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INDIANS LANDS IN BRAZIL  
(a sociological approach )

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## I. INTRODUCTION

Edmund Leach made a virtually antological observation over twenty years ago when he stated, not without a touch of irony, that anthropologists' generalizations are always tainted by the specific societies that each of them studies.

This food for thought is quite appropriate in light of the present debates and analyses on indigenist policies in Brazil. Anthropologists have often countered lay people's preconceived notions by stressing the internal differences between groups and cultures and pointing out the various views that these peoples take of their contact with whites and the way they fit into this context. The Brazilian national society's expansion frontiers and the contact agents are analyzed at the local level in great detail and counterposed against the native cultural codes in question in each specific situation.

The merit of these studies is beyond question. Yet there are social factors and processes which act homogeneously on the Indian groups in their relationship with the national society and which deserve greater attention from anthropologists. This is the case with the sociological characterization of Indians in relation to a class structure, of specific research for fitting indigenist policies into overall governmental economic programs and goals, and still yet of attempts at furthering studies on each Indian contact agents' work methods.

Localized, specific studies have predominated on the Brazilian anthropological scene, with two notable exceptions: Darcy Ribeiro's "As fronteiras da civilização" ("The frontiers of civilization") in Os índios e a civilização ("Indians and civilization") (1970) and Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira's "Problemas e hipóteses relativos à fricção interétnica" ("Questions

and hypothesis regarding inter-ethnic strife") in A Sociologia do Brasil Indígena ("A Sociology of Brazilian Indians") (1972). The two books not only map out a wide overview of Brazilian indigenous peoples, but also develop concepts and demarcate a new field for theoretical analyses (like the question of the national society's expansion frontiers and the levels and processes of inter-ethnic strife).

My study takes up this holistic and historical concern again by leading into a discussion of the specific relationship between indigenous groups and land (the latter is viewed both as a basic means of production and as a mainstay for ethnic identity). The main aim is thus to avoid both a narrowing, arbitrary approach and a purely pragmatic, ideological stance, and thereby arrive at an ethnography of the social processes involved in establishing Indian territorial lands in Brazil. This requires: a) research into the legislation on Indian land as well as an evaluation of its sociological implications; b) a description of the administrative practices and bureaucratic pathways followed in applying the pertinent legislation; c) an analyses as to how and to what extent these legal rights are actually made reality; d) an attempt at placing the indigenist policy and action into the context of other present Brazilian social and economic processes and official policies. (\*)

## II. BASIC DATA ON THE BRAZILIAN INDIAN POPULATION

Some general information is no doubt necessary for the foreign public. There are now some 182 indigenous groups in Brazil with languages and cultural traditions that vary con-

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(\*) This research was carried out with the help of Vera M. Navarro Paoliello, Ana Lúcia de Mendonça, and Carlos Augusto da Rocha Freire, under research grant nº 40.4534/82 from the National Research Council (CNPq).

siderably and which total some 185,000 individuals. The majority of these groups are numerically small: in 1957 nearly half of the ethnic groups (51 of the 109 for whom there was information available) had less than 250 members. The two largest, the Ticunas of the Amazon and the Macuxi of Roraima have 18,000 and 14,000 members, respectively.

According to Brazilian laws the Indians, like people under 18 in general, are considered "relatively incapable" of exercising their rights and duties and must be supervised by a guardian. Bill no. 6.001 of December 17, 1973, also known as the Indian Statute, sets down norms that dictate this guardianship, under the sole responsibility of one Federal agency. From 1911 to 1967 this fell to the Indian Protection Agency (SPI), which was first organized by army officers and had a positivist philosophy. In 1967 the SPI was undergoing a period of extreme decadence and facing a wave of public outcry over its internal corruption and administrative inefficiency. The Federal government closed it down and replaced it with the National Indian Foundation, under the Ministry of the Interior. FUNAI's bureaucratic structure is made up of three different levels: a) a central administration in Brasília, including the agency's chairmanship as well as various consulting offices<sup>(\*)</sup>, departments<sup>(\*\*)</sup>, and the Indigenist and Fiscal Councils, with basically

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(\*) FUNAI has the following consulting offices: 1) ASPLAN, for planning; 2) legal; 3) AGESP, for research (including education and health); 4) press and communications; and 5) security and intelligence.

(\*\*) Includes the following departments: DGPI, for administering Indian Patrimony (including land, economic projects, and handicrafts); DGO, overall operations control, including the Regional Administrative Offices and Indian Posts; and the DGA, in charge of administrative and accounting matters.

consultive ends; b) 13 Regional Administrative Offices and an Autonomous Adjutant's Office; c) local administration, consisting of 163 Indian Posts and 18 "Attraction Fronts" operating in the Indians' territory itself (see Decree no. 84.638 of April 16, 1980, which gives FUNAI a new statute).

