

Territorial and environmental management of indigenous lands

– the Brazilian case –

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This paper presents the development process of the National Policy of Territorial and Environmental Management of Brazilian Indigenous Lands (PNGATI), published by governmental decree in June 2012, and discusses how the Policy reflects and intends to consolidate a new paradigm in the relationship between the State and Indigenous Peoples in Brazil. The PNGATI establishes, on the one hand, Indigenous Lands as protected areas, where development should come along with the sustainable use of the natural resources and, on the other hand, settles the fundamental role of the effective participation of indigenous peoples in building territorial and environmental strategies for the management of their lands. One of the main instruments to allow the implementation of the Policy is the construction of Management Plans of Indigenous Lands, which are instruments of intercultural planning on the use of the territory that should reflect the aspirations and perspectives of the indigenous communities regarding their future. In order to promote the discussion intended in this paper, a number of Indigenous Management Plans and other planning instruments and strategies from different indigenous ethnic groups will be reviewed.

Keywords: Indigenous Lands, Brazil, Indigenous Peoples, Indigenous Management Plans

1. Introduction

Throughout the last five centuries, indigenous peoples (IPs) in Brazil have been targets of different colonial and state policies, ranging from extermination and enslavement to integration and tutelage. Nonetheless, since recent legal reforms dating back to the 1980s, the State has started to recognise the rights of the remaining IPs in Brazil to self-determination and to their ancestral lands, which nowadays correspond to some of the most environmentally protected and biodiverse areas in the country, alongside conservation units (CUs).

The first stage of these changes were reflected in a concerted effort to demarcate Indigenous Lands (ILs) in the country. Currently, nearly 13% of Brazil's territory is recognised as ILs. In the Brazilian Amazon, ILs correspond to seven times the area that was recognised until 1990¹. Even though the demarcation process of ILs in Brazil has not yet been concluded, this new scenario of a number of legally established traditionally occupied lands in the country raises new challenges, especially related to the territorial and environmental management of these

¹ In 1990: 144.428 km². In 2010: 1.056.417 km². (Ricardo 2011: 45-47)

areas. In addition to that, this management should be aligned with the legal principle of respect to indigenous social organisation, which means any planning must reflect the aspirations and perspectives of the different indigenous ethnic groups that inhabit the country.

The State response to these challenges took form in the construction of the National Policy of Territorial and Environmental Management of Brazilian Indigenous Lands (PNGATI), published by governmental decree in June 2012. The Policy aims at promoting the protection, restoration, conservation and sustainable use of the natural resources of ILs, assuring the integrity of the indigenous heritage, the improvement of their quality of life and the conditions of cultural and physical reproduction of their current and future generations, respecting their sociocultural autonomy, and the current legislation (Brasil 2012).

One of the main instruments to allow the implementation of the Policy is the development of Management Plans of Indigenous Lands, which are instruments of intercultural planning on the use of the territory which should reflect the aspirations and perspectives of the indigenous communities regarding their future. They are a tool for promoting internal and external agreements on the protection of their territories, and an asset to promote their autonomy and self-determination. Last but not least, they are a resource for accessing and demanding the implementation of public policies and a way of building partnerships to achieve their aims.

In this article, I outline the historical and political context that led to the construction of the PNGATI, and discuss how the Policy reflects and intends to consolidate a new paradigm in the relationship between State and Indigenous Peoples in Brazil, providing an analysis of a number of Management Plans of Indigenous Lands as examples.

2. The path to the environmental and territorial management of indigenous lands as a policy pillar

The first State institution to take exclusive care of indigenous peoples' issues in Brazil was created in 1910, and it was called Service for the Protection of the Indigenous and for the Location of National Workers (SPI). This institution was set up mainly to manage land disputes with native communities as they emerged due to governmental colonisation projects – especially in the South of the country with the arrival of German and Italians immigrants. SPI goal was to integrate indigenous peoples in the national society and to establish indigenous reserves – which were small plots of land where they were meant to become sedentary

labourers. Evolutionary and positivist theories largely inspired and justified State guidelines for the institution. The idea was that indigenous peoples were inevitably going to abandon their “uncivilised” cultures and merge into the national society. Also, IPs did not have the freedom to speak by themselves. That was done by the State. In 1967, the SPI was extinct and the National Foundation for Indigenous Affairs (FUNAI) was created, but the orientation remained the same.

