

A Socio-Semiotic Study of the Environmental
Conflict in Lagoa Encantada Indigenous Territory,
Aquiraz, Ceará, Brazil

MAURICIO SÁNCHEZ HERNÁNDEZ

NORWEGIAN UNIVERSITY OF LIFE SCIENCES
Department of International Environment and Development Studies
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Mauricio Sánchez Hernández, 2012



A coastal lagoon: The Lagoa Encantada, Aquiraz, Ceará, Brazil.

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acompostata@gmail.com

Noragric, Department of International Environment and Development Studies
P.O. Box 5003 N-1432 Ås Norway
Tel.: +47 64 96 52 00 Fax: +47 64 96 52 01
Internet: <http://www.umb.no/noragric>

Declaration

I, Mauricio Sánchez Hernández, declare that this thesis is a result of my research investigations and findings. Sources of information other than my own have been acknowledged and a reference list has been appended. This work has not been previously submitted to any other university for award of any type of academic degree.

Signature.....

Date.....17.09.2012

Acknowledgements

Without the encouragement and support from my wife, I would not have initiated this master's degree program in 2010, just some months after having moved to Norway. She has guided me through the hundreds of hours of bureaucratic vicissitudes with the expectation of some day seeing this result. Thank you Eline, for your advice, solicitude and patience.

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Oslo, 17.09.2012

A quienes se rebelan contra un estigma...

A quienes sufren represión por causa de decir su verdad...

A la idea de naturaleza

porque de ella todos hablan

pero pocos saben escucharla

Porque de ella todos se sirven

pero pocos saben deleitarse

A la Lagoa Encantada...

Abstract

This study explores the semiotic dimensions of a conflict between a historical company in Ceará and a ‘recently-recognized’ indigenous community. It involves two domains for networks of social practices. Firstly, it comprises the environmental-driven discussion going on between a ‘globalocentric’ style construed by the emblematic exporter of organic liquor, and the ‘subversive’ order of discourse articulated by the community, some academicians and NGO’s. This ‘subversive’ articulation exalts concepts such as ‘cultural autonomy’ and ‘environmental justice’ with the double purpose of denouncing the responsibility of Ypióca (the company) respecting the degradation of a rare inter-dune coastal lagoon inside Lagoa Encantada Indigenous Territory, and also demystifying the ‘preservation’ and ‘organic’ programmes conducted by the company within the land under dispute as its strategies to legitimize its industrial activities there. The ideological friction of this environmental discussion acquired international visibility when an article provoked the temporal suspension of the international organic seal held by Ypióca. This incident also provoked the open confrontation between the social groups involved through several judicial processes.

Secondly, the powerful exporter also construes and broadcasts a social and cultural depiction of the community where the legitimacy of its ethnic ascription and ‘special territorial rights’ are questioned and disregarded. Ypióca company interlinks a complex set of genres such as judicial processes, academic reports and cyber-politic contestations where its representatives are deeply skeptical about the ‘invention of traditions’ within the indigenous social practices. For its part, the community revolts against the stigmas and reconfigures them in emblems, which are incorporated into their ‘ethos’. Indigenous discourses inculcate their identity and style to other social groups through various semiotic modes including visual displays, suggestive lyrics, body language and the (re)creation of ‘ethnic’ symbols, such as rituals and sacred sites.

Based on the dialectical-relational approach (Fairclough), this socio-semiotic study explores how the discursive engagement within strategies attempts to consolidate identities and to fulfill imaginaries. In brief, the emergence, operationalization, and recontextualization of resonant discourses and suggestive styles are analyzed in order to demonstrate how, because of territorial interests, two social groups enact these discourses that contest for hegemony respecting the environmental and cultural representation of social reality in a locality surrounding the lagoon called the Lagoa Encantada.

Key words: Critical Discourse Analysis, Socio-semiotic Studies, Environmental Politics, Indigenous communities of Brazil.

Table of contents

Credits	ii
Declaration	iii
Acknowledgements	v
Dedicatory	vi
Abstract	vii
Table of contents	viii
List of pictures	x
List of figures	xi
List of acronyms	xii
1 Introduction	1
1.1 Problem statement	1
1.2 Structure	2
1.3 Rationale	4
1.4 Purpose	5
1.5 Limitations	6
2 Background	9
2.1 Indigenous emergence in Ceará at the threshold of a new millennium	9
2.2 Indigenous territories of the coast of Ceará	11
2.3 A Lagoa Encantada: The community	13
2.4 The Lagoa Encantada: the complex hydrologic system	16
2.5 The environmental conflict in the Lagoa Encantada	19
3 Fieldwork and Methodology	23
3.1 Location	23
3.2 Data collection	25
3.3 Data analysis	28
4 Theoretical Framework and key concepts	31
4.1 Consolidation of ethnic identities	31
4.2 Environmental discourses and positioning	38
4.3 Universals within environmental discourses	43

5	Relevant social events in the conflict	51
	5.1 Who is worthy to break the seals?	51
	5.2 Questioning indigenusness	52
	5.3 Conflictive uses of the lagoon	53
	5.4 Breaking the seal	54
	5.5 The retake	66
	5.6 Final considerations	70
6	Semiosis within Ypióca's social practices	73
	6.1 "God is my weapon"	73
	6.2 Ypióca's social practices related to the conflict	74
	6.3 Articulation with IBD	82
	6.4 A style: The retrospective innovator	83
7	Denomination of social groups, hegemony and semiosis	89
	7.1 "Beyond good and evil and the law"	89
	7.2 Power, ideology and the quest for hegemony	90
	7.3 Contesting identities	92
	7.4 History and ethnic denominations	96
	7.5 Legitimacy of these genres	102
	7.6 Validity of the texts	103
8	Semiosis within Jenipapo-Kanindés social practices	107
	8.1 "Indian drinking cachaça is not an Indian"	107
	8.2 The semiotic dimension of social practices	108
	8.3 Another style: "The first woman Cacique in Brazil"	116
	8.4 Relevant articulations for Jenipapo-Kanindé's discourses	117
	8.5 Final considerations	122
	References	125
	Appendix 1: Chronology of the conflict	131

List of pictures

Cover picture: A coastal lagoon: The Lagoa Encantada, Aquiraz, Ceará, Brazil. Photo: Author.

Picture 1: Hydrologic connections of the lagoon. Photo: Google Earth (page 17).

Picture 2: Indigenous Territory delimitation (red perimeter) and territorial positioning of the actors involved in the conflict. Photo: Google Earth (page 17).

Picture 3: Demonstration in Fortaleza. The banner states: The indigenous movement repudiates the Ypióca company for polluting the water spring of the Jenipapo-Kanindé Indians (page 64).

Picture 4: Local-produced map from the ‘Indian Trail Project’ in 2004, Aquiraz, Brazil (page 64).

Picture 5: Jenipapo-Kanindé observing the tube of Ypióca’s suction pump. Photo: FUNAI-Ceará 2012a (page 69).

Picture 6: A federal police officer interrogated two custodians of the suction pump, asking if they bore arms. Photo: FUNAI-Ceará 2012a (page 69).

Picture 7: Image presented by Ypióca to promote on Internet the ‘Particular’ Ecological Reserve. Photo: Ypióca, 2012c (page 84).

Picture 8: An emblematic style: the retrospective innovator. Photo: Simoes, 2010 (page 84).

Picture 9: Living Landmark festival. Photo: Junior, 2012 (page 115).

Picture 10: Another style intervening in the conflict. “The first woman Cacique in Brazil”. Photo: Junior, 2008 (page 115).

List of figures

Figure 1: Lagoa Encantada Indigenous Territory (red perimeter) Source: Adaptation from ISA, 2012b (page 3).

Figure 2: Relevant environmental discourses in the conflict: its actors, discursive axes and dimensions of social reality (page 42).

Figure 3: Relevant discourses, semiotic codes and articulations of Jenipapo-Kanindés in the conflict (page 123).

List of acronyms

CDPDH: Centre for the Promotion and Defense of Human Rights. It is a Catholic organization that has supported several indigenous communities in Ceará through organizational procedures during its ‘resurgence period’, and through legal representation during territorial conflicts.

DIAGEO: This British corporation is the world leader in the commercialization of premium spirits and acquired Ypióca brand in 2012.

DOU: Official Diary of the Brazilian Union.

FUNAI: National Foundation of the Indian. This federal organ has the authority of conducting the identification, delimitation, and demarcation of Indigenous lands, among other tasks.

IBAMA: Brazilian Institute of Environment and Natural Resources. It has federal authority.

IBD: Bio-Dynamic Institute. It is the only Brazilian certificatory agent recognized by international ‘organic’ institutions, such as IFOAM and Demeter Institute in Germany. Ypióca has obtained its organic seals for the sugar cane and the cachaça produced near the lagoon.

SEMACE: Superintendence of Environment in Ceará. It has authority through this state.

TUCUM: Ceará network for community-based tourism. This initiative is coordinated by many ‘subversive’ southern NGOs and articulates several coastal traditional communities struggling for their lands against industrial tourism projects.

UFC: Federal University of Ceará.

1 Introduction

1.1 Problem statement

This study analyzes a territorial and environmental conflict between a company producing organic sugar cane and spirits, and an indigenous community residing near urban centers, whose land is in process of getting fully recognized as an indigenous territory in the state of Ceará, northeastern Brazil (See figure 1). The locus of the conflict, either in its territorial or ecological facet is the same: a splendid costal lagoon which is used by the company for irrigation purposes, but simultaneously the point of reference for the community in social, economical and ecological terms, to the extreme that the name of the community comes from the lagoon. Thus, methodologically, this is a socio-semiotic study of an environmental and territorial conflict, mainly based on Fairclough's dialectical and relational approach when exploring the social realities involved (Fairclough, 2010).

Ypióca, the company, gathers within its identity contradictory or complementary images such as being a 'patriarchal' but innovative 160 years old entrepreneurship. Therefore, it is considered a cultural heritage in Ceará but at the same time an influential employer and exporter of this state; a company that integrates advanced industrial technologies with pioneering ecological practices in its monocultural plantations. With the irruption of a new millennium, A Lagoa Encantada community starts to leave the governmental abandon and extreme poverty and rather acquire the living standards held by the majority of the population in Ceará. But at the same time, it intends to ethnically differentiate itself as indigenous, even when these progresses in economical terms feed the skepticism of 'conservative' sectors, which cling to culturalist criteria when defining identities. Both actors rely on 'history' as a political tool to be attached in the conflict, and they both try to emphasize the closeness of their respective relationship with nature. Furthermore, in addition to defend their territorial interests, both agents are willing to put their own identity into the fire of friction; with their own image and style serving as a political weapon. Thus, these two social groups in conflict are claiming territory, enacting antagonistic environmental discourses and contesting their identities.

Consciously or not, the rhetoric of both actors represent and form part of the struggle between

two 'orders of discourse' searching for hegemony in society, respecting the domain of ethnic ascriptions. A 'conservative' order tends to recognize as 'indigenous' only those who are socially isolated, politically under tutelage, economically incipient and culturally stagnated. On the contrary, an emergent order of discourse explores the anthropological implications of being simultaneously a standard Brazilian citizen and an 'Indian'¹, despite of the apparent contradiction of this ambivalence.

The company rescues some imaginary and historical projections of who is considered an 'Indian' or not. Ypióca representatives exhibit these allegations to federal judges in Brazil, hoping that they reconsider their opinions and revalidate these definitions of 'Indian' of yesteryear. Concurrently, the company invokes its 'organic spirit' and its preservationist image disseminating suggestive images of natural harmony and environmental consciousness when perpetuating its appropriation of the territory, which is claimed and defended by the indigenous community.

In turn, the community also (re)creates and projects its own symbols, and has its own articulations to conjure engaged discourses and 'spirits'. For the community, to say 'we are Indians' (linguistically) implies to demonstrate it (visually, bodily, sonorously and lyrically). In this manner, the order of discourse that makes sense for the indigenous community mainly consists in consolidating an identity that obviously distinguishes them ethnically, but simultaneously presents semiotic elements serving as a logic capable of competing with powerful and antagonist discursive elements, such as 'organic' production or 'preservation'. The manifest articulation of clothes, movements and decorations convey suggestive ideas, such as a close relation with nature, territorial struggle and self-identification. The symbols (re)created reveals the 'ethos' or moral and political commitment of this community. Thus, this 'ethos' is interrelated with the environmental and territorial conflictive issues experienced in this locality.

1.2 Structure of the thesis

Each chapter of analysis in this thesis (5,6,7 and 8) broadly corresponds with the stages proposed by Fairclough (2010: 235) in his dialectical-relational approach. Consequently, chapter 5 focuses on "a social wrong in its semiotic aspect"; chapter 6 identifies "the obstacles to addressing the social wrong"; chapter 7 considers "how the social order 'needs' the social wrong"; and finally

¹In Brazil, even in official and academic circles 'native people' are known as Indians (In Portuguese: índios). I alternate the use of 'indigenes', 'indigenous individuals' and 'Indians' through this document, without making any distinction.

chapter 8 identifies “possible ways past the obstacles”. Based on another related perspective, I could say that each chapter shows a different dimension of the social wrong respecting power in the form of action in genres (5), ideology in form of representation in discourses and identities (6) and hegemony in the form of a historical order of discourse (7), while the final chapter (8) explores how a new and emergent ‘order of discourse’ intend to overcome the obstacles in this anthropological and environmental discussion, by (re)creating symbols which denote the ‘ethos’ of the community; i.e. its moral sentiment and political commitment respecting the conflict.

Figure 1: Lagoa Encantada Indigenous Territory (red perimeter).



The genres employed are varied and show us many aspects of the reality for each group. The fact that Indians mainly use genres associated to dances and rituals is undoubtedly related to their ethnic identity, but it is also determined by their possibilities. Meanwhile, the genres of Ypióca even include multidisciplinary reports of academicians, who were hired by the company with the

purpose of consolidating its perspective of what the social and environmental reality around the lagoon is.

The discourses enacted by both agents undoubtedly intend to have great impact on other scales and in other domains. Thus, the semiotic constructions utilized in emergent institutions and the recontextualization of concepts linked to an ‘environmentality’ or ‘eco-speak’ search for legitimize the actions of the company. For their part, as an ethnic group in its resurgence period, the community leaders found articulations capable of contributing to the consolidation of their own ‘order of discourse’.

The styles, as ways of being, only could be partially comprised in this study. The great number of variables which are deeply interlinked preclude me to assume that one can actually analyze an identity in its whole complexity. However, it is possible to apprehend its essence and identify how this ‘essence’ is projected within the dynamics of the conflict, e.g. within the argumentation, the visual displays, or the denominations chosen for an institution.

1.3 Rationale

The study of semiotic dimensions gives equal relevance to different kinds of communication, such as images, language and somatic manifestations. This fact is quite appropriate for my investigation, since the discourses and strategies studied involve some images, ‘body language’ and linguistic genres. The discursive engagement within the strategies of some actors in order to constitute identities and to fulfill imaginaries is the main topic of this study. I will evaluate discourses at three levels; as rhetoric strategies becoming actions, as representations of reality, and as semiotic elements involving the constitution of identities and styles. Thus, discourses will be conceived as strategic actions and elements of social constructions that reflect competing positions, seeking to reaffirm or challenge institutional arrangements with enormous consequences in social reality. The discursive positioning of different actors has to do with the specific political context, but increasingly, it also has to do with cross-scale positions on the environmental rhetoric. However, representations of reality and identities are simultaneously analyzed as strategic processes during social interaction, but also as social expressions bearing meaning and subsequently, culture. Thus this socio-semiotic study holds a dual and integrated ontology: it explores social interaction in its strategic and cultural dimensions. Following Geertz, I conduct the analysis of culture in the form of an interpretive study in search of meaning within

social reality (Geertz 1973: 5).

In this study, I will try to maintain a balance, attempting to analyze both competing discourses at the same level, as much as possible. This work does not assume a priori that the company is just a regional node of global dominance, and the indigenous struggle, another exemplary case of resistance to neocolonial forces. Following Tsing, I try to offer evidence of challenges and opportunities coming from global interconnections, not just for the indigenous communities, but also for a powerful international economic agent, like Ypióca, the cachaça exporter, is. In particular, I will explore how language becomes overdetermined in friction situations with the double purpose of creating “signs and symbols that eventually might shift power balances, render events harmless or, on the contrary, create political conflict” (Hajer and Versteeg 2005: 179); and also consolidating articulation with multi-scalar social agents whose recontextualization of ideals produce novel paths in our forms of representing and understanding socio-ecological realities.

1.4 Purpose

The clear emancipatory interests of Critical Discourse Analysis meet my expectations. “Critical social research aims to contribute to addressing the social ‘wrongs’ of the day (in a broad sense: injustice, inequality, lack of freedom, etc.) by analyzing their sources and causes, resistance to them and possibilities of overcoming them” (Fairclough 2010: 163). In the same sense, socio-semiotic “tales of the field are always interpretive political narratives functioning as processes of decentralization and desunification marked by a critical sensibility and by an emancipatory agenda” (Vannini 2007:11). Thus, the analysis of documentary evidence and local perceptions about the implications of two competing logics in environmental and ethnic-related discourses may provide a better understanding and guidance for those who intend to assess the challenges and benefits that traditional communities involved in these conflicts might deal with, and help to ‘demystify eco-speak’ applied to this contexts (Hajer and Versteeg 2005: 179).

Evidently, the decision of whether or not to engage in a specific rhetoric rests within the community itself, being their self-determination a prerequisite. In purely academic terms, this master thesis aims to contribute to the discussion of how global discourses are recontextualized in local arenas, and how local conflicts have repercussions on global discourses. Indeed, “The real contribution of this approach is not to be found in its prescriptive force, but in the ability to trace the discursive power struggles underlying the environmental politics. It allows us to see

environmental politics both as a process that seeks to generate an answer to a real world problem, and as a critical struggle where conflicts between discourses may be exacerbated, sidestepped or resolved” (Hajer and Versteeg 2005: 182).

1.5 Limitations

I employ a pragmatic combination of perspectives derived from different fields such as anthropology, philosophy and discourse analysis. Although some fundamental reflections deriving from anthropological theories constitute a central part in my arguments, the results of this work are not directly intended to have repercussion merely into those discipline’s discussions. Related to this, I do not even consider observation as an independent or completely fulfilled method for my data collection process, since I only was able to do a short fieldwork for 9 weeks. Yet a bit limited and based on specific events, I will claim my ‘observation’ as a way to crosscheck information obtained from other sources. In the same spirit, I recognize that this period remarkably contributes to consolidate my background knowledge enough to acquire a sound comprehension of local social reality in its macro-structural facets.

The application of concepts from the aforementioned disciplines serves for the purpose of conducting a trans-disciplinary analysis of the relations between social phenomena and semiosis during a conflict involving environmental degradation. Actually, ecological theory appears scarcely in this work. It intervenes only during the interpretation of general features of knowledge travelling through social-ecological discourses.

The reader of this study will find that I privilege a macro-level linguistic analysis of several selected ‘genres’. That means that I do not conduct an exhaustive analysis of a reduced quantity of genres, but rather take small parts of several of them. Moreover, the discourse analysis even focuses some times on such specifics texts as the strategic name selection for an institution. I include many genres of distinct periods since my intention is to conduct a comprehensive reflection on the timeline for the conflict. I put emphasis on some relevant features of discourses during the moments of maximum friction. I also concentrate my criticism towards the rhetoric engagement of certain social groups, since socio-semiotic studies are clearly determined by the ethical and political vision of the author, and “must openly acknowledge that their texts and discourses are but interpretive practices selected amongst a multiplicity of perspectives” (Vannini 2007:12). As I previously stated, I hold a dual ontological perspective integrating the strategic and

cultural dimensions of social actions, but, bearing in mind that ‘the conflict and its semiosis’ is the locus under study, I privilege the analysis of the political and strategic nature of social interactions most of the time, rather than its cultural aspect.

Finally, another kind of ‘investigation’ is needed to unveil the motivations and details behind some incongruent behaviors in the functioning of the judicial system, the certification processes, and the media coverage. I do not have the resources or competence to explore these anomalies. However, I mention the factual perceptions that I have as an outsider, without including these issues into the analysis, as this may obscure the objectivity of it because of speculations.

The friction of this conflict is more ideological than cultural; i.e. there are not clear-cut distinct cultures involved. Thus even when I originally planned to use the conceptual framework proposed by Tsing (2005) in order to understand the conflict, I realized later that Fairclough theory was more appropriate, since Tsing’s theory corresponds better to frictions produced by two different worldviews. In the reality analyzed, although there are some significant cultural differences between the social groups, these differences do not result in a ‘gap’ when understanding and interpreting each other. Using Fairclough’s terminology, the social groups in confrontation belong to the same ‘social order’. Indeed, his approach is meant to capture the implications of two antagonist discourses within a social order, and therefore this view results more pertinent to understand in detail the various moments involved during the operationalization of strategies and meaning creation processes. In another context where language and cultural barriers were higher, it would have been impossible to use Critical Discourse analysis to explore the semiotic aspect of the political positioning of a indigenous community.

2 Background

2.1 Indigenous emergence in Ceará at the threshold of a new millennium

Since the 1980s a decidedly favorable framework for indigenous communities has been consolidated across Brazil in a political and juridical sense; at least if compared with the predominant context during the ominous past of colonization and tutelage. More explicitly, it can be stated that relations between the state and indigenous people of Brazil are set within a new paradigm, mainly after the 1988 Constitution and other substantial achievements in legal matters that also occurred in the first years after the fall of the dictatorship during the 1980s (Antunes 2008: 35). However, it must be beard in mind that all these advances began to take shape in times of dictatorship, during the decades of the 1960s and the 1970s, with resumption of civil rights and strengthening of social movements supported by academics, students and nongovernmental organizations (Pacheco de Oliveira 2011: 670). In general, throughout many Brazilian regions, the most prominent contributions in this process of claiming and promoting indigenous peoples rights came from ‘subversive’ sectors of the Catholic Church (Antunes 2008: 11,12).

In contrast to most Amazonian ethnicities, who are generally recognized as such; the main problem that the Northeastern indigenous groups have being facing in the last decades is an endless questioning of their identity, in addition to the habitual territorial disputes of any indigenous group in this nation (Pacheco de Oliveira 2010: 18). In this regard, there are several influential factors in the widespread idea that much of indigenous culture has disappeared in this area; for instance, within all five states comprising the Brazilian Northeast only one ethnic group retains its original language (ISA, 2012a). Thus, categorizations such as ‘descendants of Indians’, ‘mixed Indians’ and ‘acculturated Indians²’ still stay alive in many sectors of Brazilian society (Pacheco de Oliveira 2010: 17).

The aforementioned favorable environment has gradually overcome the legal limbo where neither identity nor territorial rights of the indigenous communities were established with precision. From the early 1980s they have gone through the process called ‘ethno genesis’ by some academicians, or in other words ‘an indigenous emergence’ (Pacheco de Oliveira 2010: 23-25). This refers to their recent recognition as ‘indigenous people’ or ‘Indians’ by the competent

² In Portuguese: *Descendentes de Índios*, *Índios misturados* and *Índios aculturados*.

authorities, and the effort to give effective compliance to all the legal implications that this recognition brings. “In the 1950s the presence of the Northeastern indigenous people included 10 ethnicities. Forty years later, in 1994, the list reached 23; the current indigenous movement mentions the existence of more than sixty ethnicities” (*ibid.* 14).

In Ceará, which is a northeastern state of Brazil, the social skepticism regarding indigenous identities is perhaps even more intense than in others regions, since the authorities of this state did not offer any official register of indigenous presence for over a century. The first signs of emergence came from four ethnicities and occurred in the period from 1982 to 1985 (Porto Alegre 2000: 539). Subsequently, a key step for the indigenous cause was crossing the ideological border of the prevailing idea about their disappearance in Ceará (Sousa 2001: 13). In this state, the existence of 20 ethnicities has been reported in recent years, although 12 of them are still waiting for the initiation of the preliminary identification process in charge of the official authority (FUNAI-Ceará 2012d).

Moreover, long and tedious juridical processes regarding territorial conflicts predominantly involving private companies or landlords have delayed the delimitation and demarcation processes of the ethnicities already recognized. As an example: in 2002 the 5 indigenous groups in Ceará -so far officially recognized- denounced the invasion of business groups extracting natural resources in their territories, such as water (Jenipapo-Kanindé); sand (Pitaguary); sand and clay (Tapeba); or even deforesting mangroves in order to install prawn production farms (Tremembé of Almofala)³. The main strategy of the entrepreneurs involved is to continue to put into question the authenticity of the indigenous status of these communities.

Confronted with this insistence on denying the indigenous presence in Ceará, all these communities have had to draw upon reproductions of symbols that remain in the popular imaginary as a criterion to categorize someone as an ‘Indian’; even when these cultural signs were no longer part of everyday life in these communities since many decades ago.

As from 1993 the movement began to emphasize ethnic diversity and to highlight the practices of traditional culture, adopting and manipulating public signs of otherness such as the use of ornaments, clothing and articles of Indians, exhibiting dances and songs, selling handicrafts, etc. They appropriated the language ‘that whites understand’ concerning what Indians are, and

³ Relatório de Inspeção Técnica Socio Ambiental ás Terras Indígenas Tapeba, Jenipapo-Kanindé, Pitaguary, Tremembé de Almofala e Tremembé de Córrego Joao Pereira no Ceará, COPICE 2002.

became more incisive in relating to the national authorities and society (PortoAlegre 2000: 56^{4*})

Although the aforementioned advances in legal matters regarding indigenous people cannot be rejected, one should not forget that these achievements are not in any way definitive. Entrepreneurs, landlords and allied politicians representing their interests continually seek ways to weaken or ignore the implications of this new legal framework. Moreover, these ‘conservative’ sectors aim to substantially modify one of the most essential statements in the Brazilian Constitution related to indigenous rights. Currently, an initiative that is being discussed proposes a constitutional amendment aiming to revoke the executive authority to demarcate and ‘homologate’ indigenous territories already recognized and delimited. Such an authority⁵ would eventually be transferred to the legislature, where ‘conservatives’ now have more influence (FUNAI-Ceará 2012c).

2.2 Indigenous Territories on the coast of Ceará

Major touristic development projects, luxurious residential areas and shrimp production farms are probably the biggest threats to many traditional communities at present. These practices involve their displacement or extensive degradations of the ecosystems on which they depend. There are three communities with coastline in their territory that have been officially identified and delimited as indigenous in Ceará: the Tremembé de Barra do Rio Mundaú, the Tremembé de Almofala and the Jenipapo-Kanindé de Lagoa Encantada (FUNAI-Ceará 2012d). There are many points of coincidence between the situations of these three small communities. All have faced legal conflicts with touristic development projects threatening their territory, as well as entrepreneurs intending to deny their identity as ethnic groups with indigenous rights. On the other hand, these communities have received support by academics, NGO’s and missionary indigenist organizations with organizational advisory assistance and through legal representation in judicial issues during the indigenous emergence period.

In particular, the indigenous community of the Tremembé de Barra do Rio Mundaú has had to face a quite economically powerful and politically influential group. The mega-project ‘Nova Atlântida’ aimed to become “the epicenter of world tourism” building a luxury city, including 13 five-star hotels, 14 resorts, 6 residential condominiums, 7 golf courses and several marinas. Five

⁴ Many of the references and almost every text analyzed through the whole document are written in Portuguese language. That means that many citations implied a translation made by me. These translations from Portuguese to English are indicated with this symbol: *

⁵ This authority is currently exerted by the National Foundation of the Indian (FUNAI).

different areas of the touristic city would feature a theme representing different regions and cultures of the world (Nova Atlântida 2012). The project is currently suspended by the Brazilian Federal Ministry of Justice because of eventual tax evasion by the chairman and main shareholder of this project⁶. In the past, this Spanish citizen has been under investigation by European authorities for presumable ties to the mafia, ETA terrorism and drug trafficking⁷. Paradoxically, in the website the project is presented as a paradigm shift in global tourism, by providing a place free of the disadvantages of this industry in the Mediterranean area and other ‘traditional’ beach destinations for Europeans and North Americans: terrorism, pollution, labor disputes and increasingly expensive services. In 2007 the project was in the process of attracting investors, directed to “partners, builders and hotel chains that wanted to be part of the largest tourist complex in the world” (Nova Atlântida 2012).

However, behind this conjuration of incommensurable profit, development and luxury, what was not told is that the area of 3200 hectares where this project would be settled, partially would invade the indigenous lands of the Tremembé of Barra do Mundaú (Lustosa and de Almeida 2011: 2). The strategy of Nova Atlântida has been to divide the indigenous population by offering jobs and other benefits to some individuals who in return neglect the existence of indigenes in the area. Interestingly, Professor Jeovah Meireles (who has been actively involved in the conflict that I study in the rest of this work) was judicially accused by the Group Nova Atlântida as a consequence of his participation in a study of archeology, environmental sciences and anthropology that corroborated the indigenous identity of the Tremembé and determined possible effects of touristic development on the environment in their territory⁸.

The aforementioned situation is very similar to the now resolved process experienced by the Jenipapo-Kanindé, the ethnic group inhabiting Lagoa Encantada in Aquiraz, Ceará. The first considerable territorial conflict involving their lands occurred when neither their community, nor their land had been officially recognized and delimited by the federal justice institution which has this function: FUNAI or *Fundação Nacional do Índio*. In the early 1990s, the Aquiraz Resort mega-project aimed to build a touristic city of 876,8 hectares within the indigenous territory, including several commercial centers, hotels and golf courses. Moreover, one of the hotels would have been set on a big sand dune overlooking the lagoon called Lagoa Encantada on one side, and the

⁶ A judicial sentence suspended the license of the enterprise. This precautionary action sanctioned both SEMACE and Nova Atlântida Ltda. Poder Judiciário do Estado de Ceará, 2004, Processo número 2004.81.00.022157-1.

⁷ Correio Braziliense, 29/07/2007: Economia. Projeto Suspeito, p. 29.

⁸ Both Nova Atlântida Ltda and SEMACE were requested. Ministerio Público Federal, Brasil 2005. Ação Civil Pública N. 001/2005.

Atlantic Ocean on the other, being both the lagoon and the dune considered as a sacred places for the indigenes. The prefect of the municipality of Aquiraz and the Environmental Superintendence of Ceará State (SEMACE) had already approved the project⁹. After several years of judicial litigation, the Jenipapo-Kanindé community and FUNAI achieved the cancellation of this project, with the intervention of federal justice. During this process, it was of essential importance that FUNAI investigations determining the indigenous status of the community inhabiting Lagoa Encantada already were in progress¹⁰.

As mentioned, the abrupt displacement of traditional communities because of large investments in tourism is regarded as one of the main threats to the socio-environmental continuity of the region. The designation of Fortaleza as a host city for the 2014 FIFA World Cup seems to have exacerbated the context of speculation and rampant touristic development in the coast of Ceará. Subsequently, several NGOs cooperate with local members of traditional communities in order to launch campaigns and create alternatives in order to deal with this burden. In this regard, ‘subversive’ civil organizations with international sponsors, such as Instituto Terramar, Instituto Caiçara, Amigos da Praia do Canto Verde and Instituto Tremembé have launched and promoted a network of community-based tourism as a method to avoid the incursion of large range touristic development projects over these small communities. This network is named ‘Rede TUCUM’, and has been embraced by the indigenous community Jenipapo-Kanindé of Lagoa Encantada (TUCUM, 2012). In 2004, the community started to explore the possibility of developing touristic activities. In 2012, Jenipapo-Kanindés have consolidated a good infrastructure to deal with tourists, such as the construction of a small museum, a restaurant bungalow, and guesthouse with 5 rooms.

2.3 A Lagoa Encantada: The community

Jenipapo-Kanindé is the ethnic denomination for the indigenous people of Ceará inhabiting the surroundings of the coastal lagoon called Lagoa Encantada, in the district of Jacaúna, Municipality of Aquiraz, approximately 35 kilometers southwest of Fortaleza city. Their population, which in 1982 only made up 96 individuals, almost doubled to 180 by December 1997 (ISA 2012b), and is currently approaching 400 individuals. In 2008 there were 72 residential houses in the village. Most villagers have individual titles for their home, but the rest of the

⁹ Poder Judiciário do Estado de Ceará, 1998. Processo número. 98226191-8. *Parecer Técnico* N. 246/98- DETEC-DILAM. SEMACE 1998. Ceará, Brasil.

¹⁰ Ministerio Público Federal, Brasil, 1998. Ação Civil Pública no 006.

indigenous land is collectively owned (*ibid.*). Their lands are legally delimited and demarcated, comprising approximately 1731 hectares and having a perimeter of approximately 20 kilometers (DOU, 2011). Their judicial disputes involve issues of land tenure, environmental degradation accusations and questions on formal procedures related to their recognition as Indians. These litigations have lasted for 20 years. The CDPDH (Centre for Defense and Promotion of Human Rights) has been the main support for this community, both during these long-term judicial processes and during the ethnic emergence phase throughout the 1980s. The CDPDH is a catholic indigenist organization that absorbed and succeeded the wide known 'Pastoral Indigenista'¹¹.

For the Jenipapo-Kanindés, the way to recognition of their rights has already surpassed the stages of identification (1999), delimitation (2004) and demarcation (2011). These legal, academic and technical procedures have been conducted by FUNAI and published at the Official Diary of the Brazilian Union¹². The only step that is still missing is the 'homologation'. This happens when the presidential signature is issued, and thereafter it is possible to evict any other external person or group from the indigenous territory. In Ceará, exclusively the ethnic group called Tremembé de Córrego J. Pereira have already achieved the homologation of its territory, and therefore factually and fully obtained land rights, such as the exclusivity of usufruct and permanent possession of their territories (FUNAI-Ceará 2012d). Just as for the other indigenous groups of Ceará, territorial disputes with business groups have been the main problem for the Jenipapo-Kanindé.

