

LEVANTAMENTO SOBRE A SITUAÇÃO ATUAL DAS POPULAÇÕES INDÍGENAS NO BRASIL.

- Ficha padrão -

INSTRUÇÕES PARA O PREENCHIMENTO

1. Esta é uma ficha padrão utilizada para registrar as informações básicas a respeito da situação atual dos grupos indígenas no Brasil. Compõe-se de 59 questões, divididas nos seguintes itens : nome do grupo, língua, localização, população, tutela/assistência, educação, saúde (+), situação da terra e subsistência.
2. A ficha padrão foi feita para abranger todos os grupos indígenas que vivem no país, em regiões e em condições de vida bastantes diferentes. Portanto, o colaborador (aquele que preencher a ficha) deverá adaptá-la à realidade concreta do grupo indígena e ao seu conhecimento. Assim, cada colaborador deve sentir-se à vontade para devolver a ficha sem responder todas as questões ou para acrescentar informações que julgue necessárias.
3. **IMPORTANTE** : Cada ficha padrão deve ser preenchida sempre que possível para cada grupo local ou aldeia. Ou seja, nos casos de um mesmo grupo indígena que vive em mais de uma aldeia - grupo local - o colaborador deve deixar claro sobre qual delas está fornecendo informações. Isto não exclui a possibilidade do colaborador dar informações gerais sobre o grupo todo, ou sobre aldeias/grupos locais do mesmo grupo indígena.
4. Caso os espaços deixados em branco para as respostas não sejam suficientes, utilizar verso das folhas.

Dados Pessoais do Colaborador

Nome : Greg Urban

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 CEP : 78712 Cidade : Austin Estado : Texas U.S.A./  
 E.U.A.

Profissão : Antropólogo Há quanto tempo conhece o grupo indígena ?  
Desde 1974 Atividade exercida junto ao grupo indígena :  
Pesquisa de campo Qual(ais) grupo local(ais) ou aldeia(s) conhece  
 melhor ? P.I. Ibirama

Data de preenchimento da ficha : Novembro de 1982

ENDEREÇO PARA RESPOSTAS : "Levantamento sobre a situação atual das populações  
 Indígenas no Brasil".  
 Caixa Postal 54.007  
 01000 São Paulo SP Brasil

(\*) Segunda edição revista na parte de saúde - Dez./79.

NOME DO GRUPO

- 1. Nome pelo qual o grupo é mais conhecido : **Xokleng (among anthropologists); Botocudo (among the regional population)**
- 2. Grupo local / Aldeia (Ver ítem nº 3 das "Instruções para o preenchimento"): **P.I. Ibirama**
- 3. Outros nomes do grupo : **"Aweikoma." This name is found in some of the North American literature. J. Henry (1941) referred to them as "Kaingang." Variations of the name "Xokleng" include Xokrê, Xokreng, and Shokleng.**

LÍNGUA

- 4. Que língua o grupo fala ? **Members of the group speak Xokleng, a language which, together with Kaingang, forms the southern branch**
- 5. Existem no grupo índios que falem português ? Precisar sexo e idade dos que falam português : **(see reverse side)**

(over)

- 6. Que tipo de português falam (Preencher com X):  
 falam o português regional fluentemente  
 falam o português regional não fluentemente

- 7. Todo o grupo fala a sua língua ? Quem não fala ? Precisar sexo e idade dos que não falam a língua original : **See answer to no. 5. All "pure" Xokleng speak Xokleng. Many "mesticos," especially younger ones, speak no Xokleng. No "Guarani," "cafuzos," or "whites" speak Xokleng.**

- 8. Que outras línguas (indígenas ou não) são difundidas no grupo ? Quem fala estas línguas ? Precisar sexo e idade dos que falam esta(s) língua(s) e em que situações ou ocasiões estas línguas são usadas :  
**Portuguese is very well established. Many young Xokleng speakers mix Portuguese words in with their Xokleng. Portuguese is used in all interactions with non-Indians, and, sometimes, among the younger Indians themselves. It is frequently used in quoting the speech of non-Xokleng speakers. (See reverse side)**
- 9. Entre eles, os índios dessa aldeia, que língua falam ? **See answers to questions no. 5 and 8. Among "pure" Xokleng, especially elders, only Xokleng is spoken. Some younger "pure" Xokleng speak Portuguese among themselves as well as around whites.**

LOCALIZAÇÃO

- 10. Município : Ibirama Estado : Santa Catarina
- 11. Referencias geográficas gerais (rios limítrofes, acidentes geográficos vizinhos, etc.): **Alto vale do Itajaí.**

(Continued)

4. of the Gê (Jê) family.
5. Most "pure" Xokleng speak good regional Portuguese. Older men speak less well, and some of the older women speak no Portuguese at all. Some pre-school children also speak no Portuguese, though most do. Many "mesticos" speak no Xokleng, and there are "whites" living on the reserve, none of whom speak Xokleng. Nor do the Guarani resident here speak Xokleng, nor do any of the so-called "cafuzos," actually negroes or caboclos.
8. Portuguese exclusively is used among (1) some "mesticos," (2) all "whites," and (3) all "cafuzos."

Guarani is spoken exclusively among the Guarani. Most adult male Guarani also speak Portuguese. Many Guarani women and children do not speak Portuguese.

11. (cont.)

12. Referencias geográficas sobre a localização da aldeia (Se na floresta, no cerrado, beira de rio, etc.): **The present reserve (141 km<sup>2</sup>) is situated entirely within the littoral subtropical forest, but it is immediately on the border of the high plateau. The latter is presently occupied primarily by cattle ranchers and agriculturalists, with little of the original araucaria forest remaining.**

POPULAÇÃO (Lembre-se que é a população, sempre que possível, por aldeia ou grupo local).

**Please see attached pages 2a-c for detailed breakdown of the complex demography.**

13. População atual total, por faixa de idade e sexo :

Sexo Masculino: <u>450</u>	Homens Adultos : _____
Sexo Feminino : <u>443</u>	Mulheres Adultas : _____
Total : <u>893</u>	Crianças Masc. : _____
	Crianças Femin. : _____
	Total : _____

(Obs.: esta questão pode ser respondida utilizando-se o modelo dos formulários da FUNAI)

14. Os dados de população da pergunta anterior foram obtidos por quem ?

Greg Urban and José Dival de Souza Como? House to house survey.