This specific approach to indigenous peoples lived on throughout the XXth century, and resulted in the confinement of innumerable indigenous ethnic groups in small portions of land and in the extinction of several IPs and languages. However, during the late 1970s and beginning of 1980s, the social and environmental agenda gained strength in Brazil. As a result, the country went through a very significant legal reform with regards to indigenous peoples, especially materialised in the promulgation of the 1988 Constitution, which recognised IPs’ rights to self-determination and to their traditionally occupied lands. Therefore, the State assumed the duty to demarcate IPs’ lands and to have public policies that respected the cultural diversity of IPs, ensuring their active voice and participation in these processes.

The improvements in the legislation regarding IPs’ rights did not happen isolated from the international agenda. The advancements presented in the 1988 Constitution, first of all, echo the human rights debate awakening in the redemocratisation period, that was silenced during the dictatorship, between 1964 to 1985. Parallel to that, the growing international concern about environmental issues largely impacted national discussions, especially due to the fact that Brazil is home to the largest tropical rainforest in the world: the Amazon. The Brundtland Report, produced by the United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development and published in 1987, raised a critique to “development” and the way Humanity had been managing the world natural resources, and called the world countries for action, stating that *“the time has come to take the decisions needed to secure the resources to sustain this and coming generations”* (Brundtland *et al.* 1987: 11), coining the term “sustainable development”. The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, or the “Rio Conference”, in 1992, also strengthened the need *“to make development sustainable to ensure that it meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.”* (*ibid*: 16)

In accordance with these discussions, Brazil signed the International Labour Organisation Convention 169 (1989) and later the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007), both very relevant to the recognition of IPs’ territories and to the respect of

their cultural diversity. Also, the country ratified the Convention on Biological Diversity (1992), which established the norms and principles for the protection of biological diversity and preaches the respect for traditional knowledge and practices.

Until that moment, indigenous issues in Brazil had not been dealt by the State in relation to environmental issues. With the increased global concern over the world's natural resources and the acknowledgement that there were many indigenous groups living in the forests that were meant to be preserved, associated with the recognition of indigenous peoples to live on their traditional lands, these agendas slowly started to converge. The demarcation of traditionally occupied indigenous lands in the country revealed the importance of these areas to environmental conservation (Schwartzman *et al.* 2000; Bamberger *et al.* 2003 in Molnar *et al.* 2004; Nepstad *et al.* 2006; Veríssimo *et al.* 2011). The result of the demarcation process and of the new legal scenario brought about the demand for specific projects and policies for the environmental and territorial management of indigenous lands.

A reflection of this fact is that during the XXth century, indigenous issues in Brazil were dealt with by the Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Agriculture and finally, after the 1988 Constitution, by the Ministry of Justice. It was not until 2005 that the Ministry of Justice, represented by FUNAI, and the Ministry of Environment (MMA) began to collaborate, and opened up dialogue with indigenous representatives and civil society organisations in order to support actions for the environmental and territorial management of indigenous lands.

The first collaborative effort of this nature started in 2005, with the construction of a project for the Global Environmental Facility (GEF) called "*Catalysing the contribution of Indigenous Lands for the Conservation of Brazil's Forest Ecosystems*", which also received funds from the Brazilian government and the non-governmental organisation The Nature Conservancy (TNC). The project aimed at strengthening traditional ways of management, sustainable use and conservation of natural resources in ILs, through pilot initiatives in 32 ILs in Brazil.

Alongside this process, from September 2008 to June 2010, FUNAI and the Ministry of the Environment coordinated the process for the construction of the National Policy for Environmental and Territorial Management of Indigenous Lands (PNGATI), whose objectives were outlined above, in the Introduction. The officially constituted Working Group for the construction of the Policy's draft proposal assigned members from FUNAI, MMA and indigenous organisations to do the task. There was also the participation of civil society and international organisations (such as TNC and the Brazilian International Institute of Education

- IEB) and of international cooperation agencies (such as the Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit – GIZ, the German Cooperation for Development – GmbH, the United Nations Development Programme – UNDP and the GEF).

After the draft proposal was ready, there was a nationwide consultation process with indigenous peoples and organisations which that lasted from November 2009 to June 2010, organised in five regional meetings, in which 1240 indigenous peoples from 186 ethnic groups were heard, commented and debated the draft proposal (see Table 1). After the consultations have finished, there was the consolidation of the comments from all sessions and then the revised draft passed through several governmental departments for revisions. The Policy was only published in June 2012. Its final version was criticised by a number of organisations and indigenous representatives because, according to them, there were important aspects missing from the consultation discussions.

