INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES IN THE METROPOLITAN REGION OF MANAUS: CHALLENGES FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF WELL-BEING BASED ON THEIR EXPERIENCES AND REPRESENTATIONS

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ABSTRACT

This article presents a new perspective of technology transfer aimed at communities of family farmers and traditional communities, with a focus on the Sateré-Gavião and Aldeia Tururukari-Uka indigenous communities, located in the metropolitan region of Manaus. These communities are composed of indigenous migrants from other regions of the state, such as the Lower Amazon and the Upper Solimões.The research adopts a qualitative approach, based on individual and collective oral reports obtained through interviews, informal conversations and meetings. The systematization of the data shows that the development of these communities, which seek to settle in territories close to the capital, represents a great challenge for research institutions. However, these challenges can be overcome through an approach that values traditional knowledge, promotes intercultural dialogue, and enables the construction of an agenda of actions for the sustainable rural development of these communities.

Keywords: Displacement. Technology Transfer. Indigenous Communities.

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INTRODUCTION

The metropolitan region of Manaus has among its inhabitants a huge indigenous population. Data from the IBGE (2022, p.1) confirm that the "three Brazilian municipalities with the highest number of indigenous people are: Manaus/AM, with a total of 71,713 people; São Gabriel da Cachoeira/AM, with 48.3 thousand; and Tabatinga/AM, with 34.5 thousand". This indigenous concentration in three Amazonian municipalities, mainly in Manaus, imposes on research the need to deepen the theme related to migration, as stated by Teixeira, Mainbourg and Brasil (2009, p. 531): "among the demographic phenomena related to the indigenous population that are requiring deepening and detailed analysis, there is migration, especially that which takes place towards the cities".

Data from the World Urban Forum on Indigenous Peoples in Cities, organized by UN-Habitat (2010), show that the presence of indigenous people in Brazilian cities is increasing, mainly due to factors such as the invasion of their lands, wars and opportunities for better living conditions, with access mainly to health and educational systems. By moving, the indigenous people began to occupy what Pereira, Santos and Azevedo (2005, p.79) called the "remainder" of the territory", since "the most powerful actors reserve the best pieces".

The numbers show that there is a large contingent of indigenous people living in urban and peri-urban areas of the municipality of Manaus and the surrounding area, but there are no actions and policies aimed at ensuring the process of empowerment of these communities that, when submerged in denser, more populous and disordered territories, disappear and become non-existent. The Research Network on Urban Indigenous People (RSU, 2020, p. 5) understands that "the indigenous issue in an urban context is complex, multiethnic and invisible, [erased], but strongly present". Maris and Fernando (2013, p. 8) expose that when indigenous people move to the city, or its proximity, many begin to imagine that they cease to be indigenous, which means the prevalence of an "obfuscated and distorted perspective, which corroborates the occurrence of discriminatory actions, such as the insistence on denying the indigenous presence in the city as legitimate".

The obfuscation and distortion of constructed images of indigenous people who move to urban and peri-urban regions strengthen the invisibility of these communities that begin to live integrally without public policies and without a voice to influence and play a leading role in their own destiny, which is the overcoming of the historical and violent conditions to which they have always been subjected.

The closer to the city, to the centers of political and economic decision-making, the more the logic of abyssal thinking prevails . That is, the strength of those who dominate, oppress and subjugate those who are at socio-economic, private disadvantages prevails. For Santos (2007, p. 76), "the denial of one part of humanity is sacrificial, insofar as it constitutes the condition for the other part of humanity to affirm itself as universal".

The indigenous communities that migrate to the urban and peri-urban region of Manaus live under the culture of exclusion, violence and the need to fit into a world where it is necessary to compete and forget their origins, their ancestry. Santos (2007, p.10) exposes that the denial of the other has a colonial origin and that it is maintained "in modern Western thought and practices, as happened in the colonial cycle". Today, as then, creation and, at the same time, denial on the other side of the line are an integral part of hegemonic principles and practices.

The overcoming of colonial practices of exclusion, in the perspective of Santos (2002), involves the criticism of the Western rational model, which he calls indolent reason, which imposes itself in the production of knowledge that seeks to assert itself as exclusive and complete, but which can only promote a partial and selective understanding, guided by a vision of totality, which presupposes the predominance of the whole over its parts. This is a symmetrical and homogeneous perspective, which aims to conceal the hierarchy present in dichotomous relationships, such as between scientific and traditional knowledge, culture and nature, civilized and primitive, among countless other examples. The costs of conception form are immeasurable, given the waste of the possible richness of the diversity of sociocultural, economic and political-social experiences.

