

**DURABLE SOLUTIONS
FOR INDIGENOUS
MIGRANTS AND
REFUGEES IN THE
CONTEXT OF THE
VENEZUELAN FLOW
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BRASÍLIA

2020



THIS ACTIVITY IS FINANCED BY:



The Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration (PRM)



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This publication was made possible through support provided by the Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration - United States Department of State.

The opinions expressed herein are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration - United States Department of State.

Publisher

International Organization for Migration (IOM) – Brazil
SAS Quadra 05, Bloco N, 3º Andar
Edifício OAB Brasília-DF - Brazil / 70070-913
iombrazil@iom.int

IOM Chief of Mission in Brazil:
Stephane Rostiaux

Technical Expedient

English translation
Peter Leamy

Layout and design
Marcelo Bastos

English version content review
Marcelo Torelly and Natalia Maciel

Originally published in Portuguese as:

S691 Soluções duradouras para indígenas migrantes e refugiados no contexto do fluxo Venezuelano no Brasil / Elaine Moreira, Marcelo Torelly [coordenadores]. _ Brasília : Organização Internacional para as Migrações (OIM), 2020. 110 p. : il.

English version:

IOM. Durable solutions for indigenous migrants and refugees in the context of the Venezuelan flow in Brazil. Elaine Moreira, Marcelo Torelly (editors). Brasília: International Organization for Migration (IOM), 2020. 110 p.

ISBN 978-65-87187-01-3

1. International Migration; 2. Asylum/Refugees; 3. Indigenous migrants – Venezuela [Bolivarian Republic of]; Brazil. Moreira, Elaine; Torelly, Marcelo (eds.).

This report has been published without formal editing by IOM.

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PUB2020/080/R

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PROJECT TEAM

ELAINE MOREIRA

Principal Researcher

Professor at the Department of Latin American Studies at the University of Brasília (ELA-UnB), where she coordinates the Observatory on Rights and Indigenous Policy and collaborates with the Observatory on International Migration (OBMigra), and guest professor at the Aldo Moro University in Bari, Italy. She holds a PhD in social anthropology from the School for Advanced Studies in the Social Sciences (France) and is a member of the Commission on Indigenous Affairs of the Brazilian Association of Anthropology (ABA). Since the 2000s, she has worked with the Ye'Kuana people in Roraima.

MARCELO TORELLY

Executive Coordinator

Coordinator of IOM's Cooperation and Partnership Unit in Brazil. Holding a Doctorate in Law from the University of Brasília, he has worked for fifteen years in international cooperation and development, having worked for the federal government, in academia and in international organizations. Since 2016, he has been working on the theme of indigenous migration. Previously, he was a professor at the Catholic University of Brasília, a visiting scholar at the University of Oxford (United Kingdom) and a visiting researcher at Harvard University (United States).

YSSYSSAY RODRIGUES

IOM project coordinator in Florianópolis. She holds a Master's in Social Sciences from Paulista State University and a Bachelor of Social Sciences in Anthropology from Campinas State University. She has worked in the area of involuntary displacement and migration for ten years, with experience among traditional peoples and communities in Brazil, Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela and Mozambique.

NATÁLIA MACIEL

Coordinator of the IOM's Counter-trafficking Unit in Brazil. She holds a Master's in International Relations from the Carolina University of Prague (Czechia) and a Bachelor of Laws from the Catholic University of Pernambuco. She has experience working with think-tank projects in Germany and Czechia, in addition to working with direct assistance to migrants and refugees in civil society organizations.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study, commissioned by the International Organization for Migration (IOM), received financial support from the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration (PRM) and other support from various organizations and people who contributed with documents, information and content suggestions during the research, elaboration and revision of this text.

The main researcher carried out field missions in October 2019 in the cities of Boa Vista, Pacaraima and Manaus. In each of these locations, logistical and content support from the IOM team was fundamental in conducting the workshops, interviews and meetings. The partners of the federal government and UN agencies' *Operação Acolhida* ("Operation Welcome") on the ground were also instrumental in obtaining the information and inputs that support the conclusions presented.