### III. THE CONCEPT OF "INDIAN LAND" AND ITS SOCIOLOGICAL CONSEQUENCES

It is important to note that "Indian land" as defined by article 17 of the Indian Statute is a legal rather than sociological category. For legal purposes, indigenous lands are considered to be of three types: a) those inhabited or occupied by Indians, over which they hold unquestionable right, regardless of territorial demarcation, according to article 198 of the Federal Constitution; b) reserved areas, where the guardian agency has set aside parks or reservations; c) areas where the Indian communities have property rights. The land included in the first two types is the national government's inalienable property, while the Indians are guaranteed only the right to permanent possession and exclusive use of the natural resources and utilities therein (article 22). The Indians only have property rights over the third type, which lands were acquired by means that are specified in common law (donations, purchases, or trades).

In a previous article (\*) I attempted to grasp some of the sociological implications of the Indian Statute's norms. While one should not overlook all the ambiguities or diverse legal readings of the statute, much less the vast estrangement between the letter of the law and its practical application, it does seem

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(\*) OLIVEIRA FILHO, J. P., "A Fronteira e a Viabilidade do Cam-pesinato Indígena" ("The Brazilian Frontier and the Viability of the Indian Peasantry") Museu Nacional, Rio de Janeiro (unpublished).

to me that the Indian Statute clearly stresses the adoption of the peasant way as the easiest route for Indian groups to integrate themselves into Brazilian society. The tribal groups' right to land is repeatedly emphasized (in article 2, paragraph 9, articles 17 through 38, and article 62). It is also made quite clear that this is not restricted to living areas or places of symbolic significance (cemeteries, mythical sites, etc.), but that it guarantees the right to land as a necessary means of production (art. 26, 27 and 28). (\*)

Another aspect that should be stressed is the legal recognition given to the property rules that characterize each indigenous group. This is stated clearly regarding the Indian parks: "The division of Indian parks into plots will be carried out in accordance with tribal traditions, practices, and property customs as well as national administrative norms, which will be adjusted to the indigenous communities' interests (art. 28, paragraph 3). Thus collective land tenure as a mainstay of group solidarity and ethnic identity does not seem to have been ignored by the author of the statute.

Cardoso de Oliveira wrote in 1960 (1972:22) that with the Indian Posts in operation, new "anti-assimilation mechanisms" had been put in motion with a resulting reinforcement of ethnic identity. By the same line of reasoning (while stressing the aspect of property relations) I would say that establishing a reservation allows the Indian population there to fulfill

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(\*) The Statute states explicitly that "an Indian reservation is an area that is set aside as the indigenous group's habitat, with all the means necessary for the group's survival" (art. 27), a requisite that has not always been respected by FUNAI and has been modified according to lobbying in specific cases.

certain tribal economic and social characteristics and favors the reproduction of a new social category: the Indian peasantry, with community possession of the basic means of production, land (see Oliveira Filho, 1974; 7-11).

The reservation is then occupied by the indigenous community as a whole and is viewed as an area that may never be subjected to individual tenure. A set of norms with a certain degree of consensus among tribal members regulates the use of the land therein. The basis for this distribution may be restricted to criteria set down by the tribe itself which relate to its past or present cultural patrimony. However, the ethnographic literature has recorded several cases of blatant interference from heads of Indian Posts in the allocation of land and even in the distribution of plots to be cultivated by the Indians.

Let us make it quite clear that this indigenous peasantry is unique in relation to other kinds of peasants. Besides exerting collective control over their basic means of production, the Indians are often subjected to direct control by the State. In the first place, Indians are considered only "relatively capable" under the legislation and thus come under FUNAI's guardianship (art. 7, paragraph 2). Secondly, with the exception of rare cases where there is actual Indian dominion over the land (item c above), the Indian lands are legally government property. The vast majority of the Indian communities do not have actual property rights, but merely permanent tenure and exclusive use of the territory they inhabit. In the third place, all of the modes of land ownership, including those in which the Indians have legal domain, are considered "part of Indigenous Patrimony" (art. 39), and legally such resources are to be administered by FUNAI (art. 42).

#### IV. DEMARCATION OF INDIAN LANDS

How can the Indians be guaranteed of their rights to their lands? The legislation is quite clear when it states, on the one hand, that this is FUNAI's essential role and, on the other, that this right is reaffirmed by, but not exclusively dependent on, demarcation.