For this indigenous group, one of the most striking aspects in the process of 'ethno genesis' or ethnic emergence has been the great confusion when trying to specify the origins of their ethnicity. Disputes between academicians and indigenist organizations dealing with this issue have acquired 'Homeric' connotations¹³. As I will explain later (chapter 7), the complexity and the polemics circumscribing the designation of the community as an indigenous group have served as an argument to entrepreneurs when discrediting them as a legitimate ethnic group.

With respect to their livelihoods, community members do not longer exclusively depend on traditional activities such as fisheries and agriculture, as was the case some decades ago. Within a

¹¹ The Pastoral Indigenista, which was very active and successful in the 1970s, mostly represented the ideology of left oriented religious leaders who began to support indigenous communities when promoting emancipation premises among them, such as the theology of liberation. Aluisio Lorscheider, a known religious defender of indigenous people, became Archbishop of Fortaleza and founded the CDPDH in 1982. He inserted the 'Pastoral Indigenista' in the statute of CDPDH two years later (Antunes 2008: 12*).

¹² *Diário Oficial da União* in Portuguese language.

¹³ Expression used by the missionary and indigenist Maria Amelia Leite, interviewed by O Povo, 06/03/2002.

period of less than 15 years, the community went from an almost total abandonment to reach the living standards of most rural communities of the coast of Ceará. Indeed, Lagoa Encantada before year 2000 was an isolated community with almost no public infrastructure and even had some problems of malnutrition among children:

By 2001, the community was not served by electricity or potable water. The local school was municipal and there was no differentiated instruction; teenagers had no access to public transport, and walked two hours to the neighboring towns in order to get to high school [...]. Most houses were made of mud and straw, lacking sewage. The health was poor, even with cases of stunting caused by malnutrition and, in consequence, the community had high death rate for newborn children (Antunes 2008: 22*)

In just 12 years, they have obtained an electricity system, potable water and a sewer system, one public health clinic, one public mental health clinic and a new differentiated school with Internet access. Another important change was the construction of brick houses by the urbanization program of the Prefecture of Aquiraz in 2008 for almost the entire community (Antunes 2008: 68). These red bricks are the standard material for all low-income house building in Brazil. Nowadays, practically every house counts at least with a refrigerator, a TV, an electric oven and many other electronics. Most young adults have cell phones and a few of them acquired motorcycles and cars. A bus has recently started to transport high school students daily to Iguape, the main town of the area, 9 km from the indigenous community. They have also significantly developed the infrastructure for their community-based tourism project. Some years ago they built a small bungalow to serve meals and a warehouse to produce and sell their handcrafts. In 2012 they inaugurated a small indigenous memory museum (*museo da memoria indígena*) and a communitarian guesthouse (*pousada comunitaria*) intended to host their visitors.

Considering that employment in the community before the year 2000 was almost inexistent; the opening in the last ten years of several centers providing various social services within health and education offers good opportunities to many individuals in the community (*ibid.*). Likewise, there are two '*mercadinhos*' (mini-markets) selling foodstuff. Besides, the arrival of domestic and foreign visitors due to their community-based tourism project also serves as a source of well-paid employment, although this activity is quite sporadic and visibly controlled by the most influential sector of the community. A few people work providing transport services, while an even more reduced number of people are employed outside Lagoa Encantada. As observed during my visit, the main sources of livelihood continue to be related to agriculture (mainly cassava, cashew, corn,

sweet potato and beans), fishing and breeding of domestic animals such as cows, goats, chickens and pigs. The emigration to urban centers is very limited. With a few exceptions, they traditionally get married within the community (ISA 2012b).

Coinciding with the consolidation of their identity, there has been an emergence of local institutions. In this regard the figure of Cacique and the Indigenous Council of the Jenipapo-Kanindés appeared in 1999, the Association of Indigenous Women in 2002, the Indigenous School Council and the Indigenous Health Council in 2004, the Coordination for Community-Based Tourism in 2008 and the Association of Young Indigenous in 2012. With respect to the distribution of positions in local institutions, there is a clear dominance of women, but the concentration of power within one family is perhaps more controversial. In fact, almost every key leader position is occupied by a member of the largest family in the community, which holds a “monopolizing tendency in the political game of the Jenipapo-Kanindés” (Antunes 2008: 116*).

2.4 The Lagoa Encantada: The complex hydrologic system

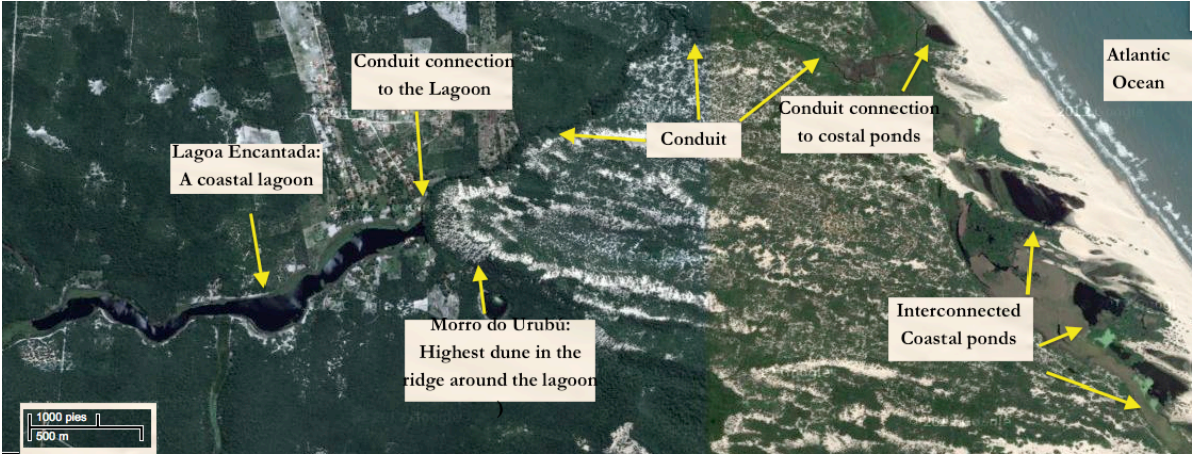
At this point, it should be noted that ‘Lagoa Encantada’ serves as a name both for the community, for the Indigenous Territory and, foremost, for the lagoon where this denomination is actually originated¹⁴. Totally inserted within the indigenous territory of the Jenipapo-Kanindé, this lacustrine plain contains mostly fresh water coming from its own springs. It belongs to the hydrographic basin of River Trairussu. This lagoon is associated with sand dunes stabilized by vegetation growth, which surround it and make the permanence of fresh water possible through the whole year. There is a narrow conduit that links the Lagoa Encantada to some coastal ponds in the immediate proximity of the shore, allowing both the free exchange of salted and fresh water and the presence of some sea fishes in the lagoon (See picture 1). The genesis of this kind of coastal lagoon occurs through isolation from coastal streams through deposition of marine sediments by wind action and other processes, forming an extensive ridge of sand dunes protecting it (Sunamura 2005: 263).

Lagoons with this type of genesis have large length and short width, exactly as the Lagoa Encantada is. Some parts of these ridges of sand eventually become coastal sand dunes colonized by dune plants, which bio-stabilize the soil protecting inland areas from sea water intrusion

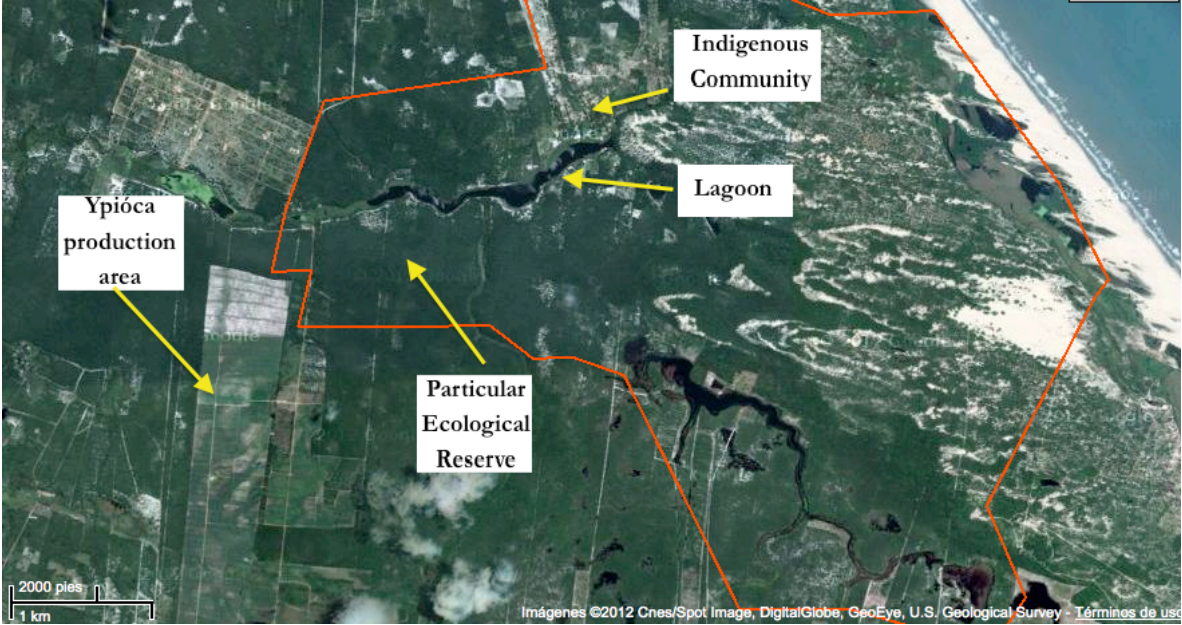
¹⁴ In order to distinguish among the several uses, I will henceforth employ ‘A Lagoa Encantada’ or Jenipapo-Kanindés to refer to the community and ‘the Lagoa Encantada’ to indicate the lagoon; while ‘Lagoa Encantada Indigenous Territory’ will always make mention of the territory.

(Batista et al. 2011: 5) The highest of the stabilized sand dunes protecting the Lagoa Encantada is called *Morro do Urubú*. This 100 meters high sand hill has plenty of vegetation and overlooks both the impressive length extension of the lagoon on one side, and the shore on the other. Both the Lagoa Encantada and the *Morro do Urubú* are considered as the most prominent sacred spaces for the Indians (Batista 2009: 1,2).

Picture 1: Hydrologic connections of the lagoon



Picture 2: Territorial positioning of the actors involved in the conflict (Indigenous Territory delimited with red perimeter).



This rare inter-dune lagoon is the village’s main ecosystem and a pillar for their traditional activities related to subsistence agriculture, fishing and leisure. On its margins, which are remarkably fertile, local community members have partially removed the natural vegetation

(mainly macrophytes) in order to grow diverse kinds of temporary crops, such as sweet potato, manioc, corn and beans. (Neto 2010: 8; Batista et al. 2011: 4). In the recent past, there were many edible fishes there. Local people used to eat species such as *Parauchenipterus galeatus*, *Leporinus melanopleura*, *Hoplias malabaricus*, *Megalops atlanticus*, *Centropomus sp.* and *Eugerres sp.* (*ibid.*). However, in according to the maximum environmental surveillance authority of Brazil, pollution from agro-industrial activities has visibly diminished the capacity of the lagoon to allow the presence of fishes and other major organisms¹⁵.

A few animals are occasionally hunted by the Jenipapo-Kanindés, such as the bird specie *Penelope jacucaca* and some mammals including *Didelphis albiventris*, *Euphractus sexcinctus*, *Galea spixii* and *Thrichomys apereoides*. With respect to trees, *Persea pyrifolia* and *Tecoma violacea* are used as wood for building houses and other structures. Among many native medicinal plants, the indigenes inhabiting this area mainly use *Hymenaea courbaril*, *Ximenia cafra*, *Protium heptaphyllum*, *Ziziphus undulate* and *Operculina alata*. Edible fruits recollected from the vegetation of this Atlantic forest are *Anacardium occidentale*, *Campomanesia aromatic*, *Eugenia lutescens*, *Annona squamosal* and *Byrsonima gardneriana* (Batista et al. 2011: 5).

On the southwestern margin of the lagoon, the company Ypióca has established a 40-hectares Private Ecological Reserve (In Portuguese: *Reserva Ecológica Particular*)¹⁶ in order to protect this ecosystem. The Ypióca Group mainly produces cachaça (alcoholic spirit made from sugar cane), recycled cardboard and bottled mineral water. Headquartered in Ceará, the 160 years old company has five plantations throughout this state. It also owns the first cachaça museum in the world, two private natural reserves (including that of Lagoa Encantada) and a thematic park. Ypióca exports cachaça to more than 40 countries, being Germany the main destination (Ypióca Group 2012a). Concerning the Atlantic forest surrounding the Lagoa Encantada, and in addition to the Private Ecological Reserve, the company has also founded a nonprofit organization called Living Nature Institute (*Instituto Natureza Viva*), which offers environmental education to groups visiting the reserve with the intention of promoting the conservation of the ecosystem in this area, and some endangered species (Ypióca News 2008).

¹⁵ Laudo Técnico Ambiental e Certificado de Análise das a mostras de água da Lagoa da Encantada, de 16/01/2007. IBAMA (2007).

¹⁶ The word ‘particular’ in this context means ‘private’. Henceforth, I will employ ‘Private’ to facilitate the comprehension in English language. However, in chapter 6 I will analyze some socio-semiotic implications of the term ‘Particular Ecological Reserve’.

2.5 The environmental conflict of the Lagoa Encantada

As indicated above, the Jenipapo-Kanindés have experienced an intense conflict for 20 years with the Ypióca Group, a company that produces and exports liquor to more than 40 countries. Its most internationally acknowledged product is the cachaça Ypióca, available in several versions, including an organically labeled product (Ypióca Group 2012a). This firm is among the five biggest liquor producers in Brazil, and the national and international leader in premium brands of cachaça. In May 2012, a big part of this firm was transferred from the family that owned it for 140 years, into the hands of the multinational corporation DIAGEO.

Actually, the conflict has to do with both environmental and territorial concerns. Ypióca owns an industrial plant called Pecém Agro industrial, located south of the Lagoa Encantada, which produces 480 hectares of organic sugar cane. The sugar cane is the basis of the organic cachaça called 'Ypióca orgânica'. The production area of the company is not in dispute, but the 40 hectares that separate the plantation from the southwest margin of the Lagoa Encantada are claimed by the Ypióca as its private ecological reserve, and the lagoon is being used by Ypióca to have water access for the irrigation of 80 or 90 hectares of the sugar cane plantations¹⁷ (See picture 2).

A considerable number of NGOs, academics, activists, and indigenous networks have supported the discourse of the Jenipapo-Kanindé on their territorial recognition. Concerning the lagoon, both indigenes and the organizations defending them have pointed out Ypióca as the responsible both for the eutrophication processes, for pollution by chemicals and for the drastic decrease of normal water levels. The progressive reduction of fishes has been caused, overall, by the release of effluents, which tend to limit the presence of oxygen in the water. The different kinds of organic and chemical residuum predominantly come from the industrial process of organic cachaça production¹⁸. This process reduced the number of fishes from which indigenes obtained their livelihoods and also altered the ecosystem patterns of the lagoon. Therefore, Jenipapo-Kanindé leaders took the case to court with the intention of evicting the company from any interference within their Indigenous Territory.

The progressive reduction in the variety and quantity of fishes culminated with a massive

¹⁷ IBAMA (2007) - Laudo Técnico Ambiental e Certificado de Análise das a mostras de água da Lagoa Encantada, de 16/01/2007

¹⁸ (*ibid.*)

mortality of fishes in November 2006. Local leaders of the community claim that the level of environmental degradation was so severe that it is now almost impossible to get fishes in the Lagoa Encantada. For this reason they took legal actions against the company producing sugar cane near the lagoon. However, what actually exacerbated the conflict was when the university professor in geography Jeovah Meireles participated in a Seminary on 'Environmental Racism' in Rio de Janeiro and mentioned this environmental degradation. Based on Meireles statements in that Seminary, the European journalist Norbert Suchanek wrote an article in a German website, where he denounced the polluting practices of Ypióca. This article entitled *Hypocrisy in Bio-quality* seemed to cause the temporary withdrawal of the international organic certification (IBM-IFOAM) for the organic cachaça, which is traded worldwide. The company responded with legal accusations of defamation against both the professor and a Brazilian journalist called Daniel Fonseca. This journalist participated in the electronic publication of an article informing about Ypióca's responsibility in the environmental conflict, and denouncing that the lawyers of the company had pressured Norbert Suchanek and his publishers in order to delete the German internet-article¹⁹.

In addition, the company's top representatives have continuously refused to recognize the indigenous status of Jenipapo-Kanindés, and have even judicially been questioning Federal authorities during the recognition and delimitation processes, when interposing an injunction request against the labor of FUNAI in the Terra Indígena Lagoa Encantada²⁰. Furthermore, Ypióca has contracted academicians to elaborate scientific and socio-anthropological reports. These studies presented arguments denying both the degradation of the lagoon and the indigenous identity.

Although still outraged by the consequences of pollution in the lagoon, the Indigenes recently have complained with more intensity because of the continuous extraction of water. Moreover, perhaps the most relevant incident during this period is what the indigenous community leaders refer to as 'the retake' (a retomada). In 2010, the water level of the Lagoa Encantada was remarkably low, and subsequently many members of the indigenous community became extremely alarmed about the water extraction conducted by a suction pump, which Ypióca used to irrigate the sugar cane plantation. Previously, Ypióca had illegally reopened the suction pump violating the sealing set by IBAMA in 2007. Furthermore, when water was not reaching the pumping area, Ypióca dug a canal in order to lead the water from the area of Lagoa Encantada

¹⁹ Poder Judiciário do Estado de Ceará, 2007. Processo N. 2007.01.11000-7.

²⁰ Poder Judiciário do Estado de Ceará, 2000. Processo N. 2000.81.00.004400-0.

where the Jenipapo-Kanindé are settled into the suction pump (FUNAI-Ceará 2012b). This set of incidents exacerbated the conflict to an unexpected level. Taking advantage of the presence of several indigenes from other ethnicities, the Jenipapo-Kanindé leaders decided to safeguard the integrity of the lagoon by blocking the conduction canal going to the pump with sandbags. About 30 or 40 persons participated in this labor (FUNAI-Ceará 2012a). Meanwhile, many of them were dancing the Toré²¹ and praying for the lagoon. The immediate reaction of the Ypióca workers was to move the pump to another hydric resource nearby. Fortunately, a few days after ‘the retake’, it rained torrentially and the normal water level was restituted.

However, ‘the retake’ was the starting point of three judicial processes against two indigenous leaders of the community. Lawyers working for Ypióca accused an indigenous leader for having commanded an action that had degenerated the lagoon, when collocating sandbags in order to obstruct the artificial canal dug by Ypióca’s workers. The other two indictments against indigenes were interposed alleging defamation since the company denies the accusation of having affected the water level of the Lagoa Encantada. Currently, the CDPDH is legally representing these community leaders in these ongoing litigations²²

²¹ Chapter 8 will describe the ritual of Toré and its relation to the Jenipapo-Kanindés.

²² The last paragraph is based on personal interviews to a CDPDH representative (28/03/2012), an indigenous leader (05/03/2012), a FUNAI representative (26/03/2012) and the Ypióca Chief Executive of the plantation near Lagoa Encantada (30/03/2012).

3 Fieldwork and Methodology

3.1 Location

The fieldwork was planned in collaboration with Instituto Terramar in Fortaleza city in Ceará, and mainly took place in relation to a project of community-based tourism developed by a sector of the Jenipapo-Kanindé indigenous people, who inhabit the Lagoa Encantada in the municipality of Aquiraz. Although the discourses analyzed refer to the social and environmental conditions in that specific community, this thesis also attempts to study how the relationship between environmental discourses and different social groups evolves in social reality of other scales. Thus, even when the focus is set on two groups in direct confrontation, i.e., the cachaça exporter and the indigenous community surrounding the Lagoa Encantada; the influence of several external actors during the formation of strategies and discourses is also taken into account. Conversely, conflictive events between these two groups have unexpected consequences for the social phenomena of organizations or individuals that have established alliances with some of them, or that simply have reconfigured and reproduced their claims.

In addition to the period of two weeks that I spent within the community of Lagoa Encantada, it was also necessary to dwell for seven weeks in the metropolitan area of Fortaleza, 50 km north of the indigenous land, since the interviews and contact with most of the external actors, such as Jeovah Meireles, Daniel Fonseca, Instituto Terramar, FUNAI, CDPDH, Instituto Caiçara and Rede TUCUM took place in that city. It was also here that I had the possibility to obtain various important documents for my investigation, as well as interchanging opinions with these actors. Briefly said, without a satisfactory level of ‘background knowledge’, the discourse analysis would be biased and impregnated with prejudices because of gaps in the understanding of certain situations, and therefore invalid as a method of analysis of the socio-environmental reality. In this sense, it would have been insufficient to limit the contact to the immediate context of A Lagoa Encantada.

In fact, there were many aspects of social context that I could get acquainted with during my visit. The highly evolved strategies used by the Group Ypióca to legitimize their interests were what initially caught my attention and made me venture into this study. Posteriorly, during the fieldwork, I found its strategies and rhetoric even more sophisticated than I first imagined. The group produces organic sugar cane, endorsed by the most prestigious international organic

certification in Latin America. The 480 hectares of plantations are, in their own words, surrounded by a private ecological reserve. Furthermore, in 2008 the Group Ypióca created a non-profit environmental organization called Living Nature Institute, in charge of promoting environmental education and preservation within the reserve (Ypióca, 2012). At any rate, the Group Ypióca actually seems to perform a remarkable work when it comes to environmental friendly production. In particular, the company's presence is strongest in Ceará. Almost in every street in Fortaleza city there are signs at the bus stops announcing Ypióca as the 'Brazilian passion'. They created an excellent cachaça museum, which is considered one of the greatest touristic and cultural attractions of the city. The firm is constantly cited as an example of family tradition and as an extremely successful entrepreneurship serving as a model in Ceará and Brazil. The owner has received one of the top honors of the city, 'O Sereia de Ouro', because of his contributions as an exemplary entrepreneur.

In summary, during the fieldwork I could get a notion of the deep social, economic and cultural implications of this emblematic company. Actually, the Group Ypióca's importance is quite ample. It has 4 production plants in Ceará, besides the one surrounding the Lagoa Encantada; which is the only one exclusively dedicated to organic production of sugar cane that utilizes the biodegradable waste from cane fiber to produce their own card boxes. The only spot in their image is that all this sound socio-environmental performing partially takes place in an area that does not belong to them, according to FUNAI processes of identification, delimitation and demarcation. In addition, there is strong evidence of pollution in the Lagoa Encantada.

Contact with the environment in question, of course, was another of the main purposes of my fieldwork. Indeed, the biome called Atlantic forest around the immediate area of study is in an admirable state of preservation compared to neighboring areas in south coastal Ceará. The exception is the extensive sugar cane monoculture east of the lagoon, and the gradual increment of households when approaching the urban center of Iguapé, west of A Lagoa Encantada. Concurrently, the surrounding coastal landscape, which belongs to the indigenous territory, is almost completely uninhabited as one approaches the beach. The vegetation is abundant over the fixed dunes and in the margins of the lacustrine systems, but the number of mobile dunes increases near the beach.

For its part, the material conditions of the indigenous community are widely mentioned in the previous chapter. An easily detectable feature, and crucial in terms of natural landscape

alterations, is that agricultural and livestock production of the community works in a limited range; i.e., the extension of the agricultural and pastoral plots has primarily to do with subsistence purposes. During the few days I was there, I could corroborate the statement of some Brazilian academicians who have conducted fieldwork there, saying that prominent natural sites, such as the Lagoa Encantada and the ‘Morro do Urubú’²³ have a significant social importance for the whole community, especially for the youngest members (Sousa 2001; Antunes 2008; Batista, 2009).

Likewise, the anthropologist Sousa (2001) has fully described the importance of bodily manifestations during social interaction when he conducted his observation in this community. As I will explain later, these facts have an enormous importance in their meaning connections with the social reality inside and outside the community. Furthermore, bodily expressions are a core element within their discourses of articulation and confrontation with external social groups, as I could witness when I was in the community attending some political-educational meetings with members of other ethnic groups of Ceará.

Finally, there are some ‘global connections’ that are brought into scope, which semiotic influence travels both from a top-down direction or the opposite way around. In order to obtain information about these social phenomena, I had to establish ‘virtual contact’ with some organizations located in distant places. For example, one of the central events for this study is the temporal suspension of the IBD²⁴ organic seal of Ypióca after the German publications of the articles ‘Hypocrisy in Bio quality’ and ‘Environmental racism in organic seals’. This made the conflict escalate to an international level in 2007. The interest in studying these circumstances caused that I had to contact the German journalist Norbert Suchanek, residing in Rio de Janeiro.

3.2 Data collection

As mentioned, I was in Fortaleza obtaining documentation, concerting and conducting interviews during 6 weeks. I was also visiting and interviewing selected people within the ‘Terra Indígena’ for a period of 2 weeks. Thus, the research has employed two data collection methods: a- Reviewing secondary sources as documentary material (e.g. magazine articles, web pages,

²³ In English language: Mount of the Vulture.

²⁴ IBD certification is the largest certifier in Latin America and the only Brazilian certifier of organic products that is accredited under IFOAM (international market). <http://www.ibd.com.br/en/QuemSomos.aspx>

newspaper articles, judicial documents, official reports, maps etc.), which have covered the conflict under study. b- Conducting semi-structured interviews with relevant informants (purposive sampling). The informants of the research were selected by the prerequisite of having an active history of involvement in the production of discourses and strategies in this conflict. The interviews enable a joint analysis of the most remarkable causes and implications of the results. The main purpose of interviewing was to provide me with a elemental background knowledge to crosscheck the compatibility between the participant's self-perceptions and the results obtained from the inductive analyze of documents containing the relevant discourses. However, their assertions could additionally explain certain causes or patterns for the respective found phenomena.

During the study, I used a qualitative research design that emphasizes exploration of discourses, the analysis of logics and interests that motivate strategies, and their consequences in social reality. I conducted 12 semi-structured interviews with actors directly and indirectly involved in the conflict: Three interviews took place with community leaders of the Jenipapo-Kanindés, one of them facing two judicial allegations interposed by the Ypióca Group for defamation and environmental degradation. The Ypióca Group executive chief of the sugar cane plantation surrounding the Lagoa Encantada was also interviewed. Furthermore, I could meet Professor Antonio Jeovah Meireles and journalist Daniel Fonseca, both of them indicted for defamation by Ypióca. Finally, I interviewed representatives of the following institutions or organizations, indirectly involved in the conflict: CDPDH (Catholic indigenist organization), Instituto Terramar (NGO), Instituto Caiçara (NGO), FUNAI (Federal authority), Associação Missão Tremembé (NGO) and a professor of the Course of Formation for Indigenous Professors imparted by the Federal University of Ceará (UFC).

The interviews, though not being direct material for my main method, had a threefold purpose. First, it was necessary to confirm and deepen my knowledge about various events of the conflict, as the greatest part of the information that described the most critical periods of ideological friction was found on the Internet and was produced by informal sources or was obviously biased. It was therefore necessary to verify the accuracy of such events. This mainly applies to events linked to several prosecutions. Second, being in direct contact with key actors, I could obtain access to additional documents to serve as material for the analysis of the competing discourses. Third, and of essential importance, staying in the community of A Lagoa Encantada for a two weeks allowed me to experience the context and to relate it to both texts already read

and perceptions gathered in interviews. Evidently, a basic knowledge of the sociocultural circumstances of the locality -contrasted with the perceptions of key actors regarding the events in the conflict- is indispensable information for a proper understanding of the semiotic causal power of selected discourses within the production of events with visible social and environmental consequences.

Besides, I was able to attend the following events, all of them related to institutional articulations (analyzed in chapter 8) between the Jenipapo-Kanindé community and some of the organizations aforementioned. I attended an assembly held by the network of community-based tourism for traditional coastal communities in Ceará, 'Assamblea da Rede TUCUM' from the 27th to the 29th of February 2012. Further, I beheld the Course of Formation for indigenous professors²⁵, from the 12th to the 16th of March 2012. I was also present at the annual 'Living Landmark Festival' held every 9th of April, which is the most important cultural celebration for the indigenous community. Actually, this event occupies a prominent place in the discourse analysis conducted in chapter 8.

Many of the most relevant documents for the Critical Discourse Analysis were previously obtained on the Internet. However, some other major 'genres' regarding the focus of my research were accessed in Fortaleza: the sociological-anthropological research which the Ypióca Group commissioned to a quasi-academic institute with the purpose of denying the indigenous identity of the Jenipapo-Kanindé community; the allegation and defense processes against the journalist and the professor, a couple of locally-produced maps elaborated by young indigenous participants during a training course in community-based tourism offered by the department of Geography of the UFC. Unfortunately, I was not able to get a copy of the three judicial allegations against two indigenous leaders indicted by the Group Ypióca, because the court notification letters were held by FUNAI at that time. However, the interviews with both the indigenous leaders involved, their legal representatives, and the executive chief of the Group Ypióca in Aquiraz allowed me to understand the main features of these processes. During the fieldwork, I also got some documents from the people I interviewed. Although these participants in many cases did not have any particular document, they could refer to the place where I could find it. This was the case with the recommendation given by Cacique Pequena, regarding the visit to the Association Mission Tremembé, led by the octogenarian Maria Antonia Leite. Emblematic in Ceará's indigenist movement, this missionary gave me many valuable texts that she had

²⁵ 'Aulas de formação para professores indígenas da UFC' in Portuguese language.

compiled with respect to this conflict.

When making a well-founded description of power relations, the examination of the discourses and the estimation of social structures producing them is not the only important thing. One should also examine legal frameworks, institutional designs and its coercion. My work will take in consideration those partially determining features of social reality, going as deep as possible in this thematic. I will include this topic as much as it relates to the semiosis under analysis. However, some situations are to me -as an outsider- quite unfeasible to fully understand, for example, why judicial processes take so long time in being resolved, and how come that some court orders are not obeyed and that it does not cause the intervention of the respective authorities. Any attempt to offer a satisfactory explanation to this is mere speculation, unless strong evidence is offered to explain these neglects.

3.3 Data analysis

In a general sense, this work is a socio-semiotic study, with a clear pragmatist orientation. Therefore, there was not any preconceived analytical theory, but in light of the specific social events and social practices studied I chose the most pertinent analytical approaches of semiosis. “Social semiotics is neither a body of pure theory, nor a self-contained perspective. Socio-semiotic research strategies are always combinations of theoretical perspectives oriented to the solution of specific research questions and problems. As a research strategy semiotics is but a form of inquiry with concepts that vary depending on research contexts” (Vannini 2007: 14). Thus, this thesis is not a classical ethnographic study with dense and exhaustive accounts of long-term involvements in some cultural context, but the conduction of a short-term cultural and social study of some relevant events and situations intended to serve as the material for the linguistic and semiotic analysis of the social reality involved. The application of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) within the examination of these two social groups in confrontation is exclusively justifiable because there is not a clear cultural difference between the agents involved. Although one of the main actors is a indigenous community with a particular and rich cultural background, their constant interaction with other social groups and their exclusive use of Portuguese language allowed me to conduct a general interpretation of the semiotic dimension within their strategies related to the conflict.

As mentioned, in order to explore the semiotic reality of this conflict I will mainly employ the

dialectical-relational approach of CDA (Fairclough 2010). This kind of analysis stems from the interpretative or social constructionist tradition in social sciences (Guba & Lincoln 1989). After selecting and classifying the multiple genres, discourses and styles implied in shaping the socio-political changes, I will analyze them, always bearing in mind all the background knowledge acquired during fieldwork through interviews and observation.

This analysis will reveal attributes of social representation forms and processes of constitution of identities throughout various scales. The formation and contestation of these identities together with representation forms are further explained by several theoretical contributions, such as Tsing's (2005) concepts of engaging universals (recontextualization of global rhetoric) and frictions (confrontation of cultural-political perspectives); as well as Escobar's (1998) classification and positioning of trends in 'eco-speak', and some classical explanations of identities formation under ethnic interactions, as we find in Barth's (1969) and Hobsbawn's (1983) introductions to their respective books.

I find the employment of dialectical-relational approach (Fairclough, 2010) to critical discourse analysis quite pertinent to this case. In this approach the semiosis is interrelated to different elements of social reality. A hegemonic 'order of discourse' veils a 'social wrong', which could be addressed by a counter-discourse, functioning as a competing logic. Fairclough identifies three levels of semiosis: genres (texts as strategies), discourses (representation of social elements) and styles (constitution of identities). The way in which the competing discourses relate to reality has to do with the interdiscursivity of the three levels involved. Thus, it can be stated that his methodology is used here as the principal theoretical framework, since his interpretative categorizations also act as the elements of an ontological delineation of social events. Also, contributions from another CDA author are modestly employed to evaluate and analyze the content of some relevant linguistic texts. In this spirit, Wodak and Meyer (2002) provide a useful categorization for argumentative strategies, which is constantly applied through this work, mainly within chapters 6 and 7.

