people's culture. But Autaki demonstrates that knowledge is not uniform among people, nor does it occur spontaneously through mere interaction (Waurá, 2018). Guidance, instruction, and dedication are necessary in an organized effort to refine ancestral skills and knowledge.

DIALOGUE WITH XINGUANOS

In this stage, a semi-structured interview approach is employed, considering the need for a flexible method to capture the richness and diversity of each ethnic group's experiences. The script started from an initial fixed plan with mentions of "body painting with non-indigenous designs and themes" and "tradition and ancestry." Complementary or antagonistic questions developed freely during each individual conversation. In this way, an exploratory approach to the topic was emphasized.

In general, there was a consensus among the Xingu people that ancestry—expressed in graphic designs, way of life, and material culture—is of great importance to the identity of their respective ethnic groups. There was also a reaffirmation of a certain sense of regret regarding changes to tradition.

In the interview, the young artist Waxamani—an artist from the *Mehinako people* and inhabitant of the Upper Xingu; communication via social media in December 2023—demonstrated a perfect understanding of the importance of his people's culture and ancestry, but considered that "young people are free, [therefore] if they decide to paint their bodies with a costume inspired by movie characters, no one can stop them." The word "costume" appeared only once in all the interviews, which was, in a way, very important to understand that a

young indigenous person who paints themselves as Spider-Man, for example, is aware that they are dressing up.

It is important to emphasize that the paintings and masks of the tradition are never considered costumes, as their use marks a type of transmutation of the self. The warrior with the painted body is a super-being; the one who wears masks respects a complex ritual, and this moment will never be considered a game or a costume. There are examples that resonate in ancestral stories, such as Yakakumã, which is the *Wauja story* of the origin of the pequi fruit. It is said that the alligator had a cloak that it wore and became human, and at the end of the story, when the Wauja killed the alligator, they also had to kill the cloak; therefore, the cloak was not a costume, but a device for transmuting the body or planes of existence. Therefore, the concept of costume does not fit into the tradition, because for the Xingu people, painting oneself and wearing masks is essentially transmuting the body into another existence and another universe; it is not about pretending to be someone else—the process is a transformation into the other. "Someone who wears 'pig-clothes' is allowed to see the world (or be in the world) as pigs see it. The use of 'clothes' makes the other's point of view effective" (Barcelos Neto, 2004, pp. 69–70).

> For the Wauja, masks are expressions of life and "death," of a relationship between a self and another, of personal stories that relate to the intimacy of a Wauja individual's relationship with a non-human being. Wauja masks also tell a visual story, that of the transformation of "ancient" anthropomorphic beings into animals, monsters, and "spirits," which became agents (or co-agents) of disease. (Barcelos Neto, 2004, p. 26)

Kamani Waurá—a leader of the Wauja people, residing in the Xingu Indigenous Territory, Brazil (MT); personal communication in July 2023—presented a clear understanding of culture as a dynamic object. He states that even before coexistence with non-indigenous people, tradition has always transformed: "in the same way that happens with non-indigenous people, who change their culture and customs over time, it also happens with indigenous people."

In the context of Kamani's thought, the concern about the risk of erasing history and tradition is not equivalent to an intention to freeze or make the ancestry of these peoples impervious to change, but rather to the risk of irreparable losses of practices and repertoires that are fundamental to cultural and ethnic identity. In this way, Kamani reveals intense concern about the disinterest of young Wauja people in their ancestral heritage, considering that this problem could threaten the cultural identity of the *Wauja*.

Tunuly Yawalapiti—a leader of the Yawalapiti people, resident of the Tuatuari village; communication in November 2023—states that in his community the elders guide the painting of the body with materials and designs from his people's tradition. He affirms that the problem of body paintings with themes from cinema and the internet does not occur in his community, but he observes this frequently in other villages.

Tapiyuwa Waurá—from the *Wauja people and resident of the Piyulaga* village; communication in December 2023—states that he does not like to see young people painting their bodies as Spider-Man and other designs. He reported that his son did this, but he reprimanded him harshly: "we should only use the designs of our people".

Kuyusi Ixana Waurá—a singer from the *Wauja people* and resident of the Yawalapiti community; communication in September 2023—states that he paints movie character designs only on his face "to acquire the character's strength," but says that the painting on his arms and torso should always be the traditional designs of his ethnic group. He affirms that painting with movie motifs is merely an inspiration for younger people and that children enjoy painting Batman, Joker, Spider-Man, etc. He concludes by saying: "but it's all just a game."

Kurato—from the Yawalapiti people, from the *Tuatuari village*; communication in September 2024—reinforces that the Quarup is

> in a [symbolic] war, people paint themselves to scare the enemy; the painting is a way of making a pact with a spirit, or with an animal … sometimes a person paints themselves as a jaguar, to have the jaguar's strength. (Interview with Kurato, 2024)

Therefore, according to Kurato's understanding, when someone paints themselves with the theme of a movie character, they aspire to possess the strength or power of that character.

Having lived his youth before the popularization of the internet, Kanawayuri Kamaiurá—of the Kamaiurá people, Upper Xingu—reviewed his own life. He says he belongs to a generation that modified the customs of their ancestors, but reveals maturity by demonstrating concern for future generations. "I wanted that in my grandchildren's time everything would be the same as I am living now. I wanted them to continue with the same traditions, customs, beliefs, dances and festivals" (ISA, 1998, p. 63).

This reveals that the dilemma of contemporary indigenous life is marked by coexistence with non-indigenous people and their technologies, while simultaneously rediscovering the value of their people's traditions amidst the hardships and consequences of cultural clash. Memory is the battleground of this paradoxical struggle.

THE PERSISTENCE OF MEMORY

In the context of the Indigenous Memories project of the Goiano Institute of Prehistory and Anthropology (IGPA), Marlene Castro Ossami de Moura (2022) reflects on the concept of sensory memory, based on a quote from Paul Connerton (1999), about the selves that inhabit time and that bring interwoven memories of acts and facts shared by the community. Sometimes memories of events—which were not even part of a particular individual's life, but which are present in their memory as lived facts—develop this analysis supported by Connerton's concept of sensory memory (1999 cited in Moura, 2022, p. 51). Also within the context of the aforementioned IGPA project, Waujas and Yudjas were invited to revisit the audiovisual collection of records of their ancestors:

> Indigenous interlocutors, faced with images of the past, activated their memories and framed them socially in space, time, and language, seeking to understand the articulations of the social frameworks of memory, exercising their recollections in the present and in dialogue with their immediate social relations and concerns. (Halbwachs, 1925 cited in Moura, 2022, p. 52)

Maria Cristina NF Neto underlines the importance of Cultural History for the study of the dimension of the sensitive, as it allows the social sciences a more human perspective on the various facets of memory, oral history, individual and collective narratives, human experiences, etc. (Ferreira Neto, 2022 cited in Moura, 2022). The accounts of the indigenous people who participated in the document qualification reaffirm the enormous relevance of sensibilities. Yanahin expresses nostalgia when faced with the images in the collection, mentioning the importance of the memory of deceased people and the physical appearance of his ancestors, whom he considers healthier than they are currently (Ferreira Neto, 2022 cited in Moura, 2022). During the qualification, Takapé, one of the *Wauja elders*, recognized himself in a photograph from when he was a child, an episode that moved everyone and rekindled the warrior spirit in Takapé (Ferreira Neto, 2022 cited in Moura, 2022). He speaks of his bow and his way of life, and laments the changes that have distanced young people from tradition. Ferreira Neto (2022 cited in Moura, 2022) reflects on this episode.