For Santos (2010, p. 137, 144), knowledge, in its multiple facets, is not equally distributed in society. Thus, it renounces hegemonic epistemology and recognizes the diversity of knowledge. For Santos (2009, p. 44), it is necessary to be guided by an ecology of knowledge that is "recognition of the plurality of heterogeneous knowledge (one of which is modern science) and in sustainable and dynamic interactions between them, without compromising their autonomy". Considering the idea of epistemological diversity as a premise, it is appropriate to renounce any general epistemology, in a broad exercise of self-reflexivity that has in the multiple existences of knowledge the solutions to human challenges.

The Brazilian Agricultural Research Corporation (EMBRAPA), in its process of self-reflection and in the search to review its contribution to vulnerable and excluded

communities and populations, has formulated strategies in its content, and seeks to overcome Western rationality, metonymic [9]reasoning, because "it not only has a limited understanding of the world, but also a limited understanding of itself" (Santos, 2006, p. 740).

This search to overcome metonymic rationality has imposed on Embrapa "challenges, requiring reformulations of its internal structures and paradigm shifts on the part of its collaborators" (Borsatto, Bergamasco; Bianchi, 2017, p. 45). These reformulations expose the need to value the experiences of existing collective networks and processes, and seek to develop methodologies for the "co-creation and delivery of value in support of endogenous rural development projects", as well as seek to "consolidate product networks with associated territorial identity (develop and value products) and contribute to the reduction of regional inequalities through the generation of opportunities" and the "development of capacities for populations in situations of socioeconomic and productive vulnerability", as is adopted in the Inova Social Program[10].

Within the scope of the social innovation project developed with indigenous communities in the metropolitan region of Manaus, the search for a method that overcomes metonymic reason is what Silva (2013, p.1) recognizes as: "the complexity, mutability and irreducibility of social life, while at the same time highlighting the need for a greater intervention of the subject in the process of knowledge of the real and the role of subjectivity in the interpretation of the social" (Silva, 2013, p.1).

Listening to the stories of indigenous communities goes beyond the colonizing perspective, strengthening their roots and allowing the development of sustainable strategies. As a project to strengthen the production system, we motivate the community to narrate their experiences with known agricultural crops and practices, leaving the

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[9] I In its totality and selectivity, metonymic reason is based on five logics, or ways of producing non-existence (Santos, 2003), namely: a) logic of the monoculture of knowledge, in which modern science and high culture become the only criterion of truth; b) logic of the monoculture of linear time, in which history has a unique and known meaning and direction, and its watchwords are progress, revolution, modernization, development, growth and globalization. This linearity of time follows the clocks and the standardized guidelines defined in the central countries and their institutions, which become the model that defines what is backward and asymmetrical; c) logic of social classification, the monoculture of the naturalization of differences, defines hierarchies and establishes categories and especially defines estates in which the inferior will never be configured as the bearer of a credible alternative; d) logic of the dominant scale, in which the logic of Western modernity predominates, the forms of the universal and the global, ignoring local specificities and contexts; e) productivist logic, monoculture that values capitalist productivity expressed in indicators and indices such as economic growth, which becomes the primary and unquestionable objective.
[10] The Inova Social Program brings together nine Embrapa Units (Agrobiology, Temperate Climate, Southern Livestock, Goats and Sheep, Semi-Arid Region, Soils and Cerrados), seven projects and 18 external partners. It is financed by the BNDES Social Fund and is valid until July 2021.

researchers with the mission of contributing to the reunion with traditions within a new context, with the improvement of techniques. In this way, we initially resort to memory, which for Rousso (1996, p.v4) is a "psychic and intellectual reconstruction" of past selection, a past that is never that of the individual alone, but of an individual inserted in a family, social, national context. Therefore, all memory is, by definition, collective."

By starting from orality to define the strategies of action in the communities, we give back the history to the people in their own words, and "by giving them a past, it also helps them to walk towards a future built by themselves" (Thompsom, 1998, p. 337).

With oral history guiding technology transfer practices, there is a need to seek to listen to and record the voices of subjects absent from official history. As Guedes-Pinto (2002, p. 95) states, by adopting oral history, we create "several possibilities of manifestation for those who are excluded from official history, both 'traditional' and contemporary, and who do not have sufficiently strong forms to confront social injustices".

This article exposes the search for a new perspective of technology transfer with the communities of family farmers and traditional communities, in this case the Sateré-Gavião and Aldeia Tururukari-Uka indigenous communities, located in the Lower Amazon – who migrated to the metropolitan region of Manaus, that is, communities that were extracted from their territories due to violence and the absence of public policy and state protection.