Em que data foi feita a contagem ou estimativa ? February of 1982 (for the Xokleng-Kaingang-white group), December 1981 (for the "cafuzo" and Guarani groups).

15. Existem indivíduos ou famílias deste grupo que estejam desaldeados ?

Dar uma idéia de quantos são e onde estão : **I have records of three Xokleng families (17 individuals) living outside the reserve area, in neighboring cities.**

13. The demographic situation at P.I. Ibirama is extremely complex and requires some explanation. There are three distinct endogamous groups on the reserve: (1) the Xokleng-Kaingang-White group, (2) the Guarani group, and (3) the "cafuzo" (negro) group. Xokleng are the original inhabitants of the area. They were first contacted in 1914. To aid in the "pacification," the SPI brought in already pacified Kaingang Indians from Parana. These Indians intermarried with both Xokleng and with local Brazilians, forming the first "mestico" population. The first Kaingang-White mestico was born in about 1925. Later Xokleng began to intermarry with local whites as well.

The "cafuzos" and Guarani have arrived on the reserve only in the post-1940 period, and many Guarani have migrated there only in the past few years.

The demographics are given in accord with the subgroups as follows:

(1) the Xokleng-Kaingang-White group: with respect to this group, it should be said that, since 1978, a split has developed within this group, such that there are now two subgroups, (a) the "post" Indians, living near the original FUNAI post, and (b) the "bugio" Indians, who have moved across the reserve. These will be treated first separately, then together.

(a) "post" Indians

		♂	♀
adult	X	27	32
	K	2	0
	X-K	7	14
	X-W	6	6
	K-W	13	14
	X-K-W	1	1
	W	23	16
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		78	83
child	X	25	19
	K	0	0
	X-K	35	19
	X-W	26	23
	K-W	35	56
	K-X-W	7	18
	W	6	0
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		134	135

Total masculine	212
Total feminine	218
Total	<u>430</u>

(b) "Bugio" Indians

		0	0
adult	X	25	23
	K	0	1
	X-K	3	5
	X-W	0	3
	K-W	3	2
	X-K-W	3	5
	W	5	1
		<u>39</u>	<u>40</u>
child	X	26	25
	K	0	0
	X-K	14	3
	X-W	1	2
	K-W	0	0
	X-K-W	22	24
	W	3	1
		<u>66</u>	<u>55</u>

Total masculine	105
Total feminine	99
Total	204

(c) Totals for the Xokleng-Kaingang-White subgroup

Total male children	200
" female "	190
Total male adult	117
" female "	123
Total masculine	317
Total feminine	313
Total	630

- (2) the Guarani group: figures for this group were obtained in December of 1981 by the then P.I. chief Dival José de Souza.

Total masculine	52
Total feminine	56
Total	108

- (3) the Cafuzo group: figures for this group were also obtained in December of 1981 by the then P.I. chief Dival José de Souza.

Total masculine	81
Total feminine	74
Total	155

Summing together the figures for these three endogamous groups, the total population of P.I. Ibirama is as follows:

Total masculine	450
Total feminine	443
Total	893

16. Existem informações da população do grupo para os anos anteriores ?  
Quais ? (Citar total, data e fonte): **Yes** (see attached pages 3b, 3c, 3d).

1932-4	(Henry 1941: xxi )	Total= 106
1964	(Coelho dos Santos 1973: )	Total= 303
1974-76	(Urban, manuscript)	Total= 448

(Data concern only the Xokleng-Kaingang-White subgroup)

17. Dar o formato da aldeia, número de casas, número médio de moradores por habitação, o tipo de construção empregado (se é o tradicional do grupo ou é o modelo regional); Dê também uma descrição do tipo de material usado para a construção. (Se facilitar, pode-se desenhar)

Please see attached page 3a for sketch-map of P.I. Ibirama reserve, and locations of the principal subgroups discussed in question 13. My household information concerns only the Xokleng-Kaingang-White subgroup.

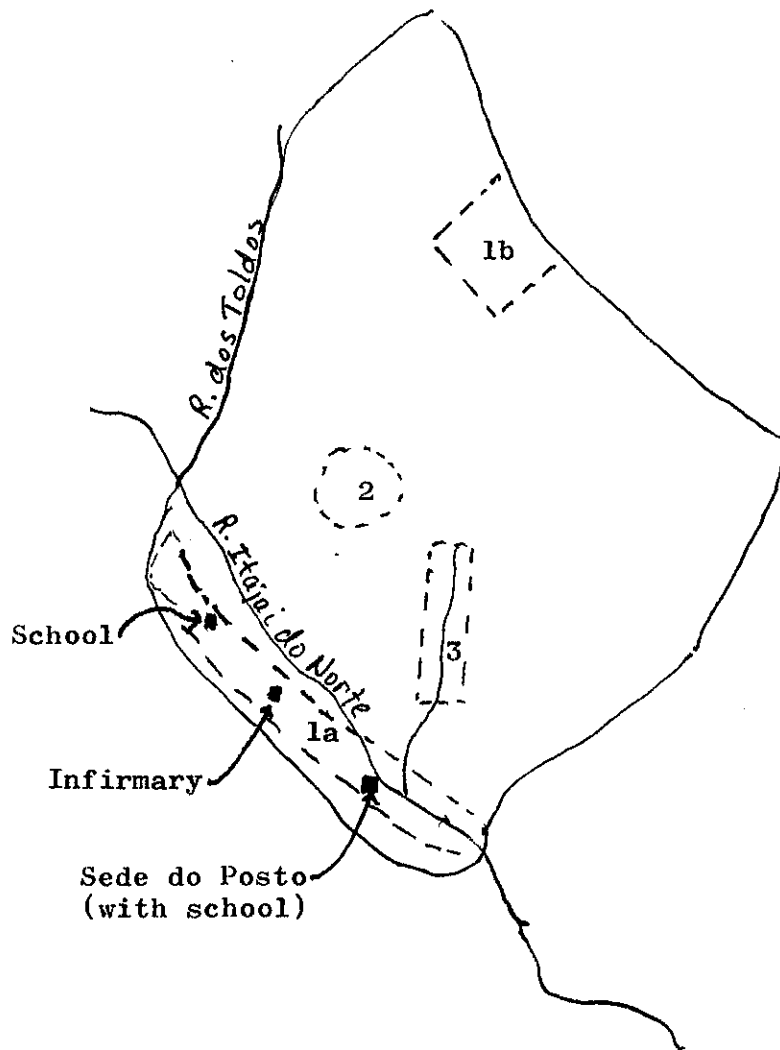
Total houses: "Post" Indians	=	68
Total houses: "Bugio" Indians	=	23
Total households	=	91

Persons per household: "Post" Indians	=	6.32
Persons per household: "Bugio" Indians	=	8.87
Persons per household: Total	=	6.92

Most are wood frame houses, built by FUNAI, in the style more or less of the region. Some are thatched huts in the "bugio" region, though these will soon be replaced by wood frame houses. Houses occupied by older Xokleng also often typically have associated with them a thatched windscreen of traditional style.

