

THE IMPLICATIONS OF MIGRATION ON THE SOCIO-CULTURAL EXPRESSIONS OF TRUKÁ CAMIXÁ/BA INDIGENOUS PEOPLE

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Abstract: Human migrations involve adaptations to the new environment occupied now; it includes how to appropriate the biodiversity available. This paper aims to describe the migration account of the Indigenous group, currently forming the Truká Camixá Village, and its implications on the socio-cultural expressions and the Truká identity with a focus on man-wildlife relations. Data have been collected from interviews and informal conversations with local leaders. To save the information, we have recorded interviews about how the community perceives, organizes, and manages their socio-cultural universe. Data were analyzed qualitatively and quantitatively in a junctional model of various individual competences in which all the information gathered is considered. Historically, the interaction with the wild fauna shows a predatory relation, and the animals consumed to supply protein necessity of the community, while its by-products used for therapeutic purposes. Some socio-cultural expressions of the Truká people persist in the Camixá village, viz. zotherapy, hunting, and the raising of wild-life animals as domestic ones.

Keywords: Migratory Phenomena; Indigenous Culture; Man-environment Relation.

AS IMPLICAÇÕES DA MIGRAÇÃO NAS EXPRESSÕES SOCIOCULTURAIS DO POVO INDÍGENA TRUKÁ CAMIXÁ/BA

Resumo: As migrações humanas implicam em adaptações aos novos ambientes agora ocupados, incluindo a maneira de se apropriar da biodiversidade disponível. Este estudo teve como objetivo descrever o histórico de migrações do grupo indígena que forma atualmente a Aldeia Truká Camixá, e as implicações da migração nas expressões socioculturais e identidade Truká, com foco nas relações homem-fauna. Os dados foram coletados a partir de entrevistas e conversas informais com as lideranças locais. Para registrar as informações foram utilizadas entrevistas registrando-se o modo como as comunidades percebem, organizam e manejam seu universo sociocultural. Os dados foram analisados quali-quantitativamente segundo o modelo de união das diversas competências individuais no qual, todas as informações obtidas são consideradas. Historicamente as interações com a fauna silvestre evidenciam uma relação predatória, sendo os animais consumidos na alimentação suprindo as necessidades proteicas da comunidade e seus subprodutos utilizados com fins medicinais. Algumas expressões socioculturais do povo indígena Truká, persistem no aldeamento Camixá, entre elas, a zooterapia, a caça e a criação da fauna silvestre como animais domésticos.

LAS IMPLICACIONES DE LA MIGRACIÓN EN LAS EXPRESIONES SOCIOCULTURALES DE LOS PUEBLOS INDÍGENAS TRUKÁ CAMIXÁ / BA

Resumen: Las migraciones humanas implican adaptaciones a los nuevos entornos ahora ocupados, incluida la forma de apropiarse de la biodiversidad disponible. Este estudio tuvo como objetivo describir la historia migratoria del grupo indígena que actualmente forma la aldea Truká Camixá, y las implicaciones de la migración para las expresiones socioculturales y la identidad Truká, enfocándose en las relaciones humano-fauna. Los datos se recopilaron a través de entrevistas y conversaciones informales con líderes locales. Para registrar la información, se utilizaron entrevistas para registrar la forma en que las comunidades perciben, organizan y gestionan su universo sociocultural. Los datos fueron analizados cuali-cuantitativamente según el modelo de unión de las distintas competencias individuales en el que se considera toda la información obtenida. Históricamente, las interacciones con la fauna silvestre han mostrado una relación depredadora, con los animales consumidos en los alimentos que abastecen las necesidades de proteínas de la comunidad y sus subproductos utilizados con fines medicinales. Algunas expresiones socioculturales del pueblo indígena Truká persisten en el poblado de Camixá, entre ellas la zooterapia, la caza y la creación de fauna silvestre como animales domésticos.

Keywords: Fenómenos Migratorios; Cultura Indígena; Relaciones Humano-medio Ambiente.

