

Population and Environment: selected issues

Urbanization & Environment: trends and
patterns in contemporary Brazil

Heloisa S.M. Costa e Roberto L.M. Monte-Mór

Migration and the Environment: a view from
Brazilian Metropolitan Areas

Haroldo da Gama Torres

Population and Water Resources in Brazil

Roberto Luiz do Carmo

Indigenous Lands and Peoples: recognition,
growth and sustenance

Marta Azevedo e Fany Ricardo

Health Effects of Ambient Levels of Air Pollution

Paulo H. N. Saldiva, Alfésio Luiz Braga e Luiz
Alberto Amador Pereira

Population and Sustainable Consumption in Brazil

Donald Sawyer

Tourism and Environment in Brazil

Maria Tereza D.P. Luchiari e Célia Serrano

Agrarian Reform, Population and Environment

Juarez Brandão Lopes e Danilo Garcia Prado

Indigenous Lands and Peoples: recognition, growth and sustenance

Marta Maria Azevedo and Fany Pantaleoni Ricardo

Introduction

The purpose of this article is to make a brief assessment of the situation of the indigenous lands and peoples in Brazil in the past ten years. With the 1988 Federal Constitution, the original rights of the indigenous peoples over the lands they traditionally occupied were recognized. In consequence, since this recognition, which included the original languages and cultures, the State considers the indigenous peoples social groups with special rights and no longer as a transitory social category, eventually doomed to be integrated into the Brazilian society.

In the period following the promulgation of the Constitution there was quite a lot of debate over indigenist policies (public policies directed towards the indigenous peoples): in 1991 the then-president Fernando Collor de Mello (1990-1992) issued a series of decrees that took away from the Funai (Fundação Nacional do Índio – National Foundation for the Indian) the policies of health, education and productive activities for the indigenous peoples, and ascribed them to the ministries of Health, Education and Agriculture respectively, thus curtailing the attributions of assistance of the official indigenist organ.

Thus the Funai was left at the time with the tutorial function (while this matter is not regulated in a new Estatuto do Índio – Statute of the Indian –, an ordinary federal law that will regulate the Federal Constitution) and the role of identifying, delimiting, demarcating and monitoring the indigenous lands. The policies regarding health and productive activities were returned to the Funai in 1994. But in 1999, after much controversy, health assistance was effectively given back to the Ministry of Health, under the responsibility of the Funasa (Fundação Nacional de Saúde – National Health Foundation).

What marks this last decade in terms of changes is the progress in the process of identification and demarcation of the indigenous lands, with the financial support of the PPG7 (see below); the population growth of many indigenous peoples, in what represents a veritable demographic comeback; the growing Indigenous movement, with the creation of more than 300 indigenous organizations that carry out projects of education, health, inspection of territories, economic alternatives and others. However there still are plenty of problems: many Indigenous peoples do not get adequate health assistance, and several epidemics that caused the death of significant numbers have occurred, such as an outbreak of chickenpox among the Araweté, in the State of Pará, in the end of 2000, when

3% of this group's population died; and the predatory occupation of lands close to Indigenous Lands in the past few years, thus threatening their sustenance (see below the map of the Xingu Park).

Concepts and definitions

The definition of indigenous societies, as presented in Law Project n. 2057/91, which institutes the Estatuto das Sociedades Indígenas (Statute of the Indigenous Societies), currently in the National Congress, is:

- Indigenous Societies: the collectivities that distinguish themselves from each other and from the whole of the national society by reason of their historical ties with populations of pre-Columbian origin;
- Indigenous Community: the local human group, portion of an indigenous society organized according to its usages, customs and traditions and settled in the national territory independently of the status of the lands it occupies;
- The Indian is the individual from an indigenous society or community, who recognizes himself/herself and is recognized as such.

Essentially those definitions do not distinguish themselves from what is defined in the Statute of the Indian that is still in force, in spite of the latter's anachronistic language.

Convention 169 of the International Labor Organization (ILO) was basically the first international instrument to deal with the right of the indigenous peoples to live and develop themselves as differentiated societies, in accordance to their own patterns. It has been in force since September of 1991, and its ratification is under examination in several countries (Araújo, 1996). In Brazil the National Congress has just ratified it.

This ILO's document says that:

The present Convention applies to the independent tribal peoples, whose social, cultural and economic conditions distinguish them from other sectors of the national collectivity, and that are ruled, totally or partially, by their own customs and traditions or by special legislation.

The consciousness of their indigenous or tribal identity must be considered a fundamental criterion for the identification of the groups to whom this Convention's dispositions apply.

The Indians in contemporary Brazil

Currently in Brazil there are 218 indigenous peoples, of whom some 180 keep their original language, most of which belong to two main linguistic branches – Tupi and Macro-Jê – and to 19 linguistic families; in addition there are families with only one known language, sometimes called "isolated languages" because they do not resemble any other known language. Because of the violence of the colonization process in the country, some peoples have lost their original language,

and today speak only Portuguese. The majority of these Portuguese-speaking peoples can be found in the Northeast Region, as well as in some parts of the Amazon Region.

According to a survey by the Instituto Socioambiental (ISA, 2000), of the 208 peoples for which population information is available, 53% have up to 500 individuals, and only 0.96% – 2 peoples –, have a population of more than 30,000 individuals. That means that the majority of these groups have small populations, and some of them show great fragility in demographic terms. Thus there is in the country a mosaic of micro-societies, whose importance for the conservation of the biodiversity, through their traditional knowledge about the environment, is being increasingly recognized. The indigenous peoples have become the protagonists or co-protagonists of studies and projects for sustainable development, especially in the Amazon Region. Today, when one speaks of biodiversity, genetic heritage and biotechnological research, the rights of these peoples over their traditional knowledge must be taken into account.

More than 30 peoples found in Brazil live in neighboring countries as well. Such is the case of the Ticuna, of the Upper Solimões River, in the State of Amazonas, whose population on the Brazilian side is 32,000, while in Peru and Colombia live 8,500 individuals of the same people; or the Guarani, whose population in Paraguay numbers 25,000 and in Brazil 35,000. Thus the question of the borders between the modern Nation States that have divided these traditional populations poses the problem of whom we are talking about, of which concept of population or people we are dealing with. When speaking of the indigenous population in Brazil – total – this population that, based upon ethnic criteria, is part of peoples who live in the country, but that do not belong according to geographic criteria of modern nationality, to the Brazilian people, is not counted.

The recognition of the Indigenous Lands in the past few years

The 587 Indigenous Lands that currently exist in Brazil total 105,091,977 hectares, of which 69% (72,881,262 hectares) are lands that have been “homologadas” (officially confirmed) in the past 11 years (between 1991 and 2002). Despite the fact that there are still traditional lands that need to be identified, demarcated or confirmed in different parts of the country, it is undeniable that there has been progress in the recognition of the territorial rights of indigenous peoples. It is important to point out that 98.74% of these lands are located in the so-called Legal Amazonia – composed of the States of Amazonas, Acre, Amapá, Pará, Rondônia, Roraima, Tocantins, Mato Grosso and the Western portion of Maranhão –, where very large tracts of Indigenous Lands have been recognized by the federal government during this period. Only 1.26% of the total area of the Indigenous Lands is distributed among the rest of the country.