> In Takapé's words, it is possible to perceive the 'boundaries of group belonging' in the process of reconstructing individual or collective identity, for oneself and for others, when the narrator seeks to demonstrate that there is a continuity of their

> identity "within time, in the physical sense of the word, but also in the moral and psychological sense." (p. 119)

Considering how memory can construct, or constitute, identity, it is considered that...

> Inherited memories, which despite gaps and silences, translate into a feeling of belonging, continuity, and unity in the face of the insecure times experienced by indigenous peoples, when memory and identity need to be defended daily. (Ferreira Neto, 2022 cited in Moura, 2022, p. 125)

From this perspective, tradition is also linked to memory, but the connection occurs in a dynamic relationship, because culture is in constant transformation, as Kamani Waurá observed, from his own indigenous perspective. Thus, for him, the challenge is not to freeze and keep a particular moment of memory unchanged, but rather to keep the flow of ancestral memories active, as Tirawá (Waurá, 2016) and Autaki (Waurá, 2018) also advocate.

THE BODY AND THE TERRITORY

Anne McClintock (2013) offers a profound analysis of the intersections between race, gender, and sexuality. The author investigates how these categories intertwine and are mobilized in power relations, and what leads to the idea of imaginary boundaries that delimit bodies and subjectivities according to social norms subject to hierarchies. In this context, the body emerges as a space of contestation and resistance. For the subjects of her study, Cullwick and Munby,

> The scripts of her fantasy life were fundamentally a theatrical transgression of Victorian iconographies of domesticity and race, and her fetishistic rituals took shape around the crucial, yet hidden, affinity between women's work and empire. (McClintock, 2013, p. 207)

It is argued that the body, when fantasized, can become an object of resistance against social pacts of normality, especially those that reinforce racial and gender inequalities. The fantasized body not only challenges notions of purity and authenticity but also subverts social codes, reconfiguring the boundaries of exclusion and inclusion. This dynamic is particularly evident in cultural practices, where body performances—including fashion, sexuality, and expressions of identity—function as tools for confronting hegemonic structures (McClintock, 2013).

This study explores how colonialism constructed racial and gender narratives that serve to justify oppression and domination. However, it also demonstrates how these same narratives are destabilized by those who subvert them, primarily through bodily performance. By emphasizing these resistances, McClintock (2013) shows how the boundaries between the "normal" and the "abnormal" are social constructs that can be deconstructed by bodies that challenge imposed norms, revealing the power of marginalized identities to reclaim their own spaces and reclaim their bodies.

Although McClintock's (2013) studies and the reality of Brazilian indigenous peoples, such as those of the Upper Xingu, are marked by significant temporal and geographical differences, their reflections converge on crucial points involving colonialism, subjugation by normality, and the body as a space of resistance. By investigating the construction of imaginary boundaries between bodies and identities in the colonial context, she questions how the body becomes a vehicle of domination and resistance, especially at the intersections of race, gender, and sexuality. Her work reveals how practices of control over the body perpetuate hierarchies of power and, at the same time, how this fantasized or reappropriated body becomes a form of resistance to these social pacts of normality.

By cross-referencing these concepts with the reality of the peoples of the Upper Xingu, we observe that the painted bodies of indigenous peoples can be interpreted as a visual discourse of resistance. Body painting—an ancestral practice of these peoples—is not merely an aesthetic expression, but a manifestation of belonging and identity. In non-disciplinary and non-normative societies like the indigenous societies of Brazil, the painted body acquires a crucial function in the elaboration of concepts that challenge the external impositions of colonial normativity. This painted body resists homogenization and domination, becoming a space of cultural expression that affirms the autonomy and ancestry of these peoples in the face of homogenizing and colonial pressures.

This statement allows us to inquire about the place of the body in the autochthonous culture of the peoples of the upper Xingu. Is the painted body also a discourse of power? To answer this, it is important to highlight the differences in power relations between non-indigenous and indigenous people. Darcy Ribeiro (1991) elaborates a synthesis of the definition of the indigenous person based on the negation of the power of the other, which affects an individual. He states that "an Indian [sic] does not give orders to another Indian," that is, Indigenous people are sovereign over their choices. Orlando Villas-Bôas (1999), an indigenist who worked and lived for decades in the Xingu, poetically describes the breadth of the horizon of freedom for indigenous people: "in the tribe [sic], the elder is the owner of history. The adult is the owner of the village. And the

child is the owner of the world." Being the owner of the world may be a poetic reality for Westerners, but this is how indigenous children are educated in total freedom. Adults, as those responsible for the village, take care of maintaining life; they have the strength, skill, and intelligence for all the necessary tasks. The elders hold in their memory the soul of their people and the ancestral heritage that keeps the community cohesive in the idea of belonging.

For the Xingu peoples, power, therefore, is not centralized as in non-indigenous society, nor is it a device for controlling others. The chief is not equivalent to a governor, mayor, or police chief, and he does not have the power to constitute himself as an authority with privileged jurisdiction; his duty is to use his leadership and intelligence to guide his people towards solving their problems.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Indigenous leaders' perceptions of their peoples' cultural changes reveal a central dilemma between preserving tradition and the inevitability of cultural transformations from non-indigenous cultural elements, particularly in symbols like body painting. Leaders like Kamani Waurá acknowledge that indigenous culture has never been static, pointing out that even before contact with non-indigenous people, their traditions changed over time. This understanding reflects a flexible view of ancestry, where changes are natural and expected, but there is a deep fear that, with the growing influence of digital technologies and external values, the teaching of fundamental practices for cultural identity may be irreversibly interrupted.

Other leaders, such as Kanawayuri Kamaiurá, share a similar vision. Despite having experienced cultural changes throughout their lives, they demonstrate a desire for their traditions to continue to be passed on to future generations, while acknowledging the challenges posed by coexistence with modernity and technology. This tension between continuity and change becomes more evident when young people, like the artist Waxamani, express their freedom to adopt elements from other cultures, challenging the idea that tradition needs to remain unchanged. It is clear that the greatest challenge for contemporary indigenous societies of the upper Xingu is finding ways to transmit ancestral traditions, which are fundamental to identity and belonging, but within a context of intense and constant changes that permeate the daily lives of the communities.

The issue of memory, as analyzed by scholars such as Moura (2022) and Ferreira Neto (2022), reveals that belonging and identity are rooted in a continuous flow of shared memories, often associated with the practice of rituals and body art. When these elements are modified or replaced, as in the case of young

people who adopt movie characters in their body paintings, the relationship with ancestry is compromised, generating tensions between generations.

The critique, therefore, points to a broader understanding of indigenous culture that sees tradition not as something immutable, but as a process in constant negotiation. Indigenous leaders perceive change as inevitable, but emphasize the importance of ensuring that the essentials of cultural and spiritual practices are preserved, even in a context of digital transformations and external influences.

From the perspective of the young Xingu people interviewed, tradition and ancestry are recognized as fundamental to the identity of their peoples. However, there is a growing perception that these practices can coexist with new cultural influences, as expressed by Waxamani (2023), a young Mehinako artist. He exemplifies this stance by stating that young people have the freedom to dress up as figures inspired by movie characters, recognizing that, despite the importance of traditional graphic designs, there is room for experimentation with elements of non-indigenous culture.

Waxamani's use of the word "fantasy"—when describing body painting inspired by the Spider-Man character—introduces a crucial distinction between how young people conceive of this practice compared to elders. While traditional masks and paintings are seen as ancestral rituals, painting inspired by figures from non-Indigenous culture is perceived as something temporary and playful. The concept of "fantasy" does not carry the same symbolic and identity-related value as ritual paintings, and it is not practiced as an affront to tradition. For young people, these distinctions are clear, and their choices reflect a desire to engage with the modern world without completely disconnecting from the traditions of their ancestors.