INTRODUCTION

While countryside-city and inter-regional migration in Brazil starting from the second half of the 20th century has considerably decreased, intra-regional migratory flux continues to be important (Hogan, 2005) and may radically change the relationship between the native or resident population with the environment.

Although prevailing in the discussion about population distribution processes, the issue of natural resources has continuously become a key point in research focused on human migrations (Hogan, 2005), since an increase in population movements caused by socio-environmental impacts has already been noticed. It affects not only life, but also the behavior of migrants, resulting in new patterns of access and use of natural resources (Hogan, 2005). When we think it as an intervening factor in the use of natural resources, we should take in account that migration can also be seen as the last resources human groups have to adapt to the changes in environmental issues (Lubken, 2013).

Accordingly, many researches involving migrant populations and the use of natural resources have been carried out with quite a lot of purposes, among them the investigation of the influence of a new environment on the repertoire of natural resources used by migrant populations (Pieroni et al., 2002; Belliard and Ramírez-Johnson, 2005; Lacuna-Richman, 2006; Nesheim et al., 2006; Waldstein, 2006; Ceuterick et al., 2008; Volpato et al., 2009; Medeiros et al., 2012; 2014; Santos et al., 2016).

Regarding the Indigenous population, the migration processes constitute a little studied phenomenon, although this behavior is becoming more and more frequent. For almost all Indigenous people, with few exceptions, there are no recorded tales on the migration issue (Pagliaro et al., 2005).

However, we should know that the spatial mobility of Indigenous people dates back to the pre-colonial period motivated by economic needs, such as food production and harvesting, hunting and fishing, inter-ethnic confrontations, religious issues, land tenure conflicts and climatic factors. Therefore, many individuals or Indigenous groups rarely remain in the same region (Barbosa, 2007; Gomes, 2011).

Historical accounts also indicate the occurrence of forced displacements due to colonial interests, such as quotas of enslaved Indigenous people, taken by the “bandeirantes” to work in the sugarcane fields in Pernambuco, or even from the states of the current northeast region to be employed as compulsory labor in Minas Gerais and São Paulo (Monteiro, 2005).

Recent studies have pointed out several situations promoting the migratory movements of Indigenous people, from their expulsion from the land to the absence of opportunities for education and/or adequate health care in their villages (Coimbra Jr. and Santos, 2000; Baines, 2001, Santos et al., 2016).

Teixeira and collaborators (2009) investigated the causes of the migratory phenomena of the Sateré-Mawé Indians from the Amazon who, in increasingly intense contact with the non-Indigenous population, undertook economic and socio-cultural changes, against the background of the degradation of subsistence conditions in the territories where they used to live and the consequent social disruption on their traditional lifestyle.

Bezerra (2012) carried out some studies on the population movements of the Xukuru Indigenous people of Ororubá, inhabitants in the towns of Pesqueira and Poção, in the harsh and deserted parts of the state of Pernambuco. He quotes as determining factors for migration the agrarian structure due to the dispossession of Indigenous lands by large or medium landowners and the ominous drought or periods of drought in their region.

The scarcity of information on migratory movements, as well as their influence/relationship on the use of faunistic resources highlight the importance of reflections to study the effect of regional migration on the use of animal diversity in northeastern Brazil, from the point of view concerning the socio-cultural practices of the people.

Thus, this paper aims to describe the narrative of the migration of the Indigenous group currently forming the Truká Camixá Village, in addition to the implications of migration on socio-cultural expressions and Truká identity, focusing on man-fauna relation.

Historical formation process of Truká Camixá Village

The Indigenous population in Pernambuco was most recently counted with 53,280 individuals (IBGE, 2010), living in the regions of “agreste” and “sertão”, among them the Truká Assunção (Cabrobó) and the Truká Tapera (Orocó). In Bahia, it is estimated a population of 56,381 (IBGE, 2010), also made up of several peoples, including the Truká Camixá (Sobradinho) and the Truká Tupan (Paulo Afonso).