The advances in the recognition of the Indigenous Lands were possible thanks to the juridical concepts materialized in the 1988 Federal Constitution, which consecrated the principle of the original rights of the Indians over the land, which means that since they were the first inhabitants of the Brazilian territory their rights precede the very creation of the Brazilian State.

The definition of an Indigenous Land can be found on Article 231 of the Federal Constitution: those lands "traditionally occupied by the Indians and inhabited by them on a permanent basis, those used for their productive activities, those indispensable for the preservation of the natural resources necessary for their well-being and those necessary for their physical and cultural reproduction, in accordance to their uses, customs and traditions".

Article 20 establishes that these lands are property of the Union, it being recognized that the Indians have the permanent possession and the exclusive usufruct of the wealth of the soils, rivers and lakes that exist in them. The Government is obliged to enforce such recognition. In every case in which an indigenous community occupies a given area in accordance to Article 231, the State must delimit it and carry out the physical demarcation of its limits.

The ordinary law that deals with the rights of the indigenous peoples, the Statute of the Indian – which dates of 1973 and is currently under revision by the National Congress – determines that the formal recognition of the Indigenous Lands must follow an administrative procedure, established by its Article 19. This procedure is regulated by a decree issued by the Executive and, throughout the years, has suffered many alterations. Currently, the recognition of the Indigenous Lands is based on Decree n. 1,775, of January of 1996, issued by president Fernando Henrique Cardoso. The process included the possibility of the Indigenous Land being disputed by persons or entities that feel jeopardized by the recognition, since property titles referring to lands located within the Indigenous Land's perimeter are considered null, and those affected are to be compensated only for the improvements that are considered as having been made in good faith by the official indigenist organ.

The inclusion of this disposition opened the possibility for many constraints in the process of demarcation, but did not prevent the Ministry of Justice, in the two terms of the Fernando Henrique Cardoso administration (until May, 2002), from declaring 107 areas as Indigenous Lands, totaling 32,078,732 hectares, and the President from confirming 145 Indigenous Lands, with a total surface of 41.043.606 hectares.

An important factor for the progress in the recognition of the Indigenous Lands were the resources from the PPTAL (Programa Integrado de Proteção às Populações e Terras Indígenas da Amazônia Legal – Integrated Program for the Protection of Legal Amazonia's Indigenous Populations and Lands) –, which is the area directed towards the demarcation of the indigenous lands of the PPG7 (Programa Piloto para a Proteção das Florestas Tropicais – Pilot Program for the Protection of the Tropical Forests) coordinated by the Ministry of the Environment and financed by the G-7 countries, especially Germany. The contract for funding by the PPTAL was signed in mid-1996. These resources are responsible for financing the technical groups sent to the field to study and identify the Indigenous Lands located in the Legal Amazonia. They also fund the physical demarcation of those lands, after the Minister of Justice declares them of traditional indigenous occupation.

Another reason for the speeding up the recognition of Indigenous Lands was the multiplication and strengthening of many indigenous organizations, formed

within the institutional framework determined in the Constitution. As they put pressure on the federal government, the indigenous organizations are becoming increasingly important actors in the formal recognition of Indigenous Lands.

However, this scenario, so favorable to the recognition of the Indigenous Lands, stands in sharp contrast with the adverse situation during the José Sarney administration (1985-1990). It was then that the Projeto Calha Norte (North Trough Project) was implemented, following the doctrine that extensive Indigenous Lands on the borders were a danger to national security. There were fears of meddling of foreign powers in these lands, since in several cases part of the Indians live in Brazil as well as in neighboring countries along the northern border.

Thus through the decrees n. 94,945 and 94,946, of September of 1987, issued by then-president José Sarney, a new territorial category was created, that of "indigenous colony", for the so-called "acculturated Indians", who were at the time distinguished from the supposed "silvícolas" (forest dwellers). The Negro River Indians, for instance, were classified in the "acculturated" category and, in consequence, the Alto Rio Negro Indigenous Land was divided into 14 indigenous colonies surrounded by 11 National Forests, a strategy to prevent them to be contiguous because they lie along the border with Colombia.

Based on these decrees, other Indians were considered acculturated and had their lands confirmed as indigenous colonies as well. In the case of the Yanomami, they were classified as "silvícolas" and their territory continued to be considered Indigenous Land. But their fate was not very different, because the area was divided into 19 areas surrounded by two National Forests.

This process was reversed in the short-lived administration of Fernando Collor de Mello, who, in February of 1991 signed the Decree n. 22, which redefined the demarcation process of the Indigenous Lands. This decree made possible for much of the lands that had been recognized during the Sarney presidency or in previous administrations to be submitted to new studies. As a result, the Indigenous Lands that had been reduced were reconstituted and recognized officially in their totality. An emblematic example of this period was the demarcation and confirmation of the Yanomami Indigenous Land as a continuous area with more than 9 million hectares.

Conservation of the biodiversity

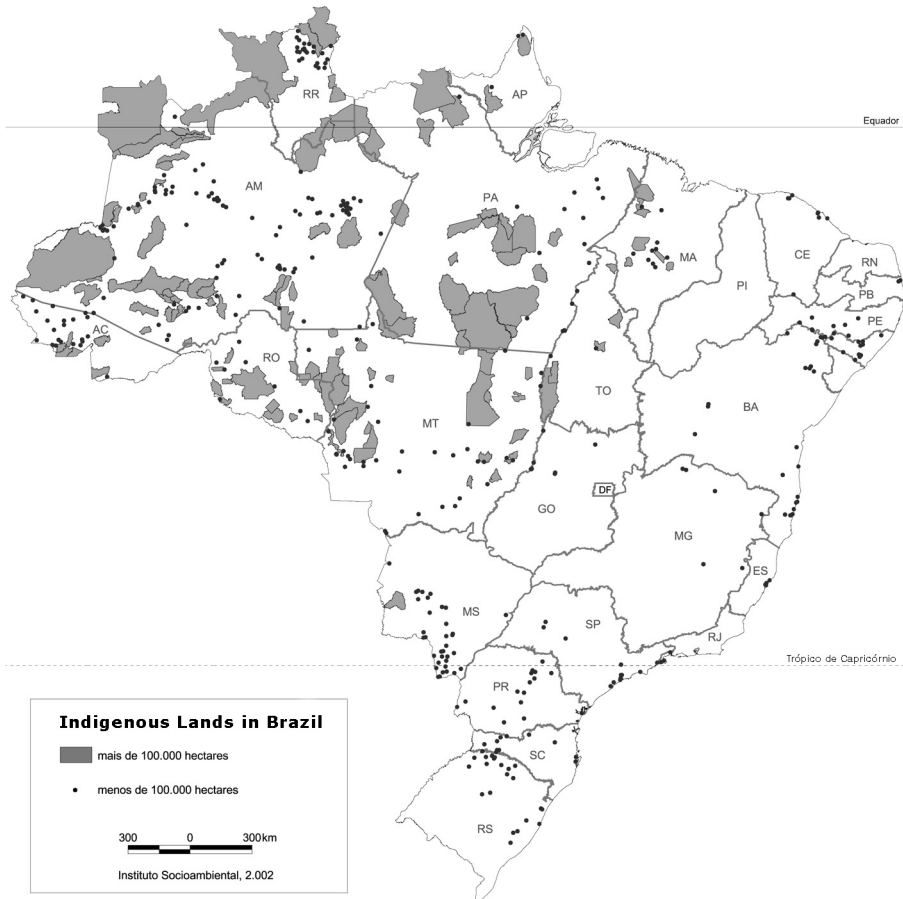
The region known as Legal Amazonia, with more than 500 million hectares, occupies a special place in Brazil, both because of its low population density and of its high concentration of biodiversity, and because of the significant presence of Indians. Differently from other regions of the country – intensively occupied, where the vegetation has been severely damaged or became nearly extinct and in which the Indians live in small territories – in the Amazon Region the Indigenous Lands are large; today they cover 103 million hectares, of which only 2.9% have some kind of human occupation.

