

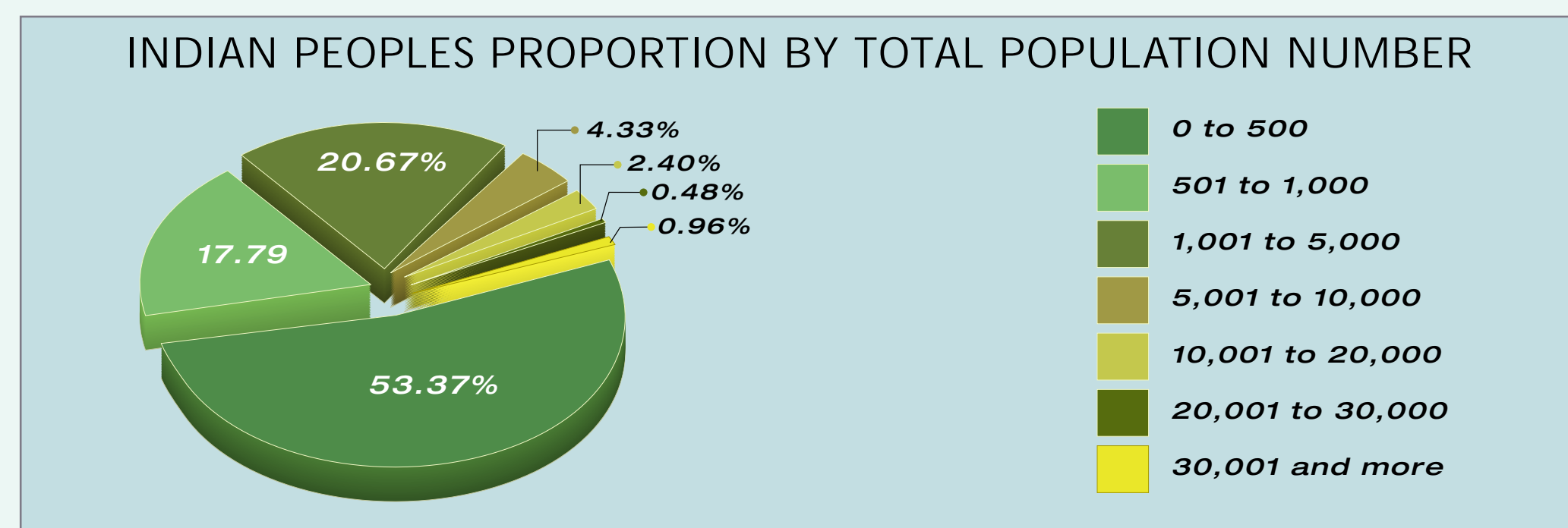
Brazilian Demographic Censuses and the “Indians”: difficulties in identifying and counting.

Marta Maria Azevedo

Researcher for the Instituto Socioambiental – ISA, and visiting researcher of the Núcleo de Estudos em População – NEPO / of the University of Campinas – UNICAMP

At the present moment there are in Brazil 184 native language-speaking peoples and around 30 who identify themselves as “Indians”, even though they are Portuguese speaking. Two-hundred and sixteen peoples live in ‘Indian Territories’, either demarcated or in the process of demarcation, and also in urban areas in the different regions of Brazil. The lands of some 30 groups extend across national burder, for ex.: 8,500 Ticuna live in Peru and Colombia while 32,000 live in Brazil along the Solimões River, in the State of Amazonas. Such is also the case of the Guarany, whose population in Paraguay is of 25,000 while in Brazil it is of 35,000 people. Thus, the borders of modern nations/states that split these traditional populations, presents us with the problem of about whom we are speaking. When we talk about the Indian population in Brazil – total – we are not counting the populations that share common ethnicity, we are only talking about those who belong to the Brazilian people, according to geographic criteria of modern nationality.

According to a survey done by the Instituto Socioambiental (Povos Indígenas no Brasil – 1996/2000) – of the 208 peoples about whom we have populational information, 53% have up to 500 persons while only 0.96%, or 2 peoples, have a population of more than 30,000 persons. This means that the greater part of these groups have a small scale population. This means that we have in our country a large mosaic of peoples with small populations and a great sociodiversity.



The demographic characteristics of these groups have never been the object of a specific interest of the censuses: since the first official demographic census in the country, in 1872, until the 1991 census, the Indians were counted as part of the “parda” (brown) population, one of the variables in the item skin colour in the sample questionnaire.

The brown category is residual in Brazil, and identifies exactly those who are the result of inter-ethnic marriages, that is, the “mamelucos”, “cafuzos”, “mulatos” and “caboclos”(mixed-blood categories); that is, those who are not black, yellow, or white.