On the "post" Indian side, houses are spread out over 14 kilometers on either side of a dirt road that runs parallel to the Itajai do Norte river. They are usually about 300-400 meters apart. Houses on the "bugio" side are clustered more tightly together, though the residents are now beginning to spread out along the road that runs along the edge of the reserve there.





Map: Approximate Areas of Settlement by the Different Subgroups on the P.I. Ibirama Reserve (see Key)

- Key:
- 1a = "Post" Indian subgroup of Xokleng-Kaingang-White
  - 1b = "Bugio" Indian subgroup of Xokleng-Kaingang-White
  - 2 = Guarani
  - 3 = "Cafuzo"

16. Regarding population changes, keeping in mind the complex inter-marriage situation described in the answer to question no. 13, it can be said that the number of "pure" Xokleng (no Kaingang or White blood) has been on the rise. Genealogies give an estimated population of some 400 for the immediate pre-1914 period. However, during 1915, according to an SPI report from Eduardo de Lima, e Silva Hoerhan, there was still only intermittent contact with this Xokleng group, and the maximum number at one time appearing at the SPI post was some 113. The Xokleng themselves recount that numerous deaths occurred immediately after the first contact in 1914, and we can imagine that the population was severely decimated by the time settlement on the reserve actually occurred. A graph of the pure Xokleng population at Ibirama would look something like the following:

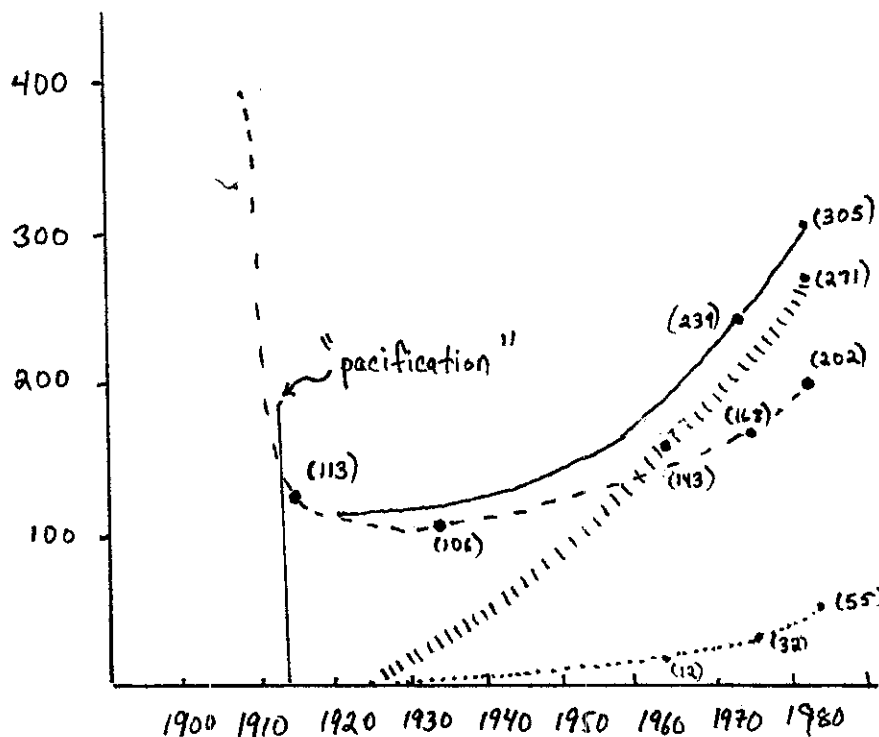


Fig. Historical Demography of the P.I. Ibirama Reserve: Xokleng-Kaingang-White Subgroup

Key: ----- "pure" Xokleng  
 \_\_\_\_\_ "pure" Xokleng plus Kaingang plus Kaingang-Xokleng Mixture  
 ..... "Whites"  
 ||||| mestizos

From: Coelho dos Santos, Índios e Brancos no Sul do Brasil, 1973.

QUADRO II

Distribuição por sexo e idade dos Xokleng e Mestiços aldeados no PI Ibirama (1)