These figures are the result of the geo-referenced monitoring of the Indigenous Lands in the Legal Amazonia area, which the Instituto Socioambiental has been carrying out since 1986. In this survey, geographic coordinates are

crossed with presidential decrees and edicts from the Minister of Justice and from the President of the Funai, in the phases of demarcation procedures by the Federal government. The geo-referenced coordinates are, in turn, crossed with data of the original vegetation obtained from satellite images, together with satellite data of human action and deforestation in the region¹. This methodology makes possible the quantification of anthropic action in these Indigenous Lands.

Map 1

Deforestation in the region of the Parque Indígena do Xingu



The survey also includes crossing data regarding the Indigenous Lands with much information available regarding the Amazon Region: other protected lands, such as Reserves and Parks for Integral Protection or for sustainable use; in addition to lands reserved for military use, mining reserves, areas set aside for settlement by the Inca (Instituto Nacional de Colonização e Reforma Agrária –

National Institute for Colonization and Agrarian Reform), as well as with the projects for the creation of new States and Federal Territories in Amazonia. Besides this territorial organization, the survey monitors the development projects that have socio-environmental impact, such as the opening of roads, mining, hydroelectric and agricultural and livestock projects, the advance of the soybean monoculture, etc.

In such a scenario, a simple glance at satellite images of the Amazon Region makes it possible to see that the Indigenous Lands are veritable islands of preserved vegetation. Even in the lands where some kind of predatory exploration takes place, such as the Kayapó Indigenous Lands – which are subjected to permanent pressure from timber interests in search of mahogany and other hardwoods –, when compared with the surrounding areas, they constitute an immense protective forest wall against the predatory practices that come from the South and the East.

An emblematic example of environmental protection and high concentration of biodiversity is the Yanomami Indigenous Land, located on the western part of the State of Roraima and the north of the State of Amazonas, with a total surface of 9,964,975 hectares. In the portion within Roraima alone, which has 5,721,323 hectares, it protects:

Table 1

Yanomami Indigenous Lands and the protection of biodiversity

Hectares	Vegetal cover
5,587,737	Dense tropical rain forest
15,606	Open tropical rain forest
114,808	Contacts between forests
3,172	Campinarana (1)
42,976	Ecological refuge

(1) Campinarana: an extensive open space in a forest, but with many shrubs and some trees in a dense formation.

Beyond this specific case, a close link between the Indigenous Lands and the protection of biodiversity was attested to in the Consulting Seminar on the Priorities for the Conservation and the Sustainable Use of the Biodiversity in Amazonia, held in September of 1999 as part of the formulation of the National Biodiversity Program. These results show that a large part of the areas considered by experts as being of “extreme importance” and of “very high importance” for the conservation of the biodiversity are located within Indigenous Lands.

Sustenance of the Indigenous Lands

Despite the fact that they are not “natural ecologists”, as believed by common sense, to Indians should be given credited for having historically managed natural resources in a gentle way, causing few environmental disturbances until the arrival of the European conquerors.

The social organization of these peoples, in relatively small villages scattered throughout a vast territory, as well as the mobility of the villages, which could be

due to cosmological and sociological reasons or to the accumulation of organic trash and scarcity of prey, promoted a turnover in the use of the territory, which then regenerated and made socio-environmental balance possible.

The present situation, on the other hand, imposes precise limits to the Indians in the occupation of the territory. At the same time, there can be observed a population increase in numerous indigenous communities, simultaneous to the need for goods and merchandise from the non-indigenous society, acquired in the process of contact. In such context, projects that ensure the generation of income without endangering the preservation of the natural resources of those lands and the customs and social values of these populations become indispensable. Thus projects for economic alternatives may ensure not only the subsistence, but, depending on the product, trade with the local, regional, national and international markets.

Therefore the cultural and economic sustenance of the indigenous peoples in Brazil is to a great extent tied to the conservation of the biodiversity and to the sustainable use of the natural resources found in their lands. Thus the major challenge for those groups in the contemporary world is to ensure the constitutional right of exclusive usufruct of their lands with sustainable projects.

The role of the indigenous organizations in the elaboration, implementation and development of such projects is essential, as is crucial the articulation of partnerships with support organizations, or specialized advisors. That is so because the involvement of mediating agents between the indigenous associations and their non-Indian interlocutors is still extremely necessary, since these are non-literate societies (or societies that had no writing until very recently), based on oral discourse and with patterns that are alien to the Western institutional, and, on a wider sense, cultural universe. Thus there lies the great importance not only of the partners in the projects, but of the projects of bilingual education that will enable the leaders of those organizations to manage and use the financing resources according to the requirements of the projects. The schools can also have the role of advancing discussions beyond the leaders by opening them to the entire community.