The 1991 census was the first official census to include the variable indian in the item skin colour. However, indian is not a skin colour, as brown also is not; it is a category historically invented and is a sort of the others determined by the colonizers when they first arrived here.

Many texts have already criticized the choice made by the Brazilian censuses for identifying the so-called “ethnic minorities” based upon the skin colour. The political nature of this choice becomes more obvious when compared to the census practices of other countries: in the Mexican census they choose languages spoken, or an ethnic identification for each people, as in the American and Canadian censuses, or even making special surveys for these populations at the same time that the national demographic census starts, as in countries such as Colombia, Venezuela and Paraguay.

The Brazilian census practice obscures the fact that each people has a different profile and demographic dynamics, which varies according to their social and political structure, type of geographical and environmental occupation and so on. By presenting a list of peoples for each state of the so-called Brazilian Legal Amazonia, a small example of this can be demonstrated.

PEOPLES IN THE BRAZILIAN AMAZONIA INDIAN LANDS

source: Programa Brasil Socioambiental - ISA

UF*	POVO	POP.**	ANO***	LÍNG./TRON.****	OUTROS NOMES*****
RO	Aikana	175	1995	Aikana	Aikana, Massaká, Tubarão
RO	Ajuru	38	1990	Tupari	
RO	Akunsu	7	1998		Akunt'su
RO	Amondawa	80	2000	Tupi-Guarani	
RO	Arara	184	2000	Ramarama	Karo
RO	Arikapu	2	1999	Jaboti	Aricapu
RO	Arikem	?		Arikem	Ariken
RO	Arua	6	1997	Tupi-Mondé	
RO	Cassupá	?	?	Português	
RO/MT	Cinta Larga	643	1993	Tupi-Mondé	Matetamãe
RO	Columbiara	?	?	?	Corumbiara
RO	Gavião	436	2000	Tupi-Mondé	Digut
RO	Jaboti	67	1990	Jaboti	
RO	Kanoe	84	1997	Kanoe	Canoe
RO	Karipuna	20	2000	Tupi-Guarani	Caripuna
RO	Karitiana	360	2000	Arikem	Caritiana
RO	Kwaza	25	1998	Lingua isolada	Coala, Koala
RO	Kujubim	14	1990	Txapakura	Kuyubi
RO	Makurap	129	1990	Tupari	Makurap
RO	Oro Wito	50	2000	Txapakura	
RO	Pakaa Nova	2.050	1996	Txapakura	Wari, Pacáas Novos
RO	Paumelenho	?	?	?	
RO	Sakurabiap	55	1999	Tupari	Mekens, Sakirabiap, Sakirabiap
RO	Surui	586	1992	Tupi-Mondé	Paiter
RO	Tupari	204	1992	Tupari	
RO	Uru-eu-wau-wau	124	2000	Tupi-Guarani	Urueu-uau-uau, Amundawa
RO	Urupain	?	?	?	
AM	Apuriná	2.779	1999	Aruak	
AM	Arapáço	300	1998	Tukano	Arapasso
AM	Baríwa(1)	4.000	2000	Aruak	Baniua, Baniwa, Walimanal, Wakenai
AM	Bará(2)	40	1992	Tukano	Wajjipinómahka
AM	Barasana(3)	61	1988	Tukano	Hanera
AM	Baré	2.790	1998	Nheengatu	
AM	Deni	672	2000	Arawá	
AM	Desana(4)	1.464	1998	Tukano	Desana, Desano, Wirá, Umukomahsa
AM	Diahu	17	1999	Tupi-Guarani	Jahoi, Jahui, Diaroi
AM	Jamamadi	320	1999	Arawá	Yamamadi, Djeoromitxi