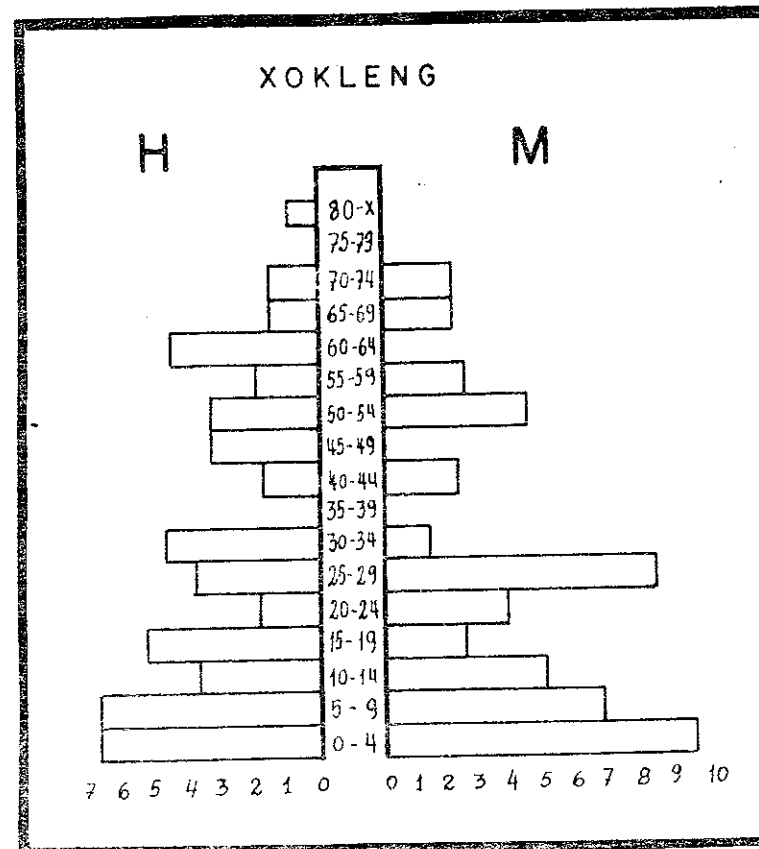
CLASSES DE IDADE	XOKLENG		MESTIÇOS		TOTAIS		T
	M	F	M	F	M	F	
+ -80	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
75 -79	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
70 -74	2	3	1	1	3	4	7
65 -69	2	3	-	-	2	3	5
60 -64	7	2	-	-	7	2	9
55 -59	3	4	-	-	3	4	7
50 -54	5	7	1	1	6	8	14
45 -49	5	-	-	-	5	-	5
40 -44	3	4	2	2	5	6	11
35 -39	-	-	3	3	3	3	6
30 -34	7	2	-	6	7	8	15
25 -29	6	13	3	4	9	17	26
20 -24	3	6	8	4	11	10	21
15 -19	8	4	9	6	17	10	27
10 -14	6	8	15	16	21	24	45
05 -09	10	11	7	22	17	33	50
0 -04	10	15	10	19	20	34	54
TOTAIS	78	82	59	84	137	166	303

Os dados acima foram obtidos através de entrevistas, anotando-se informações relativas ao sexo, idade e auto-identificação do informante e seus familiares. A idade foi anotada por aproximação, uma vez que não havia condições para se determinar com precisão o ano de nascimento dos informantes, especialmente os adultos. Nota-se facilmente os graves problemas demográficos vividos pelo grupo. Mas se levarmos em conta os dados referidos por Hoerhan e Henry, sobre o número de Xokleng existentes à época da pacificação e durante a pesquisa realizada entre 1932 e 34 pelo antropólogo americano, verificamos que se obteve um reequilíbrio populacional. E esse reequilíbrio fica melhor compreendido quando se focalizam os dados referentes

(1) - Os 11 índios identificados como Kaingang e os 12 indivíduos civilizados foram incorporados nesse quadro ao grupo de mestiços-

aos Xokleng e mestiços de forma global, pois na verdade entre uns e outros não existem diferenças acentuadas que justifiquem a sua separação. Eles integram o mesmo universo. Por isso mesmo é que nas pirâmides a seguir, destacamos aquela que engloba as duas populações.

Pirâmides demográficas referentes aos dados apresentados no quadro anterior:



1974 there were on the Ibirama reserve three non-intermarrying populations: (1) a small group of Guarani Indians, secluded in the interior of the reserve, (2) an autonomous group of cafuzos<sup>4</sup>, with their own leader, living in a reasonably discrete cluster of households, and (3) the Xokleng and Kaingang, together with the Brazilian settlers who have inter-married with them. At the time of my census in 1975, the population of this last group was 448. I did not obtain census information for the Guarani and cafuzo groups, each of which, however, numbered not more than 100. Thus, in the 1974-76 period the Ibirama reserve was supporting some 600 or more people.

These three populations, however, occupied distinct areas of the reserve, and engaged overall in little interaction with one another. The cafuzos sometimes worked as hired-hands for the Xokleng and Kaingang, and three inter-marriages have occurred between cafuzos and Indians, but this was about the extent of the interaction. Consequently, it is possible to treat the Xokleng and those with whom they did interact as a distinct group.

Fig. 1 provides a breakdown of the 448 individuals in the Xokleng-Kaingang-White group in terms of ethnic background. A hyphen is used in "mixed-blood" categories, e.g., X-K means individuals with Xokleng and Kaingang and Kaingang ancestry, X-K-W individuals with Xokleng, Kaingang, and White ancestry, and so forth:

X = 168 (38%)	X-K = 69 (15%)	X-K-W = 15 (3%)
K = 4 ( 1%)	X-W = 48 (11%)	K-W-C = 7 (2%)
W = 32 ( 7%)	K-W = 84 (19%)	Unaccounted
C = 3 ( 1%)	X-C = 1 ( - )	for = 17 (3%)

---

TOTAL = 448 (100%)

Key:

X = Xokleng  
K = Kaingang  
W = White  
C = Cafuzo

Fig. 1: Demographic Breakdown of the Ibirama Reserve Population

From these figures it is evident that pure Xokleng continue to dominate the Ibirama reserve, and it is the culture primarily of these individuals that is the focus of the present paper. What is remarkable, however, is the role that has been played by the Kaingang. All of those present on the reserve are descendants of the small group, probably not more than a dozen, that came in 1914 to assist Eduardo de Lima e Silva Hoerhan

From: Henry, Jungle People, 1941

## Preface

TRIBES SPEAKING KAINGÁNG DIALECTS inhabit the highlands of southeastern South America from the state of São Paulo, Brazil to Argentina. Although no thorough study has previously been made of any of these tribes enough has appeared in print<sup>1</sup> to indicate that they differ in language and culture. The group I studied<sup>2</sup> is localized on the government reservation of Duque de Caxias in the municipality of Dalbergia in the state of Santa Catarina, Brazil. It is one extended family.<sup>3</sup> A handful of fellow tribesmen, probably another extended family, is living on a reservation at Palmas<sup>4</sup> in the state of Santa Catarina, and as late as 1934 a small group of Kaingáng, thought to be tribesmen of those at Duque de Caxias, was reported to be wandering wild and causing damage in the southern part of the state.

Since 1914 when the Kaingáng were pacified and localized at Duque de Caxias epidemics have reduced their number from between three and four hundred to 106,<sup>5</sup> and a number of changes have come over their culture.