Much of the land inhabited by Indians is claimed by whites, who display deeds or claim to have tenure rights. In view of such facts, the legislation is quite clear: "Any acts whatsoever that aim to exert dominion, tenure, or occupation over Indian communities or lands inhabited by Indians are hereby annulled and declared void of legal effect" (art. 62). It also applies to situation in which whites force the Indians to leave their territory in order to characterize it as non-Indian: "This article also applies to land which has been abandoned by Indians or Indian communities due to illegal acts by officials or private citizens" (art. 62, para. 1). It gives the national Indian aid agency, FUNAI, great power to act in regulating situations in Indian territory. "No one shall have the right to sue the State or the Indians themselves for damages incurred as a consequence of the annulment mentioned above or its economic consequences" (art. 62. para. 2).

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(\*) Article 25 of Bill 6.001 says: "The recognition of the right of Indians and tribal groups to permanent tenure over the land they inhabit, under article 198 of the Federal Constitution, does not depend on the land's demarcation, and this right will be guaranteed by the Federal Indian aid agency according to the situation at hand and historical consensus as to their traditional occupation of said territory, while in case of error or oversight by the above-mentioned agency, the appropriate powers of the Federal Government may intervene wherever and whenever necessary."



Demarcation is the final stage in the process of regulating and guaranteeing Indian lands, and it is FUNAI's responsibility to carry it out according to norms to be established by the Executive Branch (art. 19, Bill no. 6.001). Decree no. 76.999 of January 8, 1976, determined the norms for demarcating Indian lands. The chairman of FUNAI is to name an anthropologist and an engineer or surveyor to do a field survey and describe the territory's boundaries in light of the present situation and historical consensus as to how long the Indians have lived there (art. 1). This description must be approved by the chairman of FUNAI (art. 2, para. 2) and the President of the country (art. 7) (\*). The final stage in demarcation is registering the boundaries in the National Patrimony Service (SPU) and in the Real Estate Archives of the county where the Indian territory is located (art. 19, para. 1). Furthermore, according to Bill no. 6.001, there was a time limit of five years (which ran out on December 19, 1978) in which FUNAI was supposed to conclude the demarcation of all Indian lands in Brazil (art. 65).

#### IV. INDIAN LAND SITUATION

Having examined the pertinent legislation, it is now time for us to ask about what the real situation with Indian lands is in Brazil at present. We have only official data to answer this question. The first source is a set of data presented by FUNAI's Planning Consultancy Office (ASPLAN), as of June 1981, which were later published in a book called A verdade sobre o índio brasileiro, ("The truth about Brazilian Indians") which

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(\*) The technical requisites are strictly specified, while a margin for error regarding the geodesic coordinates is provided. Hardwood stakes are to be set in cement to mark the boundaries along with trails to mark the dry lines and signs next to natural boundaries (art. 6).

takes both an informative and propagandistic approach (see Table 1). The second source of data is a report by CIMI (Council on Indians Missions) entitled "A Survey of Indian Reality", published in the newspaper Porantim 37 (IV): 3-13, April 1982, as of the first quarter of 1982 (see Table 2). While the data had been reworked by the CIMI team, they did explicitly forewarn the readers that they were basing their information on that furnished by FUNAI. (\*)

In the FUNAI tables the Indian lands are grouped into three categories: a) those which had already been "demarcated"; b) those which had been "identified, but not demarcated"; c) those "yet to be identified".

The first group includes Indian lands that have actually been staked out with hardwood stakes, trails, and signs, in accordance with decree no. 76.999. (\*\*). The second group consists of Indian lands that have already been identified by FUNAI

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(\*) Table 3 (appendix) makes an overall comparison of the FUNAI and CIMI data as to population and area of Indian territory. This allows for a quantitative idea as to the differences between the two sets of data, which, overall, are less than one-tenth of the totals. The total demarcated territory which has been staked out is between 12.2 and 13.1 million hectares, while the population estimates vary between 60 and 85 thousand Indians. One hectare equals 2.47 acres.

(\*\*) There is no information available as to whether the demarcated lands have actually been approved by the President of Brazil or whether they have been registered in the National Patrimony Service or in the county registration offices (a measure which would mean the complete normalization of the land's legal situation and protection against the expansion frontiers and real estate speculation).

employees, but where the demarcation process has not yet begun.<sup>(\*\*\*)</sup>  
 The third category consists of tribes that FUNAI does not work with and for which it has no estimate whatsoever as to land area occupied.