	DATE	PLACE	PARTICIPANTS
1 st Regional Consultation	23 a 26/11/2009	Recife/PE	240 IPs, representing 47 ethnic groups from North-eastern Brazil
2 nd Regional Consultation	14 a 17/12/2009	Curitiba/PR	140 IPs, representing 12 ethnic groups from Southern Brazil, and São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro States
3 rd Regional Consultation	26 a 29/01/2010	Campo Grande/MS	190 IPs, representing 7 ethnic groups
4 th Regional Consultation	27 a 30/05/2010	Cuiabá/MT	320 IPs, representing 56 ethnic groups from Central-western Brazil, and Tocantins Maranhão and Pará States
5 th Regional Consultation	25 a 28/06/2010	Manaus/AM	350 IPs, representing 64 ethnic groups from Northern Brazil

Table 1: Consultations for the PNGATI (Oliveira 2011: 29)

The PNGATI emerges in a context in which ILs are getting more and more vulnerable to outside pressures and threats. At the same time, it happens in a moment of changing relationships between the State and indigenous peoples. The Policy puts together the new body of legislation (both national and international) regarding indigenous peoples and triggers a process of intense collaboration between indigenous peoples, government, civil society, and

international cooperation. This is how Oliveira (2011: 18) describes the PNGATI: “[it]is a consequence of a combination of tendencies and dynamics in the relationship between the State, indigenous peoples and the environmental issues in Brazil, that is conforming a new historical situation”².

In spite of criticisms of the resulting policy document, the consultation process at the national scale represented an unprecedented attitude of dialogue between State and indigenous peoples as a way of ensuring indigenous participation according to the International Labour Convention 169. As Oliveira (2011:11) points out: “Even though there is a great need for the realisation of consultations, the experiences are recent and there is an academic and methodological gap as to how to consolidate the contributions and as to the ways in which this right can be exercised in practice”. Procedures, effective communication and a general understanding of the need to consult are some of the challenges.

Beyond the consultation process, the implementation of the PNGATI raises a complex equation, which is how to combine indigenous participation, autonomy and sustainable development altogether to the reality of indigenous lands, in the current dynamic social, political and environmental context. The construction of Management Plans are an attempt to do so.

3. Management Plans for Indigenous Lands

The idea of constructing Management Plans of Indigenous Lands emerges in a time in which ILs are under increasing pressures from the outside world, and also when a number of IPs are discussing their internal organisation in their demarcated lands, or even during the struggle for their recognition. In that perspective, Management Plans become instruments of internal and external dialogue, allowing the collective construction of strategies to deal both with outside agents and indigenous neighbours and relatives.

Some Management Plans were built by indigenous communities in partnership with non-governmental organisations before the publication of the PNGATI, during the last ten years. They have actually served as examples and inspiration for the Policy’s content. Therefore, the idea of Indigenous Management Plans is still very recent and its conception and methodology are still being discussed and tested. The first cases of Management Plans emerged in Acre State as a result of a policy process initiated by the local government in 2000, called Ecological and Economic Zoning (ZEE), which happened all over the State. It was soon realised that the

² In this paper, translations from all Portuguese sources are mine.

zoning methodology could not be the same for indigenous lands, as indigenous peoples should be the ones to determine the zoning according to the uses of their territories. So, in 2003, the process of “Ethnozoning” began, and it triggered, as a consequence, the construction of the first Indigenous Management Plans in the State.

3.1.Planning instruments and strategies for the construction of Management Plans

The concept of Ethnozing and some other planning instruments and strategies used as a basis for the construction of Management Plans were defined by Paul Little (2006) and Correia (2007) as follows:

- **Participatory diagnosis:** information gathering about the Indigenous Land through the intercultural dialogue, considering the historical, political, economic and environmental context;
- **Ethomapping:** participatory tool which consist on diagnosing the spatial representation of the territory according to the indigenous classification of space and its characteristic elements;
- **Ethnozoning:** participatory tool for territorial planning according to the indigenous categories of land use.