4 Theoretical framework and key concepts

4.1 Consolidation of ethnic identities

The processes of (re)-creation and consolidation of collective identities are of prime interest to this study. Mainly, some dimensions of ethnic identities will receive a special emphasis from my part. Indeed, ethnic groups tend to generate much attention in academic and political discussions, among many other different types of identities. This is due to the fact that ethnic distinctions have been, through history, a method of segregation often with serious consequences for these minority groups. It does not seem necessary to mention details about these historical relations of dominance, discrimination and subjugation, since this is common knowledge. However, it is necessary to keep in mind the brief description of the current political framework of Northeastern indigenous people of Brazil (See chapter 2), in order to understand my theoretical engagement in the following pages.

Contrary to ethnic discrimination, perhaps less commented is positive segregation: the acknowledgement of differential rights for a given ethnic group. Concerning this study, it is necessary to reflect upon the ethnic identities entailing both the background of domination and the recent emergence of specific legislation regarding indigenous rights. In particular, I will explore the polemics surrounding the ethnic ascription of certain indigenous groups with a constant and intense interaction with national society.

Likewise, one should bear in mind that even in many countries with favorable legislation for indigenous population, there persists discrimination during social interaction. Indeed, affirmation or negation of 'Indigeness' becomes a central argument within many conflicts involving the control over territories or 'natural resources'. Thus, the ascription and social recognition of identities constitutes a strategy, at least in a perspective of social relations. On the other hand, the consolidation and reformulation of identities could be understood as a cultural process. That means, to explore the creation of symbol systems and "socially established structures of meaning" (Geertz 1973: 12).

Respecting the cultural facet of that process, I am particularly interested in moral and aesthetic devices, which may be overtly reformulated as a part of political motivations. On the contrary, I do not build on social reality related to the worldview of a given culture. To better understand

the former distinction, this quote clarifies those phenomena which, I suggest, is relevant to this study:

In recent anthropological discussion, the moral (and aesthetic) aspects of a given culture, the evaluative elements, have commonly been summed up in the term 'ethos', while the cognitive, existential aspects have been designated by the term 'world view'. A people's ethos is the tone, character, and quality of their life, its moral and aesthetic style and mood; it is the underlying attitude toward themselves and their world that life reflects. Their worldview is their picture of the way things in sheer actuality are, their concept of nature, of self, of society. It contains their most comprehensive ideas of order (Geertz 1973: 126)

However, respecting sacred symbols, Geertz could not conceive the existence of an ethos without a corresponding 'worldview' related to that symbol.

Sacred symbols thus relate an ontology and a cosmology to an aesthetics and a morality: their peculiar power comes from their presumed ability to identify fact with value at the most fundamental level, to give to what is otherwise merely actual, a comprehensive normative import. The number of such synthesizing symbols is limited in any culture, and though in theory we might think that a people could construct a wholly autonomous value system independent of any metaphysical referent, an ethics without ontology, we do not in fact seem to have found such a people. The tendency to synthesize world view and ethos at some level, if not logically necessary, is at least empirically coercive; if it is not philosophically justified, it is at least pragmatically universal (Geertz 1973:127)

Evidently, Geertz was not thinking about cultures that recently have 'invented' sacred symbols. He was discussing established sacred symbols related to some religion. Thus, I suggest, there exists such a people who construe a wholly autonomous value system independent of any metaphysical referent, and symbolic ethics without symbolic ontology. But this happens only at an initial stage, when the sacred symbol is still completely interlinked to its immediate political context, when the social group has consciously articulated the recent symbolic creation. Why does the ethnic group under study consciously articulate or create sacred symbols? I will need to support the analysis of this question on the theoretical contributions of Barth, Bourdieu and Hobsbawm, concerning the respective conceptions of boundaries, emblems and invented traditions.

Ethnic identities and boundaries

The analysis of indigenous identities experienced a radical shift in the direction of academic discussion when Barth's introduction of *Ethnic groups and boundaries* became world known. This theory underlines the strategic dimension of ethnic distinctions: processes that ultimately establish identities are produced both from the interior and exterior of ethnic groups, mainly influenced by the social interaction around rules and political boundaries (Barth 1969: 10). Thus, cultural manifestations that apparently serve as a sign of identity are not an absolute product of that culture. Actually, they are features partially created and selected for setting priority over other alternative configurations of identity, and subsequently consolidated through time. In fact, a specific cultural trait can be highlighted within a context that includes interaction with a particular social group, while the same trait could be completely ignored when it comes to interactions with another group. "Some cultural features are used by the actors as signals and emblems of differences, others are ignored, and in some relationships radical differences are played down and denied" (Barth 1969: 14).

Briefly said, the strategic and dominant character of identities for social groups became manifest when Barth demystified the objectification of 'cultural matter' as the main method for allocation of identities. In this way, "what matters is how well the others, with whom one interacts and to whom one is compared, manage to perform, and what alternative identities and sets of standards are available to the individual" (*ibid.* 25). This definition of the process of continuous configuration of identity resembles a negotiation, which establishes a set of prescriptions that control the situation of contact enabling behaviors and posterior articulations of exogenous cultural traits within the ethnic group. Simultaneously, "a set of proscriptions on social situations preventing interethnic interaction in other sectors, and thus insulating parts of the cultures from confrontation and modification" is imposed (*ibid.* 16).

This predominance of the political dimension for attribution of identities presupposes the inherence of strategy as a dialectical and self-conscious form of organization. Subsequently, what may often seem a negotiation of identity through the manipulation of signs or emblems do not demerit at all the validity of ethnic ascription of the group in question. In the words of the Norwegian anthropologist: "the mode of organization of the ethnic group varies, as does the interethnic articulation that is sought. The fact that contemporary forms are predominantly political does not make them any less ethnic in character" (*ibid.* 34).

Emblems and stigmas

It is particularly interesting that these strategic processes of reconfiguration of identities, involving the adaptation of cultural traits, can be produced in two ways, depending on the context. They could occur either gradually, i.e. over several generations; or suddenly, i.e. during a few years. The first process gives the appearance of occurring *tacitly*, while the second happens *overtly*. Thus, in the second case the contact situation is truly more tense and intense; driving ethnicity to select and play clear-cut cultural features within the prevailing set of prescriptions and proscriptions for interaction. This could happen either through articulation or confrontation. In the last case, some cultural traits become declared emblems or symbols of struggle. Interestingly, the emblems often come from former stigmas. In other words certain social groups revolt against the stigma to transform it in their own emblem (Bourdieu 1992: 220 221), in order to employ it during political interactions.

In this respect, many academics and activists draw major attention to the 'loss of culture' of indigenous community due to their increasing interaction with hegemonic social groups. However, for purposes of my study, I am particularly interested in understanding how ethnic interaction leads to the *adaptation of* or the *articulation of* new cultural traits within an ethnic group through *overtly* driven processes. These new cultural traits are, in its moral and aesthetic appearance, sacred symbols or elements related to ritualistic displays, but in function are political emblems.

Obviously, both articulation and disarticulation of cultural traits can happen either tacitly or overtly, and can also occur simultaneously. That means that many disarticulations involve the articulation of a new reality. For example, when an ethnic group gradually incorporates the dress habits of their neighbors, this usually occurs over several generations and implies both processes. Although common, not every articulation or adaptation of practices has to do with the adoption of features derived from the group 'dominating' the social interaction. If this had been the case, at the end it would have existed a mere imposition, and the attribution of identities would not had anything to do with politics and strategies.

Invented symbols

Social groups often articulate, recreate or absorb cultural traits, which have the *overtly* driven purpose of reconfigure or reaffirm identities. The introduction written by Hobsbawm in 1983 about 'invented traditions' shows that this type of process has been, and continues to be present

in virtually every human society.

'Invented tradition' is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past [...] However, insofar as there is such reference to a historic past, the peculiarity of 'invented' traditions is that the continuity with it is largely fictitious. In short, they are responses to novel situations which take the form of reference to old situations, or which establish their own past by quasi-obligatory repetition (Hobsbawm 1983: 1, 2)

In that case, "reference to old situations, or which establish their own past", as I understand these words, refers to exogenous cultural traits from the past, which may belong or not to the group articulating them to their own identity. Thus, 'extinct traditions' become '(re-)invented traditions', when *revived* (belong to the cultural past of the same group) or *recontextualized* (belong to the cultural past of another group) at present times (Cfr. Hobsbawm 1983: 5-8).

The strategic implications (in terms of conscious planning) within the political dimension of identities are completely transparent during the processes where 'traditions are invented'. Explicitly, these processes reveal the deliberate search of 'social cohesion' and 'the legitimation of action' (*ibid.* 9). Therefore, 'the invention of tradition' is a fertile field for the study of conflicts related to the emergence of collective identities and the dynamics of power relations circumscribing them to a particular form of ethnic interaction.

First and foremost, it may be suggested that they are important symptoms and therefore indicators of problems which might not otherwise be recognized, and developments which are otherwise difficult to identify and to date. They are evidence (...) Second, it throws a considerable light on the human relation to the past, and therefore on the historian's own subject and craft. For all invented traditions, so far as possible, use history as a legitimator of action and cement of group cohesion. Frequently it becomes the actual symbol of struggle (*ibid.*12)

Certainly, when relating 'the invention of traditions' to this study, I prefer to focus on a specific moment of a process I call: 'manifest articulation of cultural traits'. Within this manifest articulation, there are two elementary situations that should be taken into account. First, since this is a new action with deliberate strategic interest, political representatives of the community are those mostly involved in its initial stage. Henceforth, depending on the success or

appropriateness of continuing to repeat these actions, the cultural traits will be disseminated and consolidated within the rest of the community. Secondly, it is necessary at this point to emphasize the relationship between the analysis on the strategic dimension of ethnic distinction and the meta-theory for this work: the dialectical-relational approach for the study of social reality explored by two different perspectives in conflict. As Fairclough (2010: 234) affirms, his proposal is not only a method, but also a methodology. In other words, the dialectical-relational approach is a method that implicitly brings about a theory. Thus, categorizations such as ‘order of discourse’, ‘identities’ or ‘texts’ are, more than mere descriptors of linguistic analysis, processes and conceptualizations taking place during social interaction. Therefore, the methodology exposed in the previous chapter serves as a macro-conceptual frame to the theory that I henceforth will employ.

In Fairclough’s approach the contestation of strategies between social agents is actually related to the contestation of hegemony over certain kind of social interaction. In his theory, genres are “semiotic ways of acting and interacting” (*ibid.* 232), while the use of a given ‘discourse’ intends to represent the reality in a convenient and suasive manner, while the use of a particular ‘style’ seeks to associate an agent (person or social group) with an identity or ‘a way of being’. Thus, genres contain discourses, which may have direct influence when it comes to defining a style that reveals a desired identity. Henceforth, we will approach discourses as ‘different ways of representing social reality’ (*ibid.*), keeping in mind that ultimately they are clearly intended to consolidate identities and are produced within social practices. “The semiotic dimension of (networks of) social practices is a order of discourse”(*ibid.*). The term interdiscursivity refers to how different genres, discourses and styles are intertextually articulated (*ibid.* 234).

To the same extent, discourses do not exclusively involve the linguistic sphere, even when this is the predominant way to communicate during social interaction. Other types of communication, which also are relevant to this study, since they are used as strategies within the conflict, are communication through semiotic forms such as visual, bodily (*ibid.* 233), behavioral, and aesthetic ‘languages’ or ‘codes’.

Ethnic identities within environmental conflicts

Local leaders of ethnic communities could play an active role in deciding to what extent they engage in a specific identity, depending on the political context for ethnic interactions. What matters is which identity represent their interests in the best way. In fact, several environmental

anthropologists have exhaustively suggested that not everything is imposed (Li 2008:352). Community leaders are actively involved in articulating their identity, and hence determining which external agents might approach them, depending on their position in the wide spectrum of discourses of environment and development. “Complexity, collaboration and creative cultural engagement in both local and global arenas, rather than simple deceit, imposition or reactive opportunism, best describe these processes and relationships” (Li 2008: 354).

Thus, even the category of indigenous identity could serve as a crucial element within environmental discourses. In this sense, Li (*ibid.* 352,353) gives the example of certain sectors of a rural population in a developing country which, depending on the circumstances and the agendas of international organizations or NGOs, could either try to get recognized its ethnic distinction or, conversely, continue to keep the status of ordinary citizens. The allocation or revocation of ethnic identities is, therefore, a process of articulating and positioning their interests. However, these elections are not unchallenging, since villagers have to deal with the uncertainty of pondering whether they should facilitate opportunities under a certain status, or rather face undesirable scenarios. Similarly, one of the central points that Tsing (2008) wants to prove in her article about Kalimantan, Indonesia, is that natives do not act as mere spectators in the process of creation of the environmental history of tropical forests. On the contrary, natives take possession of various discourses and consciously ally to those agents that at one point offer what they consider an opportunity to collaborate with a common goal, even when they might have different interests.

The overemphasis of a suggestive cultural trait seems particularly strategic when it occurs in an environmental conflict involving indigenous communities. This magnification of ‘culture’ intended to gain visibility is explored by Tsing (2008) and called ‘the tribal elder’. Besides the usual mysticism and moral appeal that this figure or style project, the growth of his involvement in the jargon of ‘global nature’ and ‘eco-speak’ gives him more authority and recognition from other sectors of society attracted by this inspiring formulation. Similarly, the use of terms as ‘traditional ecological knowledge’ in these conflicts could be a topic of fascinating implications, as it would be an overtly driven use as legitimator of action. Finally, it should be noted that the projection of ‘styles’ associated with a given identity is not at all a strategy exclusive for ethnic groups. Both corporate groups, NGOs and governmental agencies, among others, may intend to participate in some ‘style’ which provide them with moral authority to materialize their agendas in the form of certain social and environmental reality.

4.2 Environmental discourses and positioning

Into environmentalist argumentations there are certainly different currents, but problems arise when trying to outline a classification, even if attempted *a grosso modo*. Explicitly or implicitly, using ‘scales’ or ‘levels’ (such as local, national and global) to differentiate various positions within the spectrum of environmental discourses has been an important trend in the last two decades.

The debates about environmental problems have been increasingly enacted on the international and transnational level and discourse analysis has followed the actors. Studies into national discourse have been complemented with comparative studies; studies comparing the discourse of nation-states have been complemented with the study of global discourses and finally the focus has shifted from global discourses to transnational discourses (Hajer and Versteeg 2005: 183)

On their part, traditional communities, besides the voice of their own leaders, mainly have asserted their position, through coordination with NGOs and/or supportive academicians. In view of the aforementioned, there is a temptation to standardize a dichotomy in global/local terms when characterizing environmental discourses in conflict. However, while not completely wrong, this view is remarkably simplistic. It should be noted that well-established global players are not just corporations representing capital and technology from around the world, but also social organizations that exchange information internationally. To the same extent, social movements and local communities can often get access to cooperation with actors participating in international platforms where there are considerable amounts of capital and communication technologies to achieve their purposes. Then a ‘global environmental discussion’ can represent diametrically opposed ideological tendencies, to the same extent as, in good theory, a local environmental confrontation can do its equivalent. Moreover, and ironically, a global environmental discourse can hypothetically claim that the environment should be controlled exclusively at the local level, giving cultural autonomy to communities. The point I want to emphasize here is that currently, within any ‘scale’, a dynamic of simultaneity and multiplicity of discourses prevails. This ambivalent and dialectic dynamic can even cause that the concept of ‘scale’ becomes completely vague. Contradiction and complementarity, convergence and divergence of different multi-scalar representations can occur even within the order of discourse of small social groups.

However, one should not lose sight, of course, in the factual dominance of some discourses, due to the apparatus that supports them. This has to do with imbalances of power, which more often are imposed from transnational or national agencies on local communities. Precisely, the role of some international rhetoric in remodeling local realities of traditional communities has increasingly been capturing the attention among anthropological investigations. According to Dove and Carpenter (2009: 48), the pioneers in this kind of argument were Ferguson (1990), Escobar (1995) and Fairhead and Leach (1995), who offered examples of the detrimental effects of global developmental and environmental discourses on local culture and local practices. I could add to this list the article of Luke (1995), which introduces the concept of 'environmentality', visibly echoing the analogue Foucaultian category of 'governmentality'. He demonstrated, among others authors, "how eco-speak is no longer 'innocent', but can be seen as yet another attempt to discipline society" (Cfr. Hajer and Versteeg 2005:180).

In that sense, Fairhead and Leach presented, in their article *False Forest History*, evidences to show how these global discourses do not exclusively subordinate local ideas of 'nature', but even more, falsely point local communities relationship with nature as depredatory. In their study, they unveil the policymaker's misrepresentation of reality: local communities have not been responsible in degradation of the remaining forests as assumed by experts, but have rather been the creators of forest island in the middle of grasslands. Even when it has become patent how global counter-narratives also could intervene in reshaping cultural changes of traditional communities, some authors, like Brosius (2008), nevertheless denounce the gradual subordination and invisibilization of those counter-narratives. In a remarkably critical tone, Brosius claims that there is a global trend to relegate genuine moral perspectives that really take care of 'nature', by taking for granted the supposed neutrality of global technocratic discourses on the environment, which have other motivations. In other words, such discourses are more powerful not just because of the authority of academies, agencies and capitals backing them. Actually, these discourses disqualify others only because of their assumed apolitical character. A use of language appearing as scientific and neutral is easily accepted, even when causing socio-environmental deprivation of conditions to traditional communities.

Although special attention has been given to the 'eco-speak' coming from policy-makers, states and corporations, is also necessary not to underestimate the influence of academia. "It is clear that universities play a complicated role in this process, as power and knowledge are seen as fundamentally intertwined" (Hajer and Versteeg 2005: 180). In fact, some scholars have allied

with NGOs to promote projects holding community-based approaches, which paradoxically enough have also become a global trend within environmental discourses. For example, Brosius, Tsing and Zerner (2005) coedit a book where the political frame of ‘community-based conservation’ histories and discourses is presented in various articles, denoting an increasing skepticism in the appropriation of that concept by some mainstream NGOs.

Positioning discourses

Any classification, as general as it could happen to be, comprising the positioning of various actors and institutions within the universe of competing environmental discourses, will be temporary and diffuse. In fact, “environmental debates often take place in a situation of institutional ambiguity, in which there are no generally accepted rules and norms according to which politics is to be conducted and policy measures are to be agreed upon” (Hajer and Versteeg 2005: 182). What is clear is that articulations between conspicuous actors whose rhetoric can exert great influence on the social level are becoming a trend. That has always been the case of international bodies, corporations and other international institutions. But recently, unexpected actors such as traditional communities have found opportunities to place themselves in such positions where they could effectively persuade transnational public opinion (Brosius, 2008). These positions should not always be seen as counter-narratives, since communities often are able to ally with other sectors whose scope represent well established global discourses. Also, ‘established institutions’ are being forced “to take part in transnational networks of governance in which power is dispersed” (Hajer and Versteeg 2005: 182). All this ambiguity is partly due to the quest for legitimation: no discourse should be monolithic, but rather contain features of other approaches. In that sense, even macro-political international agents as the World Bank, for example, embrace both a ‘globalocentric’ narrative within some projects, and former counter-narratives which have gained dominance e.g. ‘community-based conservation’.

I find it helpful to build on an attempt of categorization developed by Escobar (1998), which seeks to capture in an imperfect but approximated vision all influential positions in the global range of environmental discourses. In fact, the author created this categorization bearing in mind discourses of ‘biodiversity’ and not the more general concept of ‘environment’. However, being ‘biodiversity’ as much as ‘sustainability’ the very cornerstones in environmental rhetoric, I decided to venture in taking such a classification to be implemented here. I share the author's caution that should be kept in mind about the limitations of this endeavor.

At the risk of oversimplifying, it is possible to differentiate among four major positions produced by the biodiversity network to this date. It must be stressed that each of these positions are themselves heterogeneous and diverse, and that the entire biodiversity field is extremely dynamic and rapidly changing. At the level of discursive regularities, however, the four positions can be mapped as relatively distinct discursive formations, even if often overlapping (Escobar 1998: 56)

Thus, Escobar (1998) classifies 'biodiversity discourses' in four different groups of actors in accordance with their thematic axis:

a- Cultural Autonomy: Social Movements Perspective.

b- Biodemocracy: 'Progressive' Southern NGO Perspective.

c- Sovereignty: Third World National Perspective.

d- Resource Management: Globalocentric perspective.

Pritchard and Sanderson (2001) offer another terminology, which resembles the former in general terms. The two major differences come when, firstly, they split group *d-* in Market Rationality and Administrative Rationalism, which is denominated as Resource Management/Globalocentric perspective by Escobar. Secondly, they do not pay attention to group *c-*. The group *a-* is called Communitarian Discourse by Pritchard and Sanderson (2001), rather than Cultural Autonomy. Finally, group *b-* appears as Pluralist Politics instead of Escobar's concept of Bio-democracy.

My main intention in this context is not the classification itself, but to introduce a reflection on what actors actually have in common and which potential positions and alliances are they prompted to engage in. In this spirit, it is useful to consider where each actor operates more easily or where it is usually confined to act with greater efficiency. I suggest that often each actor has more resonance and power within one or two dimensions of social reality. I define these dimensions in very rudimentary terms: social-environmental, environmental, economical and political networks of social practices. The *social-environmental* dimension refers to the social practices comprising the concerns of a social group on its own environment. The *environmental dimension* is the network of social practices which aims to protect the environment. The discourses originated in these dimensions constantly overlap, but often collide since the focus of the former is 'the concerns of the social group on the environment' and the focus of the later is or seems to be 'the environment itself'.

Thus, it is quite clear that a social movement predominantly operates in the *social-environmental*

dimension and attempts to get involved in *the political dimension*. Of course, these presumptions do not imply that, within the scope of a given actor, there are no overlapping or direct impacts on other dimensions. Thus, bearing in mind the purposes of my study, I employ a simplified modification of Escobar categories (See figure 2). The main change comes with the exclusion of *Third World National Perspectives*. In my opinion, often third world countries hold perspectives diametrically opposed. In addition, I find it problematic, for analytic purposes, to keep rich nations always in the same group of *resource managerialists*, as Escobar does it.

However, my purpose hereby is to reflect on *positioning*, denoting the acquiescence or reluctance of social groups when collaborating with each other. *Social movements* are more likely to exert reluctance to *Mainstream Transnational Institutions*; as *Cultural autonomy* is more likely to display acquiescence to *Biodemocracy*. Alliances between groups have to do with the *positioning*. As Escobar states, there has been a very evident tendency where *mainstream international institutions* closely cooperate with developed countries. However in recent years, an emergence of ‘subversive’ NGO’s has occurred. These entities often have established close collaborations with social movements. Although this topic is fascinating, it requires an exhaustive comparison and updating of ethnographic research to understand the reality of such dynamics in order to discuss it further (Escobar 1998: 60). In short, for a proper understanding of the strategies of ‘eco-speak’ *positioning* for certain actors, it is relevant to identify the axis of their order of discourse, as well as the dimension in which these actors mainly act. Momentarily, based on Escobar’s work, I will employ in detail certain general characteristics of some of the groups *a-, b- and d-*, since those are directly involved in the conflict under study. I also substitute the predicative ‘progressive southern’ by ‘subversive’ in order to facilitate the comprehension in English. Moreover, through the chapters of analysis I will specify certain general tendencies of these discursive axes, which will be central in my argument.

Figure 2: Relevant environmental discourses in the conflict: its actors, discursive axes and dimensions of social reality.

Actor	Discursive axis	Dimensions
Social movements	Cultural Autonomy	Social-environmental to political
‘Subversive’ NGOs	Bio-democracy	Political to social-environmental
Transnational corporations	Resource management	Economic to environmental
Mainstream NGOs	Globalocentrism	Political to environmental

4.3 Universals within environmental discourses

At this point, Tsing's theoretical contribution concerning the process of 'engaging the universal' becomes central (Tsing 2005: 6,7). Following figure 2, the most influential international institutions tend to project a more technocentric and globalocentric approach. A 'universal', which often is underlying these perspectives, is the promise of 'development'. Agents, such as the World Bank, mainstream NGOs and rich countries have intensively constructed multi-scalar networks to engage public and private actors to advance this ideal within peripheral countries. The most relevant implications to the environment because of the implementation of this universal concept have occurred in rural areas of poor countries, where the majority of biodiversity lies (Tsing 2005: 70). Subsequently, aiming to resolve disputes regarding environmental problems derived from anthropogenic causes, policy makers increasingly use the concept of 'Sustainable Development'. Furthermore, in order to elucidate broader environmental threats, hard sciences and bureaucratic language become more and more dominant (Brosius 2009: 382,383). Following that trend, there is a widespread impression that the understanding of the concept 'nature' is a monopoly for experts in natural sciences, even more when global environmental issues are being claimed. This trend has received strong critiques, such as this one:

Latour (2004) abandons both the notion of nature as an independent entity obeying its own laws and the privileged authority of scientists and experts to represent this entity. He claims that the presentation of nature as an external object, understandable only for the experts, has served as a dogma, thereby limiting the options for human action. In the new post-modern metaphysics that Latour pleads for, facts and values, morality and reality, science and politics should be seen as inseparable. Nature would then become an essentially negotiable concept that can be represented not only by scientists, but also by poets, architects, farmers and laymen (Hajer and Versteeg 2005: 178)

Precisely the configuration of perspectives dealing in an inextricably way with "facts and values, morality and reality, science and politics" is being produced through the articulation of social movements with 'subversive' NGOs. Although these articulations can expand or ally with others agents to have impacts on national or international spheres, their real strength lies within the community level. In addition, the main objective of these 'subversive' articulations "is the defense of an entire life project, not only of 'resources' or 'biodiversity'", or any other 'eco-speak' concept (Escobar 1998:61). Generally, when it comes to struggles within environmental policy rhetoric, they tend to emphasize their cultural autonomy, i.e., their right to interact with the surrounding

nature according to the historical circumstances and social needs of communities. In this sense, they have been remarkably favored because of their articulations: “Anthropologists, geographers, and political ecologists are demonstrating with increasingly eloquence that many rural communities in the Third World ‘construct’ nature in strikingly different ways from the prevalent modern forms. They signify, and thus use, their natural environment in quite specific ways” (Escobar 1998: 61).

Meanwhile, certain NGOs and ‘subversive’ academics, although sharing some perspectives with the previous position, have the overall purpose of gaining moral and political legitimacy. Many of them have the aspiration of representing oppressed groups, although they do not completely coincide in their perspective on ‘nature’ or ‘environment’. Thus, being their strategies driven by political-ideological guidelines that seek to have repercussion in society, the dimension consigned to ‘subversive’ NGO’s is *political to social*, in clear conversion to the equivalent for social movements. According to Escobar, the rhetoric of these two groups focuses respectively on ‘biodemocracy’ and ‘cultural autonomy’. Holding these themes as *discursive axes*, these groups engage other universals which connotation could build on those axes. Such universals could be ‘environmental justice’, ‘environmental or cultural resistance’, ‘resilience’, or primarily a group of semiotic compositions highlighting the ethnic, communitarian or gender character of the social movement represented there. Indeed, Escobar avows, as a moral imperative, for further study of the articulation of “these visions and issues (e.g., on genetic resources, patenting of life forms, indigenous knowledge) in terms of science, gender, nature, culture and politics”; because these “marginal sites come to be seen as emergent centers of innovation and alternative worlds” (Escobar 1998: 54, 60).

Precisely, in order to understand these novel visions and theoretical constructs, it must be taken into account how various concepts are recontextualized and reshaped within a socially articulated discourse. Interestingly enough, during some periods, these articulations ‘engaging universals’ can invade the dimension dominated by macro political and economical agents, with the intention of demystifying or recreating those concepts. At this point it should be stressed that although a broader representation of unusual agents with ‘subversive’ ideals is increasingly consolidating their presence in international discussion forums on political and economical issues; the reality is that these dimensions still remains as the *mare nostrum* of powerful economically and well-defined ideological models. Thus that ‘intrusive’ presence is intermittent.

When universals (don't) travel

Tsing also reflects on how the universals promoted by powerful agents travel and spread worldwide. There are locations where universals flow easily and achieve connection with the social reality of people inhabiting such sites. Meanwhile in other places, the transition of these ideas becomes awkward, often producing friction. These locations represent 'gaps' for dominant environmental discourses. "Gaps are conceptual spaces and real places where powerful demarcations do not travel well" (Tsing 2005: 17). This lack of connection necessary for 'engaging the universal' occurs, in some cases, due to cultural difference, i.e. conflicts involving indigenous communities. Other occasions, historical memories of oppression compel certain social groups to reject such ideas or 'sticky universals' (Hvalkof 2000: 87). Eventually such a rejection may happen due to the creation of alternative logics emerging from multi-scalar articulations. Finally, the cause of these *gaps* becoming 'awkwardly transcended difference' (Tsing 2005: 18) could involve a combination of the situations just mentioned.

Meanwhile, in order to present a logic that actually compete with established global discourses, the projected universal by social activist coalitions should be attractive to achieve legitimacy, flaunting a critique of the prevailing models and making use of communication technologies that allow divulgation. These articulations appears as an "emergent set of transnational practices and identities that link virtual and place-based modes of activism, and that enact a cyber-cultural politics which is increasingly, and paradoxically, important for the defense of places" (Escobar 1998: 60).

Subsequently, from the last two paragraphs, an irony is easily deduced: "Universalism is implicated in both imperial schemes to control the world and liberatory mobilizations for justice and empowerment" (Tsing 2005: 9). Indeed, within the various environmental discursive axes, engaging universals is the same strategy for competing logics. Many times two groups in confrontation have to display their own version of the same universal, typically when 'super-universals' as *nature* or *justice* are involved into the discussion. However, even more dramatic and ironic is that in some occasions, a specific universal was developed by 'subversive' agents, but assimilated into the prevailing logic and further reshaped as a tool to legitimize and perpetuate the model whose conditions caused the original critique.

To better understand this anthropological view of 'engaging universals' dynamics within

discourses and identities socially articulated, it is valuable to compare it to the conceptual tool used by discourse analysts when studying the same phenomena. Indeed, among specialist in CDA the concept of recontextualization has acquired significant resonance in recent times. Fairclough adverts that recontextualization has “an ambivalent character; it can be seen as the ‘colonization’ of one field or institution by another, but also as the ‘appropriation’ of ‘external’ discourses, often the incorporation of discourses into strategies pursued by particular groups of social agents within the recontextualization field” (Fairclough 2010: 233). This process is materialized by ‘genre chains’: interconnected genres which are systematically related to each other, between which there are systematic relations of recontextualization.

Inspired in Tsing’s constructions, I prefer to use the term ‘engaged discourses’ or ‘engaging discourses’ to indicate this kind of cross-scalar and cross-cultural incorporation of politically relevant concepts. In my view, the concept of ‘recontextualization’ is remarkably biased in one side of the interaction. I consider that it puts exceeding emphasis on the social agent who ‘appropriates’ or get ‘colonized’ by a given discourse, disregarding the possible effects on the place where that discourse was originated. The attention on both the place of origin is as important as the attention in both the colonizing and appropriating character of this process. The content of this analysis will be utilized in future reflections, since the company that produces organic sugar cane liquor and participates in the conflict under study, actually engages the concept ‘organic’. There is not colonization, but an appropriation of the concept ‘organic’, which also produces consequences on the place where the concept has originated.

The organic spirit

While concepts, movements and schools of *organic* farming today are numerous and diverse, there are certain historical tendencies that initially allow us to identify three phases (transitional events) in the *organic* international movement, which I will call ‘germination’, ‘growth’ and ‘maturation’ and ‘dissemination’. Such phases actually are marked by *events of friction* between political positions. The historical analysis hereby offered about the emergence, consolidation and dissemination of the *organic* farming movement is extremely brief²⁶. This oversimplification is justified by the fact that my only intention here is to reflect on the events involving cross-scale and multi-dimensional travels of discourses at a macro-conceptual level.

²⁶ Chapters 2 and 3 of the book edited by Lockertz (Vogt, 2007 ; Cierpka and Slig, 2007) delve into details to the interested reader.

The ideas behind *organic* production arose at the end of the 19th century in some English and German speaking countries (germination); and were first experimented and scientifically contrasted during the 1920s and 1930s. It definitively proved to be a successful production system in the 1930 and 1940s (growth). But “it was not until the 1970s, with growing awareness of an environmental crisis, that *organic* farming attracted interests in the wider worlds of society, agriculture and politics” (maturation) (Vogt 2007:9).

Thus, the concept of organic farming, nowadays a universal, germinated and grew under the protection of ‘subversive’ social groups up to the 1940s. After this pioneer period, the universal gradually began to cascade up or be popularized. However, it was during the late 1970s that a period of great political turbulence suddenly accelerated this process, to the extent that organic farming became for the first time, a concept practically known around the world. Rachel Carson's book *A Silent Spring* (1962), demonstrating the dangers of pesticides, which are “the very cornerstone of industrial agriculture”; indirectly advanced maturation of organic agriculture when strengthening its status as an international socio-ecological movement (Slig and Cierpka 2007:35). At this point, conditions were conducive to the consolidation of *organic* agriculture as a discourse that entailed a reality capable of competing with the dominant model of industrial agriculture.

Therefore, after the process of maturation, the conditions for the discursive dissemination phase emerged. In 1972, an International Federation for *Organic* Agricultural Movements (IFOAM) is created. “They saw themselves as the defenders of *organic* integrity and values” with the explicit purpose of promoting a kind of worldwide ecological revolution (Slig and Cierpka 2007: 35). Currently, IFOAM has affiliated members in over 100 countries (*ibid.*). At this point, it has to be noted that the concept of organic agriculture first travelled in a down-top direction (scaling up), and after some decades began traveling in the opposite way, spreading worldwide.