I have included below an abbreviated version of Table 4 which compares these results and allows for an evaluation of FUNAI's efficiency in staking out Indian territory. If one adds up the population of the total Indian territory classified by FUNAI as having been demarcated, the total is 60,000 Indians, which corresponds to about 42.4% of the country's total Indian population, while some 82 thousand, or 57.6% of the total population, live on land that has not been staked out. Over 11,000 of the latter live on land where FUNAI does not even have an idea as to area.

	AREA		POPULATION	
	Thousands of hectares	%	Number	%
Demarcated land	13,121	32%	60,410	42.4%
Identified but not demarcated	27,896.3	68%	70,714	49.6%
Land to be identified	no estimate	-	11,398	8 %

(\*\*\*) This idea of lands that have been "identified" is quite vague and corresponds to varying definitions by FUNAI, including merely an order to survey the land signed by the chairman of FUNAI (which implies that preliminary studies have been done and approved by FUNAI) or just simple estimates furnished by Indian Post heads.

On the other hand, considering the territorial area "identified" by FUNAI (since there is not even an estimate on the rest), 13.1 million hectares, or 32%, has been staked out, while 27.8 million hectares, or 68% of the identified territory, has yet to be demarcated. This is a rather bothersome picture when one considers that the time limit (five years) set by Bill no. 6.001 for demarcating Indian territory had run out twice over by 1983.

#### VI. INDIAN GROUPS AND ECONOMIC EXPANSION FRONTIERS

A more detailed analysis of the above data might suggest rather interesting hypotheses on the relationship between the national expansion frontiers<sup>(\*)</sup> and the official Indian policy. I examined the data furnished by FUNAI on "identified Indian lands" collated with the particular regional administrative units they correspond to and came to the conclusion that the official Indian agency has been more successful in demarcating Indian territory where the expansion frontiers have already left their mark, where the Indian population has diminished and the amount of land claimed by them is smaller (as in the Southeastern region of the country). Indian territorial surveys and demarcation are lagging far behind in the rest of the country (particularly in the Amazon region).

The FUNAI Regional Offices where greater demarcated land areas have been registered correspond to older areas of white settlement, where frontiers have already passed through, split up the Indians' territory, and reduced their population. This is what happened, for example, in southern Brazil where all of the Indian lands (as in the 4th and 13th FUNAI Regional Offices) or nearly all of them (as in the 12th) have been demarcated. It is also the case with the 11th Regional Office (the states of

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(\*) For a review of this concept, see VELHO, 1976: 114-115.

Minas Gerais, Espírito Santo, and southern Bahia) where according to FUNAI statistics 79.9% of Indian territory has been staked out.

The situation is completely different in the Amazon, where the expansion frontiers are still on the march, and where they run into and over de older waves of migrants. The most obvious case is that of the 1st. Region, in the State of Amazonas, where there are 8.518 million hectares of "identified" Indian lands, while none of the Indian groups there has had its land staked out by FUNAI. In the 6th Region (state of Maranhão), 10th (Roraima), and 2nd (Pará and Amapá), over three-fourths of the identified Indian territory has yet to be demarcated. (\*)

#### VII. DECISION-MAKING

It is necessary to raise the question of demarcating Indian territory again, from a sociological standpoint and not merely a legal or administrative one. Just where are the basic decisions made in this process? There are, in fact, four decision-making areas: the Legislature, where laws are written up; FUNAI, with its indigenist work; the Ministry of the Interior, where

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(\*) There are few exceptions to the correlation mentioned above, and they may be explained in terms of well-defined historical phenomena. This is the case with the Autonomous Adjutant's Office in Barra do Garça (Mato Grosso) where according to FUNAI the land has been completely staked out. This is due to strong pressure from Xavante leaders on local ranchers and central FUNAI headquarters. This is also the case with the Xingu Indian Park, viewed by some government officials as a "showcase" of Brazilian Indian policy. Meanwhile, the native groups in the Northeast (unlike their peers from the South, who stubbornly resisted white settlement and thus benefited by the demarcations carried out by the SPI) are just now organizing to recover their land and revive their ethnic identity.

priorities are set and the necessary resources allocated; and the Presidency, where ultimate control is exerted.

I have spoken on the legislative area to some great extent. There are specific points in the legislation which deserve greater attention with an eye towards changes or corrections in the guardianship system, for example. More profound changes would have to be made in order to do away with the restrictions placed on ethnic groups' property rights over land. It is necessary to point out, however, that based on previous considerations the Indians' rights to land (permanent tenure and exclusive use of resources) and respect for their property customs seem to be fully guaranteed by Bill no. 6.001 and the Federal Constitution.