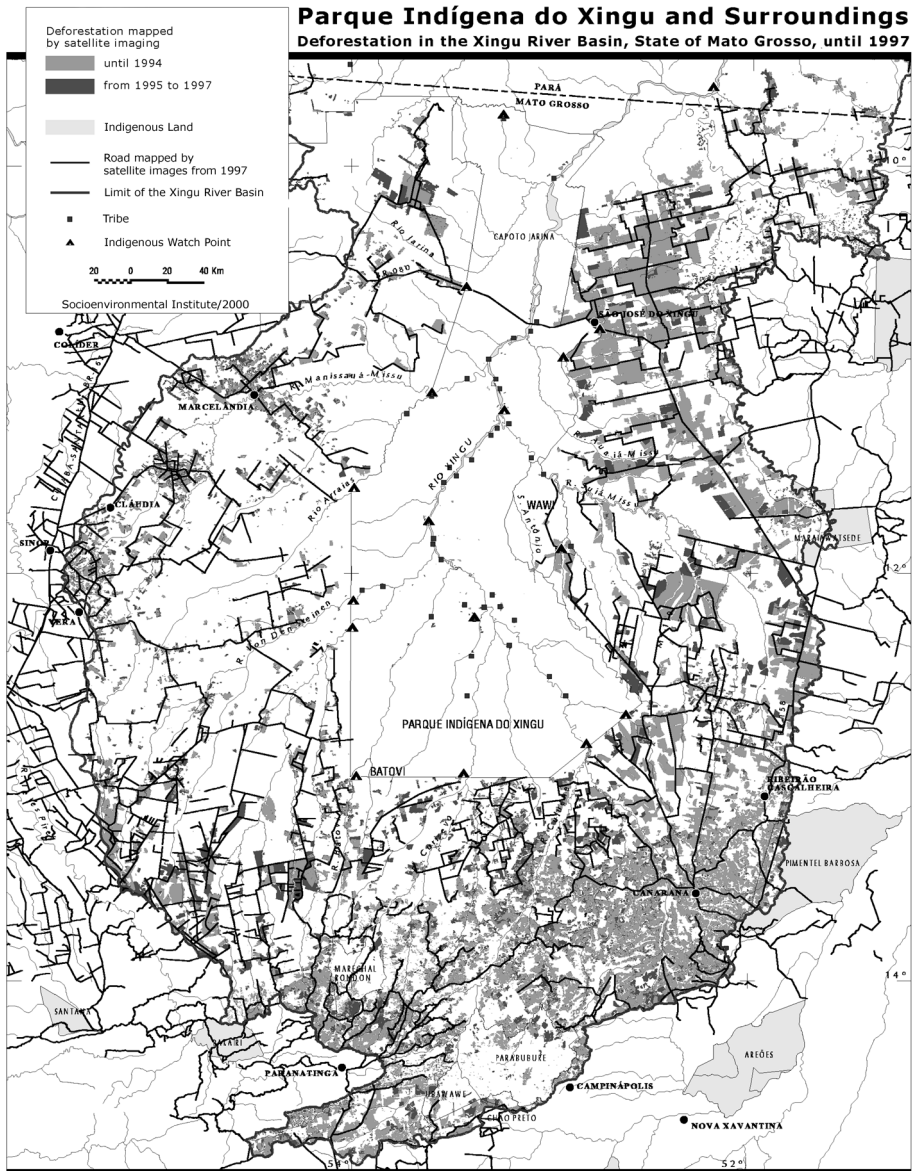
It is undeniable that those economic and educational projects end up influencing the traditional organization of these peoples, perhaps representing agents in the transformation of the indigenous cultures. In any case, like any other, indigenous cultures are not static, and contact with Western society is an inexorable reality. What can be done is to try to make sure that the consequences of this contact are the least perverse possible.

Constant pressure

The transformations in indigenous societies brought about by contact occur at different paces, result in different reactions and are of distinct nature, depending on the agents involved. In any case, even while relating with non-Indians, the indigenous peoples maintain their identities and distinguish themselves as differentiated ethnic groups, holders of traditions of their own. And increasingly the Indians have been taking over instruments of interlocution with the "whites" aimed at ensuring their rights and defending their interests.

Map 2

Mining interest in the Legal Amazon



However, the economic frontiers put strong pressure on the Indigenous Lands, so that many of them are subjected to some kind of intrusion by loggers, miners, hunters, fishermen, land tenants, posseiros (illegal settlers) and settlers

in general. These frontiers have been increasingly more active, through the development axis established for the Amazon Region. With the construction of more federal and local roads, the large and small projects that influence directly or indirectly the Indigenous Lands have multiplied.

In addition, the interest in the mineral wealth that is hidden in the subsoil of Indigenous Lands grow each year – today they are 7,203 titles, which fall totally or partially into 126 Indigenous Lands².

In 1987, for instance, there existed 2,245 proceedings of mining titles in 77 Indigenous Lands. The Curuá, Parakanã, Roosevelt, Serra Morena, Tapirapé/Karajá, Trocará, Xambioá and Xikrin do Cateté Indigenous Lands, all of them located in the States of Pará, Rondônia and Mato Grosso, have more than 99% of their subsoil requested for mining activities.

Mining is still not carried out in the Indigenous Lands, since the law project that regulates the activity is in the National Congress. But it is not hard to imagine its impact on the environment and on the communities when it begins. These groups will need to be well-organized and strong in order to try to contain the evils caused by this activity, and be prepared to allocate the financial resources they will be entitled to get for the use of their lands and for the royalties of mining production.

As for the garimpo (primitive mining, usually manual), this predatory activity has been very aggressive to the communities and the environment of their lands. An emblematic example is the invasion, in January of 2001, of the Roosevelt Indigenous Land, inhabited by the Cinta-Larga. In search of diamonds, 2,000 garimpeiros invaded the Indigenous Land, putting pressure, co-opting and bribing some Indian leaders.

Another large garimpeiro invasion in search of gold and tin ore took place in large scale in the Yanomami Indigenous Land. It unleashed epidemics of malaria and influenza, among other illnesses, which worsened considerably the health and nutritional conditions of the Yanomami, causing the deaths of 15% of those Indians in the end of the 1980s.

Timber businesses are other agents of great impact in the Indigenous Lands. In search of mahogany, Amazonia's "green gold", they invade them and, when confronted by the Indians, co-opt and bribe young leaders, who give permission for the extraction of timber in exchange for money or expensive goods such as automobiles, trucks and even airplanes. Combating these activities, which is the responsibility of the Federal Police, Ibama (Instituto Brasileiro do Meio Ambiente e Recursos Renováveis – Brazilian Institute for the Environment and Renewable Resources) and Funai, is no easy task. In addition to requiring a lot of public resources, it is not rare for the invasion to start as soon as an expedition against invaders finishes.

Even taking into account the predatory effects (in social and environmental terms) of the garimpeiros and the timber companies, the worst problem that the Indians have been facing has to do with the land proper. In the past few years there have been uncountable occupations by posseiros, by landless peasants and by colonists that the Incra, by mistake or incompetence, have settled inside

Indigenous Lands, which has resulted in permanent conflicts. Those are the "whites" that came to stay, and sometimes serve as forerunners of the timber interests – except that, when the latter leave, the posseiros remain.

Thus historically the relations of the indigenous peoples in Brazil with the surrounding society have resulted in the social degradation of the communities and the degradation of the natural resources of the Indigenous Lands. But, to revert this situation, the discussion on sustainable development made possible that the struggle of the indigenous peoples for more just and dignified relations with the local, national and international societies reach a new dimension. Thus the indigenous peoples, who for many years were regarded as paradigms of underdevelopment, have become important partners in the formulation of strategies for sustainable development.

Table 2
Recognition of Indigenous Lands from 1991 until May of 2002

Period/year	Declared number	Extension (ha)	Confirmed number	Extension (ha)
Feb.91/Sep.92	58	25,794,263	112	26,405,219
Jan.93/Dec.94	39	7,241,711	16	5,432,437
Jan.96/Jan.02	107	32,078,732	145	41,043,606
Total	204	65,114,706	273	72,881,262

Table 3
Status of the Indigenous Lands in Brazil (in June 4, 2002)

Juridical Status	Nr.	% of the n. of Lands	Extension (ha)	% of the extension of Lands
To be identified (1 interdicted)	52		189,75	
Under identification (3 interdicted)	64		2,563,100	
Under identification/revision	16		380,552	
With restriction for use by non-Indians	5		225,704	
Total	137	23.34	3,359,106	3.20*
Identified/Approved/Funai. Subjected to dispute	21	3.58	2,256,798	2.15
Declared	68	11.58	14,273,080	13.58
Reserved	13		71,357	
Confirmed	91		26,882,451	
Registered in the CRI and/or SPU**	257		58,249,185	
Total	361	61.50	85,202,993	81.07
Total in Brazil	587	100	105,091,977	100

* The percentage of the lands to be identified and under identification has a distortion because the surface of those areas has not been defined nor published.