AM	Jarawara	197	1999	Arawá	Jarauara
AM	Juma	7	2000	Tupi-Guarani	Yuma
AM	Kaixana	224	1997	Português	Caixana
AM	Kambeba	156	2000	Tupi-Guarani	Cambeba, Omagua
AM	Kanamanti	162	1999	Arawá	Canamanti
AM	Kanamari	1.327	1999	Katukina	Canamari
AM	Karapana(5)	38	1998	Tukano	Carapana, Muteamahsa, Ukopinopona
AM	Katukina	578	1999	Katukina	Pedá-Djapá
AM	Kaxarari	190	1993	Pano	Caxarari
AM	Kokama(6)	622	1989	Tupi-Guarani	Cocama
AM	Korubi	250	2000	Pano	
AM	Kubeo(7)	262	1998	Tukano	Cubeo, Cobewa, Kubewa, Pamiwa
AM	Kulina Pano	20	1996	Pano	Culina
AM	Kuripako(8)	1.100	2000	Aruak	Curipaco, Curripaco, Wakuenal
AM	Maku(9)	2.548	1998	Maku	Macu, Maku Yuhupde, Maku Hupdá, Maku Nadeb, Maku Dow, Maku Cacia e Nukak Macuna, Yebamahsa
AM	Makuna(10)	42	1998	Tukano	
AM	Marubo	1.043	2000	Pano	
AM	Matis	239	2000	Pano	
AM	Matse(11)	829	2000	Pano	Mayoruna
AM	Miranha(12)	613	1999	Bora	Miranha, Mirana
AM	Miriti-Tapuia	120	1998	Tukano	Buia-Tapuia
AM	Mura	5.540	2000	Mura	
AM	Parintintim	156	2000	Tupi-Guarani	
AM	Paumari	720	1999	Arawá	Palmarí
AM	Piraha	360	2000	Mura	Mura-Piraha
AM	Piratapua(13)	926	1992	Tukano	Piratapuya, Piratapuyo, Waikana
AM	Sateré-Mawé	7.134	2000	Mawé	Sateré Maué
AM	Siriano(14)	?	?	?	Siriamahsa
AM	Tariano(15)	1.595	1998	Aruak	Talliseri, Tariana
AM	Tenharim	585	2000	Tupi-Guarani	
AM	Ticuna(16)	32.613	1998	Ticuna	Ticuna, Tukuna, Magúta
AM	Torá	51	1999	Txapakura	
AM	Tsohom Djapa	100	1985	Katukina	Tsunhum Djapa
AM	Tukano(17)	3.670	1998	Tukano	Tucano, Yega Mahsa, Dasea
AM	Tuyuka(18)	530	1998	Tukano	Tuluca, Dokapaura, Utapinómakaphona
AM/RR	Waimiri-Atroari	798	1999	Karib	Kina
AM	Wanano(19)	487	1998	Tukano	Uanano
AM	Warekena(20)	491	1998	Aruak	Uarekena, Werekena
AM	Witoto(21)	?	?	Witoto	Uitoto, Huitoto
AM	Zuruihá	143	1995	Arawá	Sorowaha, Suruwaha
RR	Ingarikó(22)	675	1997	Karib	Ingarico Akawato, Kapon
RR	Makuxi(23)	16.500	2000	Karib	Macuxi, Macushi, Pemon
RR	Patamona(24)	50	1991	Karib	Kapon
RR	Taurepang(25)	532	1998	Karib	Taullipang, Pemon, Arekuna
RR/AM/PA	Wai Wai(26)	2.020	2000	Karib	Waiwai, Karafawana, Xereu, Hixkariana
RR	Wapixana(27)	6.500	2000	Aruak	Uapixana, Vapixiana
RR	Yanomami(28)	11.700	2000	Yanomami	Ianomami, Yanomam, Ianoama
RR	Yekuana(29)	426	2000	Karib	Maiongong, Ye kuana
AP	Galibi Marworno	1.764	2000	Karib	Galibi do Uaçá, Arua
AP	Galibi(30)	28	2000	Karib	Galibi do Oiapoque
AP	Karipuna	1.708	2000	Creoloto/fran.	Caripuna
AP	Pallikur(31)	918	2000	Aruak	Aukwayene
AP	Waipai(32)	525	1999	Tupi-Guarani	Wayampi, Oyampi, Wayapy
PA	Amanayé	190	2000	Tupi-Guarani	Amanaié
PA	Anambé	132	2000	Tupi-Guarani	
PA	Aparai	415	1998	Karib	Apalai
PA	Arara	195	1998	Karib	Ukaragima
PA	Araweté	278	2000	Tupi-Guarani	Araueté
PA	Assuriní/TO	338	1998	Tupi-Guarani	Akuáwa
PA	Assurini/Xingu	91	1999	Tupi-Guarani	Awaeté
PA	Gavião	338	1998	Je	Parkatejé, Gavião do Mãe Maria