FUNAI is the most obvious decision-making body regarding the demarcation of Indian territory. Within the agency itself there are internal mechanisms for controlling and limiting the Indians' demand for land and even the proposed demarcations suggested by FUNAI employees. Proof of this is the difference between the land-area-to-population ratio for land demarcated by FUNAI and that which has not yet been demarcated. The overall figure is 394.1 hectares per Indian on land "identified" by FUNAI, while there are only 217 hectares per Indian in the territory that FUNAI has already staked out.

It would be hard to view FUNAI as an institution that has a unified way of action, since the total amount of land staked out per year is not a constant and does not present any definite trend, but rather varies according to the different administrations in the agency. The basic decisions are actually made outside the agency itself, or to be more precise, where the Federal Government decides how it should behave. The choice of a

chairman for FUNAI (and also of this top advisors), financial, accounting, and budget arrangements, as well as more general policy directives, come straight from the Ministry of the Interior. There is no administrative continuity. Each new chairman determines his own line of action, sets up his own team of advisors, establishes his administration's priorities, and attempts to obtain the necessary resources from the Ministry of the Interior or other government agencies. Besides, each FUNAI administration has its own network of allies in the Executive Branch, in the political and financial world, and in the general public.

The complete normalization of the Indian land situation can only be accomplished at higher echelons than FUNAI or the Ministry of the Interior. Even after actual demarcation has taken place, Indian territory must have its boundaries approved by the President of Brazil in order to be registered in the National Patrimony Service and the county registration offices.

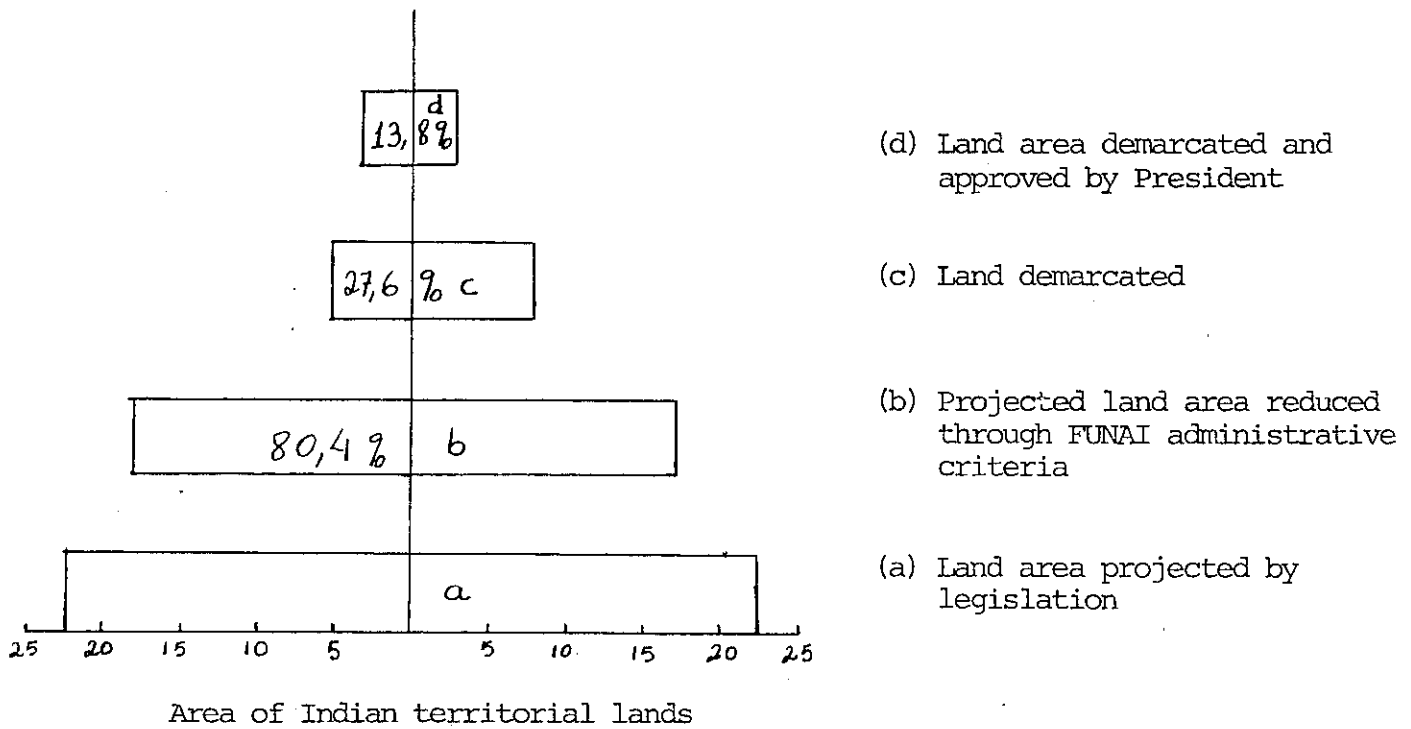
Table 6 (appendix), in a year-by-year exposition of the demarcations already carried out, points up a gradual accumulation of demarcations that have not been signed by the President. Thus Presidential approval is not a mere formality. It is at this stage where the Federal Government controls and evaluates FUNAI's work in relation to the land tenure question. There have been many cases where the President has used his veto power to block proposals of Indian territories made by FUNAI. (\*)