** CRI - Cartório de Registro de Imóveis – and SPU - Serviço de Patrimônio da União: lands registered in these organs become regular, at least in juridical and administrative terms; registration represents the end of the demarcation process.

Table 4
Status of the Indigenous Lands in the Legal Amazonia

Juridical Status	Nr.	% of the n. of Lands	Extension (ha)	% of the extension of Lands
To be identified (1 interdicted)	25		189,75	
Under identification (3 interdicted)	38		2,563,100	
Under identification/revision	11		355,454	
With restriction for use by non-Indians	3		223,484	
Total	77	20.52	3,331,788	3.21*
Identified/Approved/Funai. Subjected to dispute	11	2.89	2,181,453	2.10
Declared	52	13.68	14,172,339	13.66
Demarcated by the Incra	2		58	
Confirmed	58		26,744,593	
Registered in the CRI and/or SPU**	179		57,340,091	
Total	239	62.89	84,084,742	81.03
Total in Amazonia	379	100	103,770,332	100

* Extention to be defined.

Evolution of the population of the indigenous peoples

It has been very difficult to make an assessment of the demographic dynamics of the indigenous peoples in Brazil in the last ten years: the lack of dependable data. For the majority of the peoples, what is available are estimates of the total population in a given year; until very few years ago there were no data regarding sex, age, family composition, number of children per woman, deaths discriminated by sex, age, mortality causes, etc.

The lack of dependable data sources for the indigenous populations is not a problem exclusive to Brazil. In the publication "Estudios Sociodemográficos de Pueblos Indígenas", with conclusions from a seminar held in Chile in 1993, several facts were discovered when comparing studies about autochthonous populations of different Latin American countries: there is little or no possibility of comparison among the different national demographic censuses due to the disparity of criteria in the definition of the category "Indian". In spite of that, there have been some methodological advances in the specific indigenous censuses, such as the case of the 1993 Census in Colombia. And some analyses that use as reference demographic censuses and other kinds of data, such as fecundity estimates based on the method of the child born the year before the Census, are useful instruments for calculating specific information regarding indigenous populations and their concerns. They also induce us to carry out future investigations, such as, for instance the survey on the autochthonous peoples of Canada.

Estimates of the population of the peoples that lived in the region that is today called Brazil at the time of the arrival of the Portuguese in 1500 vary more with the political interests of their authors than in terms of the methodology

used. As historian John Manuel Monteiro (1994) says, "...any estimate of the global population in 1500 must take into account historical factors, such as different effects of the diseases over distinct peoples and the spatial movements of indigenous groups due to contact, among others." Some authors estimate the indigenous population in Brazil in the 16th Century at between 2 and 4 million people belonging to more than 1,000 different peoples; Darcy Ribeiro (3) claims that more than 80 indigenous peoples disappeared in the first half of the 20th Century alone, while the total population was reduced, according to him, from 1 million people to 200,000. The extermination of many indigenous peoples in Brazil through armed conflicts, epidemics and social and cultural disorganization are processes of de-population that cannot be dealt with without an analysis of the internal characteristics and the history of each of these societies. Studies on the different impacts that a single epidemic had over various peoples have still to be produced; the relations between these peoples and the different indigenist agencies or colonization fronts and their impact on the demographic dynamics of their populations have not been studied either.

From demographic and anthropological analyses of autochthonous populations of different regions colonized by Europeans it is known that, after a long period of population losses caused by wars, epidemics and slavery, the indigenous peoples begin a process of demographic comeback that is often conscious. Some exemplary studies demonstrate this tendency for recovery, and, therefore, the fast growth of these populations, when one has access to data sources with historical series (in general produced by anthropologists that work with these peoples for an extended period of time).

In estimates by anthropologists, demographers and health professionals, among others, it is possible to see that the majority of the indigenous peoples in Brazil have grown, in the past 10 years, 3.5% a year in average – a lot more than the average of 1.6% estimated for the 1996-2000 period for the Brazilian population as a whole. Studies on the demographic transition of different peoples from all over the world show that, after a reduction of mortality, especially infant mortality, attributed to the epidemiological transition that takes place after a general improvement of sanitary conditions and with a more modern and efficient assistance to their health, population growth takes place for a certain period of time, which varies according to the structural components of each society. Many authors attribute the variations in the rhythm and the profile of the demographic transition of each society as products of their economic systems, and studies have already been made that indicate components of the social structures, including models of marriage and family composition, as determinants of these dynamics. After this period of population growth, fecundity rates start to decline, that is, the average number of children per woman is reduced. Experts on this topic point out with no hesitation to urbanization and change in the status of women in society as important variables for this reduction. The demographic profile of European countries today demonstrates that, with the reduction of mortality and fecundity rates, there is a sharp reduction in growth rates, reaching what has been called "demographic suicide", in which fecundity rates are below the level of replacement of the population.

The question posed today for the demographic studies on indigenous populations in Brazil is if these peoples are growing fast due to the reduction of mortality brought by the improvement of their health conditions while at the same time their fecundity rates are a lot higher than that of the non-indigenous population, or if this growth is really product of a conscious demographic recovery, that is, that the societies have the perception that they have lost population in a period of their recent history and are now trying to recover it.

Making an assessment of the demographic evolution of the indigenous peoples in Brazil in the past ten years thus involves the use of different data sources. Since then, public policies directed specifically towards the indigenous peoples based on the constitutional principles began to be implemented, and the IBGE included in the 1991 Census the category 'Indigenous' in the variable 'Skin Color'. Therefore it is in this category that the indigenous population is placed as a differentiated population; in other countries, such as the United States, it is the category 'Race' that surveys these populations (in the 1990 Census answering sheet, autochthonous peoples were classified in 3 groups: American Indians – and in this case the name of the group is written –, Eskimos and Aleutians. It is the person who is answering the questions and not the Census taker who defines it). Since the earliest demographic censuses taken in Brazil, in which Indians were classified, along with mixed bloods, as pardos (brown), there has always been a clause (maintained until the 1991 Census) determining that only the Indians who live in Funai posts or religious missions would be counted, while the "aborigines who live in strayed tribes shy to contact" have never been counted. This kind of classification of 'Indianness', which uses the length of time of contact with the non-Indian society as criteria, no longer exists in other countries and, since 1988, in Brazil as well. According to the 1988 Constitution, all Brazilian Indians are citizens, and thus accountable in the Census. In Mexico autochthonous peoples are classified in censuses according to their language; therefore, there the prevalent criteria is linguistic, instead of race or skin color.

In the table below are the results of the 1991 and 2000 IBGE censuses of the persons who recognized themselves as "Indigenous". In this category, however, are grouped not only the ethnically differentiated peoples who live on the Indigenous Lands or in urban areas, but also individuals who do not belong to a specific ethnic group, but classified themselves as generically "Indigenous", and probably would be unable to recognize which specific ethnic groups they descend from.