An analysis of the cultural practices of the Upper Xingu peoples in light of the concepts of memory and resistance reveals significant nuances. According to Moura (2022), memory is essential for the preservation of tradition, allowing even memories of events not directly experienced by individuals to influence collective identity. The young Wauja and Mehinako, by incorporating external influences into their body painting practices, demonstrate how memory and tradition intertwine with the present. They do not reject their roots, but integrate new influences into a cultural narrative that continues to reinvent itself.

Ferreira Neto's (2022) view on Cultural History highlights the importance of sensibilities in the construction of collective memory. The emotion and nostalgia observed in the qualification of audiovisual records, as in the case of Takapé, demonstrate how vital memory is to cultural identity. Although changes are viewed with some apprehension by older generations, young people deal with these transformations as a form of adaptation, not as a rupture.

Anne McClintock (2013), in turn, analyzes how the body, when adorned with costumes, becomes a means of resistance against established social norms. In the culture of the Upper Xingu peoples, body painting and the use of masks can be understood as forms of resistance and cultural affirmation that challenge the homogenization imposed by the processes of colonization. Even when young people adopt contemporary practices, they maintain the body as a space for cultural expression, reaffirming their belonging and identity. Thus, the painted body is not only a vehicle of cultural resistance, but also a territory where the boundaries between tradition and modernity are negotiated and redefined.

Contemporary communication technology and its devices play a paradoxical role for the peoples of the Upper Xingu: at first glance, it brings new practices that represent a threat of erasure and forgetting of culture and identity, and through the invasion of external visualities, meanings, and signifiers, it poses the risk of occupying the place of tradition. The very dynamics of social networks are a separate problem, as the volume of publications and information and the speed of audience engagement—imposed by algorithms—hinder reflection and an efficient understanding of content, as demonstrated by the studies of Byung-Chul Han (2017). But in a second approach, the internet allows young indigenous people to establish communication networks with relatives and non-indigenous people. Furthermore, it opens doors for studies, activism, expression, and dissemination of their culture. While threatening to imprison culture, technology can also liberate it; therefore, it is paradoxical. However, this dilemma is not restricted to indigenous peoples, as it is a global problem: the need to develop tactics to deal with the paradoxes and ambiguities of digital and social networks, as well as the interests of *Big Tech*. M

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Indigenous ethnomedia: a collective voice to amplify actions in history

Etnomídia indígena: uma voz coletiva para amplificar ações na história

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ABSTRACT

Indigenous ethnomedia aims to rescue and amplify the voices of Brazil's Indigenous peoples, combating silencing and stereotypes. It allows these individuals to develop and disseminate their own narratives, decolonizing communication by connecting traditions to modernity. Through multimedia, ethnomedia strengthens identities, preserves knowledge, and promotes dialogue and listening between cultures. Radio Yandê and several audiovisual collectives demonstrate this transformative power of Indigenous communication. Therefore, ethnomedia is about (re)existing and inspiring, ensuring that stories are told by the true protagonists and recognizing the invaluable contribution of Indigenous peoples to Brazil.

Keywords: Ethnomedia, indigenous peoples; indigenous communication, decolonization.

RESUMO

A etnomídia indígena objetiva resgatar e amplificar vozes dos povos indígenas do Brasil, no combate à silenciamentos e estereótipos. Permite que tais sujeitos elaborem e veiculem suas próprias narrativas, descolonizando a comunicação, ao conectar tradições à modernidade. Através de multimeios, a etnomídia fortalece identidades, preserva conhecimentos e promove o diálogo e a escuta entre culturas. A Rádio Yandê e diversos coletivos audiovisuais demonstram esse poder transformador da comunicação indígena. Portanto, etnomídia trata de (re)existir e inspirar, garantindo que histórias sejam contadas pelos verdadeiros protagonistas e reconhecendo a contribuição inestimável dos povos indígenas para o Brasil.

Palavras-chave: Etnomídia, povos indígenas, comunicação indígena, descolonização.

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Indigenous ethnomedia: a collective voice to amplify actions in history

INTRODUCTION

IN TIMES WHEN information travels faster than ever, *Indigenous Ethnomedia* emerges as an extraordinary movement that aims to break down the barriers of historical, cultural, and social silencing of Indigenous peoples in Brazil. The concept, developed as a response to media marginalization, not only rescues and amplifies the voices of Indigenous communicators but also redefines how they are perceived and understood by society. This movement arises from the need to combat centuries of invisibility and prejudice faced by Indigenous peoples, bringing a new perspective on the role of these communities in the contemporary context. It is a way to decolonize communication and allow us, Indigenous people, to be protagonists of our own narratives, connecting our roots with the dynamics of modernity.

Indigenous Ethnomedia is not just about content production by Indigenous citizens, but a space for cultural resistance and knowledge exchange, as well as a bridge between communication and tradition in contemporary times. It is, therefore, a collective effort aimed at ensuring that Indigenous voices are heard and respected, while contributing to the preservation and dissemination of ancestral knowledge.

Since the 1980s, Indigenous communities have used communication media to fight for rights and reaffirm their identity. This process involved both the appropriation of traditional communication technologies, such as radio, and the adoption of new digital technologies, which amplify our voices globally. With the advent of the internet and the democratization of access to technology, this movement has taken on new dimensions, allowing Indigenous peoples to create their own narratives directly and without intermediaries that distort their messages.

The history of *Indigenous Ethnomedia* is intertwined with several important events, such as the 1988 Constitution, which officially recognized the rights of Indigenous peoples to their culture and territory. This legal recognition represented an essential milestone in opening a new phase in the struggle for visibility and the guarantee of cultural, social, and political rights. In this context, the need arises to tell their own stories, because for centuries, Indigenous representations in the media were produced from a colonizing perspective, often marked by stereotypes and prejudices. These narratives, often created by those who were unaware of or did not respect our realities, reinforced a misguided and prejudiced view of us. Thus, *Indigenous Ethnomedia* proposes a communicational alternative, giving Indigenous subjects themselves the autonomy to determine how they are seen and understood by the rest of society.

With the rise of *Indigenous Ethnomedia,* especially from the 2000s onwards, Indigenous communication became plural and diverse, encompassing different platforms such as radio, internet, social networks, and community television. This diversity of media allowed them to reach not only other Indigenous peoples, but also to raise awareness in society in general about the importance of Indigenous culture and identity, and the ways of life of Indigenous citizens.

Created in 2013, Rádio Yandê is an example of the power of independent communication. The first indigenous web radio in Brazil, it has become an important vehicle for disseminating indigenous culture, bringing content produced by us and promoting a more authentic dialogue with society. Topics such as traditional and contemporary music, indigenous rights, news, and political discussions are addressed, always seeking to reflect the reality and richness of Brazilian indigenous diversity. By creating a space that is both informative and educational, web radio contributes to strengthening identities and building bridges between different cultures.

Another example is Indigenous filmmakers who, through audiovisual productions, have documented their own realities, reflecting the diversity and specificities of each community. Indigenous productions not only record customs, traditions, and cultural practices, but also portray the challenges faced by these communities, such as the struggle for land, the defense of the environment, and threats to their ways of life. Works such as those produced by the *Vídeo nas Aldeias* collective since 1987, and the Coletivo Ascuri, have been fundamental in showing that Indigenous stories can and should be told by their own protagonists. Such films not only challenge the hegemony of colonial representations but also offer a more sensitive and profound look at the reality of Indigenous peoples, allowing for a genuine connection with their experiences and perspectives. Furthermore, Indigenous filmmakers have used film festivals as important spaces to exhibit their work and reach larger audiences, enabling their stories to be known both nationally and internationally.