Therefore, in technology transfer actions, oral history not only offers "a change in the concept of history, but, more than that, it guarantees social meaning to the lives of deponents and readers, who come to understand the historical sequence and feel part of the context in which they live" (Meihy, 2005, p.19).

METHODOLOGY

The methodological path with small and traditional farming communities needs to be improved, especially in projects aimed at the resilience of research institutions with indigenous, quilombola, riverside populations and many other populations present in our territory. In this search, we started with dialogue, the use of qualitative approaches. In this way, as Minayo (2007) indicates, we seek to expand the universe of meanings, motives, aspirations, beliefs, values, attitudes, aspects that cannot be minimized to the operationalization of variables.

Even in the face of criticism of qualitative methodologies, recurrent, the limits of this approach are always emphasized. It is important to emphasize that the qualitative

approach prioritizes human relationships, which, most of the time, is a narration that "has nothing to do with the chained, logical, cause-effect, tied and tying thing together, people". This is a fact in a single bundle (Caldas, 1999, p. 92).

As a technique for collecting information, we carry out a set of informal conversations, individual and collective. In this way, we seek a "non-violent" relationship with the communities. Non-violent in the perspective of Bourdieu (1997, p. 695), who adopts a "relationship of active and methodical listening, as far from the pure non-intervention of the undirected interview, as from the dirigisme of the questionnaire". This is a posture of contradictory appearance that is not easy to put into practice.

Research guided by "active and methodical listening" means that it is willing to chart new paths, change courses, adopt new perspectives and detach itself from the safe haven. It is to treat community members as people and not sources. Portelli (1997) says that, by adopting this attitude, we start to learn from people and not to study them.

This perspective is anchored in the statement of Bosi (2003, p. 69), who states that "a life story is not made to be archived or kept in a drawer as a thing, but exists to transform the city [the place] where it flourished" (Bosi, 2003, p. 69).

During the construction of actions, the researcher has a mediator role, with a posture that can have the full collaboration of the communities. This means looking at interviews beyond simple techniques, since communication between people is a "method of cordiality, a method of asking questions with the sole objective of understanding" (Meihy; Holanda, 2007, p. 92).

The main technique adopted was the interview, stimulated and spontaneous. In this case, the stimuli occurred in walks and visits to the plantations, agricultural activities, among other activities in the community. Spontaneous interviews occur with the stimulation of the interviewee's own memory. Meihy (2000, p. 61) understands that one issue needs to permeate all the interviews, which is the need to "reflect the community of destination that marks the identity of the group analyzed".

In a context of paradigm shift in transfer action with traditional communities, contemporary research needs to include human experience among its primordial dimensions. The paradigm shift consists of transgressing the pedagogical methods of control and measurement of the learning process. From this perspective, the difference in a Deleuzian conception (Deleuze, 1988) is linked to human value and to a pedagogical practice of permanent learning.

This methodological perspective has guided the development of research with vulnerable communities, small farmers, indigenous people and riverside dwellers. The research presents the result of the dialogue with two indigenous communities that originated the migration from their ancestral territories to the surroundings of the municipality of Manaus, which concentrates more than two million inhabitants. The community of indigenous traditions of Sateré-Gavião, located on the banks of the Tiú stream, in the watershed of the Tarumã-Açu river, a tributary of the Negro river, in the municipality of Manaus, state of Amazonas, with origins from families who migrated from the lower Amazon near the municipality of Maués/AM, has approximately 12 families, 49 people between children and adults. Among its activities, there is agriculture, jobs in industries close to the community, small informal jobs and social programs. As for the Tururukari-Uka Village, it has 20 families and is located at km 47 of the AM-070 highway, the Manacapuru road. This community lives from agriculture, jobs in public institutions that are close to the communities, small informal jobs and social programs, as well as tourist activities.

These two communities, Aldeia Gavião and Aldeia Tururukari-uka, are participating in a process of dialogue and availability of agricultural technologies aimed at food security, income generation and organizational strengthening. Considering its origins based on tradition, orality has been one of the main instruments and techniques that problematize it and make research be shared and constructed in an interactive way, so that all subjects are involved in the diagnosis of reality and in its necessary "systematic restitution" (Borda, 1986, p. 51). As Freire (1987, p. 58) says, with orality, knowledge becomes an instrument of transformation that "is not done in the act of consuming ideas, but in the act of producing them and transforming them into action and communication".