There is also another tool used in the process of the construction of Management Plans entitled **Life Plan**, which is “*a way of describing what is expected for the future, of organising these objectives and of describing how it is expected that they will be achieved. It is like a great project that could guide all actions of a person of a whole community [...]*” (APIO 2009: 19). In that sense, the Life Plan would precede the construction of a Management Plan.

3.2.Defining and conceptualising Indigenous Management Plans

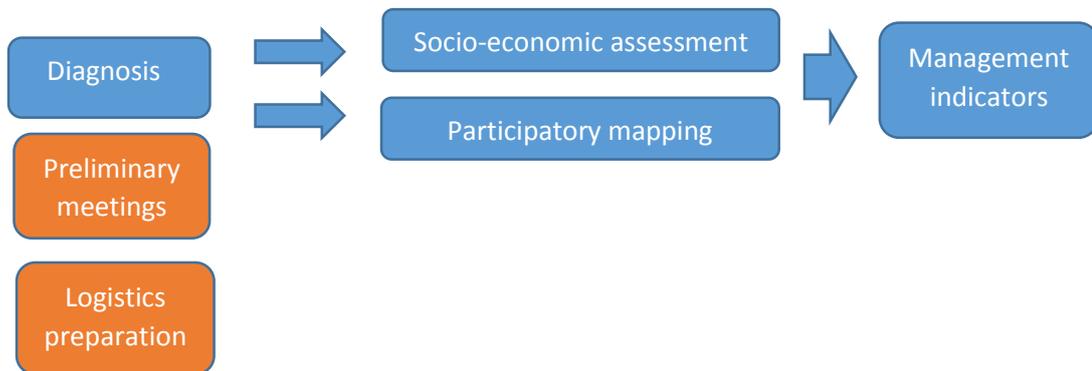
The description above of a Life Plan comes from Indigenous Peoples of Oiapoque. Nonetheless, some other indigenous peoples, such as the Suruí, use the name “Life Plan” as a synonymous to Indigenous Management Plans. The fact is that there are still different understandings of the concept of Indigenous Management Plans, which are now officially called by the government Territorial and Environmental Management Plans of Indigenous Lands (PGTAs), as a way to correlate them to the PNGATI. One of the main differences is the understanding that if Indigenous Management Plan should or should not include topics such as health and education. In most cases, a more comprehensive view that territorial and environmental management should encompass all domains of peoples’ lives is predominant.

As the number of Management Plans started to increase, both the government of Acre State (SEMA/AC et al 2010) and the federal government (FUNAI 2013) attempted to provide general conceptual and methodological guidelines for the construction of Indigenous Management Plans, drawing them from previous experiences.

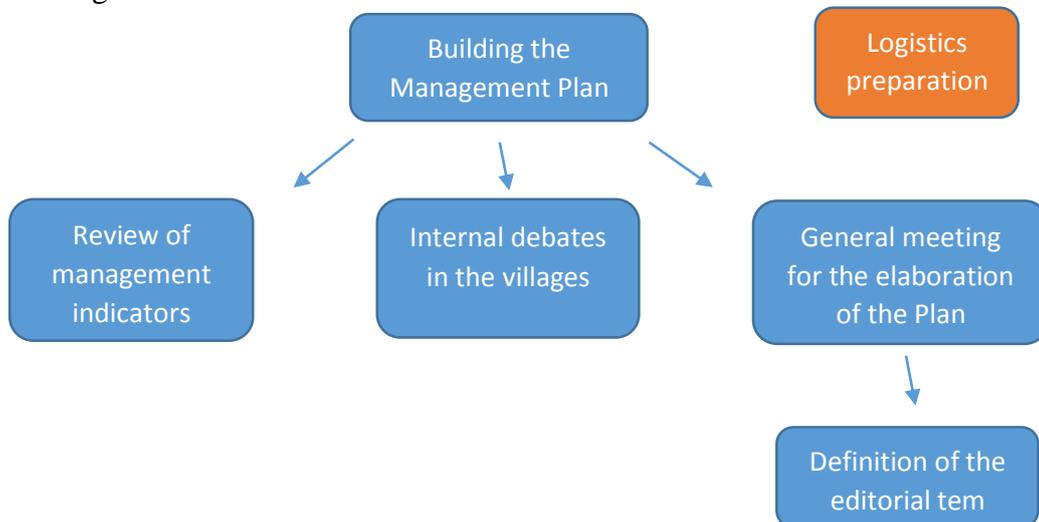
In terms of methodology, this is how these documents summarise the steps:

a. Acre (SEMA/AC 2010: 14):