INDIGENOUS MEDIA ACTIVISM

In 2010, Anápuàka Muniz Tupinambá was recognized with the Libertadores da Web Award, offered by Mozilla Firefox. The award celebrated his contribution to the development of indigenous digital communication and his innovative work in connecting indigenous communities to the digital age, breaking down barriers to access to information and creating spaces for online representation. The award was an important milestone, symbolizing the positive impact of the

use of technology in promoting indigenous culture and ensuring the visibility of native peoples on the web.

Indigenous media activism, which consists of the strategic use of media and social networks for mobilization, resistance, and cultural expression, has been one of the most transformative forces in the struggle of Indigenous peoples for visibility and rights. With the popularization of social networks in the last decade, indigenous people have found new possibilities to make themselves heard, without depending on the filters and distortions of traditional media. This form of media activism has allowed the communities themselves to tell their stories in a direct and participatory way, creating a space for protagonism and confronting prejudiced and simplistic narratives about their realities.

From the early days of social networks, such as Orkut with the advent of Facebook, Indigenous people already saw the internet as a way to connect different villages and share information. Orkut, one of the first popular social platforms in Brazil, enabled the formation of virtual communities where Indigenous people began to discuss their problems, share their cultures, and exchange experiences. However, it was with Facebook and, later, with platforms like Twitter, that things truly took off (currently X), Instagram, and YouTube, which is where indigenous media activism really flourished. Facebook, for example, has become essential for denouncing land invasions, illegal deforestation, human rights violations, and for organizing collective actions in defense of territories and traditional cultures.

With the arrival of Instagram, there was a significant shift in how content was presented. The platform allowed the use of images and short videos, creating a visual narrative that quickly engaged diverse audiences. Indigenous youth began using Instagram to share everything from scenes of daily life in their villages to denouncing violence and governmental neglect. Social media allowed Brazilian society to discover a new side of Indigenous peoples, far removed from the stereotypes perpetuated by films and soap operas. Furthermore, the impact was international, providing a closer look at the vibrant and multifaceted reality of these communities.

On Facebook, the creation of the hashtags "#SouGuaraniKaiowa" and "#SomosTodosGuaraniKaiowa," in addition to the addition of "Guarani-Kaiowá" to the surnames of many users on the platform, became a symbol of struggle and empowerment. It even enabled the connection of thousands of voices in a collective movement to defend rights in 2012, based on the hashtags and mobilizations initiated by journalist Thereza Dantas, communicator and visual artist Denilson Baniwa, and Anápuàka Tupinambá.

YouTube has also established itself as an important space for Indigenous media activism. Videos documenting traditional festivals, interviews with

leaders, explanations of cosmologies and cultural practices, as well as records of denunciation, have begun to be produced by Indigenous people themselves, creating a valuable digital archive about the diversity and struggles of Indigenous peoples. The platform enables not only the recording of cultural practices, but also the reach of an audience that would have been unthinkable before. Thus, filmmakers, young communicators, and leaders have been able to express themselves directly, without intermediaries, reaching thousands of people inside and outside Brazil.

The old Twitter—the current X platform—has, in turn, become an important space for rapid coordination and immediate reactions to political and social events. During critical moments—such as the processing of bills that threaten the territorial rights of indigenous peoples or the occurrence of attacks on territories—indigenous leaders have used X to inform, mobilize, and pressure authorities. The agility provided by the platform has been crucial on several occasions to call for protests, support campaigns, and expose complaints that are often ignored by the mainstream media. For example, the limited coverage of attacks on indigenous lands in the Amazon often fails to show the seriousness of the conflicts, while the X platform allows affected communities to directly share their experiences and evidence of what is happening.

TikTok has proven to be a true stage for the resistance and protagonism of indigenous peoples, who find in the platform an opportunity to share their stories, traditions, and struggles with a global audience. Far beyond entertainment, these indigenous voices have challenged prejudices and educated about their cultures in an authentic and accessible way, creating important dialogues with contemporary society.

The Cunhã-Poranga brothers and Dickson Tatuyo (@cunhaporanga_oficial), for example, have amassed over 7 million followers, using their videos to share details of their community's daily life. Their impact isn't limited to the digital space; they raised funds to build an artesian well in the village, demonstrating how digital mobilization can generate practical and concrete transformations in indigenous communities. Furthermore, by answering questions and interacting with curiosities about their culture, they help demystify stereotypes and bring the reality of indigenous culture closer to the public.

Another creator who uses his art to promote dialogue is the rapper, actor, and poet Xamã. With nearly a million followers, he uses his influence to unite past and present, combining elements of indigenous ancestry with modern resistance. His music and poetry not only tell stories but also offer social critiques, drawing attention to marginalization and the fight for rights.

Kauri, known as Daldeia (@daldeia), follows a similar path when using TikTok. To explore political and cultural issues. With 2.5 million followers, he addresses topics such as indigenous resistance and the importance of deconstructing stereotypes, connecting his cultural roots with digital communication. As a communicator for the Coordination of Indigenous Organizations of the Brazilian Amazon, Kauri uses his platform to raise awareness about the challenges faced by native peoples, while amplifying the voices of his community, the Karapijuty village, located in Amapá, on the global stage. He has already presented the podcast *Papo dos Isolados*, expanding his reach beyond visual content.

Another significant example is that of indigenous creators who use the platform to preserve and disseminate their native languages, something essential at a time when many of these languages are threatened with extinction. Social media allows young audiences to access these cultures in an engaging and up-to-date way, ensuring the survival of traditions that might otherwise be lost.

These creators are not alone. Related hashtags, such as #IndigenasBrasil and #PovosIndigenas, have accumulated millions of views, with over 20 and 55 million respectively. With the hashtag #AgoraÉMinhaVez, the community can discover creators and content related to Black, disabled, LGBTQIA+, Indigenous, and women's communities.

These numbers indicate a rise in global interest and awareness of Indigenous issues, which reflects the effectiveness of these platforms in amplifying historically marginalized voices.

The presence of Indigenous people on social media, especially on TikTok, shows that activism and cultural preservation are finding new spaces for expression. These creators not only educate the public but also promote concrete and lasting changes, both in the digital environment and beyond. What we see is not just a movement to value Indigenous cultures, but a new phase of resistance and protagonism. In this sense, TikTok has become a vital bridge between the ancestral past and the urgent demands of the present.

Social media platforms, such as TikTok, present both opportunities and challenges for Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. From a philosophical perspective, we can understand the power of these platforms from two viewpoints: the emancipatory and the critical. On the one hand, the use of social media by Indigenous peoples can be seen as a form of *empowerment*, a vehicle for *self-determination* and the dissemination of their narratives, often suppressed by colonial history and traditional media. On the other hand, the indiscriminate and non-Indigenous use of these platforms can generate problems related to the superficialization of cultures and the emptying of their struggles, transforming complex identities into mere *cultural commodities* for virtual consumption.

INDIGENOUS COMMUNICATION AS A BODY-TERRITORY

Reflecting on Indigenous communication requires shifting the focus from an essentialist understanding of the identity of "being Indigenous" to a perspective that recognizes territory as a living extension of the body and memory. The Indigenous subject, as a territorialized being, is not dissociated from the forest, the rivers, and the spirits that inhabit it—elements that constitute a "collective body" continuously violated throughout Latin American colonial history. This body-territory, therefore, is not only physical space but also a symbolic field of (re)existence in the face of colonizing practices that insist on stripping Indigenous peoples of their full identities, transforming them into fragmented and alienated non-identities through historical violence (Carneiro, 2019).