PA/AM	Katuyena	?	?	Karib	Catuyena
PA	Kaxuyana	69	1998	Karib	Caxuyana
PA	Kreje	?	?	Je	Timbira, Krenyé
PA	Kuruáia	?	?	Munduruku	Curuaia
PA/AM	Mawayana	?	?	Karib	
PA	Munduruku	7.500	1997	Munduruku	Mundurucu
PA	Parakana	746	1999	Tupi-Guarani	Paracana, Apiterewa
PA	Surui	185	1997	Tupi-Guarani	Aikewara
PA	Tembé	820	1999	Tupi-Guarani	
PA	Tiriyó(33)	735	1998	Karib	Trio, Tarona, Yawi, Pianokoto
PA	Turiwara	60	1998	Tupi-Guarani	
PA	Wayana(34)	415	1999	Karib	Waiana, Uaiana
PA	Xipáia	?	?	Juruma	Shipaya
PA	Zo'é	152	1998	Tupi-Guarani	Poturu
MA	Gavião	250	1998	Je	Pokobié, Pukobié
MA	Guajá	280	1998	Tupi-Guarani	Awa, Ava
MA	Guajajara	11.450	1995	Tupi-Guarani	Tenetehera
MA	Kaapor	800	1998	Tupi-Guarani	Urubu-Kaapor, Ka'apor, Kaaporé
MA	Kanela, Apaniekra	458	2000	Je	Canela Timbira
MA	Kanela, Rankokamekra	1.387	2000	Je	Canela Timbira
MA	Kokuiregatejé	?	?	Je	Timbira
MA	Krikati	620	2000	Je	Krinkati, Timbira
AC	Arara	200	1999	Pano	Shawanauá
AC	Ashaninka(35)	813	1993	Aruak	Kampa
AC	Katukina	318	1998	Pano	Saxanawa
AC	Kaxinawa(36)	3.964	1999	Pano	Cashinawá
AC	Kulina, Madihá(37)	2.318	1999	Arawá	Culina, Madija
AC	Machineri	459	1999	Auak	Manchineri
AC	Nukini	425	1999	Pano	Nuquini
AC	Poyanawa	403	1999	Pano	Polanaua
AC	Shanenawa	178	1998	Pano	Katukina
AC	Yaminawa	565	1999	Pano	Jaminawa, laminawa
AC	Yawanawa(38)	618	1999	Pano	Iauanauá
MT	Apiaka	92	1998	Tupi-Guarani	Apiaca
MT	Arara do Aripuana	150	1994		Arará do Beiradão
MT	Awetí	106	1999	Awetí	Aueli
MT	Bakairi	950	1999	Karib	Bacairi, Kura
MT	Bororo	1.024	1997	Bororo	Boe
MT	Enawenê-Nawê	320	2000	Aruak	Salumá
MT	Iranxe	217	2000	Iranxe	Iranxte
MT	Kalapalo	362	1999	Karib	Calapalo
MT	Kamayara	316	1999	Tupi-Guarani	Camaiurá
MT/TO/PA	Karajá	1.804	1997	Karajá	Carajá
MT	Kayabi	1.000	1999	Tupi-Guarani	Calabi
MT	Kayapó	6.306	2000	Je	Mebegnokre, Caiapó, Gorotire, A'ukre, Metukitire, Kuben-Kran-Ken, Mekragnotire, Kikretum Kokraimoro, Xikrin, Kararao
MT	Kuikuro	394	1999	Karib	Kuikuru
MT	Matipu	98	1999	Karib	
MT	Mehinako	183	1999	Aruak	Meinaku
MT	Menky	78	2000	Iranxe	Myky
MT	Nahukwa	92	1999	Karib	Nafuqua
MT/RO	Nambikwara	998	1999	Nambikwara	Nambikwara do Campo, Nambikwara do Sul
MT/PA	Panará	202	2000	Je	
MT	Pareci	1.293	1999	Aruak	Krenakore
MT	Rikbaktsa	1.025	1998	Rikbaktsa	Paresi, Halliti
MT	Suyá	273	1999	Je	Canoeiros
MT	Tapayuna	58	1995	Je	Suíá
MT	Tapirapé	438	2000	Tupi-Guarani	Beico de Pau
MT	Trumai	92	1999	Trumai	Tapí'Irape
MT	Txikão	281	1999	Karib	Txicão
MT	Umutina	124	1999	Bororo	Omotina
MT	Waurá	270	1999	Aruak	Uaurá
MT	Xavante	9.602	2000	Je	Akwe
MT	Yawaipaiti	206	1999	Aruak	Camaiapiti
MT	Zoro	400	2000	Mondé	Pageytí
TO	Apinayé	990	1999	Je	Apinajé
TO/GO	Avá-Canoeiro	16	2000	Tupi-Guarani	
TO	Karajá/Javáe	919	2000	Karajá	
TO	Karajá/Xambioá	185	1997	Karajá	Karajá do norte
TO	Krahô	1.790	1999	Je	Crãó
TO	Xerente	1.814	2000	Je	Akwe