Among the organizations that contributed to this study, we would like to highlight and thank the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the São Marcos Indigenous Land Association, the Indigenous Council of Roraima (CIR), the Brazilian Federal Public Defender's Office (DPU), the Brazilian Ministry of Health's Special Indigenous Sanitary District East (DSEI), the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), the Ministry of Citizenship, the Brazilian Public Ministry, the Special Secretariat for Indigenous Health (SESAI) in Roraima, the Brazilian Federal Government's *Operação Acolhida*, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the Pan American Health Organization (PAHO/WHO), the Brazilian Attorney General's Office (PGR), the University of Brasília and the Federal University of Amazonas.

In order to promote a wide-ranging peer review, this study was presented in a workshop with specialists in the IOM office in Brasília to share and discuss the results and collect corrections and suggestions for the final version of the material. We thank those who participated in the workshop for their valuable contributions: Akemi Kamimura, Anna Cunha, Daniel Belik, Ela Wiecko, Érica Kaefer, Gustavo Zortea, João Freitas de Castro Chaves, Leonardo Cavalcanti, Lucas Lima, Lúcia Barbosa, Maria Helena Ortolan, Mariana Alcalay, Matheus Alves do Nascimento, Nikolas de Camargo, Niusarete Lima, Pedro Moutinho, Sebastian Roa and Yssyssay Rodrigues.

We are especially grateful to the Warao, Pemón and Eñepa indigenous people who participated in these workshops and shared their experiences, wishes and impressions, without which this study would not have been possible. Throughout this publication, we include testimonials from these participants in the hope of bringing them closer to our readers, placing these protagonists at the forefront in the decision-making processes that impact their lives.

Brasília, April 2020

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ACRONYMS

APIV	Provisional Housing for Venezuelan Immigrants
BPC	Continued Instalment Benefit
CCR	Regional Centre of Expertise
CIR	Indigenous Council of Roraima
CNDH	National Council for Human Rights
CNJ	National Council of Justice
CRAI	São Paulo Migrant Reference and Service Centre
CRI	Immigrant Reference Centre
DPU	Brazilian Federal Public Defender's Office
DSEI	Special Indigenous Sanitary District
FUNAI	National Indian Foundation
IBGE	Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics
ILO	International Labour Organization
INE	National Statistics Institute (Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela)
IOM	International Organization for Migration
ITS	Single Social Assistance System
MJSP	Ministry of Justice and Public Security
MPF	Federal Public Ministry
NGO	Non-governmental organization
OPIRR	Organization of Indigenous Teachers of Roraima
PAHO	Pan American Health Organization
PFDC	Federal Attorney for Citizens' Rights
R4V	"Response for Venezuelans" Regional Interagency Coordination Platform
SAIAF	Institutional Service for Adults and Families
SEAP	Secretariat of Expert Support
SEAS	State Secretariat for Social Assistance
SESAI	Special Secretariat for Indigenous Health
SPPEA	Secretariat of Expertise, Research and Analysis
SUS	Unified Health System
TISM	São Marcos Indigenous Land
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
WHO	World Health Organization

IMAGES

Figure 1. Path of the Warao Indians between the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela and the cities of Pacaraima, Boa Vista, Manaus, Santarém and Belém

Figure 2. Map of the region where research for the book *Mujer Warao* [Warao Women] was carried out

ABSTRACT

This work updates and qualifies the discussion on the migration of indigenous people from the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela to the Federative Republic of Brazil. To this end, it problematizes the traditional concept of “durable solutions” in the literature on migration and asylum and offers a set of recommendations for the construction of durable solutions that are culturally appropriate to the Brazilian context. For the creation of this document, a survey was conducted in the States of Roraima and Amazonas with the Warao, Eñepa and Pemón indigenous peoples of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, as well as interviews and workshops with public managers, technicians, authorities and academics in Brasília, Manaus and Boa Vista. This publication brings new information in considering the challenges of the internal dynamics in the flow of indigenous migrants for structuring public policies, updating the information and analysis documents produced recently, particularly between 2017 and 2019. In addition, it discusses the concept of durable solutions by presenting some of the challenges faced from the different cultural reality of indigenous migrants. Finally, it outlines five steps for the construction of public policies to overcome the emergency in the medium- and long term that constitute culturally appropriate durable solutions. This study complies with international law and global good practices by indicating that no durable solution will be effective and socially fair without considering all stakeholders, especially the host community and the right to prior informed consultation of indigenous peoples.