If we understand, with Milton Santos (2002), that culture is the communicative process between man and the environment in which he lives, a relationship learned and reconfigured throughout existence, we realize that indigenous cultures are continually strained by a logic that attempts to displace them from their ecological and spiritual roots. The colonial project, and its neoliberal updating, produces an epistemology of absence, in the sense of Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2011), by denying the plural ways of being, existing, and communicating that constitute "indigenous time." This is a non-linear time, which flows according to the rhythms of nature and ancestry, contrasting with the monoculture of modern and productivist time that seeks to homogenize all forms of life and thought.

Graça Graúna (2013) breaks with the static conception of identity by stating that an Indigenous citizen does not cease to be one by moving through urban spaces or using digital technologies. Indigenous identity is not confined to the folklorized image of the "pure Indian," but reinvents itself at cultural crossroads, carrying the village with it in every gesture, every word, every shared narrative. Communication, in this sense, transcends the instrumental domain and becomes political action, an instrument of struggle for self-determination and the right to self-representation. As Linda Smith (2018) reminds us, telling stories "among ourselves and by ourselves" is an epistemological gesture of decolonization, a way of reinscribing silenced voices in the text of history.

This communicational dimension is simultaneously an aesthetic and political practice. Oral narratives and the unique ways of expressing time and the body reveal cosmologies in which thought does not emerge from isolated words, but from experience embodied in the world. Muniz Sodré (2017) proposes understanding the body as a means of ethical and existential expression, where the separation between "inside" and "outside," the human and the natural, is

rejected. Thus, for indigenous peoples, language is not merely a system of signs, but a sensitive extension of life in communion with the earth.

From this perspective, Indigenous time is also the time of ancestry. As Daniel Munduruku (2001) states, the time of "Grandpa Apolinário" is a continuous present, in which past and future fold over the now. To be Indigenous is to inhabit a history without beginning and without end, in which memory becomes body and the body is the living archive of experience. This temporality, distinct from Western chronology, underlies communicative practices that articulate knowledge and affections, resistances and reterritorializations.

From Fredrik Barth's interactionist perspective (as cited in Poutignat & Streiff- Fenart, 2011), indigenous identity can be understood as a form of social organization that asserts itself at the frontiers—not as fixed barriers, but as zones of contact, conflict, and cultural negotiation. Stuart Hall (2003, as cited in Escosteguy, 2010) reinforces this idea by defining identity as an unfinished process, situated between history and power. In this in-between space, the indigenous subject is constituted as a multidimensional subject (Maldonado et al., 2013), capable of navigating diverse cultural, social, and technological logics without losing the connection to their original matrix.

Reterritorialization, therefore, is not merely a return to physical space, but a symbolic and political repositioning in the face of forces that attempt to render contemporary indigenous peoples invisible. This movement presupposes intercultural dialogue, recognition of historical contradictions, and reconstruction of horizons of cognitive and communicational justice (Carneiro, 2019). As Maldonado Rivera (2018, p. 141) reminds us, it is necessary to make explicit the negotiations and tensions that permeate contact between cultures, in order to promote more horizontal and emancipatory relationships.

Ultimately, territory—understood as a living body—and voice—recognized as a political and spiritual force—form the central axes of Indigenous epistemologies. Oral tradition, guardian of worldviews and instrument of denunciation, constitutes a collective right guaranteed by the Federal Constitution (Article 231), which ensures that Indigenous peoples have recognition of their own forms of expression, organization, and life. However, such recognition still lacks effectiveness in the face of the media and epistemological hegemony that persists in portraying Indigenous people as "others" to be assimilated or silenced.

Thus, rethinking Indigenous communication also implies rethinking public policies on communication and language. It is an ethical and political task to broaden the means of representation, recognize the right to voice, and ensure that the Indigenous body-territory—both material and symbolic—is respected as a fundamental part of the plurality that makes up Brazil and Latin America.

Only then can the forest, time, and the word reunite as expressions of the same existence: one that resists, narrates, and communicates, despite all the violence of coloniality.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Indigenous ethnomedia communication—the conscious and strategic use of networks to strengthen their voices—offers a more optimistic vision. Social networks can, in fact, serve as environments to strengthen identities and resistance, transforming into platforms for cultural exchange that promote the recognition of diversity and combat prejudice. The fact that Indigenous creators are managing to use these platforms to raise funds for improvements in their communities demonstrates the potential for social transformation that these technologies can offer when used intentionally and strategically.

Thus, the positive power of social networks lies in their potential to promote intercultural dialogue, educate, and transform marginalized realities. However, this power will only be truly emancipatory if it is accompanied by a critical and conscious consumption of indigenous cultures, in which respect for otherness and the complexity of traditions prevails over the superficiality of virtual trends.

Thus, social media has become fundamental not only for mobilization and denunciation, but also for the celebration of Indigenous cultures. It has enabled a true revolution in the way Indigenous peoples communicate with each other and with the world, creating a network of solidarity and mutual support that transcends geographical boundaries. At the same time, activity on social media has allowed for more effective articulation in the defense and guarantee of rights, as well as highlighting issues such as environmental preservation, the struggle for land, and the appreciation of traditional cultures. This protagonism on social media has brought a new dimension to Indigenous activism and militancy, allowing for a more direct connection and a franker dialogue with society in general.

Beyond its political and denunciatory aspects, Indigenous media activism has played a fundamental role in rescuing and valuing traditional cultures. Through social media, many young Indigenous people have had the opportunity to reconnect with their roots, learn about their languages, traditions, and histories, and share this knowledge with a wider audience. Therefore, the use of digital technology goes beyond resistance; it is also an instrument of cultural revitalization, a celebration of original identities, and the construction of a positive narrative about being Indigenous in the modern world.

Therefore, Indigenous ethnomedia is an invitation for everyone to listen to the voices that have long been silenced, to understand their struggles, and to celebrate the richness of the cultures that form the identities of this territory called Brazil. Listening to these voices is an essential step in building a society that truly values diversity and in ensuring that Indigenous peoples can continue to flourish and contribute with their immense cultural, spiritual, and environmental legacy. Listening to these stories is not only about understanding the past but also about building a more just and inclusive present, where every individual, regardless of their origin, can be valued. Ethnomedia is also powerful for education, allowing us to deconstruct prejudices and teach values of respect and solidarity.

Ethnomedia is not just about communication; it's about existing, resisting, and inspiring. It's about transforming every word into an act of resistance, every image into a symbol of resilience, and every voice into an unquenchable flame. It's about ensuring that stories are told by the true protagonists and that everyone can finally recognize and value the invaluable contribution of Indigenous peoples to the formation and future of Brazil. Furthermore, it's a call to action for society to rethink its prejudices and attitudes towards Indigenous peoples. It's about making the invisible visible; it's about challenging the colonial narratives that insist on denying the richness and complexity of Indigenous cultures.

Valuing Indigenous ethnomedia also means promoting and amplifying equality, allowing new generations of Indigenous people to be proud of their roots and continue fighting for their rights. By giving space to their voices, we ensure that these peoples can continue contributing their unique perspectives on the world, which are essential for facing contemporary challenges such as climate change and the environmental crisis. These voices carry ancestral knowledge that has much to teach about balance, sustainability, and respect for nature.