RESULTS

The reports of the indigenous people who live in the metropolitan region of Manaus initially show a difference between the locations where they lived (in the interior) and where they live today. This difference is related to the free life in the forests, where the areas of cultivation and leisure had no limit, as Mrs. Terezinha Ferreira de Souza says: "We had the whole forest, right? Dad had two and even three swiddens. Here the area is small, and the land is poor, right? When we plant cassava, the production is only good the first time. Then it becomes difficult to produce".

With regard to cultivated crops, the management of several ecosystems is evident. The forest, used to collect fruits, vines and other products, as well as the beach area was used for planting, where during part of the year the planting of beans is carried out, as Mrs. Terezinha Ferreira de Souza recalls: "There in the Porto Alegre community, where my mother lived, I saw beans on the beach, Right? Here we don't have beans on the beach."

The Kambebas remember that they produce so much that they even make "mud" from corn. This is because production was so abundant that it was planted, since the community could not consume everything, as is evident in the presentation of Mrs. Maria de Fátima Cruz:

> Firm land, it's good, but it doesn't work like in the floodplain. On the beaches, with those marshes, there is a lot of corn. You can plant watermelon, beans, rice, we always plant these things.

> The watermelon spoiled when we planted it. We gave it to us to eat and ate. When the regatta appeared there, we exchanged a lot of things when at the time we had, right? But the rest of the things, thank God, we learned to do. That's why I'm a good guy like that, kind of unwinded in things. I learned a lot watching people do it and I was learning. That's where I came from, right?

In the Amazon, beaches are areas that arise when rivers recede their waters and give rise to expansive islands and vast strips of sand. These areas start to receive crops of beans, manioc and other annual crops with short cycles. The beaches of the muddy rivers have a soil of high natural fertility, which favors the cultivation of various crops (Fajardo, Souza, Alfaia, 2009).

Life in the interior "was one of planting", as reported by an indigenous leader in the cultivation of the land. According to him, planting was the only option for sustenance. The farm was the space for living, working and learning. The leadership says:

> We left the house and went to the countryside. The child stayed in a clean area, near a burrow and we spent the day there. Our life in the countryside was planting, because there we had no other livelihood, no one had work. We lived off the farm, which was cassava, cassava, right? Then came the plantation, we planted bananas, cocoa, sugarcane.

Planting was part of everyday life; this was an activity that remained in the memories of adults and children alike. Life revolved around the countryside. The elder of the Kambebas indigenous people remembers the diversity of crops they left behind, when they left the banks of the Solimões River and sought other lands until they reached the metropolitan region of Manaus. Twelve years old at the time, the then elderly Mrs. M. de F.

Cruz, today says: "We left everything. We cut and we left everything that was left behind. Beans, corn were all left there."

The first reports show that there is a relationship with agriculture and, especially, with diversity and abundance in the community's consciousness. The diversity with ecosystems, terra firme and floodplain, forest and rivers and the abundance of products already comes from plantations, swiddens, as well as from the forest. This relationship remained, in a way, in the past.

> My grandfather lived there at the end of his uncle's stream. There she planted with her grandpa, her aunts, right? They planted gardens. What did I see? A lot of pineapple planting. They sent a lot of pineapples. Also because they drank it with tacacá, right? Which is ingá, a lot of ingá trees, right? Because where grandpa also lived there, further inside, it was a lot of sand, a lot of sand, right? It's what they really cultivated. And when I went to Andirá, there in Conceição, in the community of Lua. From Papa, on the Andira River, there I saw a lot and planted it. My grandmother, another grandmother, right?, on my father's side, planted with, like, the whole community, collective work, right?, a lot of beans, she planted a lot of beans, what else I saw there. Now, I think it was because of nature, many feet have already left there in the community of Conceição, many feet have really left, I believe it was from nature. And the farm, always the farm, right? The garden and what I saw is also corn planting, right? We threw the ready-made corn, corn on the grill and it bursts, right? Then you take it out, you have to be quick to take it out. There, we indigenous people did that, right? So that's what I saw, right? And it will also be expensive. You can't miss the cará, which is with boiled yam, yam, yam porridge (Maria de Fátima Cruz).

The experiences show the researchers that the indigenous people involved in the technology transfer action already have experience with the farmer and, specifically, with some crops such as corn, beans, cocoa and açaí, among others. This experience allows a connection with the activity that is the target of the action developed by Embrapa.