<sup>1</sup> A summary of data on the Kaingáng tribes is given in "La civilisation materielle et la vie sociale et religieuse des Že du Brésil meridional et oriental," by Dr. Hermann Ploetz and Dr. A. Metraux, *Revista del Instituto de Etnologia de la Universidad de Tucuman* (Argentina), Tucuman 1930. Volume 1, Entrega 2a, pp. 107-238.

<sup>2</sup> They have also been called Botocudo. This is unfortunate for it confuses this Kaingáng speaking tribe with the linguistically unrelated Botocudo of Minas Geraes, Brazil. Dr. Jose Maria de Paula has published a vocabulary and some remarks on the Kaingáng of Duque de Caxias in "Memoria Sobre os Botocudos do Paraná e Santa Catarina . . ." in *Congreso Internacional de Americanistas*, Rio de Janeiro, 1922. 20 Session, Volume 1; pp. 117-137.

<sup>3</sup> This term is explained in the body of the book.

<sup>4</sup> Herbert Baldus has a vocabulary and some remarks on these Indians in *Anthropos*, Volume 30, 1, 2. January-April 1935, p. 191.

<sup>5</sup> 40 children (19 males, 21 females); 9 males and 15 females over thirty; 27 males and 15 females over fifty.

From: Relatório do Posto do Plate, 1915, p.21

QUADRO DEMONSTRATIVO DO  
MOVIMENTO DE INDÍOS BOTOCUDOS NO POSTO DO PLATE  
1 9 1 5

Media dos meses de Janeiro a Dezembro

Mezes	Ca	Mezes	Nº
Janeiro	) 7	Julho	5) 65
Fevereiro	0	Agosto	57
Março	..) 60	Setembro	91
Abril	... ) 42	Outubro	62
Maió	0	Novembro	46
Junho	.... ) 37	Dezembro	113

- . ) Em Janeiro os índios appareceram na Roema, não poden-  
do ser contados.
- .. ) Numero verificado por occasião de uma expedição ao Posto
- ... ) Numero verificado por occasião de uma expedição com vi-  
sitas ao Posto.
- .... ) Numero medio de índios no Schurlack
- 5 ) Media de Julho a Dezembro 73 botocudos.

TUTELA E ASSISTENCIA

18. O grupo é atendido pela FUNAI ? Como ? Se houver Posto Indígena citar o nome e descrever as instalações, equipamentos, pessoal, atividades desenvolvidas, etc.

The group is attended by FUNAI. The name of the post is P.I. Ibirama; formerly, it was P.I. Duque de Caxias.

There is a post building (see map on p. 3a) associated with a school building. There is a second school building located about 9 kilometers further down the road on the "post" Indian side. There is also an infirmary located on the "post" side about 5 kilometers down the road. A rudimentary infirmary has also been installed on the "bugio" Indian side, but there is as yet no school there. The post building has electricity.

Equipment includes 1 Toyota landrover, 1 tractor, and various agricultural implements.

Personnel: there is a post chief and a nurse, as well as 2 school teachers. There was an agricultural technician, but he left in early 1982. A number of Indians are employed by FUNAI. Two of them are assistant nurses, who administer drugs. One drives the tractor. One drives the landrover. Several are fulltime or parttime workers. There is one other FUNAI worker who is an "administrative assistant." He is a Kaingang Indian from a post in Sao Paulo.

19. Existem projetos da FUNAI na área ?Mencione os projetos em execução e os planejados. Descreva brevemente : quando começaram, instalações, verbas, pessoal, tipo de atividade, participação dos índios, etc.

FUNAI was selling, in early 1982, wood "illegally" cut by Indians on the "bugio" side.

There were no operative projects in 1981 or 1982 during my stay there.

I was told that there were plans to start an agricultural project, to stimulate agricultural production among the Indians. This would involve only "lavouras familiares".

The most important upcoming project is the resettlement of the Indians from the "post" side. The area currently occupied by these Indians is to be flooded by a dam, that has been put in downstream to protect Blumenau from flooding. A new road is to be built through the reserve, and the Indians are to be resettled along this road. Work had already begun on the portion of the road outside the reserve by May of 1982. (See the answer to question no. 46).

20. Outros projetos em andamento na área indígena (Por exemplo geridos pela própria comunidade indígena e outros).

See no. 19. There are, to my knowledge, no other operative projects.



21. Missões religiosas. O grupo tem algum tipo de relação com missionários religiosos ?  Sim ( ) Não

22. Em caso afirmativo, descrever qual(a)s a(s) Missão (ões) e o tipo de atividade que exerce :

(Igreja a que pertence, ordem religiosa, nº de missionários, instalações da missão, se fazem visitas e/ou tem base na área indígena, tipo de trabalho que executam, etc.)

**There are two Assembleia de Deus churches located on the reserve, one on the "post" side, one on the "bugio" side. They are currently directed by the Xokleng themselves. However, occasionally, a pastor from Blumenau comes to give sermons. He has applied for permission from FUNAI to take up fulltime residence on the reserve. So far, the activities of the outside pastor have been confined to proselytizing. However, the pastor has told me that he would like to organize as well an agricultural project.**

23. Além da FUNAI e das Missões religiosas, existem outros grupo ou entidades que apoiam/auxiliam este grupo indígena? ( ) Não ( ) Sim. Como ?

**There are, to my knowledge, currently no other support groups operating at P.I. Ibirama.**

EDUCAÇÃO

(Obs. : Sabendo-se que cada grupo indígena possui seu próprio sistema de educação, este ítem deseja saber algumas informações sobre as escolas para índios - FUNAI e/ou Missões- ou escolas para a população brasileira regional e que os índios frequentem).

24. Há escolar(s) para os índios na Missão, Posto ou aldeia ? Dar uma breve descrição das instalações :

**Yes, there are two schools. See the answer to question no. 18 and the map on page 3a.**

**There are two schools. One is next to the sede do Posto and the other 9 kilometers away. Each school has a single classroom with a number of wooden study desks. There are bathrooms associated with the schools which have a toilet. In addition, there is a house for the school teacher at the school located 9 kilometers from the post.**

25. Desde quando há escola(s) no local ? Por iniciativa de quem ?

**The first school teacher began teaching in 1939. A school was built in 1944 or so. The Indians themselves requested it, but the school was put in by the then SPI chief of the post Eduardo de Lima e Silva Hoerhan, who had pacified this group of Xokleng in 1914.**

26. Os índios frequentam escolas juntamente com a população regional local ? ( ) Sim ( ) Não. Onde ? Students who have gone beyond the 4th grade attend school in the nearby town of Jose Boiteaux.