Is the organic spirit a universal ‘scaling down’ within many local realities? The power reached by this universal is so persuasive that IFOAM, during 1980s and 1990s, engaged in institutional arrangements to negotiate directly with international institutions, mega-corporations and national governments. The most influential of these arrangements are certifications or eco-labels. However, with the establishment of this movement within the international trade dynamics, skepticism began to grow, mainly from organizations representing small farmers in peripheral countries. They saw some complications generally associated with these mainstream *organic* certifications, such as high costs, excessive bureaucracy, and difficult access to inputs. Furthermore, a more incisive critique points that mainstream *organic* certification “is a highly top-

down process that some argue runs counter to the true ideals of organic agriculture. For example, the need for producers to have their credibility tested by agents from outside their own community can be viewed as disempowering, and even insulting, as it is based on the logic of distrusting farmers and privileging technical expertise above traditional knowledge” (Nelson et al. 2008: 4,5). In the same sense, at a global level, this critique is also valid, since “the majority of *organic* certifying agencies are based out of Europe and North America, thus privileging definitions of *organics* created in developed countries” (Nelson et al. 2008: 5).

Thus, social groups that act locally and hold an emergent rhetoric initiated, in regard to the circumstances aforementioned, to set up another novel feature into the discursive system, associated with the universal concept ‘communitarian participation’. I refer now to ‘Participatory Certification Systems’, which were conceived from the early 1990s. Even influential regional institutions have supported this logic that in future scenarios could eventually compete with the world wide established certifications of IFOAM. This is the case for MAELA (Movimiento Agroecológico Latinoamericano), which its own name reveals the skepticism on ‘organic’ denominations. In the following text, there is a manifest interest in emphasizing on concepts as ‘community’ and ‘local’; and in implicitly referring to actors operating in other dimensions, which has abandoned the ‘original philosophical roots’ of the movement:

Indeed, participatory certification is not merely designed to ensure consumer confidence in organic products, although that is certainly one important goal. Rather, it is meant to be a tool for holistic sustainable community development with a triple focus on environmental protection, community building and local economic development. It is meant to help support producers in the shift to organic production, to make organic products accessible to a wide variety of consumers and to help the organic movement return to the philosophical roots of its early pioneers (Nelson et al. 2008: 14)

Because of the emergence and growth of such criticism during the 1990s, IFOAM finally decided to approach the ideological shift demanded by these dissenting movements. This is a new phase of maturation for the novel discourse introduced by the contemporary ‘organic farming’ social movements. An event that captures the precise moment of that transition was a Workshop held in Brazil, in 2004:

IFOAM has decided that the *time is ripe*²⁷ to assess the status of alternative certification schemes around the planet. The Centro Ecológico, located in the rural area surrounding Porto Alegre, Brazil, has been working effectively with ‘participatory certification’ in the Eco Vida Network for many years, and offered to be the hosting organization for a meeting on alternative methods for organic guarantee systems. MAELA, the Latin American Agroecology Movement that unites small farmers from the continent and has been a long time IFOAM member, has decided to co-sponsor the event. (IFOAM: 2012)

Synthesizing, certain episodes of ideological friction often are able to show a ‘gap’ in the dominant system and fill it with a novel engaged discourse, modifying the logic of the prevailing model. In the 70s the concept of ‘organic’ farming took advantage of the space opened by the force of ‘friction’ of Carson's book. Nowadays, an articulation of social movements and emergent NGOs managed, by claiming ‘cultural autonomy’ when ‘time was ripe’, to utilize the potential for ‘friction’ of the engaged discourse of ‘communitarian participation’ to successfully exert pressure on IFOAM. The criticism has to do with the fact that this formerly revolutionary institution was privileging both discursive axes such as ‘technocentrism’ or ‘globalocentrism’, and dimensions such as environmental and economical social practices, rather than social-environmental realities.

How did it happen that a leading institution originally ‘subversive’ move away from “the philosophical roots of its early pioneers”? I think there are two situations that are clearly determining concerning this oscillation in the political and ideological *positioning*. First, when trying to standardize a universal in order to make it exportable, the concept gradually loses its connection to the original context; i.e. loses its cultural backgrounds. Second, when the concept becomes popular, the adoption of mechanisms already controlled by structures of the dominant *social order* tends to be necessary. Such mechanisms are, for example, consumption, propaganda and distribution rules of that system. Thus, the inertia of the whole system absorbs what was a conceptual novelty; i.e. it loses its ideological background. Briefly said, the recontextualization of discourses, seen in a top-down direction (scaling down) actually could be understood as colonization; i.e. of concepts detached from a clear ideological and cultural background. Conversely, the same phenomena could be appreciated as *engaged* with a specific reality in its cultural and ideological dimensions, and employed to question the overall discourse, subsequently in a down-top direction. Then, when using Tsing’s theory of *engaging universals*, one should ponder which one of these two kinds is being referred.

²⁷ My italics.

Within the analysis of next chapters, the consideration of these reflections enables the explanation of general questions such as: How do social agents use globally circulating political rhetoric to enfold and manage articulations? How does an international 'order of discourse' manage to sidestep or assimilate the implications coming from the engaging discourse process within a conflictive local context? Moreover, engaging discourses also involves *conjuring* (Tsing 2005: 279). On one hand, the *organic spirit* of sugar cane erodes the cultural and environmental wellbeing of a locality. Meanwhile, the indigenous community has its own spirits and actually can materialize them to invoke articulations.

5 Relevant social events in the conflict

5.1 Who is worthy to break the seals?

In the New Oxford American Dictionary, the word ‘seal’ has two main meanings. Either, “a device or substance that is used to join two things together so as to prevent them from coming apart or to prevent anything from passing between them”; or “a piece of wax, lead, or other material with an individual design stamped into it, attached to a document to show that it has come from the person who claims to have issued it”. Therefore, this word could imply either a restrictive connotation, or a certificatory connotation.

Actually, I chose the excerpt from the biblical book of Revelation to entitle this section, because the central topics hereafter are both the breaking of seals and certain revelations. Indeed, during the 12 years of open confrontation between the company and the indigenous community, the two periods of greatest ideological friction have to do with seals, making use of both meanings of this word: either the organic seal that Ypióca lost in 2006 and led the company to take to court an academician and a journalist, or the cancellation seal set by IBAMA for closing down the suction pumps that were taking water from the lagoon. Posteriorly, defying this restrictive seal, Ypióca regarded itself as ‘worthy’ enough to break it due to the presentation of several official, academic and institutional proves. While, in respect to the certificatory seal, a partly casual articulation of activists, journalists and academicians were able to break it and ‘open the scroll’ in form of an international revelation, which discredited the so far spotless history and image of one of the most admired alcohol companies in Brazil²⁸.

This chapter aims to present a description of the conflict including both the most significant environmental and ‘social reality’ incidents in the site that raises the dispute, and the most relevant social events surrounding the discursive broadcasting of those incidents. It is not intended in any way, to praise or deplore the actions of any of the social agents involved. Nevertheless, we will need to understand the context for such actions, if the intention is to allocate the ‘social wrong’ with accuracy in some situations. Actually these incidents and events could be recapitulated based on different references. I build on the description in light of two types of sources. Many events that reveal the friction between environmental discourses are referred to the narrations made by organs legitimizing or regulating action such as the judiciary

²⁸ The diary ‘Diário do Nordeste’ (25/11/20011) published that Ypióca got the fourth place in a ranking of the most admired alcoholic beverage companies in this country. Available from: <http://diariodonordeste.globo.com/materia.asp?codigo=1074584>

system, environmental protection authorities and organic certifying organizations. On the other hand, the incidents also are narrated in the media, primarily on the Internet sites of some of the actors involved. Particularly relevant are the blog of FUNAI office in Ceará, and many internet sites of social and environmental debate that are constantly involved in what Escobar (1998) called cyber-politics, as a tool used by the coalition between social movements and ‘subversive’ NGOs. In addition, in order to cross-check the veracity of the incidents as narrated on internet, the interviews conducted during the fieldwork allowed me to complement certain unclear narrations.

This recapitulation of the events will allow us, corresponding to stage I of the Fairclough’s methodology (2010), to preliminarily identify where the social wrong lies in so far as the concrete consequences on the social and environmental reality. Although the social wrong definitely originates from the implementation of social practices, the specific consequences in reality become manifest in the analysis of social events. In my opinion, the conflict can be divided into four main phases: questioning indigenesness, conflictive uses of the lagoon, breaking the seal, and the retake.

5.2 Questioning indigenesness

In March 2000, Ypióca requested an injunction²⁹ against federal authorities marking the beginning of the conflict. It can be understood as a reaction to the culmination of FUNAI three years study to officially identify the community inhabiting around the Lagoa Encantada as an indigenous people. Simultaneously, the community began to institutionalize certain figures to reaffirm its indigenesness, such as the CIJK (Indian Council Jenipapo-Kanindé), the figure of Cacique, and the Living Landmark festival, which were all inaugurated during the period 1997-1999. Evidently, the main purpose of the process initiated by Ypióca was to disqualify FUNAI to proceed with the future delimitation and demarcation processes, as actually happened in 2004 and 2011. Ypióca claimed that they owned 200 hectares, which would eventually become part of this indigenous land. Basically, the company’s lawyer used his own argumentation and many references to previous Constitutions intending to discredit the identification of Jenipapo-Kanindé as indigenous.

The chances of giving effect to the injunction requested by Ypióca were remarkably reduced,

²⁹Poder Judiciário do Estado de Ceará, 2007. Processo número 200.81.00.004400-0.

mainly because of an earlier decision³⁰ of federal judges against a touristic project in this indigenous land, by which the competence and legitimacy of FUNAI action in that territory was corroborated. In more detail, that sentence ordered the immediate eviction and cancellation of mega-tourism project Aquiraz Resort, which planned to build a resort complex around the lagoon. With this background, accepting Ypióca's claim would clearly have implied that the federal courts would have contradicted their own pronouncement.

In fact, the judgment issued against the interests of Aquiraz Resort ordered to this project and to “third parties and other uncertain interested actor to refrain from promoting invasions, occupations, explorations, transfers of ownership or dominion or any other acts restricting the direct ownership and exclusive usufruct of the Indigenous Land by Jenipapo-Kanindé community”. The Federal Judge used precisely these words in 2001 to dismiss the petition of Ypióca Company. On the other hand, I suggest, trying to delegitimize contemporary anthropological studies by federal authorities in the light of obsolete legislation seems to be a maladjusted behavior.

Seven years later, aiming to provide new evidence for other processes, the company would try again to deny the legitimacy of Jenipapo-Kanindés identity by using mechanisms quite more refined than Ypióca's lawyer own argumentation. In 2007, the company would hire the Institute Manoel Moreira D'Nobrega. This private researching entity conducted and published the *Socio-Anthropological Research of Community of Lagoa Encantada*. Curiously, the first page of this research hurriedly assured that the fact of being hired by the company do not diminish the independence and objectivity of its results, since their researcher always use to apply their standard method. As it may be presumed, this study delegitimized the identification process of the indigenous community, and discredit FUNAI's academic body. However, although Ypióca representatives insistently presented these findings as evidence to several future judicial litigations against activists, the courts never took it as a strong argument. In Chapter 7, I will discuss some of the assertions made both by this socio-anthropological research and the texts in the most relevant judicial processes regarding the questioning of the indigenous identity.

5.3 Conflictive uses of the lagoon

In every way, the continuous degradation of a rare ecosystem sustaining significant features of

³⁰ Ministerio Público Federal, Brasil, 1998. Ação Pública Civil número 006/98. Brasil.

the economy and culture of a traditional community constitute a transgression that deserves to be amended. However, any imputation must be proved. The complexity of a conflict varies, to a large extent, in relation to the several credible versions of the history, which could be provided by the actors directly involved, their 'witnesses' or 'prove-collectors'. This credibility do not depend exclusively on the argumentation power of each claim. It also has to do with the moral authority or prestige of the social agent, and the proficiency, scope and coverage of his communication processes. Subsequently, the whole scenario could be immersed in a swamp of questions and doubts when several academicians, authorities, residents, activists, and journalists serve as 'witnesses' for a social phenomenon involving political, historical and environmental claims. Therefore, it is necessary to evaluate the objectivity and legitimacy of the evidence offered to confirm the multiple dimensions of the social wrongs.

Regarding the environmental relationship of the indigenous community to the Lagoon, in honor to objectivity, one must recognize to what extent this ecosystem is economically, socially and culturally important for the Indians, but this must be done without falling into a certain idealism or romantic view of the indigenous-nature relationship, by which one could become blind when determining whether there are harmful behaviors or not. There is no doubt that the Lagoa Encantada has historically been the most relevant ecosystem for the subsistence of the community. The very fact that, geographically, the village is arranged around it is an unequivocal sign of such an importance. Indeed, the soil type in the margins and near the Lagoon is particularly fertile, in contrast to the poverty in terms of nutrients, which prevails in the soils of this Indigenous Territory, where the presence of sand and clay is too high (Neto 2010: 6,7). Moreover, fishing from the lagoon has historically been the key activity to feed the community. Early in the decade of the 2000s, this activity became less important by virtue of the gradual disappearance of fishes due to the agro-industrial pollution mentioned above. Anthropologists who have conducted fieldwork on that site confirm that the social and cultural life revolves significantly around this ecosystem. In this spirit, Sousa (2001) shows in his thesis that almost all of the stories of charms are referenced in this beautiful body of water. In these fantastic tales, mainly present in the memory of the oldest person in the community, images of fertility, wealth, happiness and abundance of fish appear always associated to the Lagoa Encantada. Therefore, the assertion that it is a sacred place for the Indians has solid basis in reality.

Although the general relation has been harmonious in general terms, certain potential threats to the lagoon also must be taken into account, even if these anomalies are so reduced that they do

not detract the strong relation described above. It is very understandable that the community has made a limited clearing of native vegetation of the margins of the Lagoa, at certain points, as these agriculture activities are essential for their economy (Neto 2010: 6,7). However, a substantial population increase, as indeed has been going on, coupled with the eventual implementation and development of agriculture for sale to small scale business may eventually lead to a removal of vegetation which provoke undesirable states, from an ecological perspective. Hopefully, this is a kind of problematic that can be resolved internally in the community, if given the necessary attention.

The nearest point of the lagoon, in relation to the community, is the connection with the conduit streaming down to the ocean. Precisely this point, from an ecological perspective, is of great importance since it serves as a link of interchange between the Lagoa Encantada and the complex coastal hydrologic ecosystems. According to FUNAI, Ypióca workers wanted to block this conduit to hold all water in the lagoon, transforming it in a closed system, and the Indians avoided it (DOU, 2004: 69). Nevertheless, instead of that initiative the Living Nature Institute- which belongs to the company- and the community agreed to construct a small bridge of cement with a double purpose: serve as a barrier to delay the flow of water down to the sea, and function as a tiny bridge where Indians could cross easier to the other side of the natural conduit. In spite of the barrier, the water could still stream down passing over it in few centimeters, but on the contrary it is difficult to imagine that some fishes coming from the coastal area could pass over this construction in order to access the lagoon. The situations of ambiguity arising from this agreement with the Ypióca became evident when the Indians, generally satisfied with the existence of this new bridge-barrier, sometimes showed their displeasure with it when a rise in water level of the lagoon flooded some agriculture plots because of heavy rains. The recent construction of the rudimentary and tiny barrier was blamed as the cause of the flooding on the margins. In respect to this particular area of the lagoon, another fact has prompted the concerns of indigenous leaders. Several Indians use to bathe their horses and cows, favoring the eutrophication of this area.

It should be noted that community leaders have already issued the reduced but disturbing presence of solid wastes in the lagoon as an environmental problem. In this direction, the Indian differentiated school periodically organizes an activity of waste collection and an awareness program aimed to include all members of the community. A likely explanation for the increased presence of waste is the process of insertion of the community within the common dynamics of behavior in Brazilian society. Indeed, consumption patterns of industrialized food are favored,

with both the ‘emergence’ of purchasing power for many community members because of diversification of jobs, and with the implementation of certain modern infrastructures, such as the establishment of two shops selling packaged foods. However, the absence of a municipal garbage collection system to reach the community causes the accumulation of solid wastes in natural areas. Thus, although some individuals set fire to the garbage and others bury it, solid waste is sometimes observed on the surface of the lagoon, among other places. Evidently, this problem must be addressed both by the community and by municipal authorities.

Nowadays most households can build septic tanks to treat sewage more adequately. Even though, the report of IBAMA in 2007 corroborated the presence of coliform particles³¹. Also this situation should be improved in collaboration with the Prefecture of Aquiraz. In summary, although some anthropogenic uses of the Lagoon by the community members currently cause minor ecological disturbances; by contrast, most behaviors reflect a strong link between the community and the ecosystem. This link tends more to be a relationship of respect and protection.

Lagoon pollution

During the indigenous land identification and demarcation report in 2004, FUNAI’s Workgroup documented the persistent allegations made by local resident in terms of the contamination with organic and chemical residues, and the extraction of water from the lagoon. For example, FUNAI’s report indicates: “the major concern of the Indian community is the water withdrawal for irrigation and the discharge of vinasse³² done by the Ypióca” (DOU, 2004*). In first instance, this accusation was very unpredictable and illogical, since one seldom associates ‘organic production’ with ‘pollution’. However in this case, the discharge of vinasse seems to have caused an eutrophication process within the lagoon, and therefore affecting the presence of fishes.

Nevertheless, none of these allegations had gained notoriety until the intervention of Jeováh Meireles. In 2003, this doctor in geology began to approach the community as part of classes with his students of a geography field course organized by the Federal University of Ceará. Listening to the concerns of indigenous, the academician realized that the leaders wanted to take advantage of the constant and regular flow of visitors attracted by the natural beauties of this

³¹ Laudo Técnico Ambiental e Certificado de Análise das amostras de água da Lagoa Encantada. IBAMA, 16/01/2007.

³² Vinasse is a byproduct of sugar cane fermentation. Ypióca uses it as a liquid fertilizer when irrigating its fields (fertirrigation).

indigenous land. He envisioned the opportunity to develop a productive activity that would offer young people the possibility to exercise a greater knowledge and control over its territory. Indeed, Indian leaders knew superficially the concept of community-based tourism, as in 2000 some leaders visited the project of the Pataxo Ha Ha, as revealed by Heraldo, son of Cacique Pequena (Lustosa 2011: 98). After several meetings, Meireles articulated a course of Comprehensive Environmental Education for Community-based Tourism, where he served as coordinator. This initiative was called “The Indian Trail Project”. Throughout the 2004 and 2005, there occurred numerous workshops and exercises in teaching environmental education and community-based tourism practices for more than 40 young locals.

Professor Meireles narrates that he became aware of the conflict during different activities carried out with the youth of the community as part of that program. Specifically, this happened during a local-mapping exercise. In this activity, young indigenes drew within a map those natural geographic points that were considered as important to the community; basing this map in the recently delimited indigenous land. Meireles observed how various Jenipapo-Kanindé insisted on drawing Ypióca pump (see picture 4) extracting water from the lagoon. Simultaneously, during various meetings Meireles listened earnestly from the leaders in the community, that the extraction of water pollution due to the irrigation sugarcane monoculture was their main concern.

These preoccupations with respect to the degradation of the Lagoa Encantada, also included various indications of pollution. However, in the year 2006, there was a phenomenon in the lagoon that definitely infuriated Jenipapo-Kanindés. The indigenes refer to this phenomenon as ‘the mortality of fishes’, occurred in November 2006. At various points of the lagoon, they found big quantities of dead fishes floating on the water. According to interviews in the field, before this incident fishing was difficult, but from that time it became almost impossible. Some locals said that at certain points the water was sticky due to the dead fish both. Whether as an immediate response to this incident, or because of other judicial accusations made in September 2006³³, representatives of federal environmental organ IBAMA, together with members of the FUNAI, came to conduct an inspection of Lagoa Encantada in December 2006, collecting several samples of water and trying to identify possible environmental causes of the tragedy told by Indians.

³³ In September 2006, Jenipapo-Kanindé leaders accused Ypióca for invading their territory, perforating holes and remove some vegetation. (Poder Judiciário do Estado de Ceará, 2006. Processo número 1.15.000.001679/2006-70).

A few days later, in December 2006, indigenous leaders accompanied by the professor presented an accusation against Ypióca, where they blamed Ypióca for the ‘mortality of fishes’ with the hypothesis that the company was the “responsible for fish kills in The Lagoa Encantada of Indigenous Jenipapo-Kanindé, in view of the excessive pumping, which was causing high levels of consumption of dissolved oxygen”.^{34*}

5.4 Breaking the seal

As referred, there are two ‘breaking seal’ episodes where the ideological friction phenomenon reached its higher points from a socio-political perspective, in the years 2007 and 2011, respectively. In fact, these two episodes were causative of several judicial processes issuing accusations such as defamation and environmental degradation. Although this study focuses exclusively on some of them, other litigations less relevant are just mentioned in the Appendix 1: Chronology of Conflict.

The conflict visibly escalated, after December 2006, when Ypióca received the notice that its international organic seal for cachaça was suspended, according to indications of Institute Demeter in Germany, alleging only ‘technical reasons’ for that decision (Racismo Ambiental, 2012). However, a couple of months earlier, a German journalist based in Rio de Janeiro published in a German website³⁵ the article *Prost, Caipirinha - Umweltrassismus in Bio-Qualitaet - Ypióca-Cachaça bedroht Indianer-Lagune* (Cheers, Caipirinha- Hypocrisy in bioquality- Ypióca contaminated indigenous lagoon), which strongly criticized both the organic certifying organizations involved and the Brazilian company³⁶. How did the German journalist Norbert Suchanek get to hear the vicissitudes of this small community about 1500 km far north from Rio de Janeiro? How did he become aware of a story not even told in Ceará media, the very hometown of this giant and historical premium spirit producer? Apparently, almost one year earlier, a sociologist called Márcia Gomes had served as official relater of the Seminar on Environmental Racism in Rio de Janeiro, November 2005. There, one of the expositors was Professor Meireles who mentioned the conflict between Ypióca and Jenipapo-Kanindés, as he heard it from the indigenous leaders, and as reported in FUNAI delimitation report. Meireles stated there that the company violated the human rights of this indigenous people when

³⁴ Poder Judiciário do Estado de Ceará, 2006. Processo número: 1.15.000.002125/2006-90.

³⁵ The German website publishing that article was: <http://www.bio.100.de>

³⁶ The Instituto Biodinamico IBD in São Paulo was responsible for the organic seal of Ypióca, being the IBD an institution connected with the Demeter Foundation in Germany.

systematically attacking the ecosystem on which this people depended for their livelihood (Racismo Ambiental, 2012). Márcia Gomes, some days after observed on the shelves of a supermarket an Ypióca bottle with the organic seal of IBD. Remembering Meireles exposition, she commented the case to her friend Norbert Suchanek, who decided to write an article in German about the conflictive relations between Ypióca and the indigenous community.

The immediate reaction of the company was so vigorous that it managed, through pressure, the retirement of the article in the German website³⁷. However, Norbert Suchanek apparently did not falter and managed to include a new release of the story in the weekly newspaper Freitag, published in Berlin, Germany on January, 2007, and entitled '*Environmental Racism in Organic Seals' - Cachaça Ypióca threatens indigenous lagoon*'. The German journalist, who was threatened by the company with being judicially prosecuted in German Judicial system, wrote about Ypióca:

In its webpage the company presents itself as a defender of the environment for not having transformed any single ground to its disposition in sugar cane monoculture fields and for having proclaimed 40 hectares near the Lagoa Encantada as a protection area of Atlantic Forest. But the reality is quite different, criticizes the scientist Jeováh Meireles (UFC). According to him, Ypióca exploits and pollutes the water reserves of the local Indians and destroys the ecosystem of the lagoon³⁸

Suchanek broke the seal, opened the scroll and reaped the whirlwind. He received a phone call from the 'sugarcane-ethanol-industry' inviting him to clean the name of IBD and Ypióca. Also, two IBD-Directors met him in Rio de Janeiro at the airport Santos Dumont and expressed him a similar commitment, but he refused to controvert his own statements in both occasions. Furthermore, Suchanek also supported Meireles and Tremembés with several articles both in German and Portuguese in relation to the other case mentioned in the note of repudiation, e.g. the conflict with Nova Atlántida.

Meanwhile, IBAMA concluded the report. This institution took water samples at different points of the lagoon in December 2006 in order to conduct a biochemical analysis. The final report of the analysis would reveal that "elevated concentrations of lead, oil and grease, sulfide free, total

³⁷ The owner of this website received an official letter from Ypióca's lawyer. He was threatened with eventually having to pay an exorbitant economical indemnity if he refuses to delete Suchanek's article. In this context, he deleted the article, since he could not afford at that moment to pay a German Lawyer for his defense. (Suchanek, 2012)

³⁸ This article was also published in Portuguese. I translated the quotation from this version. Available from: <http://pib.socioambiental.org/es/noticias?id=46937>

phosphorus and DBO₅ were detected at Ypióca's water extraction point, contrary to the standards of CONAMA Resolution No 357/2005²". Furthermore, it concluded that the low presence of dissolved oxygen due to processes associated with the discharge of pollutants, precluded the lives and livelihoods of several organisms, especially fishes. This report was a bitter pill to Ypióca, not only by the highest authority level of the environmental organ, but also because there was not any previous biochemical analysis of importance, which could support conclusively the allegations of the indigenous community.

Simultaneously, in the period between December 2006 and January 2007, a journalist from Ceará wanted to offer his side of the story, since he knew both Meireles and Jenipapo-Kanindés from the workshops at the 'Indian Trail Project'. His article had the expectation of giving account both of the accusations of environmental degradation internationally published by Norbert Suchanek, and Ypióca's pressures being undertaken to censor the freedom of expression of the German journalist. Fonseca had written a draft with the hope of publishing in any of the two biggest newspapers in Ceará, and during this redaction process he send by e-mail this draft to four or five friends to listen their opinion. As expected, these diaries did not engage in the idea of making circulate so controversial information involving one of the biggest and the most traditional of all companies in this state. Conversely, Fonseca's draft got copied without neither his knowledge nor his consent. This copy was published as an article in a website in Sao Paulo. It was erroneously entitled "Ypióca loses one for the Pitaguary"³⁹ probably by the administrator of this site of Internet. After this 'leakage', Fonseca's draft was recopied in numerous websites, in different languages.

Undoubtedly there were two things that bothered the company at this moment. First, the number of allegations that journalists were beginning to publish was taking in advantage the uncontrollable and worldwide effects of Internet. Second, the recent report of IBAMA (January 2007) was presented as irrefutable proof that there existed a serious environmental degradation on the lagoon. Therefore, the company decides to act on two fronts: legally and 'scientifically'. Thus, Ypióca hired a private and multidisciplinary group of investigators⁴⁰ in April 2007. This group included, according to the company, two geologists, a biologist, and a doctor in environmental sanitation. The experts concluded: "there was not any indication of degradation in the water system of Lagoa Encantada", and all production was sustainable (FUNAI-Ceará 2012a).

³⁹ It was originally posted on the webpage <http://overmundo.com.br>. The information in the title is false, since Ypióca had never been involved in any conflict with Pitaguary Indians, but Jenipapo-Kanindé.

⁴⁰ These assertions were posted as a commentary in response to FUNAI's article cited above.

These hard-science categorical conclusions were as favorable for the company interests to the same extent than those findings of a Social-Anthropological Research of Lagoa Encantada; which Ypióca had also commissioned to a private institute in order to try to ‘demystify’ Jenipapo-Kanindé identity. Considering itself backed by these two argumentative warships, Ypióca dared to require Jeováh Meireles and Daniel Fonseca to justice in May and June 2007, respectively, accusing them for defamation. Fonseca was denounced⁴¹ under the press law because of the circulation of his draft that occurred in December 2006. While the process against Meireles continued over one year, the charges against the journalist failed because the 90 days contemplated from the date of publication had already gone, and so the cause expired. Nevertheless, new events will motivate other process against him.

“Which social movements?”

These prosecutions against the journalist and the Professor provoked the immediate reaction of the ‘subversive’ social sectors of Ceará, and its articulations in Brazil. In July 2007, through an Internet discussion group, several activists embarked on the redaction of a text denouncing the pressures exerted over social movements. This one page document gathered the signatures of several hundreds of individuals, national organizations and some international agents. It was called ‘Note of repudiation to Ypióca, and was entitled: “*Ypióca attempts to intimidate and silence the social movements*”. It denounced the company’s obstinacy in denying the presence of indigenous in the coast of Ceará, and presented a detailed account of all environmental damages that this cachaça producer had committed on the Lagoa Encantada for over 20 years. Also included information about the irregularities of the project Nova Atlântida in detriment of the rights of ethnic group Tremembé over their territories. Nevertheless, the main intention of this campaign was to disclose to public light the judicial pressures of these companies against Meireles and Fonseca. The purpose of this note was to distribute it both online and in the form of paper throughout the city of Fortaleza. Some of the meetings producing the note of repudiation against Ypióca were held in Instituto Terramar, which is a NGO promoting community-based tourism in traditional communities of Ceará, among other activities.

Moreover, the redactor group of this document raised money aiming to pay one page in one of the two most popular diaries of this city. However, when reading the content of this note of repudiation, the editors of these influential newspapers decided to charge a price four or five

⁴¹ Poder Judiciário do Estado de Ceará, 2007 Processo número 2007.01.11000-7.

times higher than the normal price for one page advertisement (Meireles, 2012), therefore impeding the publication of the note of repudiation in these influential media.

Meanwhile, the owner of Ypióca, Everardo Telles, apparently realized about the redaction of this note a few days before it was published in its final version on the Internet, and distributed in Fortaleza in its printed version on August 9, 2007. Probably making use of online searching engines, the entrepreneur located the virtual discussion group that was writing the note that discredited the company. In August 7, a participant⁴² in that discussion group wrote that they were about to initiate the publication and distribution of the note. In order to anticipate the imminent publication of the campaign against the company's actions in the Lagoa Encantada, Telles provide his own version of the events. Near midnight, on August 8, 2007 the clearly irritated Ypióca's top chief and main owner also publicly repudiated his opponents with the title: "*Activists manipulate poor community and slander Ypióca*". Telles based his claims on the text of the processes against Fonseca and Meireles. This article denies the existence of Indians in that area, and synthesizes the conflict as the interference of ideological extremists manipulating a poor community. Additionally, Telles minimizing the ability to convoke of Meireles and Fonseca expressed: "Which social movements? It is just themselves". The president director of the company also offers conclusions from the environmental report and socio-anthropological research as evidence of their innocence regarding the pollution of the lagoon. He finalizes the article with these assertions:

The now labeled as Indians are poor, humble persons who live as fishermen and artisans. They deserve respect and care as human beings. But it is not only them who are hypo-sufficient⁴³. They always had a good relation with the company, in a harmonious, conflict-free co-existence, as even today. In 1994, activists instilled in them the idea of becoming 'Indians'. Without their presence and free of pressure from manipulators, the supposed indigenes praise Ypióca, but when activists arrive, they (Indians) intone the prepared speech, fearing the loss of benefits promised. Environmentalism, ecology, and the defense of the planet are very serious issues to let them be snapped up by a hysterical minority (Telles, 2007)

The next night after Telles publication, the group that redacted the note of repudiation finally

⁴² This participant was the editor of the blog of the Workgroup for Combat of Environmental Racism, Tania Pacheco.

⁴³ 'Hypo-sufficient' in this context means: persons who are not able to take care of themselves. (*In Portuguese: hiposuficientes*)

published it in many Brazilian websites⁴⁴. A few days later, it was reproduced in other countries with translations in English, Spanish and German language. Furthermore, a public demonstration⁴⁵ with the purpose of repudiating Ypióca was convoked in the Praça do Ferreira, in Fortaleza, as indeed happened on August 23, 2007 (See picture 3). The text of the note of repudiation ended with an appeal to the justice system of Ceará to not surrender to private interests and to restrict itself to ensure the exercise of constitutional guarantees and other mechanisms considered under international human rights instruments. This is an excerpt of the note, as was published in its original version in English:

The history of community struggles and resistance cannot be disrespected. The daily struggle of the Jenipapo-Kanindé has been adopted by a series of environmental entities, professors, students, and other defenders of human rights [...] Therefore, in defense of these peoples, we are all Jenipapo-Kanindé and Tremembé of Sao José de Buriti! We are all Jeováh Meireles, Norbert Suchanek, and Daniel Fonseca. We all feel called upon by the legal system for questioning; we assume as our own all of the affirmations that have been target of the legal actions and we position ourselves, in repudiation of the destructive and socio-environmentally damaging practices of the Ypióca company and the legal actions solicited by it with the goal of silencing the social movements (Nota de repudio a Ypióca, 2007)

The conflict was definitely going through its phase of major effervescence. In addition to all judicial litigation in progress, there was now an open war through various electronic communication networks. The debate, however, began to focus also on the role of social movements, besides the original issue: the environmental degradation of the Lagoa Encantada.

After another inspection in September 2007, and as a result of IBAMA's environmental report in January 2007, this body sealed the suction pumps in order to preclude the extraction of water by Ypióca. However, some months later, the company disregarded the federal authority and broke the seals to continue with the activity of these machines, 24 hours a day. The company justified this behavior with the argument that they still had a license granted by the state environmental authorities. FUNAI denounced the company for these actions, but it would take several years before any sentence.