1st Stage:

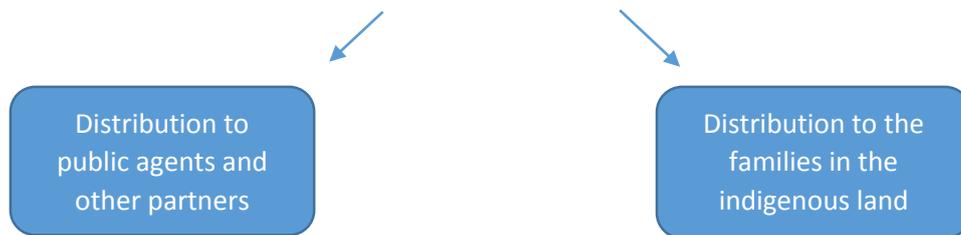


2nd Stage:



3rd Stage:





Federal government (FUNAI 2013: 13):

1st Stage: **Mobilisation** – indigenous families are approached and consulted about the construction of the PGTA, its objectives and uses, its process and implementation, and about their interest in getting involved. This stage happens only if there was a demand from the indigenous land. Also, other potential partners are approached and consulted.

2nd Stage: **Diagnosis** – i) Participatory diagnosis: information raising about the economic, sociocultural, historic, environmental and political issues on the indigenous territory as a result of intercultural dialogue; ii) Ethnomapping: indigenous spatial representation of their territory according to their classifications.

3rd Stage: **Planning** – planning and prioritisation of actions and projects for the resolution of problems or potential activities identified in the diagnosis. There is also the construction of actions and internal and external agreements, according to the specificities of each ethnic group. The process of internal negotiation should be conducted by the indigenous organisation, with the support of partners, if requested. Working with ethnozoning at this stage is also a possibility.

4th Stage: **Implementation** – implementation of actions, projects, and of internal and external agreements that resulted from the construction of the PGTA.

5th Stage: **Monitoring and evaluation** – it should happen simultaneously in all stages, in order to reflect and assess the process by all parties involved, which may also include the revision of the content of PGTA according to changing scenarios.

The definition of Indigenous Management Plans present in the documents are as follows:

“[Ethnozoning and Indigenous Management Plans] represent management instruments of indigenous peoples constructed in a participatory way, allowing the elaboration of detailed diagnosis of natural resources, local production and sociocultural relationships that constitute fundamental elements for decision making for the communities and for the Public Power” (SEMA/AC 2010: 7)

“[PGTAs] are instruments of dynamic character, that aim at the valorisation of the material and immaterial indigenous heritage, the restoration, conservation and sustainable use of natural resources, ensuring a better quality of life and all the conditions for the physical and cultural reproduction of the present and future generations.” (FUNAI 2013: 10)

In short, there are some slight differences between the stages proposed by the two documents, which are more about details of the process and the moments in which things should happen. The document by the federal government also goes further including the implementation and monitoring and evaluation stages. Nonetheless, both set of guidelines are very clear in that the Plans and the suggested stages should not be a “rule”, so as to allow for adaptations respecting the social organisation of different indigenous groups and for the changing social, economic, environmental and political scenarios communities are faced with (FUNAI 2013: 11; SEMA/AC *et al.* 2010: 22).

3.3. Analysing planning instruments and strategies and Indigenous Management Plans

Here, I review one Ethnomapping, one Ethnozoning, one Life Plan and nine Management Plans³ from different regions in Brazil, and I establish comparisons between them, especially regarding their structure and the composition of partners for the construction of the management plan (see Table 2).

First of all, it is possible to notice that the geographic unit encompassed by the planning instruments and strategies or Management Plans varies considerably, ranging from a single indigenous land to a mosaic of indigenous lands connected either by ethnic affinity (such as the Timbira Management Plan) or geographic proximity (such as the Oiapoque Life and Management Plans). Also, the land titling status ranges from regularly demarcated lands, like the Kampa do Rio Amônia and Kaxinawá e Ashaninka do Rio Breu Management Plans, to Pataxó and Timbira Management Plans, with some of the lands still under the demarcation process.

³ I am only analysing the published material, which does not reflect the detailed studies that accompany each of these instruments.