The region, currently occupied by the Truká Indians, was part of the jurisdiction of the villages

of the middle Sao Francisco River, called “Freguesia de Nossa Senhora da Conceição de Rodella” (Batista, 2005), inhabited by the Tapuias Cariris, or just Cariris (Pompa, 2003).

Historic documents list the Truká Indians since 1722 inhabiting the Island of Assunção, in the region of the middle Sao Francisco River, located in the current town of Cabrobó, state of Pernambuco, known by the Indians as “Aldeia Mãe” (“Mother Village” in Portuguese) (Batista, 2009).

The Truká Assunção Indigenous region comprises a population of approximately 3,639 individuals (IBGE, 2010) and encompasses the so-called “Ilha Grande” (Assunção Island), smaller islands and temporary islets making up the Assunção Archipelago (Batista, 2004).

The land is the outstanding aspect existing in the formation of the village, town and village of Asunción. The area of the village covers approximately six thousand hectares, of which effectively the Indigenous people make available 2,160.56 hectares, comprising the residences and the land used for cultivation and raising animals, and the ruins of the old village and the Indigenous cemetery. The Caatinga lands occupy around 4,000 hectares considered a sacred area for the people (Batista, 2009).

For more than 200 years, the Truká people have carried out countless land tenure mobilizations, facing various threats, deaths and attacks, resulting in a framework of factional disputes and great internal instability. In the 1980s, the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI) established an alternative of a police force in the inner parts of the islands to placate the conflicts, but it was seen negatively by many Indigenous leaders (Batista, 2009).

At that point, many of them conceived that living conditions in the inner parts of the Truká Indigenous community were deteriorating, causing the emigration of several families from their land of origin to other islands in the Sao Francisco River, or to the Caatinga areas in the states of Bahia and Pernambuco. This implies the notion how the Truká Camixá Village has been formed by the holders of local knowledge playing a referential role in the life of the village, viz. the Pajés (medical and spiritual leaders); the Benzedeiras (women who prayed to heal diseases of the body and soul); the Chefes de Terreiro (who prepared the environment for the exercises of medicine and religion), and the Juremeiros (specialists in the preparation of jurema-wine (*Mimosa tenuiflora* [Willd.] (Santos et al., 2016).

For Steward (1955), the cultural core is linked to subsistence and economic arrangements, including technology and extractive efficiency, relegating aspects such as rituals, mythology and religion to a less impactful role. For the author, adaptation to certain environments is a function of the cultural nucleus, as the conditions offered by the environment are determining factors for the development of technical and economic aspects related to forms of subsistence, aspects that shape other cultural elements.

In the quest of subsistence and affirmation of its socio-cultural identity that we come to find out the Truká Camixá Village in Sobradinho, state of Bahia, for the community has experienced a context of dispersion/migration.

According to the account of Cacique Rita Prosperina, the narrative begins in the town of

Cabrobó with the murder of an important Truká leader. The family fled to Salvador and then to Juazeiro, both in the state of Bahia, arriving there in 2005 occupying a plot of land of about 22 hectares on the left bank of the Sobradinho Lake. The land occupied by the Indigenous people belongs to the “Smallholder Farmers’ Association Fonte de Vida” which responds to a repossession suit since 2008.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

According to Ludke and Andre (1986), qualitative research has the natural environment as a direct source of data and the researcher as the main instrument. Therefore, it is in direct contact with the environment and the situation being researched through intensive fieldwork. It is understood that the contact of the researcher with the studied situation promotes a deeper relationship between the researcher and those researched. This relationship enables the elaboration of a representation that is closer to what is being investigated. Besides, it highlights the participants’ position regarding structural changes and ruptures or the permanence of their socio-cultural aspects.

This study focused on the Truká Camixá Village, in the town of Sobradinho, in the north region of the state of Bahia (Figure 1). Data were collected from interviews and informal conversations (Albuquerque et al., 2014; Santos et al., 2016; Santos and Alves, 2016) with local leaders.