For the indigenous people, making the connection with the past from their orality brings a nostalgia and an impulse, a reason to bring such activities to the present day. It is common to remember how they used bananas, cocoa, açaí, ingá and others. Santos and Silva (2022, p. 45) say that the advantages of oral history is that it allows researchers to have "direct contact with those who can lead them to a better understanding of their objects of study, the possibility of experiencing facts related to the past, being an enabler of the realization of experiences and representations".

The displacement, the reencounter with activity and practices, with the oral history of the communities, also allows the encounter with the limitations currently present in the current territory. In the metropolitan region of Manaus, the territory is reduced, and there is

little availability of land for the continuity of migratory swiddens. As a result, the land is quickly depleted and crops become a fragile and difficult survival alternative.

Orality brings the need to improve planting, introducing innovations that are capable of making agriculture viable, as one of the alternatives for generating income. The responsible leader reported that: "We always tried to plant cassava, bananas and açaí, but it always didn't go ahead. The land is very poor, it does not grow, it does not bear fruit." The same occurs with the breeding of indigenous bees, meliponas. The report shows that there was a desire to bring the bees closer, to be managed and raised to maintain the family. The indigenous leader of the Gavião community made the following report:

> We didn't raise bees, right? We used to take it at the time we lived in the countryside. We took it when we lived in the countryside. We didn't raise the bee, because we didn't know how to manage it, how to work with it, right? We even tried one, but we couldn't keep it. She would leave, leave the house and we would take a piece of the trunk of the stick, which was hollow (Terezinha Ferreira de Souza).

The interviews and oral reports of the community show the limit of the time of living in their territories of origin. In this sense, to be consequential, action needs to meet, point out solutions, innovations and simple technologies. The availability and adaptation of technologies resulting from joint research between researchers and indigenous people seek alternatives that exist in future possibilities. In this sense, actions need to strengthen past trajectories with essential ingredients for the consolidation of future actions and lived experiences, and which start to provide the construction, from the present, of other types of future.

Based on the testimonies, the action developed by Embrapa includes a rural development strategy involved in the construction of an agroforestry system, with the integration into the landscape of the community of crops, such as cocoa, present in the reports as a commodity product. The Kambeba reported cocoa for consumption before coffee existed; the pacovan banana, common to both indigenous groups. The pacovan banana is essential in culinary use, in a variety of ways, such as porridge, roasted together with fish, thickening small fish broths, among others; Açaí, which is a fruit that in the reports was not cultivated, but is widely consumed from extractivism. In this sense, the introduction of productive arrangements has a historical basis in the relationship with the taste and smell of the communities. This arrangement occurs within a strategy based on the circular economy with the use of waste.

The construction of the transfer action based on the orality of the communities allows the consolidation of a favorable environment, in which all those involved in the construction process are willing to act collectively, making their skills and capacities available. This form of arrangement imposes on those involved a review of practices, values and beliefs. In addition to the needs to exist between the parties involved, the construction of mutual trust, reciprocal and the creation of synergy, essential aspects for the focus on the co-creation of new knowledge and new practices.

The challenge of market access is a condition that is imposed on the group. In the reports, it is evident that the experience in the territories evidences the production and the difficulty in commercialization. In the interior, the communities had access to industrialized products only with the regatta, as shown in the reports of Mr. Francisco da Costa:

> Then we practically didn't take it out to sell, that there was nowhere to sell, we just took it to eat, because at the time there was the issue of regatão, right? that it took months, sometimes two months, even three months to spend with goods, we exchanged them with sugar, coffee, these things" (Francisco Cruz da Costa).

The report shows a change in the relationship with the market, as before it saw the middleman, and now through money, which does not always come from farmers, most of the time being resources from services performed or social programs. However, there remains the challenge of thinking of production as making food available for consumption and with the possibility of selling the surplus for commercialization, and the challenge of creating a differentiated relationship with the market.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Orality, in a process of seeking adjustment and inclusion of traditional communities to a system of technology transfers, adapted and collectively constructed, with community empowerment, is an essential strategy. A non-postcolonial approach and appreciation of the ecology of knowledge comes from a process that makes it possible to look at experiences from the sociology of absences and emergencies, as well as to overcome colonizing practices, such as discrimination and prejudice. These are aspects that are very present in technology transfer strategies, which manufacture absences. Under these conditions, orality functions as a remedy for attempts to submit a hierarchical system to standardization, and were of cultural practices. Orality allows the overcoming of indigenous people as ignorant, backward, inferior, local and unproductive.

Therefore, in a search for a paradigm shift in the actions of rural transfer and development, oral history allows the encounter with the experience of dialogue, collaboration in the very way in which researchers intervene and especially in the incorporation of the experience and subjectivity of the subjects beyond the manuals.

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