⁴⁴ Some of the websites publishing the English version were:

<http://nyc.indymedia.org/en/2007/08/89335.shtml>

<http://mangroveactionproject.org/news/action-alerts/support-brazilians-blamed-for-loss-of-ypio-ca-cachaca-organic-certification>

<http://sispub.oktiva.com.br/oktiva.net/1320/nota/55843>.

⁴⁵ A narration of this event is available from:

<http://www.midiaindependente.org/pt/red/2007/08/392169.shtml>

Picture 3: Demonstration in Fortaleza. The banner states: The indigenous movement repudiates the Ypióca company for polluting the water spring of the Indians Jenipapo-Kanindé



Picture 4: Local-produced map from the 'Indian Trail Project' in 2004. When indigenes depicted in this map the extraction of water conducted by Ypióca, Meireles became aware of the environmental degradation.



Thus, Ypióca let time pass to ‘freeze’ the scandal. Not even the company’s disrespect to the action of IBAMA could remarkably revive the controversy on the Internet. At least from the final months of 2008 until the half part of 2010, Ypióca continued removing water continuously without generate visible public debate. Over the months, also decreased the intensity and frequency of discussions in the Internet network by the conflict against social movements. However, Meireles and Fonseca prosecutions would continue. In respect to the second legal action against the journalist, who did not accept the conciliation proposal, it remains unresolved even today, showing off Brazilian judicial system slowness. According to Ypióca, Fonseca is the main orchestrator of the note of repudiation redacted online in August 2007, notwithstanding that this document was signed by about “115 national entities, seven international ones, in addition to 220 physical persons” (Racismo Ambiental, 2012*).

The truth prevailed?

In respect to the processes against Professor Jeováh Meireles, Ypióca withdrew the charges against him, provided that he would present a declaratory assuring that the data he used to ‘maculate’ the image of Ypióca was not really coming from him, but other sources, as indeed happened in August, 2008. This conciliation letter also argued that it was not his intention to accuse Ypióca at the Seminar against Environmental Racism in Rio de Janeiro, 2005. Moreover, in the text Meireles explicitly freed itself from the statements made by articles written after the Seminar. Therefore, the work of the German journalist, according to this narrative, was implicitly exposed as unfounded and defamatory.

In many of the websites that were offering an account of the conflict, a person posted in the section *Comments* the conciliation letter, identifying itself as Jeováh Meireles. The commentary is presented as a note of clarification and entitled “The truth prevailed”. Understandably, when the German journalist noticed the supposed posting of the professor, he felt both attacked in his credibility and prestige as journalist, and potentially exposed to other legal retaliations. In a tense exchange of e-mails, the German journalist even threatened to denounce Meireles if he did clarify the situation, although Suchanek said to the professor: “I prefer to solve the problem with you, because we fight for the same causes... or not?”*(Suchanek, 2012)

The professor explained that someone falsely used his name to post this letter. In addition he expressed the credibility he had in Suchanek’s work and how he faced the initial threats and two judicial litigations without stating something that eventually could impair the journalist involved.

On the contrary, throughout the whole period of international visibility of the conflict, he presented to the justice several official sources proving the environmental degradations in order to back his assertions at Rio de Janeiro. In addition Meireles explained that in the middle of 2008, it was inappropriate to him to continue losing energy in judicial proceedings that could take several years, when his interest, and the organizations with which he labored, was to invest such efforts in his work in defense of rights of traditional coastal communities of Ceará. Finally, Suchanek and Meireles reestablished their friendship by agreeing: “the struggle for social justice, for a balanced environment, needs strong articulations, and the union of efforts. It is left to people committed to these causes to overcome possible misunderstandings and move forward to good purposes. This position is required in the face of the oppressive, exclusionary and divisive system that challenges us” (Suchanek, 2012). On the other hand, Meireles found that many of the debates in 2007 in connection with the conflict had excessively focused on his person, so he thought it was time to step aside. After the environmental degradation had been made visible, the discussion was focusing on the theme of free of expression, the rights of the activists, and his individual situation.

From my perspective, it is worth to remember that the professor was being processed simultaneously by a mega tourist project of a Spanish billionaire, who according to sources in the 1990s was linked to powerful criminal organizations in Spain and Italy, including terrorist groups. Meireles had been contacted by the center of defense of human rights, which offers protection measures to individuals who potentially may be physically threatened in a country with a history of hundreds of deaths during conflicts among activists and powerful economic actors. Within this context, from my point of view, it is extremely dangerous to have two enemies, since one of them may use this fact to threaten the life of the activist, with no absolute clarity as to who is the mastermind behind the eventual crime. In any case, the German journalist was who did not receive many honors and credits as the professor, and who probably had to carry on his back with major damage, in professional terms. The very essence of journalism is credibility, and Ypióca’s pressures managed to undermine his image as professional, without being possible to estimate how deep the consequences were in terms of publishing contacts.

5.5 The retake

In terms of public debate, a suspension of hostilities went thorough the last part of 2008 and the beginning of 2010. However, this cease-fire vanished when a new environmental emergency

happened during the last three months of 2010: the lagoon was drying out as never before. Indeed, FUNAI regional office in Ceará published, in November 2010, a couple of articles that gave account of this emergency and posteriorly circulated through many other 'eco-sensitive' websites of Brazil. The description of these incidents was argued by Ketchum Estratégia, which is a press consultancy firm hired by Ypióca. Although quite significant, this new agitation did not acquire the resonance of the certification seal episode. Also, this new facet of the conflict practically was not covered by international websites.

In order to base this claim, FUNAI agents, backed by some federal police, previously entered the Lagoa Encantada Indigenous Territory to take pictures as evidence of the accusations of indigenous people (See picture 5 and 6). The Jenipapo-Kanindés were so exasperated because "their lagoon was dying and claiming for help" that they were willing to do whatever to save the lagoon. Thus, members of the FUNAI realized that the situation was so tense that unfortunately could even induce incidents of violence. The water level of the lagoon was so low that even the older ones could not remember that some time was in a deplorable state. The fact that exhausted the patience of the Indian community was what the company did when not reaching more water to their pumps because the low level near there. Several workers of the company excavated a canal towards the center of the lagoon, since the marginal areas were already dry. Although the community members wanted to suspend the activity of the suction pump, they could not do it, since Ypióca set an armed guard around the pump taking care of it 24 hours a day, as even FUNAI agents witnessed (See picture 6). When questioning one of the guards if they were carrying weapons the employee replied: "My weapon is God". However, even after FUNAI visit, Ypióca refused to stop the extraction of water. The dry weather continued to diminish the water level of the lagoon.

This set of incidents exacerbated the conflict to an unexpected level. Taking advantage of the presence of several indigenes from other ethnicities (with occasion of the UFC formation course for indigenous professors), Jenipapo-Kanindé leaders had decided to safeguard the integrity of the lagoon. They called FUNAI the same day, soliciting its presence. However, FUNAI representatives could not travel that day to Lagoa Encantada. During the morning, indigenous leaders were planning their actions. Curiously, they contacted the Forum in Defense of the coastal area of Ceará, to communicate their plans, and this organization in their website published instantly that "indigenous of the ethnicities Jenipapo-Kanindé, Anacé, Tapeba, Kanindé de Aratuba and Pitaguary were organizing to interrupt Ypióca to continue to remove

water from the Lagoa Encantada” (Lustosa 2011:100).

Indeed, they had a plan: blocking with sandbags the conduction canal directed to the pump. With this purpose, between 30 and 40 persons participated in this labor. Meanwhile, many of the indigenes from 5 different ethnicities of Ceará were dancing the Toré on the margins, while some of them were praying for the lagoon. After being the canal completely blocked, the immediate reaction of Ypióca workers was to move the pump to another hydric resource nearby, which also belongs to the Indigenous Territory, and called Lagoa Tapuio. This other permanent inter-dune lacustrine ecosystem is about 2 hours walking from all houses in the community, and therefore without any surveillance. Actually, they had legally issued Pindoretama municipal authorities because of extracting water from Lagoa Tapuio during many years without any license from the indigenous leaders (Cacique Pequena, 2012).

Fortunately, a few days after the day of ‘the retake’, it rained torrentially and the normal water level was restituted. However, this was the starting point of three judicial processes against two indigenous leaders of the community. Ypióca lawyers accused an indigenous leader to command an action that had degenerated the lacustrine ecosystem, when collocating sandbags in order to obstruct the artificial canal dug by Ypióca’s workers. The other two indictments against indigenes were interposed alleging defamation (Indio Preá, 2012; CDPDH representative, 2012). Probably these processes were a response to the denounce made by FUNAI-Ceará in November, 2010, where some pictures of these two individuals demonstrating the pump and the suction canal were published in internet (See picture 5). Currently, the CDPDH is representing legally the indigenes in this ongoing litigation (*ibid.*). From the other perspective, in a personal interview with the top chief of Ypióca plantation in Aquiraz respecting the judicial accusations against the indigenous leaders, he characterized the behavior of these indigenes as ‘isolated cases’ not representing or affecting the normal relation between the company and the overall community. Furthermore, this representative of the company described this relationship as harmonious and peaceful (Ypióca executive chief, 2012).

Demarcation

Only two months after the ‘retake’, in February 2011, FUNAI’s declaratory of demarcation process for the Lagoa Encantada Indigenous Territory was published in the official press (DOU, 2011). With this new achievement, it exclusively remains the final step of homologation, which comes with the presidential signature to proceed with the final eviction of any other individual or

Picture 5: Jenipapo-Kanindé observing the tube of Ypióca's suction pump (FUNAI-Ceará 2012a).



Picture 6: A federal police officer interrogated two custodians of the suction pump, asking if they bore arms. One of them answered: "God is my weapon"(FUNAI-Ceará 2012a)



group outside the community dwelling in their territory. Furthermore, truly influenced on FUNAI's declaratory, a federal judge⁴⁶ ordered the definitive suspension of the of water extraction in July 2011. This pronouncement approved the injunction requested by the federal authorities in 2006, after the 'mortality of fishes', which ordered the suspension of any industrial activity over the lagoon. It took five years and another serious environmental damage before this decision. Nevertheless, in 2012, after some months of inactivity Ypióca reinitiated the utilization of the suction pumps. Even during my visit in March 2012, I was able to observe and listen these machines at work. According to a FUNAI representative, Ypióca appealed the declaratory of demarcation (FUNAI representative, 2012). Probably the company is intending to gain time, since a constitutional amend proposal (PEC215) envisages the congress as the future institution in charge of authorizing the demarcation and homologation processes, thus, frustrating the territorial recognition to many indigenous territories, since currently the 'conservative' sector is quite influential in the legislative power.

5.6 Final considerations

Concerning the description of events in this chapter, there are two specific environmental conditions that lead to two periods of remarkably tense and conflictive social relations. First, the contamination of the lagoon and 'the mortality of fishes' end up in a controversy involving local, national and global agents, in 2007. Likewise, the drought of the lagoon in December 2010, considered by the Jenipapo-Kanindés as Ypióca's responsibility, once again unleashes a series of hostile debates and events, but this time only broadcasted at the national level. Why was so visible the first episode while the second did not acquire the same international coverage? I will reflect on this issue in the final chapter. Likewise, the factual analysis of the conflict will allows us to understand there the implications of some stratagems used by the groups in confrontation. These stratagems have to do with the visibility and association of social agents.

Visibility/invisibility and Association/dissociation

While the partially casual articulation of scholars, activists, students and journalists focus on giving visibility to the conflict; on the contrary the company tries to minimize it, by censorship and pressure. While from the 'subversive' group is attempted to associate Ypióca with international organic certificatory organizations; on the contrary, the company tries to 'dissociate' their opponents. In this sense, the company prosecutes two indigenous leaders, the professor and

⁴⁶ Ministério Público Federal, Brasil. Sentença número AGTR - 117527/CE - 0010933-70.2011.4.05.0000, Recife.

the journalist as individuals. Moreover, the executive chief of Ypióca plantation in Aquiraz characterized the behavior of the indigenes as 'isolated cases' not representing the common relation between the company and the overall community. When talking about Fonseca and Meireles, the owner of Ypióca exclaimed: "Which social movements: It is just them", revealing his intentions to dissociate them from a wider movement. Paradoxically enough, the campaign against Ypióca implicitly associates it with other powerful (and controversial) entrepreneurship: Nova Atlântida. Similarly, when Suchanek established a link between the cachaça producer and its certification partner in Germany, he prompted the semantic incursion of the conflict from a 'local' social-environmental dimension into a wider economic and political dimension operating in multiple scales or levels.

Although I studied the judicial processes as social events, the assertions made there can be also studied as a bridge between the social events and social practices in question. They allow us to assess the most critical social events during the friction of conflict, and simultaneously the representation of reality there serves as a strategies that search for discredit either identities and strategies of their opponents, or hinder the possibilities of articulation of these antagonistic groups. Thus, although the description demonstrate particularly visible and gross social wrongs as aggressions against the environment, social norms, and social groups; the next chapter examines, through the application of critical discourse analysis, a more complex dimension of the social wrong: the construction of a different version of the social and environmental reality in order to defend illegitimate interests.

6 Semiosis within Ypióca's social practices

6.1 "God is my weapon"

The next two chapters examine the processes of emergence and enactment of discourses reflecting the friction between environmental and political positions. As a minimum, there are two undeniable aspects revealing the existence of 'social wrongs' in the events studied. The continuous degradation of a rare lacustrine ecosystem -by means of which a community gets its livelihood- constitutes an undeniable 'socio-environmental wrong'.

Nevertheless, there is another 'social wrong', which presents more complexity when attempting to decipher who the responsible is for this detrimental action. Indeed, the two groups in confrontation have issued this allegation to each other: attempting to make legitimate a territorial appropriation by the representation of a distorted view of reality. Moreover, when addressing this major responsibility, one could add some others. For example, if the indigenous community is right about the claim of invasion and degradation over their legitimate indigenous territories by agro-industrial activities, so the legal accusations against indigenous community leaders and collaborators should be understood as an unjustified persecution.

Conversely, if the firm were right when its owner and his lawyers claimed that the gradually driven appropriation that the indigenous community is consummating around the Lagoa Encantada is based in a counterfeiting performance with economical and territorial motivations, so that would necessarily imply that there was indeed an ideological manipulation by social movements or academics responding to a pernicious motivation. Thus, in either way, the construal expression of the social events aforementioned relies on the high resonance of certain semantic elements with the intention to produce new relations within social reality, by which the legitimate rights of a social group become undermined. The degree of acceptance by other institutions concerning that preconceived creation requires several semiotic operations in social relations, such as "convincing representations of reality, the objectification of these discourses in the built environment, technology [...] and in the form and function of the body and the inculcation of these styles in quest of consolidating certain identities" (Fairclough 2010: 210,211).

As seen in the previous chapter, during the last three years, the main issue of the conflict has been the extraction of water from the Lagoon. In November 2010 the indigenous leaders accused

again Ypióca for having broken the seals set by federal authorities in order to disable the operation of the water suction pumps. Moreover, according to allegations made by indigenous leaders to FUNAI agents who visited the area, the suction pump operated 24 hours and was ‘controlled’ by armed guards. When federal police and FUNAI agents interviewed the guards and questioned about the alleged possession of weapons inside the indigenous territory, one of them replied: “God is my weapon” (FUNAI-Ceará 2012a). Similarly, the company did not spare to use any kind of ‘weapons’ during the conflict, as shown in these pages. However, the ‘god’ invoked by Ypióca in this conflict is another one. It would be more adequate to say: ‘Nature’ is my weapon.

6.2 Ypióca’s social practices related to the conflict

The texts that demonstrate the operationalization of Ypióca’s strategy are present in three different kinds of social practices. First, some articles promoting the private ecological reserve and the Institute Living Nature. Second, the socio-anthropological research, the environmental report, and some contestation published in Internet, by which Ypióca refutes the accusations for polluting and degrading the lagoon. Finally, the judicial processes against FUNAI, Jeováh Meireles, Daniel Fonseca, and some of the community leaders.

In regard to the accusations contained in FUNAI’s online article respecting the extraction of water from the lagoon, the company would release its ‘official position’ in the form of a comment in the website of the governmental entity (FUNAI-Ceará 2012a). This viewpoint was posted by the press consultancy service called Ketchum Estratégia consultancy service. This contestation reveals which social practices Ypióca regards as relevant to assert its position.

a- The company Pecém Agro industrial Ltda, owned by Ypióca Group, has been located in Aquiraz for over 25 years, practicing the cultivation of sugar cane with modern techniques of organic fertilizing and fertirrigating, and respecting the balance of the environment. Group Ypióca even created in the region in 1995, the first private ecological reserve of the State of Ceará, with 40 hectares, with rich flora and fauna, preserving remaining coverage of the Atlantic forest, at the margins of the Lagoa Encantada.

b- The Lagoa Encantada is able to support the multiple uses of water[...]. As evidence, the Secretary of Hydric Resources of the State of Ceará (SRH) granted to the company the permission to the use of water, being the sole holder of authorization for this purpose in the lagoon.

c- The pumping practiced by Ypióca is done within the premises of the competent state agency for the purpose of irrigation of sugarcane during the summer and use in industry. Technical reports exempt Ypióca from any procedure of degradation of the lagoon.

d- Ypióca Group produces wealth, creates significant numbers of direct and indirect jobs and pays taxes.

e- Group Ypióca observes all international recommendations in the planting and cultivation of its raw material, and by this reason holds as valid the seal granted by Demeter Biodynamic Institute - IBD for certification of organic cachaça.

From the arguments of this text (FUNAI-Ceará 2012a*) it is possible to infer three central strategies embedded within the social practices of the company, which are intending to justify its activities on the lagoon. In other words, Ypióca construes some descriptions of certain social practices so that these serve as argumentative strategies in the debate. These construal descriptions of social practices could be summarized as: sustainable production, legality and supervision, and the institutionalization of nature. All these argumentative strategies, foremost, are referred to the environment, either in terms of sustainability, conservation, or environmental education. I will mainly employ a critical discourse analysis method frequently employed to assess argumentative strategies: the evaluation of *topos* or *topoi*. “They are the content-related warrants or ‘conclusion’ rules which connect the argument or arguments to the conclusion, the claim” (Wodak and Meyer 2002:74).

Sustainable production

The production on the 480 hectares of this plantation is exclusively organic. Each year 9600 tons of sugarcane results in 1,2 million liters of organic spirit. Sugarcane wastes are also used to prepare the cardboard boxes and to produce electricity (Bruno, 2008). These social practices - inherently positive in environmental terms- are also used as an argument when responding accusations of extracting water of the lagoon. In paragraph a-, it is argued that production takes place “with modern techniques of organic fertilizing, and respecting the balance of the environment”. In this case the company uses the *topos* of usefulness or advantage (Wodak and Meyer 2002: 74). Although the green technologies employed and the recycling program conducted are undeniably beneficial to the environment, this fact does not resolve neither the charge of having violated seals set by IBAMA, nor the accusation of invading an area and extracting resources which do not belong to them. The same strategy is used when the company wants to justify this disregard because it “produces wealth, creates jobs and pays taxes”(d-).

Legality and supervision

Ypióca's press consultancy service offers arguments that demonstrate the legality and supervision of the company's activities in the lagoon. For example, in paragraphs b- is stated that "SRH⁴⁷ granted to the company the permission to the use of water". This assertion attempts to clarify the legality of the actions. Meanwhile, the company also refers to other agents that monitor and confirm the legal and reasonable use of water. In c- is assured that "expert reports exempt Ypióca from any procedure of degradation of the lagoon.

These assertions rely on the *topos* of law and right (Wodak and Meyer 2002:76), but those allegations are not consistent with juridical reality since authorities have a hierarchical order to be respected, and Ypióca is ignoring the federal order on the specific issue when appealing to instances of the state order. Therefore, the SRH permission is not appropriate, since it counters the pronouncements of FUNAI and IBAMA. With regard to the technical reports referred, these are the environmental reports commissioned by Ypióca to a multi-disciplinary group of independent academicians. Nevertheless, the fact that the company has hired and paid them leaves some doubts about their neutrality. Either case, their conclusions do not have any legal authority.

Likewise, and also related to the type of production, the consultancy service alleges, in paragraph e-, that an international supervisor also proves the sustainability of the production: "the seal granted by Demeter Biodynamic Institute - IBD for certification of organic cachaça". However, this label focuses on the type of production in its technical character, not on social relations, nor on territorial disputes. In this respect, a common criticism to the eco-labeling organizations is to excessively focus in technical requirements, without paying attention to wider social contexts.

Bringing up the breaking of the seal, it should be noted that the international organic certification is the flagship of the company. The 'organic spirit' does not serve exclusively as argumentation to defend its territorial interests, but mainly as powerful marketing strategy for Ypióca's sales in European countries where the organic market is highly popular. Therefore, the temporary suspension of the seal because of the German article of Suchanek was a double dismantling attack to Ypióca's interests: its industrial exportations to Europe, and its territorial pretensions around the Lagoa Encantada.

⁴⁷ SRH is the Secretary of Hydric Resources in the state of Ceará.

Institutionalizing 'nature', evoking 'vivacity'

At first instance, it cannot be said that the reason that led the top representatives of Ypióca to turn, in 2001, the Aquiraz sugar cane plantations into a organic production center has to do with the conflict with the community. Moreover, such a hypothesis would be very weak, since there is a clear economic interest in doing so. On the contrary, it seems more likely that the creation of the private ecological reserve in 2007, and the Living Nature Institute in 2008 can be attributed to an immediate intention: using these entities as institutionalized strategies to enhance the eco-friendly production speech, and promulgating the new image of the company as an agent who promotes conservation and environmental education. However, even when it seems so probable, these assumptions cannot be stated with absolute certainty. Indeed, we cannot always know the intentions of an agent through his acts; not even when this acts seems to prove a given intention. However, when several actions are done so that all of them aim to serve the same function, then that function unambiguously reveals an intention. In this case, there is a clear intention to use the green image of this type of production as a legitimation of action. But even more interesting, there is also a manifest intention to manage and operate the 'institutionalizing and evoking nature entities' in accordance with interests of the company in the conflict, as it will be demonstrated in the following paragraphs.

Private Ecological Reserve

A newspaper article provides a good description of what this area is and what the purposes are. "The Lagoa Encantada, in Fortaleza, has received over 5000 visitors since October last year and should add another 2000 by the end of this year. [...] The Reserve has interconnected streets and trails, on which guides orientate visitors about environmental conservation" (Bruno, 2008). The intention of the company is to promote preservation and environmental education through recreation and scientific research. During Ypióca's online defense (in a-), the consultancy service mentions: "Group Ypióca even created in the region in 1995, the first private ecological reserve of the State of Ceará, with 40 hectares, with rich flora and fauna, preserving remaining coverage of the Atlantic forest, at the margins of Lagoa Encantada". Whenever someone decides to preserve nature, so there it comes a necessary implication: the perpetuation of the control and surveillance over a given territory in its natural state. Thus, this is a quasi-mathematic theorem: preserving nature *if and only if* perpetuating territorial control.

To be precise, the actual name of the space is 'Particular Ecological Reserve'⁴⁸. In Portuguese

⁴⁸So far, I have used 'particular ecological reserve' in order to facilitate the comprehension.

language it is possible to use either ‘private’ (*privada*) or ‘particular’ (*particular*) to categorize the natural reserves that are not publicly owned. Thus, ‘*reserva privada*’ or ‘*reserva particular*’ are equivalent constructions. Anyhow, it seems that the use of the word ‘particular’ has become more and more common in Brazil, probably due to its euphemistic quality, since ‘particular’ also means ‘special’ or ‘peculiar’. On the contrary, the word ‘private’ could transmit an idea of prohibition in the access, since it has etymological relation with ‘deprive’. Bearing in mind that Ypióca has the explicit purpose of get many visitors, thus the election of the word ‘particular’ seems more convenient than ‘private’. Moreover, while the term ‘indigenous reserve/land/territory’ evokes cultural and social phenomena that are implicitly valuable; the term ‘private reserve/land’ do not arouse the public opinion in any positive manner. That is why Ypióca necessarily had to appeal to the conjuration: ‘particular ecological’.

The reserve also brings into play some recontextualized concepts in vogue, such as ‘environmental education’ or ‘preservation’ with the intention of legitimating its presence in a territory also contested by Jenipapo-Kanindés discourses and strategies. According to the director of this area: “the homologation as Particular Ecological Reserve was issued by SEMACE⁴⁹ in 2007” (Bruno, 2008*). It is interesting how is preferred the word “homologation” instead of ‘recognition’ as it is used in SEMACE website. At this point, one should notice that the last and definitive step for the full possession and usufruct of an indigenous land is ‘homologation’, and Jenipapo-Kanindés have not achieved this procedure yet. Furthermore, Ypióca has an ambitious and professional program of informing, monitoring, mapping, and trail marking within the reserve:

According to technical reports, the forest shelters 11 mammal species, 7 fishes, 101 birds and 24 reptiles, in addition to unique vital arboreal species, such as goncalo-alves (*Astronium fraxinifolium*), included by IBAMA in the official list of the Brazilian flora species threatened with extinction. With the aim of maintaining the ecological balance of this important native area of the State of Ceará, Pecém Agro-industrial equipped the Ecological Reserve of Lagoa Encantada with trails used by hundreds of groups, including public and private schools and universities, to enable the observation of the beauty and rarity of the species under the guide of special, educative and informative signboards. The care is observed in the littlest details, beginning with the exclusive use of recycled materials and wood from the forest management plan (Ypióca, 2012b)

⁴⁹ Available from:

http://antigo.semace.ce.gov.br/integracao/biblioteca/legislacao/conteudo_legislacao.asp?cd=431

The description of all the natural wealth, and the technologies and techniques to protect it in order to enable touristic, educational and scientific activities represents the enactment of the eco-friendly discourse in a social practice. This social practice is the reserve, which in turn operates in the immediate social and environmental reality. In this way, not only the presence but also the control and management of the territory is legitimized. Furthermore, in the utterance calling for protect *plants included by IBAMA in the official list of the Brazilian flora species threatened with extinction, such as goncalo-alves (Astronium fraxinifolium)*, it seems to be implied, by association, that Ypióca is following and respecting IBAMA commitment about protecting certain valuable ecological elements. Furthermore, the rhetoric of protection to endangered species resembles the argumentation strategy that invokes the *topos* of threat (Wodak and Meyer 2002:75), in order to firm up the overall argumentation. Even more, when the Living Nature Institute has plans on reforesting the reserve with this valuable tree endangered with extinction (Bruno, 2008). In accordance with Brazilian laws regarding the expropriation because of Indigenous Territories demarcations, the government does not pay for the land tenure when evicting landlords, but for all other assets as constructions, plantations or material effects (FUNAI representative, 2012). However, which would be the price for a natural reserve or for endangered species?

Even the materialization of the discourse of preservation within the ecological reserve includes a semiotic level that seems completely apolitical. I refer to the visual language of signage in protected areas that serves purposes of practical information and education, such as scientific names of plants and other ecological data of interest. Moreover, the company informs that they are using recycled materials from the same forest for the production of these signs. Several features formalize the institution and the style of this institution as the legitimate manager and protector of this valuable territory; e.g. the designing of the signs either in the real or in the virtual world⁵⁰, the disposition of the trails, and even the way guides are dressed.

The *topos* of history (Wodak and Meyer 2002: 76) is exhaustively used within Ypióca texts. Although in paragraph a- Ypióca consider that this protected area has been established as such since 1995 so forth being the first private ecological reserve of the state of Ceará (Ypióca 2012); the reserve actually did not received any kind of locally assigned official recognition until 2007 (Bruno, 2008). Furthermore, currently this protected space does not appear in the official list of Private Ecological Reserves of Ceará (SEMACE, 2012).

⁵⁰ See picture 7: It is an image from a magazine from March 2008, distributed on Internet (Ypióca 2012c). However the image is a clear digital manipulation, or 'photo-shop'.

This kind of hyperboles when tracing environmentalist timelines are not beyond the rhetoric of the company, since the firm claims to be among the very founders of global environmental conservation from the first day of ‘the establishment of the company’ in 1846: “The Living Nature Institute, the Private Ecological Reserve of the Lagoa Encantada [...] are examples of the environmental commitment shown since the foundation of the group in 1846. Therefore, a long time before the fight in defense of nature extended worldwide” (Ypióca 2012).

In other utterances, the *topos* of number (Wodak and Meyer 2002:76) is explicitly used by Telles when assuring that the reserve holds around 40% of the area with native vegetation, but what is “the law requires” is only 20% (Telles, 2007). In the same sense, Ypióca presents again this argumentative strategy assuring that its “technical reports found 11 mammal species, 7 fishes, 101 birds and 24 reptiles in the reserve”. This assertion is fallacious because the protection of this important number of species is not being questioned, given that this assertion was true. The real locus of the problematic is who has the right to conduct that protection.

Living Nature Institute

According to the president of the Living Nature Institute, Paulo Telles, since 2006 this area (REP) is being monitored. “It's a way to create contact between the citizen and ecological area and to show that we can produce in a sustainable manner”, he explains (Bruno, 2008). Thus, the foundation of the Living Nature Institute encourages environmental education and reinforces the solid conservationist agenda of Ypióca Group over the territory on which the Private Ecological Reserve is located. Usually these ‘invoking nature’ institutions tend to be associated with non-governmental organizations concerned with the preservation, and often with safeguarding of the interests of rural communities. This occurs when the Institute appears as an appealing ‘anti-politics machine’: a non-profit organization warranting the preservation of fragile species and ecosystems, and promoting environmental education. Just as the private reserve had to contain the word ‘ecológica’, the ‘Living Nature Institute’ also needed to conjugate attractive images of ‘nature’ in its name. ‘Nature’ is an idea inevitably identified with life and liveliness or vivacity. Other ideas implied in the word ‘nature’ are ‘diversity’ and ‘richness’. Then the formulation ‘Living nature’ is simply an oxymoron that aims to increase the seductive power of that image. Perhaps the most revealing element of this conjuration is the idea of vivacity. The adjective ‘vivacious’ is defined as “attractively, lively, and animated, and it is said especially of a woman”. Certainly, ‘nature-speak’ and ‘eco-speak’ often represent the new *femme fatale* for current political

rhetoric. ‘Nature’ appears as a lively *femina*⁵¹ with an infinite variety of sounds, colors, tastes and forms embedded in her body (diversity and richness), and often she is portrayed as the unguarded victim of voracious impulses of some perverse humans. Who can resist the call to admire the beauty (liveliness) of ‘nature’? Who can deny our duty of protecting her from those corruptive impulses? Nowadays, nothing results more convincing than the recontextualization and operationalization of ‘nature-speak’ concepts, even when they occult other purposes. Therefore, the protector (preservationist) of ‘nature’ acquires the status of a ‘hero’ in the minds of those who are persuaded by this suggestive conjuration.

Thus, suggestive images can determine social interaction through the operationalization of socially resonant discourses. They can even function as a Trojan horse, such as in the following episode. Ypióca wanted to block the conduit that streams down to the ocean, in order to increase the water level of the lagoon. Indigenous leaders refused to this proposal (DOU, 2004). Years later, an institution arrived to the community. Two individuals presented themselves as representatives from a NGO called Living Nature. Offering help to community leaders, the two visitors proposed to build a small bridge so that Indians could pass across the conduit without getting wet. The indigenous leaders accepted. Some days later, they realized why the construction was not a suspension bridge, but a continuous cement barrier going through the 7 or 8 meters extension of the conduit. In Internet, some Indians found out that the Living Nature Institute was an organization created by Ypióca, and directed by one of Everardo Telles sons. Their frustration increased when some months after the construction many agriculture plots near the margins of the lagoon were flooded⁵², as a result of the barrier and heavy rains.

Ypióca seeks to impose the legality of its action and its influential status at the state level, over a reality that is controlled at the federal level. Its strategy consists in privileging technical arguments that attempt to demonstrate the sustainability of its activities. It also intends to present its control over resources as a requisite for the functional preservation of some area. The particularities of the ecosystems are emphasized, subsequently projecting the image that Ypióca is the true and legitimate defenders of species or unique ecosystems urging for protection. Any mention of historical or social aspects appears as an assertion referred at short term or detached from wider contexts. It seeks to engage in environmental concepts in vogue. These concepts could be, for instance: ‘organic’ or ‘environmental education’, ‘preservation’, ‘ecological reserves’ or ‘socio-

⁵¹ The association between ‘nature’ and ‘femininity’ is even clearer in Portuguese language, since this word is feminine in a grammatical sense, and in poetry is commonly associated with women.

⁵² This paragraph is completely based on interviews to two indigenous leaders: Cacique Irê and Índio Preá (2012).

environmental responsibility'. Finally, both the ecological and organic character of the overall production system, its benefits and advantages, and the positive pronouncements of the organs supervising that system intend to serve as a justification for any other action with environmental implications, which is undertaken by the organic sugar cane plantation.

Synthesizing: How is the environmentalist discourse of Ypióca enacted? A globalocentric perspective is called to mind through the activities conducted on the physis space, such as tourism, conservation, research and recreation. The discourse is materialized in the trails, signs pamphlets and other objects, which allow those activities. Finally the discourse is inculcated as contact situations where visitors can experience in visual images and perceptual codes a style of 'sustainable production' and 'environmental preservation' within the reserve. This kind of style is a model of how to conduct one-self respecting nature, bearing in mind an image of nature at a global level i.e. a globalocentric environmental 'ethos'. As Ypióca is holding this style, it comes to be considered as an exemplary agent in terms of its mission in global society: the protection of the lively nature. What this globalocentric conjuration of invoking natural beauty and heroic protection does not tell us is that locally, just inside of the private ecological reserve, Ypióca has a pump that extracts water from a rare inter-dune lagoon, which does not belong to them. Furthermore, even the whole reserve is part of the indigenous territory, according to federal authorities.