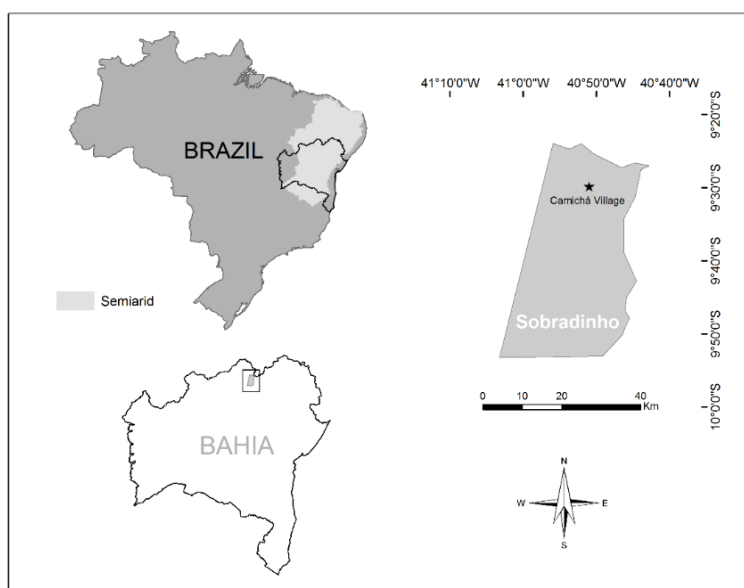


Figure 1. Location of Truká Camixá Village, in the town of Sobradinho, state of Bahia. Source: Authors’ collection 2020.

To record the information, interviews were used, using the emic approach (Burda and Schiavetti, 2008), recording the traditional vision, that is, how communities perceive, organize, and manage their socio-cultural universe.

The data were analyzed quali-quantitatively according to the model of the junction of various individual skills (Albuquerque et al., 2014), in which the information obtained is measured.

To stress the ethical aspects at the beginning of each interview, the objectives of the present paper were duly explained to the interviewees. Their permission to record the information has been given by signing the Free and Informed Consent Term, and the Authorization Term for Image Use, as well.

Authorization for access to traditional knowledge associated with genetic heritage was obtained from the Research Ethics Committee (Opinion No. 723.750) of the Institute of National Historical and Artistic Heritage (No. 013/2013/Process No. 01450,010527/2013-30).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

In the elaboration of this study, fourteen Indigenous (4 women and 10 men) were interviewed, aged between 25 and 62 years. The primary human-fauna interaction recorded was the practice of hunting for food and medicinal use. The interviewees cited twenty animal species hunted for food, consumption, and therapeutic use, the majority being birds (n=11), followed by mammals (n=5) and reptiles (n=4) (Table 1).

Truká traditions were described by Casal (1976), when he narrates that “In the village of N. S. da Assunção (...) for their subsistence, all the indigenous people, fish, hunt, plant manioc, vegetables, and cotton (...)”.

Regarding the practice of subsistence, some socio-cultural expressions have been abandoned by the villagers of Camixá, as in traditional fishing, justified by the distance from the river, which makes it difficult to transport the boats (Magalhães, 2009). Moreover, they could not keep the dinghy-boats on the river due to the possibility of eventual thefts.

Inside the area of the village, we find an irrigation channel of 2 m deep by 2.5 m wide. We see species of fish from the São Francisco River. Now it is hard to keep on fishing due to the interruption in the flow of water. According to what a resident has posed:

“When there is water, the children catch some small fish for pleasure. There we remember our time in the Mother Village of Assunção when we had fish in abundance, and we went out almost every day to get the food (India Truká)”.

Among the species caught in this channel, we can mention “curvina” (*Plagioscion squamosissimus* Heckel, 1840), “cat fish” (*Pimelodella* cf. *vittata* Lütken, 1874) and the “piapara” (*Leporinus obtusidens* Valenciennes, 1836).

Nets, handlines, and casts are mentioned as instruments for fishing (Figure 2), as they are easy for children to handle, making them easy to make and catch smaller fish.

“There are only small fish, a few curvina, cat fish and piapara. In a handle, nothing more than that. The children themselves make the castlines and the handlines and play in the channel when it fills up.”