27. Descreva brevemente as características e o funcionamento da escola que os índios mais frequentam atualmente .

- Quem ensina (especificar se existem índios monitores/professores ou auxiliares e qual a sua formação): **There are no Indian monitores. The two teachers, during my stay, were Brazilians. I was unsure precisely how much education these teachers had had. However, it was my understanding that they had finished at least the first 8 grades.**

- Horário de funcionamento :

**There are normally two sessions, one in the morning (8:00-12:00 a.m. for grades 1 and 2) and one in the afternoon (1:00-5:00 p.m.).**

- Continuidade do funcionamento :

**The school functions reasonably continuously, except when it rains heavily. Then students do not show up.**

(27. cont.)

- o ensino é monolíngue ou bilingue ? **Monolingual, exclusively in Portuguese.**

- número aproximado de alunos (dar o sexo e a idade)

**There were in early 1981 87 students, 63 at the post and 24 at the other school. Of the students, 36 are pure Indians, 31 are mesticos, and 20 are whites.**

- qual as matérias ensinadas ?

**I was unable to learn this, though I know that writing is taught. There is also some arithmetic and some personal hygiene.**

SAÚDE

28. De hoje, há um ano atrás, quantas crianças nasceram ? **32**  
Ocorreu alguma complicação nestes partos ? Não ( ) Sim (x)  
O que ? **Some women were taken to the hospital.**

29. Onde são feitos os partos ? Hospital ( ) Domicílio ( ) Outro (x)  
Especifique **Infirmary**

30. Quem faz os partos ? ( ) Pessoa da família (Dar o parentesco com os pais da criança)  
( ) Médico  
(x) Atendente (the FUNAI nurse)  
( ) Outros (Especificar):

30. Praticam alguma forma de controle de natalidade ? (x) Não ( ) Sim  
Como ? **However, recently birth control devices have been given to some women.**  
Praticam o infanticídio ? (x) Não ( ) Sim; Quando ?

31. Até que idade as crianças mamam no peito ? **Varies. Until 2 or 3 yrs. among some Xokleng.**

32. De hoje, há um ano atrás, quantas pessoas morreram ? **7**

- Tiveram assistência médica antes da morte ? ( ) Não (x) Sim

- Quem a prestou ? **the FUNAI nurse or a doctor in Ibirama.**

- De que morreram estas pessoas e que idade tinham ? **I am told that they died of (1) pneumonia, (2) dehydration, (3) bronchitis, and (4) old age.**

- Quais as causas de morte mais frequentes ? **pneumonia and dehydration.**

33. Quais as doenças mais frequentes nas crianças (em ordem decrescente)?  
**gripe, diarrhea, worms**

Quais as doenças mais frequentes nos adultos (em ordem decrescente)?  
**same as above**

33. (cont.)

34. Existe profissional de saúde trabalhando na área ? ( ) Não (x) Sim
Que formação tem ? one FUNAI nurse, who has had experience in... hospitals; 2 Xokleng assistants, with FUNAI course only.
Há quanto tempo trabalha na área ? 2 years Quem paga ? FUNAI

- A equipe volante da FUNAI presta assistência na área ? ( ) Não (x) Sim
Com que frequência ? More than once per year.
Como é o seu relacionamento com a população ? They typically reside in the post, overseeing the health care.

-Existem outras entidades prestadoras de serviço de saúde ? (x) Não ( ) Sim
Especifique : There are no others on the reserve, but Indians use the hospital in Ibirama.

- No último ano, quantas pessoas foram encaminhadas para internação ?
..... 96 (many involve repeated internments of the same person)....

- Para que hospitais foram encaminhados ? Hospital Miguel Couto.....

- Quais foram os diagnósticos feitos ? I don't know.....

35. Quais as vacinações realizadas na população indígena (Marcar com X)
Quando e por quem foram realizadas ?

Table with 2 columns: ANO, Por quem. Rows include Sabin para poliomielite (1980-1), BCG para tuberculose (1981, EYS), Tríplice para crupe, tétano e tosse comprida (1981), Sarampo (EYS), and Anti-variólica.

- Quantas pessoas foram, aproximadamente, vacinadas ? 141

- Existe registro destas vacinações no Posto, Missão ou aldeia ?
(✓) Sim ( ) Não (Marcar com um X)

Existem fichas médicas individuais ? ( ) Não (x) Sim. Como é o modelo ?
The basic FUNAI model is employed.

36. Existe água potável em abundância ? ( ) Não ( ) Sim (see reverse side)

- É dado algum tratamento aos excretos ? (x) Não ( ) Fossa ( ) Enterram

- É feita a borrifação anti-malária com inseticida ? ( ) Não (x) Sim
Quantas vezes ? SUCAM seems to come through once every 3-4 months.

37. Assinale os medicamentos existentes no local (Marcar com X)

(continuation)

36. There is considerable water on the "post" side, but water is scarce in the "bugio" region.

FUNAI is currently making tests to determine whether the water is potable. I was told the FUNAI assistant testing the water that it is strongly suspected that the water does not meet the minimum standards of potability. My own constant diarrhea there attests to this.

(cont.)

37. Assinalar os medicamentos usados :

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Analgésicos      | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Alcool            |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Antibióticos     | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Vermífugos        |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Antifúngicos     | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Material curativo |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Antihistamínicos | <input type="checkbox"/> Outros - Especificar :.....  |
|  | .....   |

- Quais os medicamentos que mais fazem falta ?.... **analgésicos** .....

38. Os índios tem livre acesso aos medicamentos e remédios ? ( ) Não ( )  
 Sim ( **x** ). Quem administra os medicamentos ?... **Through the nurse or  
 the nurse's assistants.**

39. Existe pajé ou xamã atuante ? ( **x** ) não ( ) Sim **not in the Xokleng-  
 Kaingang-White group. However, there is a charlatan (see reverse)**  
 - Para que problemas ele dispõe de tratamento ? Qual o tipo de tratamento  
 empregado ?