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(\*) A recent example was the creation of 10 Indian land areas for the Makuxi, in Roraima, under FUNAI directives 1.130-9 of November 11, 1971. Of these 10, only five were recognized and approved by the President, through decree no. 86.931/5, signed by him on February 17, 1982.

The abbreviated table below furnishes quantitative evidence as to how Indians' rights have been squeezed and sifted as they go through the various decision-making levels. If the suggestions for demarcation of given Indian lands made by the FUNAI employees themselves were followed, based on existing legislation, the projected total Indian territorial area in Brazil would be 44.5 million hectares. Due to the limiting mechanisms included in FUNAI administrative methods, this total projected figure is only some 35.8 million hectares. The land actually staked out by FUNAI is only 13.1 million hectares, or 27.6% of the first total, while only 13.8% of this total has actually been staked out and approved by the President of Brazil.

Table 7



VIII. CONCLUSIONS

The above data, in my opinion, call for a thorough reconsideration



of the Indian question in Brazil. It is viewed too frequently as a secondary matter within overall government planning and the social and economic processes involved in settling the country's hinterland. Too often it is discussed from a purely ideological standpoint, with the positivist and humanitarian perspective (which oriented the foundation of the Indian Protection Service) pitted against prejudices that originated in the colonial past. This kind of treatment of the matter and the conclusions that result from it are based on only one indicator - the estimated total Indian population, always judged to be less than 200,000, the equivalent of between 0.12 and 0.16% of the total population of Brazil, according to FUNAI and CIMI figures (see Censo Demográfico 1980 - IBGE - 1982). By using a different indicator, the total area of Indian territorial lands, one gets a completely different picture of the social magnitude of the Indian question, since this total area could represent up to 12% of the land used productively in the country (see Sinopse Preliminar do Censo Agropecuário de 1980 - IBGE, 1982). The land area itself is significant, and government-priority economic activities are carried out inside it in many cases. One could cite as examples: road construction, hydroelectric power plants, mining projects, agricultural settlements, and lumbering, among others. This helps to explain why certain sectors within the government have become increasingly concerned with controlling FUNAI's activities in recent years and even with changing the pertinent legislation. (\*)

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(\*) For a study of the projects that threaten Indian land areas, see Davis, 1979, and CEDI, 1982 and 1983. For a view of the present Indian policy in the context of government economic programs, see Oliveira Filho, 1983.

The total amount of Indian land seems impressive in numerical terms, and in order to avoid an illusory effect (which would benefit FUNAI, who selected and furnished the data), one would have to examine reliable statistics as to the total amount of Indian land which is completely or partially occupied by whites as well as the total Indian land area rented out to third parties by FUNAI itself. It would also be necessary to take into account the vast land areas that cannot be utilized for agriculture or any of the other economic activities normally practiced by the Indians that live there. If all these data were available, the notion that the Indians have land to spare would no longer stand to the test, especially if one considers that the Indians' land tenure customs and technology require larger land areas than those needed by white peasants.

Much more in-depth research is needed to arrive at a true picture of the Indian land situation in Brazil and the dynamics of the resulting social processes. In order to avoid distortions caused by the use of official statistics, the researchers themselves would have to be in charge of obtaining the kind of data they deemed necessary. At any rate, this modest study, based on official figures, may serve as an example of how to approach the matter of human rights. I have attempted to avoid dealing with Indian rights from an abstract viewpoint with Universalist and normative generalizations - my aim has been to focus on those rights as they are determined in a given moment in history according to administrative practices and power and decision-making schemes that transpose them onto everyday social existence. A step that should be taken in the future is to consider these laws and administrative practices not as static or self-explained codes but as elements, prizes, and resources

(as political anthropology defines these terms) in a struggle which involves social actors with diverse, and often antagonistic, interests and ideologies. This would leave room for both a sociological evaluation and a true political analysis of the process of establishing, applying, and modifying Indians' rights to land.