Indigenous ethnomedia invites us to go beyond the passive consumption of information; it calls us to participate, to question, and to act. Each Indigenous video, post, artwork, online or offline media, and audiovisual production is an important piece in building a mosaic of resistance and cultural celebration, which is essential for the true plurality of Indigenous Brazil. In this way, Indigenous ethnomedia consolidates itself not only as a space for voice, but also as a platform for social transformation, where the narrative is rescued from the captivity of colonization for centuries and memories and stories are retold, ensuring the fight against the Indigenous holocaust, and that the contribution of Indigenous peoples to humanity is never forgotten. Be a good ancestor today! M

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INTERVIEW

The future is a remake: Translations of worlds in the work of Denilson Baniwa[a]

O futuro é um remake: Traduções de mundos na obra de Denilson Baniwa

Interview with:
DENILSON BANIWA[b]

by: EVANDRO JOSÉ MEDEIROS LAIA[c]
LARA LINHALIS GUIMARÃES[d]

[a] This interview was adapted from a conversation held remotely, via streaming, on April 8, 2021. The original material is available on the YouTube channel @coletivo_emergencias.

[b] Baniwa Indigenous artist, visual artist, communicator, activist, and facilitator of digital culture and hacking. In 2019, he won the PIPA Prize in the online category, and in 2021 he was one of the winners nominated by the jury, becoming an important exponent of Brazilian Indigenous art.

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INTRODUCTION

THE JAGUAR IS a fundamental entity in many Amerindian cosmologies, appearing from time to time in shamanic experiences, as do other non-human beings. It possesses a moral humanity whose logic twists the Western humanist perspective of the human. This mode of existence is marked by a type of hyper-connectivity , in which the Western experience of the human is unaware of such a reduction in possibilities for connection—in the face of other worlds, where it is possible to communicate with all others and not just those who know the same language—since humanity is a shared condition and a starting point for existences. From a non-transmissive perspective of communication, that is, experiencing communication in a much broader sense than the media-based one, this ancestral connective experience holds a considerable wealth of perspectives that offers another view of the phenomenon of the connection of all things, which only now we, from the anthropocentric side of the human, are beginning to experience from the experience of the datafication of life and the awareness of complexity in the face of the climate crisis.

Visual artist Denilson Baniwa, aware of this, specifically invoked the shamanic figure of the Jaguar-Shaman, an ancestral Baniwa technology, to unveil the code of Eurocentric visual art in a performance at the 33rd São Paulo Art Biennial in Ibirapuera Park in 2018. Taking over the main pavilion of the biennial,

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The future is a remake: Translations of worlds in the work of Denilson Baniwa

Baniwa wore a jaguar cloak and mask and carried flowers which he placed, one by one, in front of works produced by Indigenous artists, as a gesture prior to purchasing a copy of the classic A brief history of art by Ernst Gombrich, which he tore up in front of a panel of photographs of Indigenous people, under a powerful discourse on the erasure of Indigenous art from books and galleries. This experience—which was recorded in a video made with a cell phone and went viral on social media—became, in itself, an important work by the artist who, since then, has emerged on the Brazilian contemporary art scene, paving the way—especially alongside Daiara Tukano and Jaider Esbell—for the recognition of contemporary Brazilian indigenous art in the world. It also constitutes an activist experience of this art and, why not say, an inspiration for thinking about the translation of indigenous connective worlds from the experience of a Baniwa artist.

In a remote conversation, Denilson discusses how he considers himself a shaman based on his experience of translating the Baniwa world for white people—accessing white art and the white world, but without definitively becoming one of us—occupying precisely the space between. He plays the role of diplomat and mediator, facing the powers and dangers, the pains and delights of this task—just like a shaman, communicating worlds. He also considers himself an art hacker, reinterpreting a certain idea of hacker acquired during his studies in Computer Science in Manaus, Amazonas state, an experience that is significant in his works, commonly constructed from interventions in images of colonization.

MATRIZes: How do you deal, in your work, with the concern of translating other cosmos, and particularly the unique way of life of your people, to other peoples? What makeshift solutions are necessary to build this movable bridge?

Denilson Baniwa: I keep thinking about how my work brings up a discussion about translations. I think one of my concerns is translating worlds both for my people, for my community, and for the outside world. The first thing to understand is that the artist is like a shaman; then it's necessary to understand the shaman as a translator of worlds; next, to understand art as a process of translation, a technology of translation. Finally, to think of translation as an anthropophagic process. We can start with the second thing: the shaman as a translator. He is the person endowed with a very specific knowledge, which is that of negotiating with other worlds. So, if a person is sick, the shaman goes to the world of that illness or of the lord of that illness, to negotiate with him. But to negotiate in these worlds we cannot go as we are. So, in the same way that I need to know the world out here to talk to you two, the shaman needs to

know the other world and, in a way, invest himself or transform himself into the other to negotiate, because there is only negotiation if there is recognition. So, the shaman transforms into a being from that world to negotiate with that world, but he needs to have something that reconnects him back to his own world, because there is a danger of never returning. He could transform into a being from another world, go there to negotiate the cure for the disease, and suddenly not be able to return to the world he comes from. Therefore, it is necessary to know how to go, how to transform a little into the other, and how to return as well. The artist, like a shaman, is this: it is the artist or the person who has specific knowledge—which is art—knowledge perhaps in a more Western sense. But also within the indigenous world there are certain people who dedicate themselves to making and knowing other realities. That is, then, the indigenous artist. It is this being who is quite connected to their culture, this indigenous identity, but who also knows the Western world and the world of art, and who from time to time crosses that boundary, goes to the world of Western art, makes provocations, and then returns, also bringing to the community some translation of this world here. And the danger we face in these transitions is ending up being more a part of one world than the other. That's the care we have to take. We need to be aware beforehand—of who we are—to safely return to our original world. It's like cannibalism, right? It's the danger of eating something that is a foreign body, which is perhaps this foreign art. The danger is being poisoned and not being able to return to the indigenous world, of not being able to make the correct translation, of getting lost along the way. And the bridge, perhaps, that we can build is understanding modern technology. It's perhaps using this new language—the internet, for example—to translate my world as Baniwa, as an indigenous person, for those on the other side: for those concerned with building stronger foundations; for culture; for identity itself. This is important. Technologies are, in a way, a way of building new databases. If previously we built databases orally or by writing on stones, today we can write these "petroglyphs" digitally, so to speak, and amplify voices for the future; that's what's very interesting. Perhaps the ingenuity lies there: understanding these technologies as an amplification of indigenous voices, translating them into these new technologies.

MATRIZes: It seems to us, Denilson, that your works challenge a Western notion of humanity precisely by making visible how you and your people understand what is human and what is not human, and also how these instances can relate to each other and to other possible notions of humanities—belonging to other worlds—including the Western perspective on

humanity. Is challenging these humanities a project, in the sense of being something intentional?

DB: The West has made a point of burying the recognition of other beings, of other kinds of people. First, by separating itself from nature, by claiming to own nature and possess nature. When that wasn't enough, it began to separate itself from other living beings. And today, this "Western" humanity has reached the point of being selective in relation to its own kind. Humans separate themselves from each other, right? Some consider themselves more human than other humans, than other people. This was something constructed from modern society, this instrumentalization of things, as Ailton Krenak says, of assigning utility to things, and when something is no longer useful it is discarded, or when it is still useful, it is exploited. This is to remove humanity from everything that exists; it is a way that Western society has found to absolve itself of responsibility for the other. In fact, for my people and for many indigenous peoples, everything that exists in the cosmos is or has been human at some point. These are people within their own world—just as we consider ourselves people within our own world—and before everything that happened, before this separation of these peoples, everyone shared this space, talked, and understood each other. Sometimes they fought, but most of the time, they understood each other because they spoke the same language. In the stories of my people, for example, there are jaguar people, monkey people, anaconda people, tapir people, agouti people. Everything was people at some point in this whole universe, or has a spirit that is human within its own world. I don't know at what point, but the construction of modernity has made us increasingly narrow the meaning of what a person is or what is human. Until we arrive at a "little apartment" of 30 square meters, right? And say that only that person there is someone who knows more or who has greater control of intellect or who dominates the rest of the other humanities. My work does have a provocative aspect regarding this: provoking people or myself. As I said at the beginning of the conversation, when you stray too far into another world, sometimes you end up becoming a little more of that other world. So, sometimes I also forget that I am part of a whole shared universe, that I am not superior to any other type of existing humanity—be it a plant, a tree, or a cat, a dog, which is who I spend the most time with now in the city. In the forest, it's a monkey or another living being. So, my work seeks to provoke, in myself and in others, a thought so that we look at the other beings that share this planet not as a product to be used or traded, but as part of myself in this world. My people say that, long ago, one of my ancestral grandmothers was an anaconda or an agouti. The agouti that is now a descendant of that ancient being may