It is just to pass the time and eat a snack (Indio Truká).



Figure 2. A fishing net. Source: Authors' collection 2016.

In the village Truká Camixá, the most hunted group is the poultries, of which ten species are mentioned. Previous studies in the semi-arid region of northeastern Brazil have reported poultries as the most exploited by hunting (Alves et al., 2012). Five species were noted in the mammals' group, while among reptiles, hunting of four species was recorded (Table 1).

The most significant citations and uses were recorded for tegus (*Salvator merianae*), classified as low risk and concern by the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN, 2012). In other studies, in the semi-arid northeast, hunting and its use were recorded (Costa-Neto, 2000; Fernandes-Ferreira et al., 2012) (Table 1).

In Table 1, the animals captured by Truká Camixá are cited according to their use category, being food (10 species), pet (09 species), and medicinal (06 species). Regarding sexual gender, men cited more species than women did.

The data show that the Truká have relations with wild game existing in the village, for either economic value or emotional ties. Most of the hunting species cited are recorded in other ethnozoological studies in the Brazilian semi-arid region (Alves et al., 2010; Alves et al., 2012; Bezerra et al., 2012a; 2012b).

Feeding was the primary use (n=10), although the same species may have other applications, and several non-edible parts are used as fat, leather, and tail in traditional medicine. Thus, the same species can be used for multiple purposes, enhancing its usage.

Birds are preferably used as pets, stressing the family of Emberizidae with the most significant number of species cited (n=3). These species are bred in captivity because they are easy to maintain, and mainly because of their "painful singing" and exuberance of their feathers (Rocha et al., 2006; Santos et al., 2012).

The Truká Camixá use some species for medicinal purposes, and the reptile category is the most prominent, an expected result because they have socio-cultural importance in northeastern Brazil (Alves et al., 2012). The species herein quoted were also mentioned in other researches focusing on the zotherapy of Indigenous peoples in northeast Brazil (Costa-Neto, 2009; Lima and Santos, 2010; Pereira and Schiavetti, 2010; Santos et al., 2016).

Table 1. Species of vertebrates used by Indigenous hunters in the Truká Camixá Village, in the semi-arid region of the state of Bahia and their forms of use.

Family / Species / Common name	Food	Household	Medicinal
BIRDS			
Cardinalidae			
<i>Cyanoloxia brissonii</i> (Lichtenstein, 1823) "Ultramarine Grosbeak" (azulão)		4	
Thraupidae			
<i>Paroaria dominicana</i> (Linnaeus, 1758) "Red-cowled Cardinal" (cardeal)		4	
Psittacidae			
<i>Amazona aestiva</i> (Linnaeus, 1758) "Turquoise-fronted Parrot" (papagaio)		3	
<i>Eupsittula cactorum</i> (Kuhl, 1820) "Cactus Parakeet" (piriquitinha)		5	
Emberezidae			
<i>Sporophila albogularis</i> (Spix, 1825) "White-throated Seedeater" (golinho)		2	
<i>Sporophila bouvreuil</i> Stadius (Muller, 1776) "Copper Seedeater" (caboclinho)		2	
<i>Sporophila lineola</i> (Linnaeus, 1758) "Lined Seedeater" (bigodinho)		2	
Icteridae			
<i>Icterus jamacaii</i> (Gmelin, 1788) "Campo Troupial" (sofrê)		1	
Columbidae			
<i>Zenaida auriculata</i> (Des Murs, 1847) "Eared Dove" (rebansã)	8		
<i>Patagioenas picazuro</i> (Temminck, 1813) "Picazuro Pigeon" (asa branca)	4	4	
MAMMALS			
Caviidae			
<i>Galea spixii</i> (Wagler, 1831) "Spix's Yellow-toothed Cavy" (preá)	20		
Dasypodidae			
<i>Euphractus sexcinctus</i> (Linnaeus, 1758) "Six-Banded Armadillo" (tatu-peba)	19		2
<i>Didelphis albiventris</i> (Lund, 1840) "white-eared possum" (saruê)	6		
Myrmecophagidae			
<i>Tamanduá tetradactyla</i> (Linnaeus, 1758) "collared anteater" (tamanduá)	3		
Cervidae			
<i>Mazama gouazoubira</i> (Fisher, 1814) "brocket deer" (veado).	4		1
REPTILES			
Boidae			
<i>Boa constrictor</i> (Linnaeus, 1758) "boa constrictor" (jibóia).	5		9
Viperidae			
<i>Crotalus durissus</i> (Linnaeus, 1758) "rattlesnake" (cascavel).			11
Iguanidae			
<i>Iguana iguana</i> (Linnaeus, 1758) "iguana" (camaleão).	10		12
Teidae			