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APPENDIX

ONE HECTARE EQUALS 2.47 ACRES

FUNAI - FUNDAÇÃO NACIONAL DOS  
ÍNDIOS  
(NATIONAL INDIAN  
FOUNDATION)

CIMI - CONSELHO INDIGENISTA  
MISSIONARIO  
(COUNCIL ON INDIAN  
MISSIONS)

DR - REGIONAL OFFICES (FUNAI)

AJABAG - AJUDANCIA AUTONOMA  
DE BARRA DO GARÇA (FUNAI)  
(AUTONOMOUS ADJUTANT'S OFFICE  
IN BARRA DO GARÇA)

STATES AND TERRITORIES:

AMAZONAS - AM  
AMAPA - AP  
ACRE - AC  
RORAIMA - RR  
RONDÔNIA - RO  
PARÁ - PA  
MARANHÃO - MA  
PIAUÍ - PI  
CEARÁ - CE  
BAHIA - BA  
SERGIPE - SE  
ALAGOAS - AL  
PARAÍBA - PB  
PERNAMBUCO - PE  
PARANÁ - PR  
SANTA CATARINA - SC  
RIO GRANDE DO SUL - RS  
RIO DE JANEIRO - RJ  
SÃO PAULO - SP  
MINAS GERAIS - MG  
RIO GRANDE DO NORTE - RN  
GOIÁS - GO  
MATO GROSSO - MG  
MATO GROSSO DO SUL - MS  
ESPÍRITO SANTO - ES

TABLE 1

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FUNAI REGIONAL OFFICES: (DR)	LOCALIZATION	DEMARCATED LAND		IDENTIFIED BUT NOT DEMARCATED		LAND TO BE IDENTIFIED	
		AREA THOUSANDS OF HECTARES	POPULATION (ESTIMATE)	AREA THOUSANDS OF HECTARES	POPULATION (ESTIMATE)	AREA THOUSANDS OF HECTARES	POPULATION (ESTIMATE)
1st. DR	Amazonas	-	-	8.518	17.543	-	10.089
2nd. DR	Pará, Amapá	2.303,8	2.942	7.714,6	3.132 a	-	488
3th. DR	Bahia, Sergipe, Alagoas Paraíba, Pernambuco	12,4	3.032	109,9	18.557	-	615 b
4th. DR	Paraná, Santa Catarina	84,6	5.598	-	-	-	-
5th. DR	Mato Grosso	876,8	1.857	1.864,8	1.436	-	-
6th. DR	Maranhão	1.616,4	7.828 c	219,4	608	-	-
7th. DR	Goiás, Mato Grosso	470,1	1.438	107,1	711	-	-
8th. DR	Acre, Rondônia, Amazonas, Mato Grosso	2.639,9	1.619	2.926,5	3.400 d	-	206 e
9th. DR	Mato Grosso do Sul	31	17.077	495,9	2.891	-	-
10th. DR	Roraima, Amazonas	830	2.882	4.467,9	20.125 f	-	-
11th. DR	Minas Gerais, Espírito Santo, Bahia (south)	66,8	5.135	16,8	988	-	-
12th. DR	São Paulo, Paraná	29,4	2.317	0,2	22	-	-
13th. DR	Rio Grande do Sul	50,6	5.551	-	-	-	-
AUTONOMOUS ADJUTANT'S OFFICE IN BARRA DO GARÇA	Mato Grosso	1.198,4	1.188	-	-	-	-
XINGU INDIAN PARK	Mato Grosso	2.910,8	1.946	-	-	-	-
ARAQUAIA INDIAN PARK	Goiás	-	-	1.455,2	1.301	-	-
TOTAL		13.121	60.410	27.896,3	70.714	NO ESTIMATE	11.398

a. NO DATA ABOUT AMANAYÉS (PARÁ) INDIAN POST.

b. NO DATA ABOUT WAGU (ALAGOAS) AND XOCO' (SERGIPE).

c. NO DATA ABOUT RODEADOR (MARANHÃO) INDIAN POST.

d. NO DATA ABOUT KAXARARI (RONDÔNIA) INDIAN POST, ZORO', JAMINAWÁ/ARARA, KAMPA (AMÔNIA RIVER), KULINA (MADONAWA), GREGÓRIO RIVER (ACRE)

e. NO DATA ABOUT TENHARIM (AMAZONAS).

f. NO DATA ABOUT CANAVAMIM (RORAIMA).