6.3 Articulation with IBD

In IBD websites, both Ypióca's sugar cane and cachaça hold an organic certification accepted both in European and USA markets⁵³. As indicated, both the ecological and organic character of the overall production system, its benefits and advantages, and the positive pronouncements of the organs supervising that system intend to serve as a justification for any other action with environmental implications, which is undertaken by the organic sugar cane plantation, as in this study, the extraction of water.

Group Ypióca, in its defense, relies on its international articulation to proclaim the almost universal acceptability for its actions, by using the expression 'all international recommendations' in the following sentence extracted from *e*: "Group Ypióca observes *all international recommendations* in the planting and cultivation of its raw material, and for this reason it holds as valid the seal granted by Demeter Biodynamic Institute - IBD for certification of organic

⁵³ USDA 100%; European Regulation (EC) 834/2007; Law 10.831.

catchaça⁵⁴”. How it could be considered as illegitimate an action effectuated under *all international recommendations*? Which are these international recommendations? According to IBD webpage,⁵⁵ the biggest and most important organic certifying organization of Latin America:

The certification process is of fundamental importance to the viability of organic agriculture, serving as an important tool for stimulating ecological and social awareness. Certification requires a series of precautions, such as the detoxification of the soil for 1 to 3 years in areas under transition from chemical to organic agriculture, the absence of chemical fertilizers and pesticides, attention to ecological aspects (for example, the conservation of Permanent Preservation Areas through reforestation of riparian forests), preservation of native species and natural springs, *respect for Indian reserves*⁵⁶ and social standards based on international labor agreements, humane treatment of animals

I wrote an email to IBD narrating Ypióca’s actions performed on indigenous land, based on my own observations and the article redacted by FUNAI in 2010. Rather than exclusively complaining, the intention of that email was to obtain an answer to a single question: What does it mean to IBD “respect for indigenous reserves” taking into account all the actions done by Ypióca on the lagoon belonging to the Indigenous Territory of Jenipapo-Kanindés? My impression, after not having a response, is that this organization still is not completely “aware of its responsibility as an agent of social transformation”. In general, it seems that IBD exclusively waited that the scandal was gone in Germany to do not receive any pressure from Demeter Institute, which recognizes this certification in this European country.

6.4 A style: The retrospective innovator

The retrospective innovator is a successful and charming style (See picture 8). “Styles are identities, ways of being in their semiotic aspect, for instance, being a ‘manager’ in the currently fashionable way in business” (Fairclough 2010: 232). Everardo Telles, certainly is a person very admired for many sectors of the society in Ceará. He has received important premiums, distinctions and tributes: In 1998 he received the Edson Queiroz medal (businessman of the year), granted by the legislative assembly of Ceará; in 2009 Telles received a homage from the Legislative Assembly of Ceará for the 160 years of Ypióca, requested by the congressman Artur

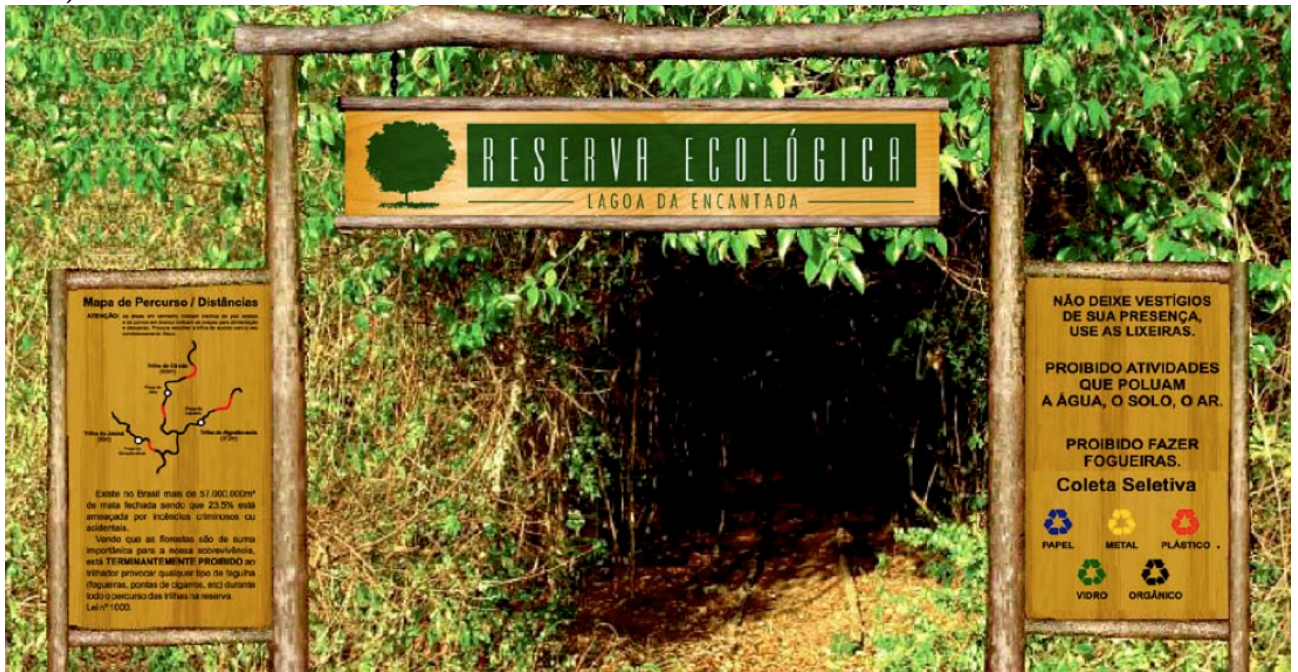
⁵⁴ My italics

⁵⁵ Available from:

<http://www.ibd.com.br/en/ServicosCertificacoes.aspx>

⁵⁶ My italics

Picture 7: Image presented by Ypióca to promote on Internet the 'Particular' Ecological Reserve (Ypióca 2012c).



Picture 8: An emblematic style: the retrospective innovator. In this image, the old-wood barrel for aged spirits visibly contrasts with the modern fashion of the Ypióca headquarters building. Tradition and innovation are, rather than contradictory, complementary symbolic forms by means of which the image of Ypióca as a successful and emblematic company is enlivened. (Photo: Simoes, 2010).



Bruno; and in 2011 he obtained the Sereia do Ouro award, which is intended to distinguished citizens. In order to understand all this fascination with this entrepreneur, we should go back to the 1940s when, “with five years old, Everardo Ferreira Telles traveled the sugar cane plantations in Manguarape, in the Metropolitan Region of Fortaleza, in the back of a horse, with his father, Paulo Campos Telles. From the rump, he watched the way Paulo led the production and gave orders to employees. At 68 years old, Everardo represents the fourth generation ahead of one of the most solid family business in Brazil. ‘Wisely, my father always tried to get me involved in the company activities and some lessons he passed me I bring with me until today’, he says”. A strong retrospective identity is depicted in this narration. The permanent links with a traditional past and his ancestors is often present presented by the media, when identifying Telles. Nevertheless, he does not live in the agrestic past any longer. The growth of Ypióca requires the use of technologies. “Nineteen hours and thirty minutes on a Friday and Mr. Everardo Telles is still in his office in Fortaleza. On a busy day he visited, flying his own helicopter, his four factories scattered around the coastal region of Ceará⁵⁷ .

Nevertheless, there is a complementary feature, which also characterizes Telles. In his own words: “Innovation has always been a feature of ours. This has already appeared from the packaging to the old form of rum, a technique brought from Portugal by my great-grandfather. And everything has been improved. Over time I realized that it was important to innovate as well as diversify the activities, as a matter of economic stability” (Simoës, 2010). Thus, to highlight the tradition its important when reinforcing Ypióca’s image as cultural patrimony; while to call attention to innovation has to do both with the future and the past, since innovate also means to be the pioneer, and this fact could be historicized at a later date. Telles is, undoubtedly, an entrepreneur with great leadership. Precisely he uses his style to project it within the same corporate identity. This identity is used primarily for business purposes, but also employed within the rhetoric of the conflict.

History of cast iron

“This is not the first time that these glass teeth attempt to bite the concept and prestige of Ypióca, which is made of cast iron, and forged over 160 years” poetically complained Ypióca’s advocate, when referring to Fonseca. Indeed ‘history’ is a common marketing strategy within producers of alcohol, either in the commercialization of beer, wine or spirits. In this sense,

⁵⁷ Available from:
http://pensa.org.br/wpcontent/uploads/2011/10/Ypioca_introduzindo_uma_bebida_genuinamente_brasileira_no_mercado_global_2000.pdf

Ypióca released in 2006 “a special commemorative reserve of the 160 years of the Group” (Ypióca, 2012) However, How the history of a company is used as political tool?

At this point, I am approaching what Fairclough (2010) considers as styles and identities as phenomena inculcating discourses on society. Styles are defined as ways of being. It has been mentioned before that this is the oldest family-owned enterprise in Brazil. Thus the identity of the company is strongly linked to this family. Particularly Everardo Telles is the face of Ypióca, because he is the president director since 1970. In the media he is presented as a legend. Analogously, this company has been regarded as emblematic, mainly in Ceará.

In May 2012, when *Diario Nordeste* in Facebook, announced the acquisition of Ypióca by a multinational British corporation, in a few hours hundred of comments appeared. Many of them lamented the loss of cultural or historical legacy or a symbol of Ceará. In deed, after the payment in cash of approximately 300 millions British pounds, many divisions of that firm were transferred from the fourth and fifth generation of the family that owned it for 140 years, into the hands of the corporation DIAGEO, which is the world leader in production and distribution of premium spirits. However what was sold were the plantations of conventional cachaça, the brand in itself, a bottling factory, and a distribution center in Sao Paulo. The family Telles kept the plantations in the proximity of Lagoa Encantada, previously assuring an exclusive contract with DIAGEO to commercialize their organic cachaça⁵⁸.

'The first' as emblem

The reason for this admiration is well founded. Ypióca owns of the biggest cultural and historical touristic attractions in Ceará, with 10 000 visitors each month. This is due to the fact That Ypióca is one of the oldest companies in Brazil. Moreover, the story behind this fact is fascinating: “the house built by the patriarch Dario Telles between 1851 and 1854 today shelters the Museum of Cachaça. In 1843, coming from Lisbon, Portugal he brought in his bag a small ceramic alembic and his experience in the manufacture of liquor”⁵⁹. The pioneering spirit is one of the hallmarks of the group Ypióca (Simoes, 2010). Certainly, ‘arriving first’ events are a double-edged sword. Initially, being the first means innovation. Posteriorly, this pioneering becomes history, emblemizing narratives such as that of the arrival of the Portuguese patriarch to make possible “the first cachaça bottled in Brazil in 1846” (Ypióca, 2012a). Subsequently it became “the first

⁵⁸ Statements in accordance with *Diario do Nordeste*. Available from: <http://diariodonordeste.globo.com/materia.asp?codigo=1142846>

⁵⁹ Information available from: <http://www.ipark.tur.br/museu.html>

distilled spirit company to maintain trade relations with Germany in 1968; the first private ecological reserve of Ceará in 1995, and the first organic cachaça in the Brazilian market in 2001” (Ypióca, 2012a); demonstrating the groundbreaking labor of this company, and the reason why it stay as a cultural emblem in the mind of many people of Ceará.

Indeed, two of ‘the first’ narratives outlined in last paragraph (1995 and 2001) are used as a political strategy to be deployed into the rhetoric of confrontation, besides of being a marketing strategy. The historicization of certain relevant social practices within the conflict intends to invest them with a major legitimacy. Thus, the fact that the private ecological reserve is ‘the first’ in its kind in Ceará (1995, according to Ypióca website) explicitly turns it more valuable and implicitly intends to compete with the identification and delimitation studies of the Indigenous Territory, which started one year later (1996). Moreover, Everardo Telles explicitly uses the *topos* of history (Wodak and Meyer 2002:76) to rationalize the assumption of Ypióca not having degraded the lagoon. In his Internet article, Telles equates longevity with sustainability with these words:

-This plantation is installed and running in that place for more than 20 years. If the plantation were destroying the lagoon, so it would not be destroyed already?

-Over the years of its existence, the company developed modern agricultural techniques for soil conservation to prevent environmental degradation and preserve the ecological balance. The cultivation of sugar cane or any other crop lasts short time if the farmer does not respect the environment and degrade the soil. Ypióca completed 160 years of existence and has endured in all the farms acquired (Telles, 2007*)

Synthetically, the denominations elected by Ypióca to lead its environmental program -Living Nature Institute and ‘Particular’ Ecological Reserve- aim to circumscribe its discourse within an apolitical framework. Ypióca’s order of discourse promotes - throughout its genres, discourses and styles- the inculcation of several admirable behaviors such as eco-friendly production, social and environmental responsibility, and a balanced mixture of ‘tradition’ elements and ‘innovation’ elements on its activities. The order of discourse is, therefore, heterogeneous and apparently contradictory. However, this contradiction seeks to comprise several perspectives in order to be more attractive (Cfr. Fairclough 2010:63). This order of discourse acts within different domains. Although mainly intended as a commercial strategy, it also functions as a semiotic justificatory

agenda used to assert its hegemony in the area in conflict. All this happen in detriment of the indigenes rights, who in change, see their lands invaded, their water exploited and their trust betrayed, as in the episode of the construction of the 'bridge' by the Living Nature Institute. The genres of Ypióca underpins around ideas engaged in discourses such as organic production and preservation, which are networked with mainly two other social agents: state authorities and the international certificatory agency. However, the state authorities have not legitimacy over federal bodies, while the certificatory organization IBD is unable to appreciate the social-environmental reality there, or has other interests rather to demonstrate its "responsibility as an agent of social transformation", to quote IBD own words.

7 Denomination of social groups, hegemony and semiosis

7.1 “Beyond good and evil, and the law”

In 2007, Daniel Fonseca and Jeováh Meireles faced to judicial processes being accused for slander, calumny and defamation, and thereafter were requested to pay a hefty indemnity to Ypióca. According to the articulation of social groups representing these two activists: “The company’s attitude was a reaction to the international repercussion of an article by the German journalist, Norbert Suchanek (entitled ‘Hypocrisy in Bio-quality’), based on a talk given by Jeováh Meireles during the 1st National Seminar on Environmental Racism. The principal question refers to Ypióca’s responsibility for environmental injustices and human rights violations of the Jenipapo-Kanindé indigenous people” (Note of repudiation, 2007*). On the other hand, the owner of Ypióca had a different version. He denounced on Internet the manipulation of a poor community by “ideological shias” who pretended to embrace social causes with the purpose of “obtaining economical benefits under the counter”. According to Telles, “under the false flag of indigenusness they intend to achieve white’s expropriation”. He also complains that these “false beatified persons of social causes” made use of the universality of Internet with the purpose of slandering his company. (Telles, 2007*).

In the same spirit, a Ypióca lawyer denouncing these activists considered that: “these false paladins of human rights believe that they are little gods, beyond good and evil, and the law⁶⁰”. Actually this lawyer specially complained for a statement with a “clear ideological content”. This was written by the articulation of activists in its note of repudiation: “Ypióca joins other businesses in the search for high profits, assaulting and selling off nature, degrading indigenous territories and traditional cultures, and disrespecting human rights, all within the logic of markets and capital” (Note of repudiation, 2007*).

In these processes the Ypióca legal representative made clear once again his perspective regarding the identity of both the activists and members of the community.

To this little gang of ideologically disastrous people, false preachers of social and human rights, it is sufficient to consider oneself an Indian in order to become one. And nothing more. Based on this stupid premise, they organize small communities of fishermen and artisans who, as such, deserve

⁶⁰ Poder Judiciário do Estado de Ceará, 2007. Processo número 2007.0027.3957-5.

full respect. They (activists) convinced the community that passing them off as Indians is advantageous, and conducted a slow and gradual psychological process for the assumption of a new cultural identity, teaching cultural expressions and practices of ‘forest-dwellers’ tribes that no longer exist for more than two centuries⁶¹.

It is quite evident that, through predicational strategies, the agents involved ascribe to their opponent “negative traits” when making use of implicit or explicit predicates (Wodak and Meyer 2002:27). Indeed, typecasting social agents and its actions is a typical strategy in virtually any kind of human conflict. Much more interesting is, to the purposes of this study, the utilization of nomination strategies to predispose certain possibilities during social interaction. Thus, “membership categorization devices” become incisive when they covertly allocate determinant social boundaries to some agents through either a open nomination or a much more styled categorization such as “metaphor, metonymy and synecdoche”(ibid. 27). Indeed, denominations could be a causal power in the quest for hegemony, respecting two competing orders of discourse. Thus, this chapter will analyze the struggle between two antagonistic perspectives of indigenosity and how a position which is held by the official agenda at present times is fiercely contested by some powerful agents who engage in nomination references from the socio-historical context of discrimination in order to recover their lapsed hegemony.

7.2 Power, Ideology and the quest for hegemony

Ideology, Power and Ethics are three major aspects of semiosis. The relationship between these three aspects is quite complex. In general terms, power becomes predominantly manifested in action, and therefore through genres; while ideology, as “representations which contribute to constituting, transforming and reproducing social relations of power and domination”, it is subsequently present in the form of discourses (Fairclough 2010: 28). Finally, ethics has partly to do with identification, and therefore is mostly related to styles and identities, although evidently is also present in genres and discourses, in a dialectical relation. All three aspects are involved during the quest for hegemony between competing orders of discourse. Chapter 5 reveals, I suggest, the existence of a preliminary social wrong, which is the negation and neglect of the agro-industrial pollution of the lagoon. In my perspective, the fact that Ypióca continued to interfere in the lagoon up to the present day demonstrate its factual ‘power’ as domination over other social agents, in despite of the proved environmental degradation. Chapter 6 explored other

⁶¹Poder Judiciário do Estado de Ceará. 2007. Processo número 2007.0027.3957-5, Ceará, Brasil. My parenthesis.

dimension of the same ‘social wrong’: Ypióca construed a spotless facade of ‘environmentality’ with the purpose of warranting its control over the territory in dispute. The ideological dimension of this facade is quite difficult to unveil, due to the real and consistent ecological agenda of this company. However, the semiotic analysis of the emergence of the private ecological reserve and the Living Nature Institute let us appreciate its clear relation and determination in the conflict. Nevertheless, once identified these ‘social wrongs’ related to power and ideology; and once described the main obstacles avoiding overpowering these ‘social wrongs’, it is necessary to proceed in the exploration of the social wrong’s connections with even wider spheres of social reality. To quote again Fairclough, this chapter explores how “the social order needs the social wrong?”(Fairclough 2010:249).

In order to determine how social agents struggle in the quest for hegemony, and once allocated the social wrong in different dimensions, I could have focused on many different aspects of social reality in Ceará. I could have tried to demonstrate imbalances when social agents face the ‘justice’ system, due to the factual power of each agent. For example from chapter 5, it is possible to deduce some social wrongs as actually-occurring phenomena. In this sense, the disobedience of Ypióca to the federal environmental authority called IBAMA is, in my perspective, irrefutably an evidence of a ‘social wrong’, by which Ypióca demonstrate the range of its favored position in Ceará. Furthermore, this favored position become also manifest when reflecting to what extent is relatively easy to cope with a judicial conflict for a powerful company, e.g. within their organizational procedures or hiring several lawyers. On the contrary, to an individual, these events go from stressful to traumatic experiences, both in social, psychological and economical terms. Also I could have chosen to direct my efforts in demonstrate how traditional media favors or disfavor certain perspectives and themes; e.g. when the articulation of ‘subversive’ NGOs, journalist and academicians wanted to publish the note of repudiation, and the two most powerful newspapers of Fortaleza hinder that possibility. In the same sense, the following declarations of Norbert Suchanek could exemplify how these imbalances in judicial and broadcasting terms function:

I have no Idea, about the outreach of the Ypióca-lies against me, but as a free-lance journalist I depend on a good reputation and Ypióca tried to destroy it. How much money I lost? How much potential clients (Journals/ Newspapers/News Agencies) I lost? I published more or less the same story in the weekly newspaper ‘Freitag’ of Berlin. I have no idea, if Ypióca contacted also Freitag. But since that article, I never could publish any other article in that newspaper until today (Suchanek, 2012)

In other relevant approach, it could be studied how contestation is undertaken throughout the Internet. Interestingly, certain social sectors are confined to divulge their perspective exclusively through Internet, with all the advantages and risks present in this arena. As an example, due to the ‘naivety’ of the activists, Ypióca representatives found in Internet the ‘discussion group’ some days before the activists got to publish its note of repudiation, and the company used these cybernetic findings to demonstrate the participation of Fonseca in the redaction of that document in order to incriminate him. Similarly, there was an identity falsification, which created an internal conflict within the articulation against Ypióca, as someone falsely used Meireles name to reproduce the conciliation letter.

On the other hand, one could give account of all the advantages by which internet is considered a fundamental tool for social movements around the world: its availability to social groups which traditionally lacked a powerful canal to transmit its perspectives, and the impossibilities of controlling it in despite of governmental proscriptions. Finally, another issue that could be addressed is the competition between different concepts of organic agriculture, i.e. how ‘progressive’ or ‘subversive’ activists and social movements continue to question globalocentric agents by the ambiguity of their discourse (Escobar, 1998), such as these international organic certifying agents. Suchanek was absolutely right when exhibiting IBD’s hypocrisy when proclaiming that its certification requires ‘respect for indigenous reserves’ while granting this certification to Ypióca.

However, I declined all those alternatives in order to concentrate my efforts in understanding the different denominations by which dominant groups have recognized the Jenipapo-Kanindé and its predecessors through history. This is important because the relationship between this way of referring to them and the relations of ‘governance’⁶² regarding this issue. Of course this relationship is dialectical: social interaction is a causal power exerted through the denominations chosen, while these names partially create defining conditions for social interaction.

7.3 Contesting identities

Paradoxically enough, Ypióca is a word in the Tupi-Guaraní language meaning ‘red land’. As shown in this chapter, Tupis-Guaraníes were a sort of ‘friends’ for Portuguese colonizers and

⁶² I hereby employ ‘governance’ in accordance with Fairclough’s sense; i.e. ‘any activity within an institution or organization directed at regulating or managing some other (network of) social practices’.

influenced them when considering ‘enemies’ many ethnicities widely known as Tapuias (Altman 2005: 217). All hypothesis concerning the ethnic origin of the community A Lagoa Encantada refer to some Tapuia ethnic group; either Jenipapos and Kanindés as some CDPDH representatives believed in the 1980s, or Payakús as some anthropologist documented it in the late 1990s (ISA, 2012b). Indeed, this chapter offers a reflection on the different denominations that Jenipapo-Kanindés have heard from anthropologists and historians as its probable ethnic origin. The current implications of such denominations during social interaction are determinant, since Ypióca intend to delegitimize the Jenipapo-Kanindé ethnic distinction in order to bring to end their territorial rights as indigenous people.

As indicated Ypióca has used strategies such as claiming sustainability in their production processes, a supposed legality of its actions, and an environmental institutionalization of its social practices within the territory under dispute. Nevertheless all these strategies have to do with own actions of the company with the purpose of enacting resonant discourses. All this has an indirect participation within the confrontation. What actually constitute a ‘direct attack’ to the community is the judicial processes questioning its identity. This offensive seems quite logical, since the identification of this indigenous group respecting its ethnic origin had been tormented by many confusions and uncertainties. Even one of the most prominent anthropologist with studies about this community declared:

In 1994, when we were initiating our individual studies of this population in 1994, it was exactly known as Jenipapo-Kanindé. However, when we were starting with a new census, we corroborated in the field that this denomination was known for less than the half part of them [...] The informants some times did not know how they were called, a individual said that this denomination was invented, another said -according to his own memory- that he is a Paiajú. Anyhow, there is a denomination, which always appear in their declarations according to their memory: Cabeludos da Encantada (PortoAlegre, cited by Antunes 2008: 11*)

Thus, the company takes in advantage this nominative lack of continuity with their ethnic provenance in order to delegitimize their indigenous identity. However this only one of many other arguments offered to disqualify this ascription. What actually represent Ypióca’s direct quest of hegemony within territorial rights could be found in two different genres: the social-anthropological research in 2007, and various judicial processes, particularly those from 2000 and 2011. Besides that research, I will focus on a process where the company questioned FUNAI in the court, expecting the issuance of a preliminary injunction in order to restrain the federal organ

in their identification and delimitation processes. That happened in 2000. There is a denoted resemblance between the narratives and arguments present in these document and the Social-Anthropological Research. Publicly, the very president and main owner of Ypióca used some assertions from this document to allege that ideological extremists were manipulating a poor community instilling them to believe that they were ‘Indians’. Thus, the identification of the inhabitants of A Lagoa Encantada as indigenous has been strongly contested both by the former owner of the Ypióca, its lawyers and the academicians hired by the company. In these arguments names to refer ‘Indians’ and ‘non-Indians’ come into play as ‘forest-dwellers’, ‘integrated Indians’ or ‘mixed Indians’. All these denominations have social causes only discernible through a historical analysis. Although briefly, it is important to reflect on the historical passages of the ethnic groups of Ceará to understand the connotation of such different denominations.

Thus, the socio-anthropological research -produced in 2007- is actually supervised by a sociologist working for a private institute. Second, I included in this section some extracts from a judicial litigation from 2000, when the company requested the injunction of FUNAI labor in Aquiraz. This process⁶³ aimed to refrain FUNAI from giving continuation to acts of delimitation and identification of the indigenous area for Jenipapo-Kanindé. Territorial interests were the evident motivation for this legal action. The company claimed that 200 hectares of land belonging were being included in the delimitation process, and that area “was not traditionally inhabited or occupied by any Indian tribe”. The next section, *Ypióca’s relevant texts for denying Jenipapo-Kanindé indigenous identity* comprises the main allegations raised by the company to question the legitimacy of the indigenous identity.

Ypióca’s relevant texts for denying Jenipapo-Kanindé indigenous identity

A- Similarities with neighboring communities

A1- We did not notice any cultural, social or genetic differences in relation to others in the greater region (Socio-Anthropological Research: SAR).

B- Absence of a notorious cultural difference

B1- Being an Indian is being born Indian, raised, educated and domesticated according to practices, customs and traditions of the indigenous village, which one belongs to (process)

B2- At this point it is not possible to wish the recreation of an indigenous history which had its final term, because when these persons were incorporated into the local population they mixed

⁶³ Poder Judiciário do Estado de Ceará, 2000. Processo número 2000.81.00.004400-0.

their habits, customs and traditions and became, in their lifestyle, integrated Indians, thus no longer protected by the state (process)

C- Absence of historical mentions of indigenous in this specific territory

C1- Any official historical record on Lagoa Encantada as Indigenous Territory is inexistent (process)

D- Historical sources confirm the disappearance of the groups where they have an ethnic origin

The prestigious German academician Curt Nimundaju, in his ethno-historical map published in 1987 referred to Kanindés as a extinct group (process)

E-Uncertainties about their exact ethnic origin

E1: It is important to note that historians, anthropologists and sociologist of FUNAI work exclusively on hypothesis (SAR)

E2: The name of the identity of the group was completely unknown for their members, even to the Cacique (process)

F-This group migrated to this area

F1- If these Indians migrated is because they abandoned their land, then one can not talk about any traditional occupation in the Lagoa Encantada (process)

G- Old land tenure registers for this area

These properties are defined, from hands in hands by inheritance or by purchase and sale process, not being, in any way since ancient times of collective usufruct (SAR)

H- Frequent and intense contact with other communities

H1- They are linked socially and economically with other neighboring communities (SAR)

H2- They are members of an association where there are white men, ordinary citizens, bearing the same aspirations and suffering from the same problems of everyday life to maintain their survival (process)

I- Active role of its leaders in political processes

I1: They know how to fight alongside official authorities for their claims, and how to defend their interests with the same means as any well-organized community (process)

J-Interference from external organizations

J1: There was the need to reactivate the Torém, receiving visits from other tribes, with sponsorship coming from outside, so that they might been taught legends, dances, the Tupi language, and typical indigenous customs (SAR)

J2: There were religious missionaries interested in gaining new adepts (process)

J3: The frequent demonstrations of groups or entities that declared themselves in solidarity with the indigenous cause bear a disfigured emotionalism that, instead of contributing to the nobility of this cause, pollute the customs, traditions and culture of those who really are Indians, with vices of the same partisan political ideology that promotes the development of social groups consisting of classist entities, such as the Movimento dos Trabalhadores Sem Terra (process)

J4: They [activists] cross-dress in the cause of indigenous apologists, aiming to take advantage (money) of international NGOs (process)

K-Discredit of FUNAI labor

K1: These are mechanisms of oppression (Pastoral Indigenista, FUNAI) linked to the elaboration of attitudes, values, beliefs and lifestyles (SAR)

K2: Nobody becomes indigenous by simple formal statement, as FUNAI Workgroup members understood it (process)

K3: They are subjected to a deplorable process of regression to salvage life, just to keep the pride of FUNAI, which has not yet found his true destiny (process)

K4: The Brazilian state has to ensure the ownership of the forest-dwellers⁶⁴ by avoiding invasions by the civilized, by giving protection to these Indians concerning the respect for their internal organization, customs, languages, and institutions; and should only attack those who hide behind a red skin (process)

K5: I remember that not so long ago, Sting the singer arrived in Brazil on condition of tourist and took the Cacique Raoni around the world, but FUNAI did not followed them in their path; he promoted and publicized the Brazilian Indians in his own way and perhaps even undermining the interests of the Brazilian people. And where was the FUNAI at that time? (process)

L- Benefits and advantages of becoming Indian

L1- This is a group of people living in a rural area without any expectation of a better life, experiencing deprivation of food, just like other lands who also wish to be 'identified' in Ceará: they are sacks full of misery but this does not mean that such people are indigenous. (process)

L2: It is well known by all, that mainly from the enactment of 1988 Constitution, the characterization of any community as indigenous represents a major advance in the conquest of land (SAR)

L3: FUNAI, when recognizing a community as indigenous, provides the existence of school, health post, transport, FUNASA car to drive patients to the city, and a greater benefit of the bolsa-familia (SAR)

7.4 History and ethnic denominations

Since many Ypióca's claims (C, D, E, and F) constantly refer to history, I will give a brief account of some of the most relevant episodes for the groups on which Jenipapo-Kanindés have their ethnic origin. It should be noted that the cachaça producer uses certain predications to refer to them as mixed, integrated, civilized persons opposed to Indians, indigenous persons or forest-dwellers. However, the approach I have chosen to conduct within the analysis of the discourses

⁶⁴ In Portuguese: silvícolas

struggling for hegemony will be limited to the study of nominations throughout the history of ethnic friction (ethnic groups with large cultural difference: European-Amerindian) for this group across different periods of history. Obviously, by doing so, it is not intended to solve what anthropologists have been not able to do: specify with full certainty the exact ethnic origin for this group. The purpose is to consider the historical trajectory of interethnic contact, the denominations resulting from such contact of friction, and subsequently, the sociopolitical consequences of these denominations for the communities involved.

Currently, as I could appreciate, the tremendous confusion regarding their ethnic origin has still not being completely dissipated within the indigenous group in A Lagoa Encantada. The three indigenous leaders I interviewed told me that they come from five different ethnicities: Jenipapos, Kanindés, Payakús, Tapuias, and Cabeludos da Encantada. All these have been the names they have heard from the anthropologist visiting the community, with exception of Cabeludos da Encantada, a vernacular name used by their neighbors when referring to them. Most anthropologists privilege the hypothesis that their origin is the Payakús. The confusion was probably due to the fact that both Jenipapos, Kanindés and Payakús, were all grouped all under the generic name ‘Tapuias’⁶⁵, denomination comprising a great and unknown number of other ethnicities living as nomads in the hinterlands of northeastern Brazil. To be more precise, the Tapuias from the hinterlands (Tapuias do sertão) actually were two big ‘nations’, each of them with dozens of ethnicities. These two ‘nations’ were the Tarairiú and the Cariri. “The Tarairiu would be represented by Janduí, Kanindé, Paste, Javo, Payacú, Jenipapo, Sucuru (also called Xucuru or Zucuru) Panati, Camaçu, Tucuriju, and curema Arariú” (Medeiros Filho cited by Macedo, 2007: 52). Also at some point these three groups were aldeados in the southern region of Ceará. Finally, ‘Cabeludos da Encantada’ is a recent vernacular denomination used by non-indigenous neighbors close by the Lagoa Encantada to refer to that community (ISA 2012b).

Even when anthropologists think that Payakús is the most probable origin, this group is closely related to the Jenipapos and the Kanindés, since all of them were generally called as Tapuias and even more detailed, they all were related to Tarairiú. Furthermore all these three groups were ‘aldeados’⁶⁶ during the 18th century in the same region. Thereafter, these ‘aldeamentos’ (villages of

³ ‘Tapuia’ was a term used by Tupis to refer to virtually any other indigenous group different from them, specially their enemies. The Portuguese continued reproducing this division, as the Tupi-Guarani were the first to be colonized by the Portuguese. Like the Portuguese, the Dutch often used the term “Tapuyas” to denote any hostile natives (Almeida 2000: 3)

⁶⁶ The word ‘Aldeados’ means ‘put-in-villages’ and it refers to the colonization process of setting ‘savage Indians’ in villages controlled by Portuguese missionaries in order to catechize and civilize them.

aldeados) were first transferred and then dissolved during the first decades of 19th century. The descendants had to migrate to several areas of Ceará. Thus, I will reflect on these coincidental narratives for the three ethnic groups.