The growth from 1991 to 2000 in the population that recognizes itself as "Indigenous" refers much more to an increase in the number of individuals who recognize themselves as descendants of a generic "Indian", without a definition of ethnic group than to actual vegetative growth. The population that classified itself as "Indigenous" in the censuses grew by almost 100% in the Northeast, Southeast and Center-West. This is a sociological phenomenon that already appeared in the 1991 Census, in which there could be found "Indigenous" individuals in cities such as Niterói or Rio de Janeiro, municipalities where there are no Indigenous Lands³. This new phenomenon will be studied and researched in the next few years, and can probably be attributed to the growing prestige of the indigenous peoples in Brazilian and of the contribution they have made to the historical formation of the Brazilian society.

Table 5
Indigenous Population – 1991-2000

Regions	1991	2000*
Brazil	294.128	701.462
North	124.616	200.934
Northeast	55.851	166.500
Southeast	30.586	156.134
Southeast	30.332	50.891
Central-West	52.743	127.003

Source: FIBGE - Demographic Census, 1991, 2000.

* Data published by the IBGE up to the moment are the result of advanced tabulation of a sub-sample of 0.24% of the residences surveyed on the sample forms, with less precise estimates than those that will be obtained in the definitive results of the set of tables from the sample. The IBGE published indicators of variation coefficients from which it is possible to calculate the interval of confidence for the desired total, using the bands of limits of value. Each indicator corresponds to a band of variation coefficient (%), and for the indigenous population these bands vary from more than 10% up to more than 50%, depending on the State. For Brazil as a whole, the variation coefficient is of between 10% and 15%.

In the table below there can be seen a comparison between the data on specific indigenous peoples, who live in the Indigenous Lands, and the data of the IBGE Census, in which it becomes clearer that these sources of data refer to different sociological categories, being, therefore, impossible to distinguish, in the data of the official censuses, the vegetative growth of the specific indigenous peoples.

Table 6
Persons who recognize themselves as "Indigenous" and Indigenous Peoples

Regions and states	IBGE*	ISA**
Brazil	701.462	327.155
North	200.934	154.952
Rondônia	15.859	4.696
Acre	10.205	10.261
Amazonas	119.927	78.314
Roraima	20.912	39.201
Pará	19.029	11.839
Amapá	2.996	4.943
Tocantins	12.007	5.698
Northeast	166.500	64.245
Maranhão	46.494	16.065
Piauí	2.106	0
Ceará	3.469	5.093
Rio Grande do Norte	598	0
Paraíba	4.353	4.575

(continued)

(continued)

Regions and states	IBGE*	ISA**
Pernambuco	32.812	19.745
Alagoas	6.101	7.351
Sergipe	10.238	250
Bahia	60.329	11.166
Southeast	156.134	10.335
Minas Gerais	50.381	6.045
Espírito Santo	10.345	1.786
Rio de Janeiro	33.389	335
São Paulo	62.019	2.169
South	50.891	27.934
Paraná	19.636	9.718
Santa Catarina	1.515	6.440
Rio Grande do Sul	29.739	11.776
Center-West	127.003	69.689
Mato Grosso do Sul	60.533	39.838
Mato Grosso	46.027	29.600
Goiás	10.916	251
Federal District	9.527	0

* Source: FIBGE - Censo Demográfico, 2000.

** Source: ISA - data about the Indigenous Lands.

See below a table with information on the numbers of indigenous peoples by region and by Unit of the Federation (States and the Federal District) using data about the Indigenous Lands:

Table 7
Indigenous Peoples by the Unit of Federation and regions

people	UF*	population	year	population	year
total	RO	3.406		4.696	
Aikanã	RO	175	1995	175	1995
Ajuru	RO	38	1990	38	1990
Akunsu	RO	?	?	7	1998
Amondawa	RO	?	?	80	2000
Arara	RO	130	1989	184	2000
Arikapu	RO	6	1990	2	1999
Aruá	RO	36	1990	6	1997
Gavião	RO	360	1989	436	2000
Jaboti	RO	67	1990	67	1990

(continued)

(continued)

people	UF*	population	year	population	year
Kanoe	RO	61	1990	84	1997
Karipuna	RO	8	1995	20	2000
Karitiana	RO	171	1994	360	2000
Kwazá	RO	15	1995	25	1998
Kujubim	RO	14	1990	14	1990
Macurap	RO	129	1990	129	1990
Oro Win	RO	?	?	50	2000
Pakaa Nova	RO	1.300	1989	2.050	1996
Sakurabiat	RO	?	?	55	1999
Suruí	RO	586	1992	586	1992
Tupari	RO	204	1992	204	1992
Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau	RO	106	1994	124	2000
total	AC	9.107		10.261	
Arara	AC	300	1993	200	1999
Ashaninka	AC	763	1994	813	1999
Katukina	AC	400	1990	318	1998
Kaxinawá	AC	3.387	1994	3.964	1999/2000
Machineri	AC	332	1994	459	1999
Nukini	AC	400	1994	425	1999
Poyanawa	AC	385	?	403	1999
Shanenawa	AC	?	?	178	1998
Yaminawa	AC	370	1987	565	1999
Yawanawá	AC	270	1994	618	1999
Kulina/Mádhá	AC/AM	2.500	1991	2.318	1999
total	AM	61.819		45.407	
Apurinã	AM	2.800	1991	2.779	1999
Arapaso	AM	317	1992	300	1998
Banawa Yafi	AM	120	1991	215	1999
Baniwa	AM	3.189	1995	4.000	2000
Bará	AM	40	1992	54	1998
Barasana	AM	?	?	61	1998
Baré	AM	2.170	1992	2.790	1998
Deni	AM	570	1995	672	2000
Desana	AM	1.458	1992	1.464	1998
Diahui	AM	?	?	17	1999
Jamamadi	AM	250	1987	320	1999
Jarawara	AM	160	1990	197	1999
Katukina	AM	7	1994	578	1999
Juma	AM	?	?	7	2000
Kaixana	AM	?	?	224	1997
Kambeba	AM	150	1990	156	2000
Kanamanti	AM	40	1992	162	1999

(continued)