INTRODUCTION



INTRODUCTION

Traditionally, the concept of a “durable solution” refers to a set of actions that governments and society apply after emergencies to build medium- and long-term public policies for migrant and refugee populations. Therefore, the idea of a durable solution is not the same as emergency care. If emergency is the realm of contingency, in which preserving lives and guaranteeing minimum basic conditions is the absolute priority, many other variables must be considered in the context of durable solutions, with the future life prospects of migrants and their host communities in mind.

In the literature, there are three canonical examples of durable solutions: a voluntary return to one’s country of origin, resettlement in a third country and local integration. In the context of the flow of indigenous peoples from the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela to Brazil, these three solutions seem limited for the understanding of the situation and action.

Returning to the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela is a reality for many indigenous migrants, but not a definitive return. The establishment first of pendulum migration and then of circular migration between the two countries challenges the idea that populations in constant movement can envisage the return to their country of origin as a durable solution. On the contrary, this movement is a vital part of their lifestyle.

Resettlement in a third country proves to be an unlikely alternative for now. In a systematic way, the indigenous people heard in this study are interested in continuing to remain in Brazil and eventually return to the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela. Some consider migrating to neighbouring countries – not to settle, but to keep moving. The relevant costs of an international resettlement operation in this context seem less productive than investing in supporting migrants in the communities where they are now.

This support for local integration in the host community appears to be the best traditional lasting solution. However, the reality again surpasses the concept: not only do many indigenous people not wish to “integrate”, understanding “integration” as assimilationism and loss of their cultural identity, but also many host communities do not know how to integrate, in an urban context, a migrant who is also indigenous and demands differentiated attention.

This study, conducted in 2019 and 2020, faces the challenge of considering alternatives for durable solutions that are culturally appropriate to the context of the flow from the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela to Brazil. To that end, it analyses how the successful experiences of emergency reception of indigenous and non-indigenous Venezuelans contribute to building medium- and long-term public strategies and policies. It also analyses how the process of participation of indigenous migrant communities is fundamental so that a non-native concept, such as that of a durable solution, can acquire social meaning, giving room for indigenous people to be protagonists in the process and to contribute to the best design of public policies.

This document contributes to the structured dialogue on migratory governance in Brazil and the protection of the rights of indigenous migrants who have decided to live in the country. With its publication, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) reinforces its commitment to work with the government, civil society and migrants so that the benefits of migration reach everyone: migrants and the host community.





01

INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN THE
VENEZUELAN MIGRATORY FLOW





INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN THE VENEZUELAN MIGRATORY FLOW

This chapter systematizes the information available on the indigenous presence in the Venezuelan migratory flow and adds data collected in the field in the cities of Boa Vista (RR), Pacaraima (RR) and Manaus (AM) and in the village of Bananal, in the São Marcos Indigenous Land (TISM, RR) in October 2019. The purpose is to bring relevant considerations to think of durable solutions for indigenous migrants.

1.1 The concept of a culturally appropriate durable solution

Traditionally, there are three main types of durable solutions: local integration, voluntary and safe return, or resettlement in a third territory.¹ However, in the case of the migration of indigenous peoples from the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela to Brazil, these solutions are challenged by fluidity, instability and – what particularly interests us here – mobility.

Besides differentiating themselves from the emergency actions needed in large migratory flows, durable solutions are processes to be built with an emphasis on the right to participation – in this case, of indigenous peoples in a migratory context. Direct participation of indigenous peoples in the search for solutions is the basis for positive experiences. It is important to qualify the information necessary for internal decisions in the search for better living conditions for these peoples who have been in Brazil for more than three years.

Some questions arise, especially considering autonomy and the right to self-determination of indigenous migrant peoples: Do the characteristics of indigenous populations in the Venezuelan migratory flow impose considerations and problematizations on the three traditional durable solutions? What are the similarities and differences in the flow of indigenous migration when it comes to culturally appropriate durable solutions?