ETHNOMAPPING					
Name	Indigenous Land/Demarcation status	State	Year of publication	Realisation and-or Support	Structure
Ethnomapping – Kampa do Rio Amônia	Kampa do Rio Amônia/Regular	Acre	2012	APITWXTA AMAAIAC CPI/AC Rainforest Foundation GIZ	- Historical - Hydrological - Vegetation - Fauna flow - Hunting - Fishing - Resource use - Invasions
ETHNOZONING					
Name	Indigenous Land/Demarcation status	State	Year of publication	Realisation and-or Support	Structure (themes and actions)
Ethnozoning - Paiterei Garah (Sete de Setembro)	Sete de Setembro/Regular	Mato Grosso	2011	Metareilá Association of Suruí People Kanindé Association ECAM USAID Friends of the Earth Fortis Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation	- Cultural - Sacred - Hunting - Fishing - Extractivism - Strict forest protection - Production -Restoration - Tourism
LIFE PLAN					
Name	Indigenous Land/Demarcation status	State	Year of publication	Realisation and-or Support	Structure (themes and actions)
Life Plan of the Indigenous Peoples and	Uaçá/Regular Uaçá/In study Galibi/Regular	Roraima	2009	APIO TNC IEPÉ	- Health - Education - Livelihoods

Organisations of Oiapoque	Juminã/Regular			GTZ FUNAI Eletronorte USAID	- Territory and the environment - Culture - Indigenous movement
MANAGEMENT PLANS					
Name	Indigenous Land/Demarcation status	State	Year of publication	Realisation and-or Support	Structure (themes and actions)
Territorial and Environmental Management Plan - Kampa do Rio Amônia (bilingual)	Kampa do Rio Amônia/Regular	Acre	2007	APITWTXA AMAAIAC CPI/AC	I – Forestry and floral resources II – Hunting III – Fishing IV – Gardening V – Agroforestry plantations VI – Wild animals management VII – Villages VIII – Garbage IX - Water resources X – Monitoring and surveillance XI – Relationship with the surroundings
Territorial and Environmental Management Plan - Kaxinawá and Ashaninka do Rio Breu (bilingual)	Kaxinawá Ashaninka do Rio Breu/Regular	Acre	2007	AKARIB AMAAIAC CPI-AC	I – Forestry and floral resources II – Fishing III – Hunting IV – Gardening V – Wild animals management VI – Garbage VII - Water resources
Ethnoenvironmental Management Plan - Sete de Setembro	Sete de Setembro/Regular	Mato Grosso	2008	Metareilá Association of Suruí People Kanindé Association ECAM	Subprograms: * Structural - Participatory diagnosis and strategic planning - Knowledge and information transfer - Autonomy in project management and monitoring * Thematic - Food security - Integral health

					<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Education - Culture - Environmental sustainability - Sustainable housing - Transport - Energy matrix
Our Land, our Future - Kaxinawá do Igarapé do Caucho (bilingual)	Igarapé do Caucho/Regular	Acre	2011	APAHC SEMA-AC AEAI FUNAI GIZ	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Our food sources - Keeping forestry resources - Our territory - Our health - Our school - Sustainable management measures
Aragwaksã Territorial Management Plan of Pataxó People from Barra Velha and Águas Belas	Barra Velha/Regular Águas Belas/Regular Barra Velha do Monte Pascoal/Delimited	Bahia	2012	FUNAI UNESCO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Territory - Sustainable Use and Preservation - Housing - Education and Culture Strengthening - Agriculture - Health and Traditional Medicine - Ethnotourism - Fishing - Social rights and benefits
Territorial Management Plan - Manoki	Manoki/Declared Irantxe/Regular	Mato Grosso	2012	Watoholi Association of Manoki People OPAN Petrobrás	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Territory and the environment - Traditional practices - Livelihoods and income generation - Education - Health - External relations
Territorial and Environmental Management Plans of Timbira Lands	Kraholândia/Regular Apinajé/Regular Apinajé/In study Krikati/Regular Governador/Regular Governador/In study	Tocantins Maranhão Pará	2012	Wyty-Cate Association of Timbira Peoples CTI	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Territorial control - Natural resource management - Livelihoods and income generation activities - Socioenvironmental education