Barbarian cannibals and infernal allies

Most of historical quotations of Portuguese colonizers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries mainly used very general ethnonyms as Tapuia, or even Tarairiú, impeding us to discern more precisely which specific ethnic groups were referring to. In the early seventeenth century, the entry of European settlers related to the Dutch West Indies Company led to the introduction of other historical sources, however the Dutch continued repeating this lack of specificity. During the conflict between these two European maritime powers in northeastern Brazil, both sides sought to ally themselves with both Tupis and Tapuias, although the clear trend was that the Portuguese have a larger support of the former group, while the Dutch of the latter (Apolinario 2009: 5,6).

The conflict between Dutch and Portuguese armies lasted 24 years between 1630 and 1654 (Almeida 2000: 1). The Dutch West Indian Company mainly opted to ally, among all Tapuias, with groups belonging to Tarairiús, since they were great warriors feared by both the Portuguese and Tupis rivals. According to the Dutch, the Tarairiús were nomadic warriors, and experienced hunters and gathers, who knew how to survive in this arid and hostile environment without carrying anything else rather than their nudes bodies. Fetishism and cannibalism and other ‘diabolic actions’ were their common practices, according to the Europeans (Apolinario 2009: 2,3). Colonizers from both European nations wrote that the missions of ‘civilize’ these indomitable warriors was impossible (Almeida 2000:18). Therefore, Dutch call them their ‘infernal allies’⁶⁷. It is interesting to note that there are quotations revealing Payakús collaboration with the Portuguese in battles against the Dutch and their allies Jaduínes, even when both ethnic groups belonged to the same family Tarairiú; while some decades after this war, and paradoxically enough, Jaduínes collaborated with the Portuguese in an indiscriminate slaughter of their ‘relatives’ Payakús in 1699 (Apolinario 2009: 7).

The expulsion of the Dutch was followed by a period of violent confrontations between Portuguese and Tapuias. This period (1683-1713) was designated ‘War of the Barbarians’ by the Portuguese. This denomination clearly implied that, in Portuguese perspectives, these indigenous

⁶⁷ These “savages” gained a diabolic reputation as “infernal allies” of Dutch colonizers in coastal Brazil during the 1630s and 1640s. (Pompa 2002:269).

people remained as a symbol of brave savages. But the Indians called this historic moment as Indian Confederation or Kariri Confederation, because most 'Tapuia' groups acted together against the colonizers. The War of the Barbarians is perhaps the best-known historical mention of Tapuias in Brazil's history. Their participation in this war was chronicling because of 'their extreme cruelty and courage when facing Portuguese troops, special mention to those groups of Tarairiú 'nation' (Apolinario 2009: 5,6). However, in accordance with contemporary historians this supposed extreme cruelty could be, in part, an argument to justify the systematic extermination of these 'barbarians' who were in Portuguese eyes, besides of nomads and cannibalistic, 'betrayers of the Portuguese crown when supporting the Dutch invasions. Because of their fierce and prolonged resistance, these groups of the semi-arid Northeast become in the Portuguese imaginary as the antithetic prototype of European civilization and culture. However, other equally important factors impelled the Portuguese to consider as 'fair war' the almost total extermination of the ethnicities belonging to the Tarairiú nation (Apolinario 2009: 5). Europeans insisted constantly in contrasting them with Tupi-Guarani, who generally were allies of the Portuguese in their struggle against the Dutch, and offered no major problems at the time of becoming 'civilized' and catechized. Thus the Tapuias (specially Tarairiús) were presented both "as natural element of the hinterlands from the boundaries of northern captaincies, and as fierce and monstrous creatures" (*ibid.*). "Unwilling to accept colonization, they were submitted to violence, then were enslaved and gradually lost their lands. They rebelled constantly until they were subdued, and almost totally decimated" (ISA 2012b).

In this sense, Pompa (2003) studied how, from the European eyes, the harsh environment of the hinterlands is socio-semiotically associated with the bravery of these ethnicities. "The Tapuias of hinterlands - the Dutch infernal allies of the Dutch and therefore barbarians to be destroyed in a just war- were depositories of all signs of savagery constructed by medieval and renaissance imaginary, including the lack of stable home [...] There is no doubt that the sources demonstrate a kind of physiologic nexus hinterland/Tapuia: the hinterland, as well as its inhabitants, is a space, a mobile concept of humanity. This refers, definitively, to a missionary attitude: the idea of filling this empty space and tame this savagery" (Pompa 2003: 269*). All these perceptions preceded and determined the brief but convulse period in which the several groups steaming from Tarairiú were 'aldeados' or put in villages.

From 'aldeados' to 'integrados'

At this point I will focus in Payakús, since anthropologists and historians consider this group as the most probable origin for Jenipapo-Kanindés. However, either case, the Payakús experienced very similar processes as both Jenipapos and Kanindés did. Direct references to Payakús appeared more frequently from 1703 when they were 'aldeados' in a village in Aquiráz. In 1707, the Jesuits built their base around that village on the river Choró in Aquiráz. The 'aldeados' lived in this village called Montemor-o-velho until mid-eighteenth century when the Jesuits were expelled. Then many indigenes were transferred to Rio Grande do Norte, but soon escaped back to Montemor-o-velho, which remained for a long time being known as a place exclusively inhabited by Indians, and hold this name until 1890 (Antunes 2008: 59). In 1890, over this village was created the town of Guarani (1890-1943), now in the municipality of Pacajus. On the other side, the Jenipapo and the Kanindés were 'aldeados' between 1731 and 1739 near the river Banabuiú, but later gathered in the village of Palma, and then in Monte Mor-ó-novo-d'América (1764-1858), current municipality of Baturité (ISA, 2012b).

During the eighteenth century, territorial control was obviously the main intention of transforming all these three groups in 'aldeados'. However Portuguese colonizers also intended, through catechesis, to restore in this barbarians the humanity, which the European imagination had denied to them. However new territorial interests as livestock extension, urbanization and road construction projects made that both Jenipapos, Kanindés and Payakús were constantly displaced and relocated, leading many to organize and flee from the 'aldeamentos' and migrate to other parts (Pacheco de Oliveira, 2010:22). At this point, it is possible to understand how happened that migration which is used by Ypióca to assert that Lagoa Encantada is not any indigenous territory, since there were just 'migrant Indians' who occupied this territory.

Caboclos: 1864-1982: A social construction of mixture

From nineteenth century a framework became consolidated: ethnic groups in Ceará were partly integrated into the Brazilian conglomerate, and all the 'aldeamentos' were closed. Valle recounts that socio-linguistically seen, this framework is closely related with a trend where in official jargon, 'Indian' as category is overlaid by other terms such as 'caboclo' or 'descendant'. (Valle 2011: 479, 480) By 1850, the Directory of the Indians and all former 'aldeamentos' in Ceará were already closed. In the following years the official imposition of the word 'descendant' became more operational, as well as 'caboclo', leaving invalidate any law that could give them special land rights to these individuals previously known as Indians and 'aldeados'.

Even a historical text notices how during the last decade of nineteenth century and the first years of twentieth century there were still territorial conflicts between inhabitants of former 'aldeamentos' and dominant groups. In this case the dominant group was the church who denied to accept the territorial claims that the Payakús still insisted in holding because their status of 'descendants'. During this conflict there was an ambiguity when the other social groups involved were denominating the Indians. Indeed, those who served as mediators to avoid a violent confrontation -such as the person who wrote that historical note in 1916- constantly referred to the previously 'aldeados' alternating nominations such as 'Payakús' which recognized in some way their ethnic origin, but also nominations as 'caboclos' or 'descendants', which condemned them to the loss of territorial rights (Valle 2011: 480).

Thus, the distortion of the concept of indigenusness had a very clear purpose. "Such words implicitly defined a concept of indigenusness that, repeatedly affirmed throughout the century, allowed the expropriation of many indigenous territories" (Peixoto da Silva 2011: 343*). Similarly, other previous historical designations as Tapuias, barbarians and infernal allies largely determined the situations of interethnic contact for these groups, obligating them to abandon their savage 'lifestyle'. A historical text (1863) wide-known and discussed by Indians, historians and anthropologists of Ceará is what some call the 'extinction of the Indians by decree', where the then president of the province of Ceará proclaimed the total mixture of all indigenous people in this state with the rest of the population, stating that "neither savage Indians, nor 'aldeados' exist here anymore" (Valle 2011: 475*). PortoAlegre actually investigated this phenomenon, as an ideological enforced disappearance from power elites (Sousa 2001:12). Pacheco de Oliveira (2011) considers this process as a 'social construction of mixture' involving many sectors of Brazilian society.

In any case, it is worth reflecting on a term that reached the maximum official hierarchy in Brazil through the Constitution of 1934: forest-dwellers⁶⁸. In other words, the national Brazilian authorities chose a term, which reduced the legitimacy of Amerindians ethnicity to the mere fact of dwelling in the forest, as a antithesis of a modern civilized man. This fact, coupled with the stigmatizing categorization of 'caboclo' contributed to hold many indigenous communities in contempt and discrimination, because they did not fit in this 'dwelling in the forests' imaginary. Why Ypióca representatives decided to employ often the word 'forest-dwellers' when taking

⁶⁸ In Portuguese language: 'silvícolas'. Even when this word is not frequently used in Portuguese language, both the process examined in this chapter and the online letter of Everardo Telles use this term to refer to 'legitimate' Indians.

about the 'true Indian'? I suggest that they intend to recreate through this linguistic evocation the dominant context in twentieth century, where exclusively partially isolated groups of individuals inhabiting the jungles could be considered as pure indigenous. In fact, there are many economical and political groups in Brazil who yearn for the validity of this categorization. Likewise, according to Porto Alegre (2000: 59), it is still common for many Brazilians refer to them as caboclos, when they want to discredit their ascription of identity.

This historical context is needed to understand the situation of Jenipapo-Kanindé or Payakús today, in relation to their interaction with other social groups. Facts as their invisibility as Indians for much of the twentieth century, the loss of their language, their consistent belief in Christianity, the relative isolation in which they were, their habit of marrying almost exclusively with members of their own ethnic group, and their relationship with the environment, could be only examined after knowing the history of their ancestors. As a single example, even today in memory of the oldest there are stories of blood, torture and killing, told by their grandparents.

7.5 Legitimacy of these genres

In court, Ypióca accused both Fonseca and Meireles for manipulating poor fishermen and artisans to instill in them the idea of becoming Indians when promising them the acquisition of territorial advantages. In order to prove this claim, Ypióca's lawyers referred to the socio-anthropological research. In his contestation, Jeováh Meireles replied "It is surprising that the author has commissioned an anthropological research to a 'famous institute' of Paraíba totally unknown by the academic community and signed by supposed professors of the Federal University of Paraíba, where there is no evidence that these professionals actually belong to any faculty of that institution, not having even registered on the Lattes Platform of the National Council for Scientific and Technological Development (CNPq), a requirement for any serious researcher".

On the hand, a federal judge in 2001 denied the request of injunction contained in the process where I extracted the texts. Thus, in pure formal terms the legitimacy of these documents is questionable. Nevertheless, What could be said about the content? In light of the brief historical account, it will be possible to address many of Ypióca's claims.

7.6 Validity of the texts

Indeed, the central argument for rejecting the ethnic distinction is based on providing evidence of the social similarities of the Jenipapo-Kanindés with neighboring communities. *A-* and *B-* denotes the same phenomena: topos of culture. According to Ypióca representatives the current lifestyle, the religion and the economical activities of this community do not contrast with the equivalent features of the surrounding communities. As indicated in chapter 4, long time ago Barth demystified the objectification of ‘cultural matter’ as the main method for allocation of identities. Either due to ignorance or political interests many sectors of society oppose to accept these categorical premises in current anthropological theory.

C-, *D-*, *E*, *F*, and *G* give account of historical argumentation strategies. While *G-* refers to land titles from the early twentieth century, the very judge gave an answer to Ypióca lawyer in 2001: “The lands traditionally occupied by Indians do not lose this characteristic by the fact of still not been demarcated, as that demarcation has merely declaratory purpose. So understood, one cannot claim the loss or restriction of property by those who never had it”. As shown by the assertions made in *C*, *D*, *E* and *F*, respecting the criterion to be considered as a group or unit ethnically distinct, it exists still a “prejudged viewpoint both on (1) the nature of continuity in time of such units, and (2) the locus of the factors which determine the form of the units” (Barth 1969:12).

Culture is not the determining criteria when ascribing ethnic identities. “The important thing to recognize is that a drastic reduction of cultural differences between ethnic groups does not correlate in any simple way with a reduction in the organizational relevance of ethnic identities, or a breakdown in boundary-maintaining processes” (Barth 1969: 32,33). Therefore, an ethnic distinction, as a unit, could not be determined in relation to the current presence or absence of cultural differences, neither in the history of continuity in a denomination or in similar cultural elements through time.

The particular denomination, as a word, is not relevant at all (*E2*). The cultural elements vary because of its utility, among other factors. Therefore, facts as: getting incorporated certain agricultural practices, subsuming the Portuguese language and abandoning their own and trying to acquire the Tupi language nowadays, absorbing Christianity, being displaced and having to migrate, do not in themselves affect their distinction as members of an ethnic group.

They held firm the boundaries that led them to perceive and identify themselves as a distinct group. This is particularly clear in the story of the early twentieth century, when the former ‘aldeados’ insisted in being distinguished as Payakús, while dominant groups, responding to their own interests, were labeling them as ‘caboclos’ or ‘descendants’, without any ‘Indian’ recognition. Between them and their neighbors, there was always some category of distinction, such as ‘Cabeludos da Encantada’, which demonstrate the boundary-maintaining character of their identity through organizational and political dynamics in the twentieth century. Thus, the various hypothetical denominations ascribed do not illegitimate the ethnic character of the group, but reveal the complexity of organizational processes product of conflictive social interactions.

Moreover, H-, I-, J-,K- and L-, mainly exhibit the topos of political interest, meaning that the actions of several social groups are illegitimate, since these groups have political or ideological interests, such as the pride (recognition) for FUNAI agents (K3), adepts for the religious organizations (J2), money for the activists (J4), and land and better social services for the community (L). However, when it comes to the community, one could not actually expect that, as a human group, they should not have political interests. Either case, “the fact that contemporary forms are prominently political does not make them any less ethnic in character” (Barth 1969: 34). Even in J1, it is supposed that incorporating an exogenous cultural trait demonstrates the illegitimacy of the ethnic ascription. This assumption is not consequent with contemporary social theories, since Barth revealed ethnic groups use to set boundaries through the conscious use of cultural traits; and even further Hobsbawn demonstrated that ‘the invention of traditions’, such as overt articulations of cultural traits is a process which has occurred through the whole history, practically within every human group.

Similarly, the assertion: “they are members of an association where there are white men, ordinary citizens”, refers to the fact that during the conflict against Aquiraz Resort, community leaders had joined the non-indigenous neighboring village of Trairisú to form an association to represent the interests of both communities in view of the arrival of the mega-project. Again, it is implied that in the minds of the defenders of the company, an indigenous people must be completely isolated, not articulated and without participation in other identities. This description is completely unrealistic, even to the ‘real’ forest-dwellers imagined by Ypióca representatives.

Denominations as social boundaries

It is nothing new to demonstrate how an Amerindian ethnic group has always faced discrimination from colonizers and other contemporary elite social groups. However, to some

few groups one could observe an intrinsic discrimination, as in the case of Tapuias, who were seen as enemies practically before entering in contact with Europeans. Thereafter, the brief and convulse period as 'aldeados' did not change the relations of oppression. Finally, the sociolinguistic disappearance of Indians and their forced transfiguration in 'caboclos' brought the discredit about their territorial rights.

The emergence of a new network of genres vindicating updated anthropological criteria has never been well digested by such 'conservative' groups, and therefore they insist in recalling that rhetoric of yesteryear with images, such as integrated, mixed, or assimilated Indians. When Ypióca representatives define why Jenipapo-Kanindé are not Indians, then it becomes clear which is their perspective on what does it mean to be Indian. In their own words, a forest-dweller: a individual culturally stagnated, politicaly dependent, unable to ensure his own destiny. This order of discourse restricts the indigenusness to be a 'hypo-sufficient' condemned to a eternal social and economic isolation, and it draws the relationship of the state with the Indians as one of tutelage. All this rhetoric presupposes an attempt to justify the actions of some powerful groups, and an attempt to guarantee the permanence of their unlimited control over economic and social relations.

Thus, Ypióca's order of discourse could be characterized as 'the tutelage of forest-dwellers'. How does this social order 'need' the social wrong? In other words, How Ypióca's claims are in consonance with the current political framework in Brazil, respecting indigenous people? Ypióca try to evoke 'the tutelage of forest-dwellers' with the hope of restraining its gradual decline, and the lost of hegemony against a new order of discourse which could be called 'the indigenous citizenship'. This is the transition between a discourse that privileges a social order with explicit relations of domination by elite social group over the Indians, and another order of discourse designed to at least compensate these ethnic groups and provide them certain autonomy. The social wrong here is based on an order of discourse that was hegemonic for many decades, and still refuses to die. It is still present in those sectors that were favored in those times when governance was conducted throughout that old network of images and ideas today defended by Ypióca.

8 Semiosis within Jenipapo-Kanindé's social practices

8.1 “Indian drinking cachaça is not an Indian”

This chapter explains the semiotic dimension of the strategies and discourses used by the Indians in the conflict. In particular, I explore “the enactment of these selected discourses as modes of conduct semiotically in genres”, divulged through different social practices (Fairclough 2010: 20), such as museum expositions, promotional brochures, and some visual and corporal displays during cultural manifestations. Subsequently, when analyzing the ritual of Toré and the Living Landmark festival, I focus on “the inculcation of these discourses in the ways of being/identities of social agents both semiotically (e.g. ways of talking) and somatically (bodily dispositions)” (*ibid.*). This inculcation is acting as a ‘manifest articulation of cultural traits’, intended to reaffirm the identity, but also as a basis in the construction of a contesting discourse, which includes environmental and territorial communicative pretensions. Finally, I analyze in which way articulations retaining “resonant discourses” (*ibid.*) are relevant for the conflict.

Indeed, there are many opinions when it comes to what a valid criterion for the ascription of ethnic distinctions is. The previous chapter demonstrated the position of the company representatives regarding this issue. However, within the community, it seems that some individuals have created another kind of criteria in order to determine whether someone is ‘indigenous’ or not. One morning I was talking with Don Chiquín, the husband of the Cacique Pequena, in the corridor of their house. Suddenly another local approached and, visibly suffering from alcoholism, tried to talk with us. His state of intoxication precluded him from saying anything coherent. Don Chiquín got up and reprimanded him: “You know, Indian drinking cachaça is not an Indian”, while he pointed to the bottle in the visitor’s hand. I sincerely have doubts whether this remark should be understood as a joke or not. In any case, in a more serious tone, Cacique Irê said in another occasion: “To be an Indian is not only saying: I am an Indian, good morning and good night. To be an Indian means to participate actively in the indigenous struggle”.

Probably the father and his daughter were referring to the same thing: the political dimension of ethnic groups. Related to this, Sousa (2001) categorizes local residents in A Lagoa Encantada in three groups, regarding their political commitment. First, there are individuals ‘engaged with the community’, who constantly participate in political activities and in the manifest articulation of cultural traits. Second, there are members ‘carefully engaged with the community’, who attend

some of those events, but do not take an active role in the 'indigenous struggle'. Finally, there are some residents 'not engaged with the community', who do not like to participate in the political processes and do not attend the recently incorporated cultural events, such as the ritual of Toré and the Living Landmark festival.

For the Jenipapo-Kanindés, the main strategies that local leaders have been deploying in the conflict have emerged due to articulations. These articulations have cooperated to recontextualize and operationalize the discourses, and therefore contributed to the quest for hegemony, regarding the competing orders of discourse. Thus, anticipating a case discussed with more detail later; the 'Indian Trail Project' contributed to recontextualize the concept of community-based tourism within this indigenous territory. In order to do so, workshops, classes and meetings were arranged to decide both how the discourses eventually would be materialized (infrastructure), and how these discourses would be enacted in several genres such as the pictures in the museum of indigenous memory or the Internet articles promoting touristic activities in A Lagoa Encantada⁶⁹. Similarly, other social agents such as the CDPDH and other Indians of Ceará have cooperated in the creation and recreation of the Living Landmark festival and the Ritual of Toré, respectively.

8.2 The semiotic dimension of social practices

Parallel to the FUNAI identification studies, during the last years of the decade of the 1990s, there were complex cultural and political processes within the community. Among them, some of the most prominent were the absorption of the ritual of Toré, the foundation of the Living Landmark festival, the decision to recontextualize the figure of the Cacique, the foundation of the Indigenous Council, and finally a reconfiguration of the perception on their sacred sites⁷⁰ (Antunes 2008: 15). All these phenomena has to do with their recognition as indigenous, but particularly the Toré and the Living Landmark festival also transmit other semiotic dimensions rather than the political interest in reaffirming its ethnic distinction.

Ritual of Toré

During any relevant celebration or event, the main ceremony is the dance or ritual of Toré. This is also the case during the Living Landmark festival where locals dance several hours, and also when the community leaders have meetings with other Indians of Ceará, as it happened during a

⁶⁹ TUCUM, the network of community-based tourism in Ceará, produces these Internet articles (TUCUM, 2012).

⁷⁰ This last point- the reconfiguration of the perception in their sacred places- is not mentioned by Antunes. I assert this based in a personal interview with the anthropologist Sousa (2012), who assist me in understanding the inclusion of new sacred sites in the rhetoric of local leaders.

training course for indigenous teachers I attend. Because of the absence of distinctive dances and rituals, the Jenipapo-Kanindé - together with other ethnic groups with the same needs- reshaped the Torém⁷¹ in order to constitute the Toré (Sousa 2001: 60).

In the case of Jenipapo-Kanindés, their lyrics refer to the beauty and importance of the ecosystems of the place, the sense of belonging, the reaffirmation of their ethnic identity, and their territorial struggle (Antunes 2008: 105). Cacique Pequena has composed most of these lyrics. One of the most reproduced is this one:

We are Brazilian Indians, we are from here, Ceará / We are Jenipapo-Kanindé, we are here for whatever it comes/ And what we want is our land, our waters, all in our hands/ To be able to plant sweet potatoes, corn and beans/ and you will see the yields⁷²

Particularly revealing is the expression “we are from here, Ceará”. As indicated in Chapter 2, the authorities of this state divulged for over 100 years the assumption that there was no Amerindian ethnic groups there, as all natives were already integrated and mixed with the general population since the middle part of the 19th century, according to them. Moreover, within these lyrics there are three ideas by which the ethnic identity is implicitly and explicitly reaffirmed: the self-identification, the proclamation of the defense of their lands, and the emphasis in their close relationship with nature. On this last point, another lyric is even more explicit:

I live in a forest and just see the birds fly / I live in a lagoon, I just see the fish swim / I live near a dune which amends the lagoon / I live near a lagoon, which bleeds into the sea / it is just that I live in the woods buried in the sand and standing on the ground⁷³

This text emphasizes the beauty of the two most important ecosystems for the Indians: the highest bio-stabilized dune in their territory -Morro do Urubú- and the lagoon. Even more appealing, the poetry let us understand how these natural elements are all interlinked, by

⁷¹ According to Oliveira Junior (1998), Tremembé was the only ethnic group to conserve the dance of Torém. When other ethnicities began to reproduce it, they decide to denominate it “Toré”, probably with the intention to respect the original ritual through this differentiation. Oliveira Junior, G. de (1998). *Torém: brincadeira dos índios velhos*. São Paulo: Ed. Annablume.

⁷² In Portuguese: Nós somos índios brasileiros, nós somos aqui do Ceará/ Nós somos Jenipapo-Kanindé, tamo aqui para o que der e vier/ E nós queremos é nossa terra, nossas águas, tudo em nossas mãos/ Pra poder plantar batata-doce, milho e feijão/ e vocês verem a produção

⁷³ In Portuguese: Eu moro numa floresta só vejo os pássaros "voar"/Eu moro numa lagoa só vejo os peixes "nadar"/Moro perto de uma duna, que ela emenda na lagoa/Moro perto de um lago, que ele sangra para o mar/ É que eu vivo na mata enterrada na areia e de pé no chão.

mentioning the major features and functions of the natural elements: the dune protects the lagoon, and this is connected to sea. Finally the subject of the lyric (a local) is attached to the whole interconnected system, presenting Jenipapo-Kanindés as embedded in the natural order: “*I live in the woods buried in the sand and standing on the ground*”. Thus, the lyrics provide, through the suggestive quality of its resonant and aesthetic language, a symbolic scheme with political and moral allusions.

When dancing Toré, there is an insistence on dressing up in costumes reminiscent of indigenous peoples during the celebration of special occasions, such as this dance. The dresses are made of raw natural materials: skirts and headdresses are made of palm fiber and feathers, while the necklaces and bracelets contain seeds and wood pieces. Why wear these ‘invented’ clothes? In 2007 Cacique Irê asserted about this practice: “This appreciation when I am with the dresses is still very common within the white population. When we wear our Indian dresses, the people act with more respect than if we do not wear it” (Juliana Alves, interviewed by Antunes 2008: 34).

Although the Toré is a cultural manifestation, its main motivation is political, especially as related to territorial claims. The major evidence of last assertion is that in any political event the Toré is always present. Pacheco de Oliveira (2010: 23) defines the Toré as “a political ritual, which is practiced whenever is necessary to delimit the boundaries between the ‘Indians’ and the ‘white’ men”. The following citation describes a demonstration against the Ypióca in April 2008, where the indigenous leaders danced the Toré in the city of Fortaleza, in the middle of the celebrations of the Day of the Indian:

The Indians Jenipapo-Kanindé took their clothes as combat uniform, painted their body, chanted their watchwords, and danced Toré in consonance with the other groups present. They marched towards the Praia do Futuro, the place marked for the concentration. On a ‘sound truck’ decorated with a black banner containing huge white letters with the slogan ‘It is not fair’, the two main leaders, Cacique Pequena and his successor Cacique Irê, sang the National Anthem and chanted songs of Toré, while a large circle of people dancing has been formed at the rhythm of the vindictory songs (Antunes 2008: 77)

Obviously the lyrics essentially belong to the linguistic sphere, but they also involve other semiotic modes. For example the rhythms from rustic musical instruments such as drums and ‘maracas’ undoubtedly reinforce the idea of ethnic distinction. In the same sense, when singing the lyrics, the emotion and strength of voice tend to give emphasis to certain words, which highlights some ideas over others. Finally, the way to move and dance also reinforces certain

ideas. Toré dance contributes to represent the communitarian nature of Indians: most participants dance in a circular swing that surrounds a few persons playing the instruments. The people in the circle move in the same direction, while the proximity of all participants is such that everybody is in constant contact. The movements resemble many other tribal or ethnic dances, where persons balance their body back and forth, with a slightly leaning posture. Usually those located inside the circle are leaders. Finally, the dresses and other ornaments serve as an element reinforcing the ethnic character of this performing.

Living Landmark Festival

This celebration commemorates the delimitation of the Indigenous Territory. It goes back to 1999 and is celebrated in April every year. Some indigenous leaders, together with CDPDH representatives ideated this celebration (Cacique Pequena, 2012). The ceremony basically consists in the planting of a living stake somewhere at the borderline of their territory, in accordance with the limits set by FUNAI professionals during the study to the delimitation process in 1999. This stake will become a tree, which has the property of getting reproduce by this simple method. The tree is locally called Yburana, or imburana, with the scientific name *Amburana cearensis* (Junior, 2012). Thus, the stake, as meaning-carrying object symbolises both the territorial claims (as landmark), the close relation to nature (as future tree), and the ethnic distinction (as the material center of the ritual).

This festival initiates in one of Jenipapo-Kanindé's 'sacred spaces'. Currently indigenous leaders mention five sacred spaces. Nevertheless, the anthropologist Sousa (2012) notes that three of these places were not consecrated yet around 1996, when he was conducting his fieldwork as a student. Previously the only two sacred spaces mentioned were the highest dune protecting the lagoon (Morro do Urubú) and the lagoon itself. Undeniably, these ecosystems are crucial to the social and economic life of the community, which is arranged around these impressive natural landscapes. However, nowadays, local leaders consecrated two other lagoons whose names are Marisco⁷⁴ and Tapuio. This is probably due to an intention to ensure the physical limits of their territory, since these lagoons are located in the western and southern limit of the Indigenous Territory. But actually, and perhaps controversially, Jenipapo-Kanindés determined in recent years to also consecrated a special place that is not a natural landscape: the 'mango' backyards of

⁷⁴ According to the categorizations explained in page 16 (Sunamura, 2005), Marisco would not be a coastal lagoon, but a coastal pond, as the ocean constantly invades it.

Tio Adorico⁷⁵. The contrast with the other four spaces is outstanding. The backyard of that person is a simple garden only big enough to hold about a dozen of mango trees. Why to consecrate a backyard with mango trees? Tio Adorico was the main political leader of the locality before the arrival of academicians and the FUNAI in 1996. His backyard was the place for the initial processes for the indigenous struggle within the community. He and other local leaders used to congregate with members of the CDPDH during the 1980s and early 1990s at this place. After his death in 1995, CDPDH members discussed with several community leaders about the convenience of naming a Cacique. Therefore, in 1999, the community elected Pequena as their Cacique. The Living Landmark ceremonies initially take place at this backyard perhaps with the aim of strengthening the identity of the backyard as a sacred place, and at the same time strengthening the image of the festival as a sacred event with historical roots.

Thus, before the planting of the stake during the Living Landmark Festival, the community congregates at the backyard of Tio Adorico. During some hours community members perform the dance of Toré around this stake, under the mango tree. The Cacique Pequena, or her successor Cacique Irê, pronounces a speech to receive the visitors and tell about the significance of these ceremonies. The constitution of the 'Living Landmark Festival' conflates representations of rituals and historical events of great political significance for the community. In their own words:

This festival is very important for the people here, but we invite the leaders, the media, relatives, students and non-governmental organizations to say that we are an indigenous people who want our land demarcated and registered and evicted from squatters. We want it to work and to obtain our livelihood. This stake first is cut and then planted within the borderlines of the territory, where FUNAI was doing the delimitation of our land. There, we set a landmark, this green stake. The purpose is this: when FUNAI comes again to demarcate officially, we have already done it, making use of the nature itself (Cacique Pequena, April 2008. Interviewed by Antunes 2008: 105*)

Here again, the visual display during the celebration firms up the three different but interconnected significations. First, the dresses, body painting, sounds of drums and other material and corporal ritually-driven manifestations contribute to reaffirm that this group is ethnically distinct. Second, the utilization of natural elements in paintings, decoration represent the close relation between Jenipapo-Kanindé and nature, particularly when the focus during the whole celebration is the stake covered with some flowers and leaves. Finally, their movements and bodily dispositions when dancing, singing, praying or carrying and burying the stake in the

⁷⁵ In Portuguese: As mangueiras do Tio Adorico.

ground are symbols of their engagement in the defense of their territory (See picture 9). In deed, these are the same messages of Toré lyrics. Thus, when the Living Landmark festival takes place, simultaneously with the dance of Toré around the stake, these three ideas are represented from all the available semiotic dimensions to Jenipapo-Kanindé: linguistic, somatic, sonoric and visual.

The order of discourse of indigenusness that is inculcated throughout the dance and the festival is much more complex than one originally is inclined to think. To be an 'Indian' involves historical, political and cultural elements, and Jenipapo-Kanindé intend to construe all these dimensions during the cultural manifestations described, especially making use of somatic and visual codes. This process of identity formation must be interpreted in the light of the community's relationship with the current political context, their 'friction' with Ypióca, but also in light of their relationship to the ethnic interaction with dominant groups through history. This relationship may be the facet of identity that is more hidden, as these Indians somehow have lost its manifest continuity with an indigenous group of the past.

However, this historical facet of identity is a main causal power in the current political behavior of the community. A superficial analysis of that behavior could lead to think that all is about territorial interests. On the contrary, territorial rights exclusively represent the elementary and irreducible first claim, which has never been addressed trough history. Indeed, the insistence and vehemence shown by Indians when marking their ethnic distinction (with cloths that -everybody knows- do not belong to their present lifestyle, and with the reproduction of dances that -everybody knows- do not represent their ancestral traditions) could exclusively be interpreted in light of their previous history of social interaction (See chapter 7). Then, it is possible to understand both how this revolt against the stigma to transform it in emblem is originated, and how the historical 'shame' and 'fear' of being Indian becomes pride to proclaim it through this manner in current times.

The differentiated school

In theory, the indigenous school is a tool of identity affirmation of difference and locus of revitalization of culture. It can be characterized by their ideological vocation, since it assumes the role of training new leaders and teach them about the laws that ensure indigenous rights (Antunes 2008: 90,91). Among the Indians who work in the school nowadays, practically all of the most distinguished political leaders in community are present. It serves also as a center for the elaboration of objects that symbolize the ethnic distinction, such as 'ethnic' clothes and

ornaments. Thus at school, the students produce the clothes used when dancing Toré, and practice its movements and lyrics. Indeed, the main purpose of differentiated schools is to strengthen the linguistic, social and cultural rights of indigenous peoples. For Jenipapo-Kanindés, being this cultural difference more limited, the purpose of the school becomes more referred to the political context rather than exclusively cultural themes. Therefore, the school instead of safeguarding this cultural difference is directed to assist the indigenous leaders in undertaking this ‘manifest articulation of cultural traits’.