- É feita distinção entre doença de branco e doença de branco ? **No**

- Qual a relação do pajé, feiticeiro ou xamã com o pessoal encarregado da  
 medicina profissional e vice-versa ?.....

Observação :

Existe algum ponto importante no campo de saúde que não tenha sido aborda  
 do neste questionário ? Por favor se sinta à vontade para completar o que  
 julgar necessário :

(continuation)

39. in the neighboring town of Jose Boiteaux to whom many of the Indians go, because they do not believe in the FUNAI medicines. This charlatan looks at them through a prism, and tells them they have very serious diseases, then charges them a high price for the cures.

SITUAÇÃO DA TERRA

40. Qual a extensão da área efetivamente ocupada pelo grupo indígena, de acordo com seus usos e costumes e tradições? (Importante : dar a extensão e os limites, levando em consideração as áreas do aldeia, das roças, dos campos de caça, pesca, área de coleta e demais perambulações).

141 km<sup>2</sup>. The area has been demarcated.

41. Situação jurídica (legal) e extensão da área (marcar com X):

( ) Sem nenhuma providencia

( ) Interditada

( ) Delimitada

( ) Demarcada parcialmente

(x) Demarcada totalmente

Extensão

141 km<sup>2</sup>

(at least I am told that it is demarcated).

(Obs.: No caso de área demarcada, citar nº, data e histórico do decreto)

42. Dê um breve histórico da ocupação da área pelo grupo indígena :

The area has been occupied by the Xokleng group currently residing there since the early 1800's. The area, however, at that time was some 20-fold greater in extent. "Pacification" took place in 1914, and with it the arrival of Kaingang. The "cafuzos" came in the 1940's and after them the Guarani, who are still arriving year by year.

Settlers moved into the region around Ibirama in the early 1900's and there were numerous hostilities with this group of Xokleng. By 1920, settlers had pushed right up to the edge of what is now the reserve, to which the Xokleng group had been confined.



42. (cont.)

43. A área indígena esta invadida, intrusada ? (x)Não ( )Sim. Dê uma breve descrição de quem esta invadindo, desde quando e a extensão da invasão :

There have been attempts to invade the area, as described in Coelho dos Santos (1973 ), but currently the area is not being invaded. However, I did notice that some white settlers have constructed houses (as of May 1982) within a portion of the area, which I believe belonged to the original pacifier, Eduardo de Lima e Silva Hoerhan. I am uncertain as to whether this is presently Indian land.

The last invasion occurred in 1963.

44. Houve conflitos entre índios e invasores ? Dê um breve histórico, principalmente para os últimos 10 (dez) anos :

Not within the past 10 years. See Coelho dos Santos (1973).

45. Existem projetos de desenvolvimento econômico na região (em execução ou planejados) que afetam direta ou indiretamente o grupo indígena ?

(Marcar com X)

( ) Colonização

( ) Extrativismo vegetal e animal

( ) Mineração

(x) Estrada

( ) Agricultura

( ) Energia (Hidroelétricas)

( ) Pecuária

(x) Outros (especificar) : Dam, but without hydroelectric capability.

46. Descreva brevemente o(s) tipo(s) de projeto(s), mencionando quando começaram, tamanho, tipo de empresa, investimentos, e como afetam a vida do grupo indígena direta ou indiretamente.

Currently, there is under construction a dam a few kilometers downstream from P.I. Ibirama. The purpose of this dam is to prevent flooding in the city of Blumenau. Work and planning began in about 1975-76. The dam was completed several years ago, I believe in 1980. However, it broke, causing very severe flooding in Blumenau. In 1982, it was being rebuilt.

The dam will flood part of the reserve, where the post Indians now reside. It will also cover the road that currently cuts across the reserve. The post Indians will have to be relocated, and a new road across the reserve is being built. Some of the best agricultural land on the reserve will be affected by this dam.

In addition, the dam has already accelerated the process of factionalism, and has been the immediate stimulus for the schism in the group, which resulted in some of the Indians moving to the "bugio" region.

46. (cont.)

One consequence not mentioned above is the rise of prostitution among Xokleng women. Houses have been erected for members of the crew working on the dam. Since there are few women around for these men, and because they have money, the Indian women have been attracted to them.

47. Cite os núcleos regionais de população brasileira com os quais o grupo indígena mantém relações e mencione brevemente o tipo e a frequência do relacionamento (com fazendas, acampamentos, vilas, cidades, etc.):

The area around the reserve is now completely occupied, and Xokleng are in constant contact with the regional population. Xokleng themselves also often travel to the nearby towns of José Boiteaux and Ibirama to purchase various supplies. Moreover, there is constant contact through trucks, cars, and buses that pass along the road that cuts through the reserve.

The principal types of encounters are:

- (1) economic: Indians go to town to buy goods, and to sell corn and beans that they produce, as well as bows and arrows and other items made by the older men; travelling merchants pass through the reserve selling food and other goods.
- (2) social: Indians sometimes attend weekend dances held in neighboring towns, and they have a soccer team which plays against regional teams; outsiders sometimes come into the reserve for festivities in connection with the Assembleia de Deus church.
- (3) marriage: social encounters sometimes lead to hostilities with the surrounding Brazilians, especially dances that involve drinking, but they also lead to marriage. Presently, in the Xokleng-Kaingang group, there have been 45 cases of marriage with regional "whites."

It should be pointed that the frequency of contact varies greatly from individual to individual. Some Xokleng, especially young men, have virtually daily contact with regional Brazilians. Other Xokleng, especially older women, but also men, may have contact only once or twice per year.

CÓD.

48. Descreva as relações do grupo indígena local com outras aldeias do mesmo grupo (visitas, casamentos, trocas economicas e cerimoniais, conflitos, guerras, etc.) There are presently no other Xokleng villages. Of the original three groups of Xokleng in the pre-1914 period, this is the only group to have survived in number. Of the group that was found near Porto Uniao around 1918, only a few survivors remain today, living without reserve, <sup>near</sup> São João dos Pobres and Matos Costa, Santa Catarina. They have no contact with the Ibirama group. The third group was never successfully contacted and is probably extinct. Sílvio Coelho dos Santos has investigated the possibility that remnants of this group may reside today in the Serra do Taboleiro near Florianopolis. His work has thus far produced no positive results. In any case, there is no contact between this group and the Ibirama Xokleng.