	Kanela/Regular Porquinhos/Declared Geralda do Toco Preto/Regular Mãe Maria/Regular				
Management Plan - Pirineus de Souza	Pirineus de Souza/Regular	Mato Grosso	2013	Kolemace Association of Mintis Indigenous Peoples OPAN Petrobrás	- Traditional territory - Traditional gardens from our calendar - Income generation in the villages - Education is our territory - Improving our health - The young lady ritual is from our origins - The association is with our community
Territorial and Environmental Programme of Oiapoque	Uaçá/Regular Uaçá/In study Galibi/Regular Juminã/Regular	Roraim a	2013	Chiefs Council of Oiapoque Indigenous Peoples TNC	- Territorial protection - Training for territorial management - Natural and sustainable resource management

Table 2: Comparative table of planning instruments and strategies and Indigenous Management Plans

AKARIB – Kaxinawá Association of Rio Breu

APIWTXA - Ashaninka Association of Rio Amônia

APAHC – Association of the Huni Kuin Producers and Agroextractivists from Igarapé do Caucho

APIO – Association of Indigenous Peoples from Oiapoque

AEAI – Special Advisory in Indigenous Affairs (Acre State)

AMAAIAC - Agroforestry Agents Movement from Acre State

CTI – Indigenous Work Centre

ECAM – Amazon Conservation Team

IEPÉ – Indigenous Research and Training Institute

OPAN – Native Amazon Operation

Petrobrás – Brazilian Petroleum

USAID – United States Agency for International Development

The publication for distribution of such plans, instruments and strategies is very recent, dating back to 2007. Also, the sample analysed in this article reflects the national scenario in which most of the Plans so far were built on the Amazon region. Some of the publications gained more depth as they came after the publication of their planning instruments and strategies. This is the case of the Kampa do Rio Amônia, Sete de Setembro and Oiapoque Management Plans, preceded respectively by the publication of their Ethnomapping, Ethnozoning and Life Plan. Whilst the ethnomapping is a way of indigenous recognition and classification of their territory, the ethnozoning and the life plan are already forms of planning the use of their space and of identifying problems they want to tackle. That is why they may look like a draft version of the Management Plan.

In general, we can see that the establishment of partnerships for the construction of Indigenous Management Plans is central. Usually, there is the presence of an indigenous association and a partner NGO. Sometimes the State and International Cooperation Agencies also support the process. This relates to a common feature of the contemporary political scenario involving indigenous peoples, in which there is an increasing collaboration between governmental, international and non-governmental actors in initiatives developed in Indigenous Lands, at the same time as the communities set up and strengthen their own associations. As it is stated in the Manoki Management Plan: *“The association works with projects. We write projects that are related to the culture of our people and we ask for funding. Before, it was FUNAI who would manage the projects for us. Today is the association by itself that does it.”* (Manoki 2012: 38).

Normally, each Management Plan comes with an introduction, in which there is a description of the people’s history, the process of demarcation of their land, and other cultural aspects. Then, the second part is dedicated to their problems and potential solutions. There is a wide range of initiatives that can be included in Indigenous Management Plans by communities, in accordance with their demands. Some of their most common concerns are about territorial protection, land demarcation, sustainable agriculture and extractivism, knowledge sharing on their territory, and improved dialogue with governmental and non-governmental institutions (Correia 2011:10). There are also several ways of constructing these plans, from the constitution of the core team for its elaboration, to the classifications of main areas of concern and prioritisation actions.

It is possible to notice that these demands are identified, clustered and organised in different ways in all plans and instruments. Normally there are main themes appointed in each publication, which are followed by a number of collective agreements, actions and protocols related to those themes. Some are very specific in their themes, highlighting, for instance, “fishing”, “hunting”,

“gardening” (e.g. Kampa do Rio Amônia and Kaxinawá e Ashaninka do Rio Breu), and others are more general, referring to these activities as “natural resource management” (e.g. Timbira and Oiapoque). Some themes are quite unique to some publications, such as “energy matrix” (Sete de Setembro), “agroforestry plantation” (Kampa do Rio Amônia), and “ethnotourism” (Pataxó).