Likewise, children have already entered into contact with elemental Tupi language. This type of ‘invention of tradition’ from school provokes many ‘conservative’ sectors of Brazilian society dominated by prejudices of what it means to be an Indian. The skepticism grows even more when people get to know that the ancestors of Jenipapo-Kanindé did not speak Tupi language. Both the Payakús, Jenipapos and Kanindés in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries probably spoke a dialect related to the Tarairiú language (ISA, 2012b). However, the main purpose of the teaching of this language is, in a political sense, to strengthen the link with other indigenous peoples of Ceará, in present times. These sectors insist on believing that this ‘manifest articulation of cultural traits’ is rather a mere manipulation or performing, which intends to deceive society. The Indians of Ceará address these questions in some way with a phrase that legitimizes the implementation of clear political and moral elements in the teaching process: “The school was born from the struggle, so it turns itself to the struggle”.

The themes of the museum

The museum of the indigenous memory includes artifacts that have been used traditionally in the community as tools for fishing, farming and cooking, and photos of preparation processes from vegetable products such as cassava or cashew. However, the cultural dimension is not the dominant theme on display in the museum. On the walls of the small room, political pictures and articles abound. These texts refer to genres such as meetings, demonstrations and celebrations where indigenous leaders have been involved as a part of their political activities. The evocative figure of Cacique Pequena is presented in the articles of the only journalist of a traditional and powerful media, who has covered the perspective and discourses of indigenous people in Ceará, during the last decade (Junior 2008, 2012). But mostly, there are articles, pamphlets and pictures exhibiting different events related to the conflict with Ypióca and other political episodes.

Picture 9: Living Landmark festival. Cacique Irê is carrying the living landmark stake from the backyards of Tio Adorico to some point in the borderlines of the Indigenous Territory to plant it and 'stake' it. Photo: Junior, 2012.



Picture 10: Another style intervening in the conflict. "The first woman Cacique in Brazil". This picture is a good example of the 'ethos' construed by Jenipapo-Kanindés, who articulate ideas such as 'ethnic distinction' (ethnic headdress) 'innate protection to nature' (the merging of Cacique Pequena's face with the cortical line of the tree), and the 'defense of their territory' (the posture of the hand respecting the tree). Photo: Junior, 2008.



8.3 Another style: “The first woman Cacique in Brazil”

In several articles published in the diary *Diario do Nordeste*, the journalist Melquíades Junior presents Cacique Pequena as the first woman Cacique in Brazil (See picture 10). Whether this assertion is true or not results extremely difficult to prove. What becomes important here is how Cacique Pequena position and style is utilized by herself and other persons in order to intervene in the conflict. In this sense, Ypióca first processed the journalist Fonseca for having written these words about Cacique Pequena:

A struggler who, in despite her health problems, without resignation put her foot down in the utopian trench of this indigenous people of Ceará. Without hesitation, she shouts liberty with her 160 cm of highness, from the beginning of the year 1990 when direct conflicts between the Ypióca company and Jenipapo-Kanindé began^{76*}.

The descriptions of her personal character are secondary. Junior gives us more incisive details about the kind of labor she does:

One of the main female leaders of the indigenous movement, is the Jenipapo-Kanindé Cacique Pequena - nobody calls her by her name Maria de Lourdes da Conceição Alves -, with 64 years old, she is the first woman to be Cacique in Brazil. With serene eyes and calm voice, she leads 94 families of her ethnicity in the vicinity of Lagoa Encantada, in Aquiraz. Intending to vindicate indigenous rights, she travels around Brazil, gives advice to the younger ones, and composes songs for sacred rituals (Junior, 2008*)

What is common in these two narratives is her role as a leader against a menacing context, whereas she assumes a vindicatory attitude, in despite of certain unfavorable conditions. The narrators implicitly communicate us that she is exceptional, specially considering some limitations or obstacles due to her background, gender and health. In the same sense, Antunes describe the strategic dimension of her behavior. In brief, she is a skillful ‘politic leader’, an active subject capable to select and take advantage of opportunities offered by articulations with prominent social actors as academicians, journalist or politicians:

She uses her personality to mark presence at public events, resolving disputes in bureaucratic governmental agencies, or asking for help from a politician. She realized that being uninhibited

⁷⁶ Poder Judiciário do Estado de Ceará, 2007. Processo número 2007.01.11000-7.

when expressing herself is a way to be known in the media and to achieve their goals. She cultivates an incredible self-esteem and often preserves her public image by avoiding internal polemics, except those in which her authority is challenged. She created an informal network of advisors composed of directors of NGOs, politicians, academicians and religious leaders (Antunes 2008: 104*)

Junior also mentioned other facet: the mystic actions associated with indigenes. “She composes songs for sacred rituals”. What the journalist is referring here is the lyrics of Toré, such as the two examples analyzed above. When I witnessed the Living Landmark festival, Cacique Pequena bent her knees in front of the stake, and leaned her head against it, and prayed over forty minutes with close eyes, holding it with her right hand.

Knowing that this festival and the ceremonies around the stake started in 1999, some skeptics could doubt about the holiness of that stake. In her speech, during that ceremony, she constantly repeated that her mission “in this world is to see A Lagoa Encantada free of all squatters”. Thus, one could understand what that stake represents to her. As a recent ‘invented tradition’ the living landmark stake does not recall to any ontological suggestion, but compel to a moral and political engagement. This attempt does not carry ontological pretensions at all. It is difficult to imagine someone actually thinking that the stake is a ‘sacred symbol’ in the meaning of communicating Jenipapo-Kanindés with some metaphysical system of beliefs or spirits. However, I suggest, the stake clearly constitutes a ‘sacred symbol’ with an undeniable semantic power to evoke the manifest moral sentiment and political commitments of many members in the community. Thus, the living landmark stake reflects the ‘ethos’ of these Jenipapo-Kanindés. To quote Geertz (1973:121), it demonstrates their “moral and aesthetic style and mood” respecting life. The moral sentiment seeks to vindicate their ethnic identity, create emblems from the shame of former stigmas. In addition, there is another kind of moral call. The ecological character of the Living Stake, as a future tree, reinforces a semantic construction, which several actors have attributed to Indians and they self have also developed: they are constantly depicted as innate protectors of nature (Pacheco de Oliveira 2011: 670). This representation has been done through discourses such as ‘traditional ecological knowledge’ or other kind of semiotic resources, such as pictures and dresses (See picture 10).

8.4 Relevant articulations for Jenipapos-Kanindé discourses

Understanding the complexity of these articulations requires deep and long-term ethnographic

studies, and this is not the scope of this work. The aim in this section is to analyze the most relevant aspects of some of the genres and discourses, which are elemental within the social practices aforementioned. Such relevance is defined in relation to the causal power that semiotic elements produced from these collaborations have exerted during the social interaction of the conflict with Ypióca.

CDPDH

The interaction with the CDPDH goes back to 1982, when the lawyer José Cordeiro warned the Indians of the plans of the Prefect of Aquiraz to build a urban park around the lagoon (Antunes 2008: 65). Moreover, Cordeiro published in 1988, the book: *Índios de Ceará: Da massacre à resistencia*, where he made circulate the ethnonym Jenipapo-Kanindé. He ascribed them this denomination, in the belief that the community of Lagoa Encantada had its origin in this two closely related ethnicities, who were ‘aldeados’ in the 19th Century in Aquiraz. There has been a prominent influence of the CDPDH in the consolidation of the indigenous identity of the Jenipapo-Kanindés. Cacique Pequena recognizes it as the most relevant collaboration during the resurgence or ethno-genesis period. Furthermore, CDPDH members has served as legal advisors and lawyers for the community members in their litigations against ‘squatters’, including Ypióca. The first anthropologists who did fieldwork here established contact with the indigenous community through this religious center of the archdiocese of Fortaleza (Antunes 2008: 12, 24). As stated, Cacique Pequena was encouraged, when hesitating whether she should assume her charge or not in 1999, by some members of this catholic organization. But, I suggest, the most important contribution of CDPDH has been its participation in the constitution of the Living Landmark Festival (Cacique Pequena, 2012), which is a powerful genre in the enactment of Jenipapo-Kanindé discourses of territorial defense, attachment to nature, and ethnical reaffirmation.

Indians of Ceará

The Indians of this state experienced quite similar dynamics during the last two centuries. They have also a similar way to talk about their past and their ancestors. Pacheco de Oliveira reports a narrative that is common for these social groups. “The ancestors were the "old trunks" and the current generation are ‘the tips of the branches’. When genealogical chains were lost in memory and there are no more tangible links with the old indigenous settlements, new villages should appeal to the ‘enchanted’ in order to distance themselves of the condition of mixture that they were placed in the past. Only in this way they can reconstruct for themselves the relationship

with their ancestors (their ‘old trunk’) and be able to rediscovered themselves as ‘the tips of the branches’” (Pacheco de Oliveira 2010:24*).

As indicated, the Toré constitutes a manifest articulation of cultural traits for all ethnicities both in Ceará and the overall northeastern region of Brazil (Pacheco de Oliveira 2010:23). For Jenipapo-Kanindé, they got in contact with the Toré trough Tapebas, Pitaguary and Tremembé in the middle of the 1990s, where they observed the movements and learn their music and lyrics. In 1999, they started to dance it and practice it by themselves, incorporating their own lyrics elaborated by Cacique Pequena (Cacique Pequena, 2012; Cacique Irê, 2012). In this sense, the institutionalized indigenous articulations called APOINME and COPICE⁷⁷ have also served as valuable support during the everlasting territorial conflicts of any single Indigenous Territory of Ceará. These two organizations have insistently denounced Ypióca aggressions against the territory of Jenipapo-Kanindés. The degree of commitment of the various ethnic groups of Ceará when cooperating in territorial struggles became evident during the retake, when Indian leaders of 5 different ethnicities danced the Toré next to the lagoon, while others blocked the channel dug by the Ypióca. Actually all these leaders were in a meeting at the differentiated school participating in the Indigenous Magisterium.

Indigenous Magisterium

This magisterium is an educational activity where teachers of different indigenous ethnic groups in Ceará participate in a training program coordinated by Faculty of Education of the Ceará Federal University. In addition to offer the possibility for Indian teachers of getting contact with prestigious university academicians, this activity also strengthens the articulation between indigenous leaders throughout the state of Ceará, since many of the teachers are the leaders in the indigenist movement. Pedagogues, anthropologists, historians, and mathematicians from the university mention above direct this Magisterium. FUNAI provides resources as transport, alimentation and overnighting materials. In brief, the course is an educational program aimed at the political realities and needs of indigenous peoples today⁷⁸.

Definitely the land issue is one of the main topics in the discussions that occur during the courses of the Magisterium. In March 2012, I could witness how, among other things, Jenipapo-Kanindé

⁷⁷ APOINME is the Articulation of Indigenous Peoples and Organizations from Northeastern Brazil, Minas Gerais and Espírito Santo. It is a confederation of 64 ethnicities. COPICE is a similar initiative in a more limited territorial extension. It means Coordination for Indigenous peoples of Ceará, and represents 11 ethnicities.

⁷⁸ Available from:

http://www.funai.gov.br/ultimas/noticias/1_semestre_2002/fevereiro/un0219.htm

leaders were informed about the legal implications of the recent demarcation process with regard to conflicts with Ypióca and other ‘squatters’. Indeed, the teachers often are selected to get this job at school because they are the political leaders and activists of the ‘indigenous cause’ in their community (Cfr. Antunes 2008: 91). In other words, the teachers belong to the group of individual engaged with the community (Sousa, 2001).

Community-based tourism: A communitarian spirit

From the community-based tourism planning several structures have been developed. One of the newest is the museum of indigenous memory. As indicated, although including some texts, items and images recalling the culture of their ancestors, its focus is showing photos, pamphlets, and newspapers articles of the last 20 years of indigenous struggle, describing political events such as legal achievements related to the safeguard of their territory by invaders like Group Ypióca.

One of the main goals of Indian Trail Project -held from 2004 to 2006- was to strengthen the knowledge and sense of belonging of young Jenipapo-Kanindés. They discussed ecological, cultural and economical particularities of the ecosystems in order to determine which areas were optimal to develop trails and excursions with visitors (Lustosa 2011: 100). Likewise, although the oldest knew in detail any single landscape of the whole territory, they ignored the precise boundaries as delimited by FUNAI, so that was new information that should be valued and assimilated mainly by leaders. In short, this project contributed to promote into the community the empowerment over their territory, following the recent official recognition of the limits of their native land.

Actually, in some sense, this articulation was one the first events in the chain of articulations that got the conflict to become visible. During many of the meetings and discussions held during the Indian Trail Project, there comes always the issue of Ypióca and its suction pump, as the biggest concern of local members. Therefore, the visibility of the conflict was originated within the whole context of the project. Nevertheless, the social circles where the professor moves had more resonance. Thus, in 2005 the indigenous perception of reality respecting the lagoon was associated to the concept of ‘Environmental Racism’⁷⁹, and the German journalist made this ‘engaged discourse’ travel to his home country.

⁷⁹ Environmental racism is defined as “social and environmental injustice implacably affecting vulnerable ethnic groups and other communities, discriminated by their ‘race’, origin or color” (Racismo ambiental, 2012).

However the importance of community-based tourism practices did not stop there. After joining TUCUM network, it can be said much about the strategic importance of this articulation during the recent years, particularly when diffusing an ‘engaged’ face of the reality for this community. This network of traditional communities states:

These destinies are deeply marked by stories of struggle and resistance. Each of these destinations offers music, dance and other cultural manifestations, which are among the hallmarks of the community and contribute, in addition to community organizations, to strengthen their culture and defense of their territory (TUCUM, 2012*)

Indeed the network TUCUM comprises besides of communities of fishermen, communities formed by MST and women group organizations. This fact allows young Jenipapo-Kanindés to get in contact with many other national and international organizations with various ‘subversive’ political perspectives, as I could appreciate during a meeting of this network.

However, there is another relevant contribution from this network. Among other NGOs, Instituto Terramar participates currently in coordinating TUCUM network. This NGO is engaged in “the constitution of alliances with other political actors committed to the construction of ‘environmental justice’ in the Coastal Zone of Ceará”. It is also an active member of the workgroup for combat of ‘environmental racism’ which therefore has constantly reproduced articles describing the conflicts in Ceará, highlighting political and territorial confrontations, including the dispute of Jenipapo-Kanindés with the company Ypióca.

Thus, Instituto Terramar, in addition to offer capacitation and commercial diffusion about community-based tourism as a economic activity, also contribute in associating and engaging the political reality of Lagoa Encantada with concepts vindicating the community (‘environmental justice’) and disparaging its enemies (‘environmental racism’). This association gives more resonance to the conflicts and generates more visibility in national and international levels. This actually happen when Ypióca lost its organic seal in December 2006, because of a German article associating the company with ‘environmental racism’ and qualifying as hypocrite the multi-scalar ‘organic sealing’ system, certifying the company. Thus, the causal power of an articulation meant to promote community-based tourism has incidence in local reality mainly through two processes. First, the materialization of these discourses has repercussions as economical activity. Second, and perhaps more relevant, through the conceptual engagement of discourses on local reality these discourses acquire resonance in other places and social dimensions.

The first controversial issue about this project has to do with the distribution of responsibilities and economical benefits due to the arrival of visitors. The economical gains and the political positions are centralized in the hands of the most influential family of the community (Antunes 2008: 102). Another polemic aspect has to do with the style promoted in order to attract tourists. Some images and ideas of this narration tend to perpetuate the stigmas of what it means 'to be indigenous'. There is no doubt on the economical and political importance of the touristic activity, but the way TUCUM promotes this initiative actually reinforces the images by which the skepticism from 'conservative' sectors of society has been historically caused. Expressions such as "*Mystic encounters and indigenous traditions are waiting for you*" compel indigenous to appear as mystic in order to fulfill the expectations of visitors. To the same extent, the assertion "*all this (the tour) is mediated by local guides and inspired by myths, beliefs and stories of the Jenipapo-Kanindés*" tends to overemphasize the myths of the community. It is undeniable that this community has many myths and stories of 'enchanted' (Sousa, 2001), but is perhaps counterproductive to use these narratives to make a commodity for tourist visits.

This discourse of community-based tourism as social practice implies that some discourses and identities have been enacted and inculcated throughout activities and experiences offered to visitors. Some cultural elements are highlighted with a dual purpose: to inculcate and strengthen the perception of indigenusness among visitors, and provide an experience that is attractive and peculiar as part of an economic activity. To carry out this social practice is necessary to materialize these representations of reality within the structure of the community and in the manner of dress of the people involved. Thus, as I could see on my visit, when the community received a large group of visitors from the city, and the person who was guiding the tour was wearing a headdress made of palm-fiber, some visitors called him Cacique, even though this was not the case. Thereafter, I had a conversation with many of the visitors. I got the impression that most of them are aware that those 'traditional cloths' do not form part of Jenipapo-Kanindé common way of dressing, but consider this practice as a mere touristic strategy. In this way, the touristic project conceals the political motivations, which originated these ornaments and dresses.

8.5 Final considerations

The articulations are not exclusively social groups producing a set of practices that serve as strategies related to the operationalization of discourses. They are also strategies in themselves,

since each articulation as a whole becomes a network of social practices, capable of give resonance to the discourses at other dimensions and domains. All articulations bear in mind the all-pervading background of territorial struggle, so that there is always an implicit commitment to vindicate Jenipapo-Kanindé's interests within the semiosis of the discourses enacted. Referring to “imaginary projections for new relations of structure and scale”, Fairclough states that: “they may become hegemonic or dominant, and may be widely recontextualized in other structure” (Fairclough 2010: 244). In this case, the engagement of concepts such as ‘environmental justice’ and ‘community based-tourism’ have competed against the ‘engaged’ rhetoric of ‘sustainability’, ‘organic production’ and ‘ecological reserve’, respecting the representation of social practices concerned to the environment and the territory.

Figure 3: Relevant discourses, semiotic codes and articulations of Jenipapo-Kanindés in the conflict.

Social Practice	Semiotic form	Articulation
Living Landmark Festival	verbal, bodily, commodity, behavioral	CDPDH
Ritual of Toré	bodily, behavioral aesthetic (lyric and sound effect)	Other Indian communities of Ceará
Differentiated School (Tupi Language)	verbal	Federal University of Ceará
Museum of Indigenous Memory	visual and commodity	TUCUM network of community-based tourism

Based on Figure 3, one can observe how social articulations with other groups have cooperated to consolidate all relevant social practices in the conflict. There is a strong interaction and integration of the four social practices indicated. In particular, the ritual of Toré is present in the other practices. All these social practices tend to emphasize the cultural dimension of events as symbols of political and moral commitment, rather than the exposition of the worldview of Jenipapo-Kanindés. Indeed, the ways of representing reality (discourses) of Jenipapo-Kanindé rely on a great variety of semiotic forms. The behavioral form refers to ritualistic protocols in the Toré and the Festival, while the manifest articulation of ‘ethnic clothing’ belongs to a commodity form of communication; i.e. centered in objects. In the museum, the visual language becomes predominant in the form of photographic images giving account of political issues. Finally, the Toré also ‘casts’ aesthetic forms such as the lyrics and the sounds of ‘ethnic instruments’. The interdiscursivity of all these forms construes a particular ‘ethos’ where ideas such as ‘ethnic distinction’, the ‘innate protection of nature’ and ‘territorial defense’ are always represented in a political and moral tone compelling to action.

Although there is a clear incorporation of exogenous ‘cultural traits’ such as the ritual of Toré, ‘ethnic clothing’, or the Tupi language, the main motivations behind this manifest articulation are their moral sentiments and political aspirations, by means of which Jenipapo-Kanindé have transformed the stigmas in emblems to be used within their ‘indigenous struggle’. In addition to express ethnic distinction, these articulations favor other meaning connections as the defense of their territory and their close relation to nature. These meaning connections serve, besides to consolidate their identity as indigenous, to operationalize a discourse able to compete with the historical and environmental pretensions inculcated and enacted by Ypióca’s discourses.

Respecting the environmental rhetoric, the operationalization of community-based tourism as a discourse served to inculcate their identity and style in other social groups, when engaging the representation of local reality with ‘subversive’ discourses such as ‘environmental justice’ or ‘environmental racism’. Precisely, as observed from Escobar’s theory (1998), ‘subversive’ activists and social movements cooperate to enact and articulate the bio-democracy discursive axis with ‘cultural autonomy’ claims in order to compete in a strategic struggle against globalocentric representations such as ‘particular’ ecological reserves and ‘organic’ spirit.

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Appendix 1: Chronology of the conflict

1997-1999: FUNAI Workgroup conducts the study of identification and delimitation in A Lagoa Encantada. Jenipapo-Kanindés incorporated the ritual of Toré within their social practices. The Living Landmark festival is founded. Cacique Pepuena is elected as the first ‘official’ Cacique. (Antunes, 2008).

March 2000: Ypióca disregards FUNAI and questions indigenous identity. Injunction request against FUNAI (Federal Public Ministry) aiming the suspension of the delimitation process 16/03/2000. *Poder Judiciário do Estado de Ceará, 2000. Processo 200.81.00.004400-0.*

The Municipal Health Plan of Aquiraz, 1997-2000 notifies about the pollution of the Lagoa Encantada, because of Ypióca’s agro-industrial activities.

September 2000: Ypióca’s plantations nearby the lagoon -PECEM agro industrial- initiate to produce organically, resulting in the first organic cachaça in Brazil for export. At that moment, there were 180 hectares of production (Ypióca, 2012a).

October 2001: A federal judge rejects the injunction request interposed by Ypióca in March 2000.

August 2004: FUNAI report of identification and delimitation of Terra Indígena Lagoa Encantada is published in the Official Diary of the Union (DOU, 2004).

The ‘Indian Trail Project’ starts: Given by the UFC, Professor Jeováh Meireles is the coordinator (Meireles, 2012).

November 2005: Professor Jeovah Meireles participates in the first Seminar against environmental racism. Rio de Janeiro (Racismo Ambiental, 2012).

September 2006: Based on Meireles participation in the seminar, Norbert Suchanek publishes an article in a German website, entitled: Prost, Caipirinha - Umweltrassismus in Bio-Qualitaet - Ypióca-Cachaça bedroht Indianer-Lagune. Previously available from:

http://www.bio100.de/html/body_n_suchanek_21.html

Indigenes denounced Ypióca for excavating canals near the lagoon. *Poder Judiciário do Estado de Ceará, 2006 . Processo: 1.15.000.001679/2006-70, Ceará, Brasil.* Available from:

http://www.prce.mpf.gov.br/prdc/pesquisa_processo

The conditions for the creation of the Private Ecological Reserve are regulated. It will comprise 40 hectares in the southeastern margin of the lagoon. *SEMACE. Decreto Estadual N. 24.220 (12/09/2006).*

November 2006: From 20th to 22nd of November there was a die-off of fishes in the lagoon, according to the community (Preá, 2012).

IBAMA with FUNAI agents conducted an inspection of the Lagoa Encantada to determine the cause of the die-off of fishes. Water samples of the lagoon were collected. *Laudo Técnico Ambiental e Certificado de Análise das a mostras de água da Lagoa Encantada*. IBAMA, 16/01/2007.

December 2006: Jenipapo-Kanindé interposed a legal accusation against Ypióca because of the die-off of fishes. *Poder Judiciário do Estado de Ceará, 2006. Processo: 1.15.000.002125/2006-90*.

FUNAI also requests the injunction for Ypióca's industrial activities within the lagoon.

The IMB temporarily revokes the international organic seal of Ypióca's cachaça. Professor Meireles is extra-judicially requested in order to submit a clarification before Ypióca. The representative of the German website Fabio Angeli da Colonia and the journalist Norbert Suchanek are threatened to be charged in court by the Ypióca in German courts. The website www.bio100.de removed Suchanek's article from Internet. (Suchanek, 2012).

Daniel Fonseca was preparing a note about the conflict and shared a preliminary version via email with some friends. Without the knowledge of Fonseca and under unclear circumstances, a blogger in Sao Paulo copied the draft on Internet and erroneously entitled it "Ypióca loses one against the Pitaguary" (other ethnicity of Ceará with no relation to the conflict) (Fonseca, 2012).

January 2007: Norbert Suchanek insists with his denounce despite the threats. He published a new format for the weekly Freitag, published em Berlin, Germany, 12.01.2007. The note is entitled: "Environmental Racism in Organic Seals - Cachaça Ypióca threatens Indigenous Lagoon". It was also translated into Portuguese. Available from

<http://pib.socioambiental.org/es/noticias?id=46937>

IBAMA culminates its environmental and technical report with the analysis of the water samples. 16/01/2007. This report confirms the presence of agro industrial wastes in the water of the lagoon, and the scarcity of dissolved oxygen because of this pollution. *Laudo Técnico Ambiental e Certificado de Análise das a mostras de água da Lagoa Encantada*. IBAMA, 16/01/2007.

April 2007: Other environmental report on the Lagoa Encantada is conducted. In this occasion the author is a multidisciplinary team of scholars hired by the Ypióca. It is signed by professors of Geology, Biology, Geography and Environmental Sanitation. (FUNAI-Ceará, 2012a).

The social anthropological research commissioned by Ypióca is concluded. A private institute is the responsible of this study. Basically, this document disregarded the indigenous identity of the community. *INSTITUTO SOCIAL MANOEL MOREIRA D' NÓBREGA - ISMAMDN, Estado da Paraíba - CGC/CNPJ no 03.554.648/0001-06*.

May 2007: Ypióca interposes the first process against Jeovah Meireles. He is accused for defamation concerning his presentation in November 2005. *Poder Judiciário do Estado de Ceará. Processo N. 2007.01.12155-6. Brasil, Ceará.*

FUNAI office in Fortaleza is occupied by various ethnic groups of Ceará. They take as a hostage the head of that office. The 400 Indians participating in the action say they will not withdraw until a restructuration of this institution is assured, since FUNAI does not represent their interests, they say. Available from:

<http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/folha/brasil/ult96u92559.shtml>

June 2007: Ypióca interposes the first process against the journalist of Ceará, Daniel Fonseca. Accused by the press law, this process is dismissed because of the deadline of 90 days from the original date of publication (December, 2006) had already expired. *Poder Judiciário do Estado de Ceará, 2007. Processo N. 2007.01.11000-7.*

In the Map of 'environmental racism' conflicts 2007 (page 51), the incidents of the pollution of the lagoon and the circumstances around the suspension of the organic seal are reported.

COPICE writes a note denouncing Telles and Ypióca because of the pollution in Lagoa Encantada.

August 2007: 08/08: Activists were almost ready with the redaction of the note of repudiation to Ypióca through a Internet discussion group. There were plans of distributing the note of repudiation as a signatures campaign. Available from

<http://br.groups.yahoo.com/group/superiorindigena/message/522>

08/08 Everardo Telles wrote a contestation letter to the note of repudiation even the night before the note was distributed on the Internet, on the 9th of August. The president had managed to locate the discussion group that was drafting the note of repudiation and therefore he went ahead of the activists. Even later Ypióca would denounce Fonseca as the author of this note, based on the writing process in yahoo.groups. Available from:

<http://www.midiaindependente.org/pt/blue/2007/08/390270.shtml?comment=on>.

09/08 The note of repudiation is finally distributed physically and online. It is entitled "A note of denunciation and repudiation - Ypióca attempts to silence and intimidate social movements". The note is supported by some 115 national entities, 7 international organizations, besides 220 individuals. Among them, there are many of the entities participating in the Group work against Environmental Racism and the Brazilian Network for Environmental Justice. Available from:

<http://prod.midiaindependente.org/pt/blue//2007/08/390354.shtml>

Demonstration against Ypióca in Praça Ferrera in Fortaleza city, in August 23rd. Available from: <http://www.midiaindependente.org/pt/red/2007/08/392169.shtml>

October 2007: Ypióca interposes other process against Jeováh Meireles. It is related to the first.

Ypióca requests an indemnity because of defamation. *Poder Judiciário do Estado de Ceará, 2007. Processo N°: 2007.0026.9629-9/0.*

Second process against Daniel Fonseca, because of defamation. *Poder Judiciário do Estado de Ceará, 2007. Processo N° 2007.0027.3957-5.*

The Private Ecological Reserve Lagoa Encantada is declared as official by SEMACE through the *Portaria N. 166/2007 (08/10/2007)*. Available from:
http://antigo.semace.ce.gov.br/integracao/biblioteca/legislacao/conteudo_legislacao.asp?cd=431

April 2008: Contestation of Professor Jeovah Meireles concerning the accusations of Ypióca. *Poder Judiciário do Estado de Ceará, 2007. Ref. Processo N°: 2007.0026.9629-9/0*

June 2008: Technical Report of SEMACE gives account of on the pollution caused by the company Ypióca. *Relatório 091 de Atividades do SEMACE 2008. Município de Aquiraz.*

Daniel Fonseca does not accept the conciliation for his process proposed by Ypióca. He desists from retract his actions or his alleged defamatory statements (Fonseca, 2012).

August 2008: A conciliation between Meireles and Ypióca company is agreed. The professor writes a note, which is made public on the Internet, where he argues that the data used to discredit the image of Ypióca, actually did not come from him, but from other sources. The note is reproduced and added as a 'Comment' on all websites where the conflict was reviewed under the title: The truth prevailed. It was even translated into English, German and Spanish. The publication of the note in Internet was made by a fake email containing the name of the professor. Available from:
(<http://de.indymedia.org/2007/08/190336.shtml>)

November 2010: FUNAI office in Ceará reports: "Ypióca is still retiring water from indigenous area. Pumps sealed by IBAMA still in use and impacting the Lagoa Encantada"(FUNAI-Ceará, 2012a).

December 2010: Ypióca responds to FUNAI's article in different websites that reproduced the denounce. The Press Consultancy Service Ketchum Strategia posts a 'Comment' representing Ypióca's positions respecting the accusations (FUNAI-Ceará, 2012a).

Indigenous leaders again denounce judicially Ypióca because of its noncompliance concerning the suctioning of water, which continuously disrespects IBAMA prohibitive seals. *Poder Judiciário do Estado de Ceará, 2010. Processo: 1.15.000.003333/2010-92.* Available from:
http://www.prce.mpf.gov.br/prdc/pesquisa_processo?operacao=R&tipodoc=A&doc=15987547

Indigenous leaders from five different ethnic groups of Ceará decide to block with sandbags the canal leading the water to Ypióca's suction pumps. They called this action: 'the retake' (A retomada). Available from:
<http://www.portaldomar.org.br/blog/portaldomar-blog/categoria/noticias/jenipapo-kaninde-estao->

February 2011: The Indigenous Territory is officially demarcated. Resumo do Relatório de Demarcação da Terra Indígena Lagoa Encantada (DOU, 2011).

March 2011: Ypióca judicially accuse an indigenous leader of ‘environmental crimes’. During the retake many individuals set sandbags in the canal dug by Ypióca to extract water. According to the company this artificial barrier of sand constitutes an environmental degradation to the lagoon. (*Interviews with CDPDH, FUNAI and Ypióca representatives and three indigenous leaders*).

Ypióca judicially accuse two indigenous leaders of defaming the company. These processes probably have to do with denounces for water extraction. (*Interviews with CDPDH, FUNAI and Ypióca representatives and three indigenous leaders*). Ypióca also requested an injunction of the demarcation of the Indigenous Territory (*Interview with FUNAI representative, 2012*).

July 2011: A Regional Federal judge orders the definitive suspension of water extraction until the pronouncement of the national congresses. The activities of Ypióca plantation in Aquiraz) were challenged in court by federal authorities through a Public Civil Action proposed in 2006. The Federal Court upheld the request and ordered the suspension of the works conducted by the company over the lagoon. However, even in August 2012, the company still is extracting water from the lagoon. *Ministerio Público Federal, Brasil. AGTR - 117527/CE - 0010933-70.2011.4.05.0000*.

March 2012: The deadline of 90 days to contest “the decision of the Ministry of Justice on the demarcation of indigenous territory has expired. The Indians overcame in all judicial instances and are one step away from seal the definitive conquest, when President Dilma Rousseff would sanction the homologation of the Indigenous Territory”. Available from:

http://funaiceara.blogspot.no/2012_02_01_archive.html

The constitutional amendment proposal PEC215 was approved at the first debate in the Brazilian Congress. If ratified, the demarcation of indigenous territories would be authority of the congress and not longer FUNAI. Also, the PEC215 could eventually invalidate the present or future demarcation of many recent indigenous territories, including Lagoa Encantada (FUNAI-Ceará, 2012c).

May 2012: DIAGEO, British corporation, world largest producer and exporter of premium liquors, acquired Ypióca brand, after the payment in cash of R \$ 900 million (DIAGEO, 2012). On social networks in, many people of Ceará lamented this transaction because Ypióca is considered as a symbol of tradition in the state. Thus, some people regard the event as a loss of cultural heritage of Ceará. However, DIAGEO only acquired some plants and the international rights over the trademark. The family Telles kept in its possession the organic plantations surrounding the lagoon and the emblematic cachaça museum. Available from: <http://diariodonordeste.globo.com/materia.asp?codigo=1142846>