So far, three indigenous peoples have been identified in the migratory flow from the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela to Brazil: Warao, Eñepa and Pemón.² All are speakers of their native language, and there are variations as their command of Spanish as a second language or lack thereof, with gender differences in the command of Spanish. These peoples have in common histories of major infrastructure projects in their traditional territories that, directly or indirectly, have changed their ways of life, impacting on their



¹ Local integration means the insertion of migrants into the society of the country in which they live, in economic, cultural, political and other terms.

² There are also members of the Kalina people, which is from the same Karib linguistic branch as Pemón and Eñepa. These are people married to indigenous people that are in the migratory flow. According to data from the National Statistics Institute of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela in 2011, the Kalina population is 33,824. República Bolivariana de Venezuela. Instituto Nacional de Estadística. *XIV Censo de población y vivienda 2011: Resultados población indígena*. Caracas, 2011. Available at www.ine.gov.ve/documentos/Demografia/CensodePoblacionyVivienda/pdf/ResultadosBasicos.pdf. Accessed 4 April 2020.

health and access to natural resources, or even generating armed conflicts, as in the case of the Pemón.

Finding culturally appropriate durable solutions implies not only having a particular look at each people, but also understanding what they have in common, in terms of access to public policies and respect for their rights as migrant individuals and, at the same time, indigenous peoples. The concept of a culturally appropriate durable solution therefore seeks to engage the native Western idea within another cosmology. To be



“culturally appropriate”, a medium-term “solution” for a displaced indigenous population needs to make sense of that migrant’s horizons of perception. The concept thus proposes dialogue that makes local integration dignified and guarantees rights, without resorting to assimilation or the cultural annulment of migrant individuals and peoples.

Durable solutions are the answers when contemplating non-emergency public policies for populations that, for various reasons, have definitively left their country in the short term. In the case of the indigenous people in the migratory flow, the solutions need to take into

account the specificities of each people, in terms of the need to remain close to the border or not, as well as their resources and mobility practices within the host country. We will return to these questions throughout this study.

1.2 Indigenous migrations from the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela to Brazil

The presence of indigenous people from the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela in Brazil were first recorded by the local press in the Northern State of Roraima, with the attempt to deport indigenous groups on the grounds that they lacked documents in 2015.³

In December 2016, the vulnerability of almost 500 indigenous people living on the streets caused society and local authorities to act in order to prevent their collective deportation. The involvement of Roraima and its municipalities in the management of migration in the state then began.

In this section, we present a record of the data on the indigenous presence in the migratory flow in Roraima and in the city of Manaus, the capital city of the State of Amazonas. Next, we highlight points of change and continuity in Manaus, the profiles of the shelters, the kinship networks in the distribution of the Warao in Brazil, professional profiles and data from their region of origin in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, as well as information about the Eñepa and the Pemón.

³ Correia, Luan Guilherme. Indígenas Venezuelanos são deportados [Indigenous Venezuelans deported]. *Folha BV*, 19 Dec 2015. Available at <https://folhabv.com.br/noticia/CIDADES/Capital/Indigenas-Venezuelanos-sao-deportados/12463>. Accessed on 20 March 2020.

This information and these reflections are based on the reading of five opinions from the Office of the Federal Prosecutor (Ministério Público Federal – MPF) and studies on the indigenous presence in the Venezuelan migratory flow produced by UN agencies (in particular IOM and UNHCR), as well as other works by specialists.⁴ The objective is to gather the history of shelter policy – the main policy for indigenous migration in the Venezuelan flow – now clearly present in various Brazilian municipalities.

1.2.1 The Warao in Roraima

In Roraima, on Brazil's northern border with The Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, the Immigrant Reference Centre (CRI), better known by the indigenous people as Pintolândia, started operating as a shelter for indigenous and non-indigenous Venezuelans in 2017.⁵ This space was the result of a case opened by the Federal Prosecutors (MPF) after complaints about the presence of children in places of risk and the attempted deportations in December 2016.⁶

The first technical opinion that collated information collected among the Warao themselves in Boa Vista and containing bibliographic data about the group was carried out in early 2017 by MPF anthropologists. This study was requested in December 2016 with the objective of addressing the migratory situation of Venezuelans in Brazil and, in particular, of indigenous Warao, in response to an attempt at collective deportation.