(continued)

people	UF*	population	year	population	year
Kanamari	AM	250	1990	1.327	1999
Karapanã	AM	320	1989	38	1998
Kocama	AM	?	?	622	1989
Korubo	AM	219	1992	250	2000
Kubeo	AM	50	1990	262	1998
Kulina/Pano	AM	880	1995	20	1996
Kuripako	AM	2.050	1989	1.100	2000
Maku	AM	34	1992	2.548	1998
Makuna	AM	960	1994	42	1998
Marubo	AM	178	1994	1.043	2000
Matis	AM	640	1994	239	2000
Matsé	AM	400	1994	829	2000
Miranha	AM	120	1992	613	1999
Miriti Tapuia	AM	1.400	1990	120	1998
Mura	AM	130	1990	5.540	2000
Parintintin	AM	539	1988	156	2000
Paumari	AM	179	1993	720	1999
Pirahã	AM	926	1992	360	2000
Piratapuia	AM	5.825	1991	900	1998
Sateré-Mawé	AM	1.630	?	7.134	2000
Tariano	AM	360	1994	1.595	1998
Tenharim	AM	23.000	1994	585	2000
Ticuna	AM	25	1989	32.613	1998
Torá	AM	100	1985	51	1999
Tsohom Djapá	AM	2.868	1992	100	1985
Tukano	AM	518	1992	3.670	1998
Tuyuka	AM	506	?	530	1998
Wanano	AM	476	1992	487	1998
Warekena	AM	143	1995	491	1998
Zuruahã	AM	1.300	1994	143	1995
Kaxarari	AM/RO	220	1989	190	1993
total	RR	33.382		39.201	
Patamona	RR	50	1990	50	1991
Makuxi	RR	15.000	1994	16.500	2000
Ingaricó	RR	1.000	1994	675	1997
Yekuana	RR	180	1990	426	2000
Taurepang	RR	200	1989	532	1998
Wapixana	RR	5.000	1994	6.500	2.000
Yanomami	RR/AM	9.975	1988	11.700	2000
Waiwai	RR/AM/PA	1.366	?	2.020	2000
Waimiri Atroari	RR/AM	611	1994	798	1999
total	PA	5.551		11.839	
Amanayé	PA	66	1990	190	2000

(continued)

(continued)

people	UF*	population	year	population	year
Anambé	PA	105	1994	132	2000
Aparai*	PA	?	?	415	1998
Arara	PA	165	1995	195	1998
Araweté	PA	230	1995	278	2000
Asurini do Tocantins	PA	233	1995	338	1998
Asurini do Xingu	PA	81	1995	91	1999
Gavião	PA	333	1995	338	1998
Tiryó	PA	380	1994	735	1998
Kaxuyana	PA	?	?	69	1998
Munduruku	PA	3.000	1990	7.500	1997
Parakanã	PA	624	1995	746	1999
Suruí	PA	185	1995	185	1997
Turiwara	PA	39	1990	60	1998
Wayana	PA	?	?	415	1999
Zo'é	PA	110	1990	152	1998
total	AP	3.859		4.943	
Karipuna do Amapá	AP	37	1993	1.708	2000
Galibi Marworno	AP	1.249	1993	1.764	2000
Galibi	AP	1.353	1993	28	2000
Palikur	AP	722	1993	918	2000
Waiãpi	AP	498	1994	525	1999
total	TO	4.468		5.698	
Apinayé	TO	718	1989	990	1999
Xerente	TO	1.552	1994	1.814	2000
Karajá/Javaé	TO	750	1995	919	2000
Karajá/Xambioá	TO	250	1995	185	1997
Krahô	TO	1.198	1989	1.790	1999
total of the North region		121.592		154.952	
total	MA	13.659		16.065	
Krikati	MA	420	1990	620	2000
Gavião	MA	150	1990	250	1998
Guajá	MA	370	?	280	1998
Guajajara	MA	10.200	1995	11.450	1998
Kaapor	MA	500	?	800	1998
Kanela Rankokamekra	MA	883	?	1.387	2000
Kanela Apaniekra	MA	336	1990	458	2000
Tembé	MA/PA	800	1990	820	1999
total	CE	3.390		5.093	
Paiaku	CE	?	?	220	1999
Pitaguari	CE	?	?	871	1999
Tapeba	CE	1.143	1992	2.491	1999
Tremembé	CE	2.247	1992	1.511	1999

(continued)

(continued)

people	UF*	population	year	population	year
total	PB	6.120		7.575	
Potiguara	PB	6.120	1989	7.575	1999
total	PE	15.035		19.745	
Atikum	PE	2.799	1989	2.743	1999
Fulni-ô	PE	2.788	1989	2.930	1999
Kambiwá	PE	1.255	?	1.578	1999
Kapinawá	PE	354	1989	422	1999
Pankararu	PE	3.676	1989	4.376	1999
Truká	PE	909	1990	1.333	1999
Xukuru	PE	3.254	1992	6.363	1999
total	AL	6.312		7.351	
Jiripancó	AL	842	1992	1500	1999
Karapotó	AL	1.050	1994	796	1999
Kariri-Xocó	AL	1.500	1990	1.500	1997
Tingui Botó	AL	180	1991	288	1999
Wassu	AL	1.220	1994	1.447	1999
Xukuru Kariri	AL	1.520	1989	1.820	1996
total	SE	250		250	
Xokó	SE	250	1987	250	1987
total	BA	7.876		11.166	
Kaimbé	BA	1.200	1989	634	1999
Kantaruré	BA	?	?	244	1996
Kiriri	BA	1.526	1994	1.346	1999
Pankararé	BA	723	?	1.027	1996
Pankaru	BA	74	1992	84	1999
Pataxó	BA	1.759	1989	4.151	1998
Pataxó Hã-Hã-Hãe	BA	1.665	1993	2.050	1998
Tuxá	BA/PE	929	1992	1.630	1999
total of the Northeast region		52.642		67.245	
total	MG	6.045		5.645	
Xakriabá	MG	5.093	1997	4.952	1994
Krenak	MG	150	1997	99	?
Maxakali	MG	802	1997	594	1989
total	ES	1.234		1.786	
Tupiniquim	ES	884	1987	1.386	1997
Guarani/Mbyá	ES	350	1984	400	1997
total	RJ	215		335	
Guarani/Mbyá	RJ	215	1994	335	1998
total	SP	1558		2169	
Guarani/Mbyá	SP	1.104	1994	1.684	1998
Terena/Kaingang	SP	454	1994	485	1998
total of the Southeast region		9.052		9.935	

(continued)

(continued)

people	UF*	population	year	population	year
total	PR	7.514		9.718	
Xetá	PR	?	?	8	1998
Kaingang	PR	4.593	1994	5.551	2000
Guarani/Mbyá	PR	2.921	1994	4.159	1998
total	SC	5.800		6.440	
Xokleng	SC	600	1994	757	1998
Guarani/Mbyá	SC	1.500	1994	1.619	1998
Kaingang	SC	3.700	1994	4.064	1998
total	RS	9.400		11.776	
Kaingang	RS	5.800	1994	7.914	1998
Guarani/Mbyá	RS	3.600	1994	3.862	1998
total of the South region		22.714		27.934	
total	MS	33.827		39.838	
Terena	MS	15.000	1994	15.795	1999
Chamacoco	MS	40	1994	40	1994
Guató	MS	700	1993	372	1999
Kadiweu	MS	?	?	1.592	1998
Ofaié	MS	87	1991	56	1999
Guarani/Kaiowá	MS	18.000	1995	21.983	1998
total	MT	23.305		29.600	
Apiaká	MT	43	1989	92	1998
Arara do Aripuanã	MT	150	1994	150	1994
Aweti	MT	93	1995	106	1999
Bakairi	MT	570	1989	950	1999
Bororo	MT	914	1994	1.024	1997
Cinta Larga	MT/RO	643	1993	643	1993
Enawenê-Nawê	MT	253	1995	320	2000
Iranxe	MT	250	1994	217	2000
Kaiabi	MT/PA	1.200	1995	1.000	1999
Kalapalo	MT	326	1995	362	1999
Kamayurá	MT	303	?	316	1999
Karajá	MT/TO/PA	1.900	1995	1.804	1997
Kayapó	MT/PA	4.000	1993	6.306	2000
Kuikuro	MT	343	1995	394	1999
Matipu	MT	62	1995	98	1999
Mehinako	MT	149	1994	183	1999
Menky	MT	62	1995	78	2000
Nahukwá	MT	64	1995	92	1999
Nambikwara	MT/RO	885	1989	998	1999
Panará	MT/PA	160	1995	202	2000
Pareci	MT	1.200	1995	1.293	1999
Rikbaktsa	MT	690	1993	1.025	1998