Case studies made by anthropologists register the vital events of a certain population during a large time period, which allows us to make a few analyses about their populational dynamics. Such is the case, for instance, of the work about the Araweté, made by Eduardo Viveiros de Castro. In his book (Araweté: o povo do Ipixuna – CEDI, 1992) there is an appendix with the populational data registered by others, since the first contact with this people in 1976. The registers allow us to verify a population increase, due to a mortality decrease, specially in infant mortality, and to a slight increase in the birth rate, that would have been even better shown if the analysis had been continued. What calls our attention is the last figure, in which the author tabulates death data before the contact, based upon native categories for causae mortis: diseases; enemies (disaggregated for each people with whom the Araweté maintained a state of war); spirits and accidents.

This emic demography can allow anthropologists and demographers to have a more accurate vision to analyse the dynamics and profile of these populations (why not build an age pyramid based upon the native age categories?). It would also allow the Indians to administer certain policies of their own incorporating modern occidental demographic techniques.

Regarding the official IBGE censuses, we could recommend an improvement in the methodology for data collection through a specific training for the censors who would work in Indian Lands, considered special census areas. Also that a special questionnaire be prepared with the help of specialists, to be used along with the general one, so that we could really have an idea, for instance, of the family configuration of these populations. In this way we would have data at the same time comparable and specific, with better information for public policies.

It will also be imperative to rethink the operative criterion for the identification of Indian peoples, not as a variable in the skin colour item, but considering them as distinct social totalities, following the example of the North American or Canadian censuses.

For other institutions, such as FUNAI (Fundação Nacional do Índio, of the Ministry of Justice, responsible for the demarcation of Indian Lands and their monitoring, besides other functions) or FUNASA (Fundação Nacional de Saúde, of the Ministry of Health, responsible for Indian health care), who generate population information about these peoples, we would recommend that they rethink the geographic criteria, including Indian Lands, Municipalities and urban areas, discriminating each one. It is already known that there is an increasing presence of Indians in the cities, generally in specific and delimited neighborhoods. This generates a network that operates and facilitates this migratory movement and the social relations with their original communities.

Finally, we recommend that the governmental or non-governmental institutions realize specific censuses, integrating or complementing the global censuses, to be elaborated with ample participation of the Indian communities and organizations, who are the main interested parties, in all of the stages, such as the one made by the Federação das Organizações Indígenas do Rio Negro in 1992.

* Unidade da Federação / ** População total / *** Ano da informação do número populacional / **** Língua falada e tronco linguístico / ***** Outros etnônimos pelos quais o povo indígena é conhecido

(1) Baniwa: na Colômbia - 7.000 pessoas; na Venezuela - 1.192 pessoas / (2) Bará na Colômbia - 296 pessoas / (3) Barasana na Colômbia - 939 pessoas / (4) Desana na Colômbia - 2.036 pessoas / (5) Karapana na Colômbia - 412 pessoas / (6) Kokama no Peru - 10.705 pessoas; na Colômbia - 236 pessoas / (7) Kubeo na Colômbia - 4.238 pessoas / (8) Kuripako na Venezuela - 2.585 pessoas; na Colômbia - 6.790 pessoas / (9) Maku na Colômbia - 678 pessoas / (10) Makuna na Colômbia - 528 pessoas / (11) Matsé no Peru - 1.000 pessoas / (12) Miranha na Colômbia - 445 pessoas / (13) Piratapua na Colômbia - 400 pessoas / (14) Siriano na Colômbia - 665 pessoas / (15) Tariano na Colômbia - 205 pessoas / (16) Ticuna no Peru - 4.200 pessoas; na Colômbia - 4.535 pessoas / (17) Tukano na Colômbia - 6.330 pessoas / (18) Tuyuka na Colômbia - 570 pessoas / (19) Wanano na Colômbia - 1.113 pessoas / (20) Warekena na Venezuela - 409 pessoas / (21) Witoto na Colômbia - 5.939 pessoas; no Peru - 2.775 pessoas / (22) Ingarikó na Guiana - 4.000 pessoas; na Venezuela - 728 pessoas / (23) Makuxi na Guiana - 7.500 pessoas / (24) Patamona na Guiana - 5.500 pessoas / (25) Taurepang na Venezuela - 20.607 pessoas / (26) Wai Wai na Guiana - 130 pessoas / (27) Wapixana na Guiana - 4.000 pessoas / (28) Yanomami na Venezuela - 15.193 pessoas / (29) Yekuana na Venezuela - 3.632 pessoas / (30) Galibi do Oiapoque na Guiana Francesa - 2.000 pessoas / (31) Pallikur na Guiana Francesa - 4