In spite of the differences in presentation and in the breadth of each management plan, they all somehow reflect the attempt of indigenous peoples to reaffirm and cultivate their collective identity and the relation to their territories, while establishing adaptation strategies to deal with new and emerging scenarios usually provoked by a situation of increasing contact. This quotation, present in the Territorial Management Plan of the Pataxó People from Barra Velha and Águas Belas (Cardoso and Pinheiro 2012: 11) tries to point out the essence of Management Plans:

To think about territorial management is to think about the encompassing management of a territory in all aspects that constitute it: social, environmental, political, cultural and economic. It is to think and to enable the destination of spaces for different uses; it is to manage the ecosystems from specific ways of knowing; it is to protect villages; it is to manifest the traditions; it is to celebrate rituals; it is the cosmological understanding of space, and of political and parental relationships. Notwithstanding, new factors are, through time, composing, transforming, and interfering in the indigenous management of their territories, as it is the case of the invasion of their lands, of the different forms in relation to other non-indigenous actors, of the innumerable violences practiced against these communities.

Also, the Kaxinawá do Rio Breu describe well how Management Plans make sense for them these days due to the contemporary dynamic scenario of relationships between them, the surrounding population and the State:

Before the contact with the Western society, our people did not need to make a ‘Management Plan’, because at that time there was abundance and we were not surrounded in all sides by people who use the land in such a different way from us. Now, indigenous communities need to organise themselves to construct their plans, to identify their problems and their advantages. For us, the Management Plan is not a law, but an agreement among family groups, the community, about how we are going to take care of our land, how we are going to use our natural resources, how we are going to relate to our neighbours, how we are going to work with the surroundings, how we are going to bring a development that will benefit all: men, women, children, animals and plants. (Gavazzi a 2007: 7-8)

Management Plans are also very much directed to rights implementation, as it is well stated in Igarapé do Caucho Management Plan: *“Here we registered our project for the future, which is a set of agreements and community actions related to territorial and environmental protection, as well as to health, education, and technical training demands that are necessary for us to have a better quality of life in our villages and to ensure the same for the future generations”* (Maciel 2011: 9). The Management Plan from Ashaninka people of Kampa do Rio Amônia complements

the idea: *“We see there was a great improvement in Brazil... We have our territory already defined, we have Extractive Reserves, National Parks, State Parks, Indigenous Lands. We have a well defined picture, a very clear policy with regards to the environment and the cultural diversity. Now, we have to work to keep all that.”* (Gavazzi b 2007: 11).

In spite of the advancements in terms of building planning instruments and strategies and of setting up Management Plans, a lot remain to be done, especially in terms of the Plans' implementation and monitoring. It is common that community members and partners do not even get to know the Management Plans of an Indigenous Land, and the Plan becomes a forgotten piece of paper. Finally, Plans need to be reviewed periodically, otherwise they become outdated.

4. Final remarks

In this paper I have presented the process of the construction of the National Policy for Territorial and Environmental Management of Indigenous Lands in Brazil, which establishes a new paradigm in the relationship between State, indigenous peoples and the wider society, preaching the right to self-determination of indigenous peoples in their lands and their active participation in their territorial and environmental management. Also, I have reviewed a number of planning instruments, strategies and Indigenous Management Plans that are considered tools for the implementation of the Policy.

The construction of Management Plans are intended to be a reflection of indigenous peoples' aspirations both for their internal relations and for their relations with the State and their non-indigenous neighbours and partners. It is possible to identify that so far the process for the construction of Management Plans has heavily depended on external actors' support, be them governmental or non-governmental. Many indigenous associations have been constituted, but they are still not fully autonomous to conduct the process by themselves. Also, in the end, even though the Plans are a result of the use of participatory methodologies, often the community at large does not get to know about it. Last but not least, the implementation and monitoring of the Plans are still behind, frequently due to the lack of engagement of both community and external partners.

The fact is that it is not possible to isolate the idea of “self-determination” from the context of contact and its location within a National State. If, on the one hand, the progress in terms of the national legislation for the respect of the autonomy of indigenous peoples cannot be denied, on the other hand, the decisions and processes through which IPs are being engaged in Policy

implementation derive considerably from the need to dialogue with the limits set by the State, and that often shapes languages and practices. A publication of indigenous territorial and environmental management experiences by the Amazon Cooperation Network (RCA) illustrates well this point, when it states that *“The idea of environmental management is becoming another stage in the process of assimilation, by indigenous peoples, of the concept – and the fact – of a demarcated land. Through pragmatic actions which are presented to them, informed or sometimes imposed, indigenous groups start to perceive the dimension that the legal doctrine preaches but not necessarily materialise”* (Kahn & Grupioni 2013: 19).

5. Bibliography

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