SOURCE:

A VERDADE SOBRE O ÍNDIO BRASILEIRO. GUSTAVO DE FARIA (Ed.) QUAVIRA EDITORES Ltda. R.J./1981

TABLE 2

CULTURAL AREA	LOCALIZATION	DEMARCATED LAND			NOT DEMARCATED LAND			POPULATION
		NUMBER	AREA (HECTARES)	POPULATION (NUMBER)	NUMBER	AREA (HECTARES)	POPULATION (NUMBER)	TOTAL/CULTURAL AREA
1. NORTH Amazônica	Amazonas, Pará, Amapá, Roraima	12	836.765	15.350	41	NO ESTIMATE	34.135	49.485
2. Solimoes, Ju ruá, Purus	Rondônia (ONE AREA) Amazonas, Acre	2	18.180	480	65	NO ESTIMATE	31.615	32.095
3. Guaporé	Rondônia, Mato Grosso	13	2.770.168	2.941	20	NO ESTIMATE	3.170	6.111
4. Tapajós Madeira	Amazonas, Pará, Mato Grosso	11	1.117.687	5.986	10	NO ESTIMATE	3.578	9.564
5. Alto Xingu	Mato Grosso	3	2.698.314	2.533	1	NO ESTIMATE	?	2.533
6. Tocantins Xingu	Maranhão, Goiás, Pará, Mato Grosso	19	2.701.016	9.895	16	NO ESTIMATE	3.003	12.898
7. Pindaré Gurupi	Pará, Maranhão	6	1.346.022	6.250	3	NO ESTIMATE	366	6.616
8. EAST NORTHEAST	ES / MG / BA / AL / SE / PE / PA / CE	13	85.666	8.552	18	NO ESTIMATE	22.401	30.953
9. Paraguai Paraná	Mato Grosso do Sul	16	556.364	19.248	4	NO ESTIMATE	726	19.974
10. Tietê Uruguai	RS / PR / SP / SC	25	164.456	14.681	10	NO ESTIMATE	575	15.256
TOTAL		120	12.294.638	85.916	188	—	99.569	185.485

SOURCE:

"Levantamento da realidade indígena"

CIMI. Porantim - nº 37 (IV). Abril de 1982.



TABLE 3

	FUNAI'S DATA (1981)		CIMI'S DATA (1982)	
	AREA (THOUSANDS OF HECTARES)	POPULATION (NUMBER)	AREA (THOUSANDS OF HECTARES)	POPULATION (NUMBER)
DEMARCATED LAND	13.121	60.410	12.294,6	85.916
IDENTIFIED BUT NOT DEMARCATED	27.896,3	70.714	NO ESTIMATE	99.569
LAND TO BE IDENTIFIED	NO ESTIMATE	11.398		
TOTAL		142.522		185.485

TABLE 5

		IDENTIFIED LAND (THOUSANDS HECTARES)	IDENTIFIED BUT NOT DEMARCATED (%)	DEMARCATED LAND (%)
1st. DR	AM	8.518	100,0	-
2nd. DR	PA -AP	10.018,4	77,0	23,0
3th. DR	BA-SE-AL-PB-PE	122,3	89,8	10,1
4th. DR	PR-SC	84,6	-	100,0
5th. DE	MT	2.741,6	68,0	32,0
6th. DR	MA	1.835,8	88,0	11,9
7th. DR	GO-MT	577,2	81,4	18,5
8th. DR	AC-RO-AM-MT	5.566,4	52,5	47,4
9th. DR	MS	526,9	94,1	5,8
10th. DR	RR-AM	5.297,9	84,3	15,6
11th. DR	MG-ES-BA	83,6	20,0	79,9
12th. DR	SP-PR	29,6	0,6	99,3
13th. DR	RS	50,6	-	100,0
AJABAG	MG	1.198,4	-	100,0

TABLE 6

YEARS	DEMARCATED INDIAN LAND		INDIAN LAND WITH PRESIDENCIAL APPROVAL		INDIAN LAND WITHOUT PRESIDENCIAL APPROVAL	
	NUMBER OF LAND	AREA (HECTARES)	AREA NUMBER	AREA (HECTARES)	AREA NUMBER	AREA (HECTARES)
72	1	67.078	-	-	1	67.078
73	2	277.098	2	277.098	-	-
74	1	167.572	1	167.572	-	-
75	6	2.598.176	3	1.779.370	3	818.806
76	3	466.270	3	466.270	-	-
77	16	2.575.238	3	170.939	13	2.404.299
78	4	3.413.859	1	2.642.003	3	771.856
79	6	695.965	-	-	6	695.965
80	1	89.698	-	-	1	89.698
81	23	1.056.708	7	644.304	16	412.404
82	3	588.381	-	-	3	588.381
TOTAL	66	11.996.043	20	6.147.556	46	5.848.487