(continued)

(continued)

people	UF*	population	year	population	year
Suyá	MT	213	1995	273	1999
Tapayuna	MT	58	1995	58	1995
Tapirapé	MT	380	1995	438	2000
Trumai	MT	89	1995	92	1999
Txikão	MT	214	1995	281	1999
Umutina	MT	100	1989	124	1999
Waurá	MT	226	1995	270	1999
Xavante	MT	7.100	1994	9.602	2000
Yawalapiti	MT	196	1995	208	1999
Yudjá	MT/PA	212	1995	201	1999
Zoró	MT	257	1992	400	2000
total	GO	14		251	
Tapuia	GO	?	?	235	1998
Avá-Canoeiro	GO/ TO	14	1995	16	2000
total of the Center-West region		57.146		69.689	

Source: ISA - data of the Indigenous Lands at the two periods of time.

The total population of the indigenous peoples has been growing in all the States and regions, even in the cases in which growth and even survival are difficult, such as the Avá Canoeiro, whose population is extremely small – their number grew from 6 to 16 individuals between 1991 and 2000. The peoples whose population are under 100 individuals in general tend to marry within peoples whose languages belong to the same family as theirs, or with peoples who live in contiguous areas, so as to not become extinct.

For some peoples, such as the Patamona, from the State of Roraima, and the Zuruahã, from the State of Amazonas, there is no recent information available, so the same numbers are kept for both years. Others have the same number of individuals, such as the Juma, also from the State of Amazonas, due to the same number of births and deaths during the period. There are cases in which part of the information was over-estimated in the first or the second year, as with the Ingaricó, from Roraima for the first year, the information was that there were 1,000 individuals, and for the second, 675; it is probable that the first figure was over-estimated, because, in recent years, the Roraima's Funasa, along with the Roraima Indigenous Council, has been carrying out very precise censuses. Thus for an assessment of the figures it is necessary to check other sources of information as well. In spite of that, it is possible to observe through those tables that information is increasingly more exact, especially since 1999, thanks to the improvements in the health services in certain regions. The improvement in the gathering of demographic data, however, is not homogeneous in all regions of the country.

Recommendations for the future

Regarding the official censuses made by the IBGE, we can recommend the improvement of the methodology of data gathering, with the insertion of the

specific ethnic group after the recognition of the category "Indigenous" by the answerer. This would make possible a complete survey of the indigenous peoples, setting them apart from the individuals who recognize themselves as "Indigenous" but do not belong to any specific ethnic group or people. Specific training for the Census takers that will work in the Indigenous Lands, which are considered special Census areas, is advisable. It would also be important to conceive a special answering sheet for the indigenous populations, prepared with the aid of specialized professionals, which may be submitted along with the Census, so that it would be possible to start having data that is comparable and at the same time specific for the public policies directed towards the indigenous peoples. It is also necessary to rethink the operative criteria of identification of the indigenous peoples, no more as a variable in the topic "color of skin", but as distinctive social totalities, as has been taking place in US and Canadian censuses.

For other institutions, such as the Funasa, which generate population data about these peoples that may be studied under the perspective of their demographic dynamics, we recommend a rethinking of the geographic criteria, including the geographic basis of the Indigenous Lands, municipalities and urban areas. Indian presence in cities is increasingly larger and it is already known that indigenous populations tend to settle in specific neighborhoods, which creates a network that operates and facilitates this migratory movement and the maintenance of social relations with their communities of origin.

Last but not least, it is recommended the execution of indigenous censuses, integrating or complementing the global censuses and elaborated with the participation of the indigenous communities in all its phases (starting with the elaboration of the instrument of data gathering) in partnership with organisms that give them technical or economic assistance.

Bibliographical references

Araújo, Ana Valéria – 1996, "Direito Internacional e Povos Indígenas", in *Povos Indígenas no Brasil – 1991 – 1995*; edited by the ISA.

Adams, K. and Price D. – 1994, *The demography of small-scale societies: case studies from lowland South America*. South American Indian Studies – Bennington College.

Baruzzi, R. et al – 1994, "Os índios Panará: a busca pela sobrevivência", in *Anais do IX Encontro Nacional de Estudos Populacionais, ABEP*, vol. 2.

Carneiro da Cunha, Manuela – 1987, "Os índios no direito brasileiro hoje" in Carneiro da Cunha, M. (org.) *Os direitos do índio*. Editora Brasiliense.

CELADE – 1994, *Estudios Sociodemográficos de Pueblos Indígenas*. Chile, CELADE and FNUAP.

Early, John D. and Peters, John F. – 1990, *The population dynamics of the Mucajai Yanomama*, Academic Press.

Monteiro, John Manuel – 1994, "A dança dos números: a população indígena do Brasil desde 1500" in *Tempo de Presença*, year 16, n.. 273.

Penna, T. - 1984 - "Por quê uma demografia indígena brasileira?", in Anais do IV Encontro Nacional de Estudos Populacionais, ABEP, vol. 3

Ricardo, Carlos Alberto (ed.) - 1996, *Povos Indígenas no Brasil 1991 - 1995*, ISA.

Ricardo, Carlos Alberto (ed.) - 2001, *Povos Indígenas no Brasil 1996 - 2000*, ISA.

Ricardo, Fany (org.) - 1999, "Interesses Minerários em Terras Indígenas na Amazônia Legal Brasileira" in Documentos do ISA, n. 6.

Ricardo, Fany - 2001, "Terras Indígenas na Amazônia Legal" in *Biodiversidade na Amazônia Brasileira*, ISA/ IMazon/ IPAM/ ISPN/ GTA / CI.

Ribeiro, Darcy, 1957 - "Culturas e Línguas Indígenas do Brasil", in Educação e Ciências Sociais

Notes

¹ Data on the vegetal cover by the IBGE; data on human action and deforestation come from the Probio/ Macapá). The anthropic occupation considered here comes from the Diagnóstico Ambiental da Amazônia Legal, CD-ROM, IBGE, 1997. The Indigenous Lands were plotted from official documents from the base 1:1,000,000 by the ISA.

² Data obtained by the monitoring of the Mining Interests in Indigenous Lands in the Legal Amazonia, which is part of the survey on Indigenous Lands that has been carried out by the ISA since 1987, which crosses satellite data available from the Departamento Nacional de Mineração - National Mining Department - (DNPM)'s bank of mineral titles with the digitalized perimeters of the Indigenous Lands.

³ This categorization by the IBGE does not follow the legal criteria Brazil has been adopting to identify its indigenous peoples.