<i>Salvator merianae</i> (Duméril & Bibron, 1839) "tegu lizard" (teiu).	16		17
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Several Indigenous peoples historically use by-products of animals, such as feathers, teeth, and bones to make necklaces, earrings, headdress, and other ornamentation of ritual instruments, as the maraca (Almeida et al., 2006; Santos et al., 2016). However, the Truká are not preserving this socio-cultural expression in the Camixá village of Sobradinho, Bahia.

"Here we don't do handicrafts anymore. The old did but left, and the new ones aren't interested. In Assunção, there are many beautiful things. Our relatives give us the headwear, the necklaces, and the earrings, or even we buy or exchange them. But we don't do anything else (Truká)."

Despite the hunting tenacity in the Truká culture (Santos et al., 2016), we have observed that this tradition is losing its steadiness at the Camixa Village in the aftermath of the social and environmental conditions of the area where the people live nowadays.

Nobody depends on hunting. It is hard to find at the Village wild animals we like to eat. Whenever we see, we catch them. It more likely a child's game, as setting up a trap to catch a bird (Truká). We do not hunt anymore; it is something of the past. Today the village is surrounded by ranches. In other people's areas, we are not allowed to hunt. Furthermore, we cannot use fire guns that can be taken by the inspectors (Truká)

We mention the Toré as the "Indigenous merrymaking" when we refer to other sociocultural expressions in the Truká village, which involve direct or indirect natural resources (Arcanjo, 2003).

According to Batista (2004), this ritual is an entertainment or traditional feasting for the caboclo people. It is the gathering of dancers, singers, and audience in the village yard to have fun, mostly on Wednesdays and Wednesdays Saturdays.

Sobradinho's Toré is held on Saturdays, as a moment of appreciation of its cultural roots and a sense of play for children (Tribal chief of Truká Camixá Village)."

More than dance or artistic-cultural and religious manifestation, the Toré is a sharp instrument of its cultural affirmation. It is also a symbol of the movement of recognition that makes any

community recognized and respected as people (Almeida, 2010).

Florêncio and Santos (2017) describe the Toré as a celebration beginning in the evening, after a whole day of preparation and concentration. It is when the “charms of light” are invoked, a force of nature that allows communication between the Tupã god and the spirits of their ancestors.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The results show that some socio-cultural expressions of the Truká people persist in the migrant community that constitutes the current Camixá village, following the example of zootherapeutic practices, small-scale hunting, and the raising of wild animals as domestic ones.

We have observed the Indigenous immigrants settled in the Truká Camixá in the town of Sobradinho in Bahia, in a dryland area and with private properties around it, have been prevented from carrying out some traditional practices, such as their subsistence hunting.

The Indigenous people living in areas of the semi-arid Northern Brazil, like the Truká, have socio-cultural expressions that involve feelings and beliefs that mediate the people’s relations with the local environment.

Thus, discussing the socio-cultural adaptations coming from the migration movements is essential to understand the different socio-cultural expressions of a people and the influence of the physical environment in the continuation of these expressions. Fishing, hunting for food, medicinal use, the emotional or artisanal side of the fauna in the so-called backlands of the São Francisco River, a semi-arid Northeastern region, are forms of the socio-cultural expressions of the native peoples who live there.

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