49. Descreva as relações do grupo indígena com outros grupos indígenas (casamentos, visitas, trocas economicas e cerimoniais, conflitos, guerras, etc.) Xokleng are fond of travelling to other posts, and they visit exclusively with the Kaingang, never with Guarani. An occasional marriage results from this kind of contact. However, overall, there is little interaction with the Kaingang groups.

SUBSISTÊNCIA

50. Fontes de subsistência (numerar por ordem de importância):  
(3) Caça (2) Pesca (4) Coleta (1) Agricultura (see answer to no.59).
51. Principais produtos agrícolas. Citar e numerar por ordem de importância :  
Corn and beans are by far the most important crops. There is little manioc planted, and all other crops are planted only sporadically.
52. Principais produtos da pesca. Citar e numerar por ordem de importância :  
Small fish of various sorts taken with nets from the Itajaí do Norte river. Fish are an important supplement to the everyday (beans, bread, corn, rice) diet.
53. Principais produtos da coleta. Citar e numerar por ordem de importância :  
Gathering is today of small importance, though most Xokleng collect some pine nuts, get some honey, palmito, and various kinds of fruit throughout the year. There are also some semi-domesticated fruits (reverse)
54. Principais produtos da caça. Citar e numerar por ordem de importância :  
Nowadays hunting is done only intermittently, by young men maybe a couple of times per week. Principal game animals include the armadillo, monkeys, various game birds (including the macuco).
55. Principais produtos de artesanato. Citar e numerar por ordem de importância :  
1. bows and arrows  
2. lances  
3. dance rattles

56. Dos produtos citados destacar o(s) principal(is) e descrever brevemente como são produzidos e para quem (para consumo próprio/para troca ou comercialização). Nesta resposta considerar apenas o que é produzido dentro da área indígena, pelo próprio grupo.

Hunting is exclusively a male activity and agriculture is primarily male, though women help, especially with gathering the corn and beans. Fishing and gathering are done by both men and women, though primarily by men.

Concerning artesanato, the items mentioned above are made exclusively by older men. Moreover, a kind of symbiosis has developed recently (since 1976), wherein the Xokleng men buy bows and arrows and rattles from the Guarani for a low price, and sell them to the regional Brazilians for a higher price. The Xokleng are thus beginning to act as middlemen.

When bows and arrows are made by Xokleng, they are made only by the older men. Young men help in getting proper wood from the forest, and in shooting birds for the feathers. But the older men work the wood with a knife while sitting around talking; they make the string from cipó fibers, and coat it with bees wax. Feathers are attached with string and wax. Dance rattles are made from gourds, whittled sticks, fiber string, and bees wax. The lances alone nowadays require outside help, since the old men typically no longer want to fashion the metal points by means of pounding. The points are sometimes (apparently since 1981) commissioned from a metal worker in one of the nearby towns.

Regarding hunting, it should be noted that men hunt individually or in pairs, though groups of young men sometimes go into the forest for days on end. Typically, however, a man will go into the forest for just one day, leaving at sunrise and returning at sunset. It is typically on these hunting trips that honey is gathered.

(continuation)

53. such as guabiroba which the Xokleng regularly eat.

56. (cont.)

Agriculture is the principal activity. It is done slash and burn style, with men doing all of the preliminary clearing. They also do the planting, though women may help in the harvest. It is common, nowadays, for Xokleng to hire "cafuzos" or Guarani to clear and plant fields for them. The tractor actually has limited utility in this terrain, though it is used in plowing some fields.

Fishing is done in various ways, though many men fish with throw-nets from boats. In some cases, nets are set.

Collecting involves little more than going for a morning or afternoon to wherever fruit happens to be ripening. This is done by men and women. Men sometimes still climb the araucaria trees using cipo belt to knock out the pine nuts, and one man was seriously injured in this way in 1981.

57. Do(s) produto(s) principal(ais) produzido(s) para vender explicar como é feita a comercialização. Quem são os intermediários ?

Agricultural products are sold directly by the Indians themselves to either (1) merchants who pass through the reserve, or (2) merchants in neighboring towns. Sometimes the landrover is used to haul sacks of corn and beans to market in the towns.

Artesanato is typically sold on travelling expeditions to nearby cities. Very often the old men themselves go, accompanied by a young relative, and they peddle the artifacts on the street. Sometimes they leave the goods in bodegas for purchase by any passers by, and later collect the money. Occasionally, outsiders come to the reserve looking for artifacts to buy.

58. O grupo indígena, ou parte de seus membros, trabalha para fora, isto é serve de mão de obra ? Em que atividades ? Dê uma idéia do número, sexo e idade dos que trabalham para fora. Quais as condições do trabalho ?

Very few Xokleng ever leave the reserve to work for an extended period. Occasionally, young men may take brief jobs outside, and there are a very few Xokleng who now live outside the reserve in cities. One man, I believe, now works in a factory in Blumenau. There seems to be no special type of work to which the Xokleng are attracted, and the vast majority of Xokleng try to make a living inside the reserve.

59. Existe algum aspecto importante que não foi possível registrar nas respostas anteriores ? Qual ?

The key economic factor at P.I. Ibirama today is the wood. The reserve is still almost entirely forested, and, for the past 10 years or so, Xokleng have been learning about the great value this wood has in the outside world. Indeed, the "bugio" Indians are said to live primarily on the revenue of the wood they have sold, since there is very little agriculture underway in that region. Virtually every pure Xokleng has shared in the profits of wood sales at some time or another over the past 10 years. Indeed, wood has been the central focus of the factional schism recently. The "bugio" Indians are accused of selling wood, which FUNAI considers illegal, and the "post" Indians have largely sided with FUNAI, though they are also eager to share in the profits from the wood. The situation is especially complex, owing to unscrupulous madereiros, seeking to turn a quick profit at the Indians' expense. In terms of subsistence and the struggle for control over valuable resources, however, wood is at the center of Xokleng concerns today, and it is likely to continue to be until the wood reserves have been exhausted.

It should be noted further that, thus far, the "cafuzos" and Guarani have not participated in the sale of wood. However, many of the "whites," now married to Xokleng, have.

Obrigado pela colaboração !