in some way also be my cousin or my niece or some other relative of mine. So, I have to understand and respect her existence, but it's complex because this world out here understands that each being is a universe unto itself, that it dominates itself and others, and everything revolves around existence as an individual. What I want to say, in the end, is: everything is human, everything has thought, everything has a spirit that transcends the physical body, and we need to understand each other again. We need to understand each other again with the river, with the mountain, so that we can continue to exist, because we have distanced ourselves so much from things, from other humanities, that today we only coexist with objects—which are concrete, plastic things; that don't communicate with us.

MATRIZes: We say we don't attribute humanity to things, to objects, but we end up doing so in a clandestine way. Look at our relationship with the cell phone today: how this object manages our lives, how it defines what we do. How can we say that we don't attribute a life of its own to an object like that?

DB: I also think it's inherent to human nature to try to find another humanity. So much so that we move away from the forest but always want to have a little plant nearby. It's a way of connecting with this other existence. We surround ourselves with artificial things, but we begin to give humanity to this other being. In a way, if we think about things possessing a spirit or the soul of things, the artificial intelligence of objects—like cell phones, Siri, or Alexa, which can learn from us and converse with us—then perhaps a new technological humanity is being born alongside us.

MATRIZes: You state that digital technologies are important resources for defending the territory, culture, and life of your people and that, contrary to what many think, these technologies have been part of the daily lives of many indigenous communities for some time now, including ancestral communication technologies—such as shamanism, for example. To consider these modern technologies as anti-indigenous or non-indigenous says more about an image we have of indigenous people than about what indigenous peoples actually are, respecting the multiplicity of existences within this expression. Looking at some of your works, Denilson, it seems to us that you are an artist who uses a wide variety of technologies to remix stories, imaginaries, aesthetics, and architectures. In what sense do these remakes enhance the defense of the territory, culture, and life of your people?

DB: To answer that, I need to rethink the following: in 1999, I first had access to what is understood as communication. It was when the Federation of Indigenous Organizations of the Rio Negro (FOIRN)—the indigenous organization in my region—in partnership with the University of São Paulo (USP), took several workshops to communities in the Rio Negro; one of them was on multimedia communication. Despite the availability of courses that were much more practical, such as learning how to repair boats—which would be more useful—I chose the communication and multimedia course. There we learned about what communication is, how to create means of communication to be used in the community. Initially, we thought about a radio system and newsletters, small newspapers that could circulate among the communities, among the associations. I dedicated myself; I fell in love with it. Together, I and two other friends from the Tupinambás River created a radio station called Rádio Yandê , a result of this process, and later, I took a communication course at the university and moved on to a more academic practice. There was no internet in the Rio Negro region at the time; the first computers arrived around the same time. It was at FOIRN that I learned to use a computer, and later also in courses in Manaus. So, I grew up in the Indigenous movement, having access to technology, always seeing that our allies were from outside. I was aware that technology was a good resource for, for example, having satellite images to monitor deforestation, illegal mining invasions, producing videos and audios as a means of denouncing illegal activities. It's also possible today to access information, words in Baniwa that are no longer spoken, or objects that are no longer made today through photographs or videos recorded at the time of the first contacts. I think that technologies have always been with Indigenous peoples and can be used as allies in the Indigenous struggle. Of course, technology is also used in the destruction of Indigenous peoples, right? It's something I tell my friends: if we don't learn to use it to our advantage, our enemies will spare no effort to use it against us. It's also necessary to understand this technological world, whether it's agricultural technology, or how to use internet portals or produce live streams. This digital world is another world among the many worlds that exist, and the shaman can enter and negotiate with its owners. This shaman can be what they call artist-shamans, those who master the mechanism of entering this world, of negotiating with the bit and byte gods. I don't know what the name of this digital god would be, right? That's where the idea that the future is a remake comes from. First, because, in the indigenous or Baniwa understanding, time is not linear: it is circular and always returns. So, if time is not linear, it is circular. I can capture things from the past or perhaps imagine things that don't yet exist and transform them into this moment I am

in to communicate: to translate the world, to translate thought, to translate things. If we think, for example, about the pandemic, the indigenous world has already lived through other pandemics. What we learned from our other experiences we were able to use now in this pandemic; It's a remake, an updated version of the Spanish flu, for example. It's necessary to understand that we can now remix stories that have already happened: it's a collage operation, taking what has been done, pasting it here and seeing if it works. Thinking about what we can build today that will serve us tomorrow, creating means that strengthen our own existence, as, for example, the young Guarani people are doing, combining ancestral knowledge through hip hop, telling ancient stories of resistance or their cosmogony in a new format, a new technology. The young people learn the Guarani language and they learn the ancient stories.

MATRIZes: Things aren't always the same: we create this idea that things are immutable, but they're never the same. When you talk about this idea of the future as a remix, it's very interesting because it subverts this idea of time as an arrow pointing forward, that never returns. We already know that's a trap, because it does come back, right? And we 're seeing the growth of fascism again, for example. Journalism does a bit of that too, always presenting events as new, when in fact, they aren't always. Professor Leão Serva, from USP, in his book Journalism and disinformation (2001), in which he analyzes news coverage of armed conflicts in Eastern Europe, says that what journalism shows as new isn't always new: it's necessary to look at the repetitions of history, at what, in my understanding, is what you're calling a remix or a remake. It's necessary to look at other stories, from other wars, from other times.

DB: Yes. In this work, for example , I take old images, insert information, remove it, or erase it, showing that it's possible to reconstruct new thoughts now, in this future we are living in, based on what has already been seen. If we use the experience of the bow and arrow, for example, we understand that you must stretch it as far back as possible: the more you tighten it, the more you pull it back, the farther it will reach. So, to reach the present, I 'm drawing images from 1700, from 500, creating this remake.

MATRIZes: This also reminds me of the professor and theater director José Luiz Ribeiro. He says that the avant-garde is the rearguard that everyone has forgotten. What you call the avant-garde today is the rearguard that nobody remembers anymore, it's back there, and whoever has a little memory will remember. In your perspective, will this remake, which is the future, follow that same line?

DB: I think that's it, yes, especially considering two institutions that are very much from the past, but very much from the future: the museum and the university. We can only build, project an image of something into the future if we can understand what it was. For example, an ethnographic museum survives on what is past, but that says a lot about what our present and our future are. If it weren't for these institutions, we wouldn't be able to think about different perspectives of the world. Like the university, which is the place where we can access diverse perspectives, including now, we also begin to revisit certain perspectives that were erased or made invisible. These are places that feed on the past, and where someone stepped over or stumbled upon another past that was more interesting at the time, but if it weren't for these institutions, we wouldn't be able to go back and see what we lost. Through museums, universities, and academia, we have the power of the DeLorean, the character from the Back to the future film series: the power to go back and see that we let things slip by. We can resume this discussion or start this discussion, and that's where the idea of decolonizing things comes from.

MATRIZes: And the most interesting thing is for us to engage in this unequal struggle, which is to bring more past perspectives into the university, more ways of existing, more ways of knowing that are not only those legitimized by modernity.

DB: Because, as I said, the future has already happened and it wasn't good. It's not good, is it?

MATRIZes: To summarize the conversation: the future is a remake.

DB: The future is a remake where we're trying to stitch together various pieces to make a new film about the future, where we can coexist with each other and with others as well. M

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Vitor Souza Lima Blotta - Universidade de São Paulo (USP)

THESES AND DISSERTATIONS

Theses and Dissertations
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PHD DISSERTATIONS

ALVIM, Marcelo Hamdan
A Pragmatic-Semiotic Approach to Algorithmic Mediations
ADVISOR: Anderson Vinícius Romanini
DOI: https://doi.org/10.11606/T.27.2025.tde-01082025-135554

BARROS, Gabriela Torres
The school in Segunda Chamada: narratives and production of meaning about public education
ADVISOR: Maria Cristina Palma Mungioli
DOI: https://doi.org/10.11606/T.27.2024.tde-05112024-144214

CORRÊA, Débora Klempous
Pop Culture of Resistance: critical potential against cultural imperialism from Brazilian idols and fans
ADVISOR: Wagner Souza e Silva
DOI: https://doi.org/10.11606/T.27.2025.tde-29072025-132024

COSTA, Aianne Amado Nunes
Pop Culture of Resistance: critical potential against cultural imperialism from Brazilian idols and fans
ADVISOR: Vítor Souza Lima Blotta
CO-ADVISOR: Cesar Ricardo Siqueira Bolaño
DOI: https://doi.org/10.11606/T.27.2025.tde-28072025-143625

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FARIA, Maurício Gomes de
Mediatized Consumption Rituals in Sneaker Culture: Advertising as (Co)Creation
ADVISOR: Maria Clotilde Perez Rodrigues
DOI: https://doi.org/10.11606/T.27.2025.tde-01082025-142237

MIELLI, Renata Vicentini
Sociodigital Platforms and the Emotional Turn in Communication: How the Spread of Moral-Emotional Content Is Fragmenting the Public Sphere and Threatening Democracy
ADVISOR: Anderson Vinícius Romanini
DOI: https://doi.org/10.11606/T.27.2025.tde-11082025-131251

NARDES, Wellington
The "Communication/Education" Interface as a Materialization of Freirean Thought: Theoretical Reflections on Field Intertwinements and Analyses of Educommunicative Practices
ADVISOR: Adilson Odair Citelli
DOI: https://doi.org/10.11606/T.27.2025.tde-11082025-134709

OHLSON, Márcia Pinheiro
Blockchain in Journalism and Digital Social Networks A pragmatic and semiotic reading
ADVISOR: Anderson Vinícius Romanini
DOI: https://doi.org/10.11606/T.27.2025.tde-01082025-134850

PINHO, Juliana Malacarne de
Motherhood in the Pandemic: Guilt, Exhaustion, and Loneliness in Media Discourses
ADVISOR: Maria Clotilde Perez Rodrigues
DOI: https://doi.org/10.11606/T.27.2025.tde-01082025-134258

SARRALHEIRO, Vinícius Alves
Immersion in Reality: Effects of Virtual Reality Use in Vaccination Communication
ADVISOR: Leandro Leonardo Batista
DOI: https://doi.org/10.11606/T.27.2025.tde-11082025-134008

MASTER'S THESES

ASSIS, Larissa Gould de
The Role of Digital Platforms in strengthening anti-democratic attitudes: exploratory study of Meta's performance in the attacks of January 8, 2023 in Brasília
ADVISOR: Vítor Souza Lima Blotta
DOI: https://doi.org/10.11606/D.27.2024.tde-08112024-161200

BALDIN, Vitoria Paschoal
Between Testimony and Affect: Images, Narratives, and Tools of Palestinian Digital Activism
ADVISOR: Daniela Osvald Ramos
DOI: https://doi.org/10.11606/D.27.2024.tde-20092024-122947

BARBOSA, Sara Carolina
Gastronomy as communicational médiation for the action of social movements: the case of @CozinhaOcupacao9deJulho
ADVISOR: Eneus Trindade Barreto Filho
DOI: https://doi.org/10.11606/D.27.2024.tde-26112024-150048

CARDOZO, Leonardo Lopes
Combining neurophysiology and psychometric measures to assess the influence of attention levels and emotional content in advertising messages and their relationship with Brand Value
ADVISOR: Leandro Leonardo Batista
DOI: https://doi.org/10.11606/D.27.2024.tde-22012025-120250

COSTA, Denise Fernandes Eloy da
Memory in the fight against disinformation: communication tactics and practices of feminist social movements based on the legacy of Marielle Franco
ADVISOR: Richard Romancini
DOI: https://doi.org/10.11606/D.27.2024.tde-25032025-115600

DUARTE, Leandro Orsolini
Politics is not debatable: the influence of ideology on the binomial of internal communication and organizational commitment
ADVISOR: Margarida Maria Krohling Kunsch
DOI: https://doi.org/10.11606/D.27.2024.tde-08112024-164056

GOMES, Cíntia Moreira
Gender and race: black journalists in the education media in Brazil
ADVISOR: Claudia Lago
DOI: https://doi.org/10.11606/D.27.2024.tde-25032025-111952

JARDIM, Ana Clara Amorim
The Invisible Aesthetics: Whiteness as a Norm in Brazilian Advertising
ADVISOR: Leandro Leonardo Batista
DOI: https://doi.org/10.11606/D.27.2024.tde-24032025-140520

MACARRONI, Murilo Machado
A study of the K-drama format: historical perspective, cultural mediations and melodrama in the production of meaning in the series Crash Landing on You
ADVISOR: Maria Cristina Palma Mungioli
DOI: https://doi.org/10.11606/D.27.2024.tde-23012025-120750

RAMOS, João Alfredo Alineri
Is another hit coming next? The telenovela an the content management
ADVISOR: Maria Immacolata Vassallo de Lopes
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RODRIGUES, Luara Calvi Anic
Magazine Photography in Brazil (1960)
ADVISOR: Boris Kossoy
DOI: https://doi.org/10.11606/D.27.2024.tde-27032025-135457

SANTOS, Fernanda Simplicio dos
Press Play: Educommunicative Self-Training and the Challenges of Youth Protagonism During the Pandemic
ADVISOR: Claudemir Edson Viana
DOI: https://doi.org/10.11606/D.27.2025.tde-01082025-121326

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Genealogy of Practical Learning: Interactions on YouTube about Minecraft
ADVISOR: Claudemir Edson Viana
DOI: https://doi.org/10.11606/D.27.2024.tde-22012025-124555

SCAFF, Heitor Radesca Alvares
Decoding affordances between YouTube and content creators
ADVISOR: Elizabeth Nicolau Saad Correa
DOI: https://doi.org/10.11606/D.27.2024.tde-26112024-123727

SILVA, Mario Sergio Assumpção de Andrada e
Dramaturgy of communication crises: The Rio-2016 Olympic Games
ADVISOR: Paulo Roberto Nassar de Oliveira
DOI: https://doi.org/10.11606/D.27.2024.tde-08112024-172000

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Dribbling Algorithmic Mediation: reflections on gaps in techno-imageryica
ADVISOR: Wagner Souza e Silva
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The Map of Influence: A Study of Crowd Mobilization Power on Social Media Through a Cartography of Felipe Neto's Actions
ADVISOR: Daniela Osvald Ramos
DOI: https://doi.org/10.11606/D.27.2024.tde-21012025-184604

VIZENTIN, Mayra Castro
Communication and work relations of subcontracted seamstresses
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