4 The MPF has produced three anthropological opinions on the arrival of the Warao Indians from the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela to Brazil: the first, completed in March 2017, addresses the situation of these indigenous people in the cities of Pacaraima and Boa Vista, Roraima; the second, from May 2017, concerns the situation of the Warao in Manaus; and the third, from March 2018, outlines the migratory profile of the Warao Indians in the states of Roraima, Amazonas and Pará. There is also a study on the Warao funerary ritual in Manaus and a 2019 opinion on the labour profile of indigenous people sheltered in Manaus.

MPF. Attorney General's Office. Secretariat of Expert Support. Regional Expertise Centre 6. *Technical Opinion no. 208*. Sobre a situação dos indígenas da etnia Warao, da região do delta do Orinoco, nas cidades de Boa Vista e Pacaraima [On the situation of the indigenous people from the Warao ethnic group, from the Orinoco delta region, in the cities of Boa Vista and Pacaraima]. Brasília, 14 March 2017.

MPF. Attorney General's Office. Secretariat of Expert Support. Regional Expertise Centre 4. *Technical Opinion no. 10*. Acerca da situação dos indígenas da etnia Warao na cidade de Manaus, provenientes da região do delta do Orinoco, na The Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela [About the situation of the Warao indigenous people in the city of Manaus, from the Orinoco delta region, in The Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela]. Manaus, 30 May 2017.

MPF. Attorney General's Office. Secretariat of Expertise, Research and Analysis. *Technical Opinion no. 328*. *Levantamento do perfil migratório dos indígenas Warao nas cidades de Pacaraima (RR), Boa Vista (RR), Manaus (AM), Santarém (PA) e Belém (PA) e avaliação das condições de abrigamento em cada local*. [Survey of the migratory profile of the Warao Indians in the cities of Pacaraima (RR), Boa Vista (RR), Manaus (AM), Santarém (PA) and Belém (PA) and evaluation of the shelter conditions in each location]. Belém; Boa Vista; Manaus, 27 March 2018.

5 With the arrival of Operation *Acolhida*, the space became another Provisional Housing Unit for Venezuelan Immigrants (APIV) from an administrative point of view.

6 "The decision of the Court determined social assistance to families (food, shelter, health) from State and municipal governments. The Warao who were in Boa Vista were then housed in a gym located in a neighbourhood far from the city centre – a service that came to be designated as the Immigrant Reference Centre (CRI). In the court decision it is clear that children should not be separated from their families and that their guardians could not be considered negligent."

MPF, *Technical Opinion 208/2017*, op. cit., p. 20.

"But what is clear, however, are not attempts to improve conditions for the Warao, but to put them out of sight, preferably by sending them back to their places of origin, without considering the current lack of minimum conditions, as well as their autonomy in guaranteeing their livelihood and cultural reproduction." Ibid, p. 21.

The deportation was prevented by a legal injunction at the Federal Justice by the Public Defender's Office (Defensoria Pública da União – DPU) in December 2016, in the city of Boa Vista.⁷

In March 2017, the MPF in Roraima presented the following technical opinion at the first hearing on Venezuelan migration in Boa Vista. The opinion also reported on the regions and communities of origin of those Warao living at the shelter in January 2017:

Of the seven family units that were at the CRI, their representatives declared the following origins: one (1) family group from the City of La Baba (Sucre State, near Maturin and on the border with Monagas); two (2) groups from the Araguabisi community, in the canal (*caño*) of the same name, in the municipality of Antônio Diaz, in Delta Amacuro; one (1) from the Community of Spain, in Monagas; one (1) from the Community of Peso, between the municipalities of Barrancas do Orinoco and Antônio Diaz; and one (1) from the Nabasanuka Community, between the municipalities of Tucupita and Antônio Diaz, in the Delta Amacuro. Thus, among those in Brazil, there are families from the three States most mentioned in the consulted literature, from different delta regions, with the municipality of Antônio Diaz having a slightly higher number of families than the others.⁸

In this first opinion, the Warao were already registered as having relatives in Manaus, AM, in addition to Pacaraima, RR. The same document drew attention to the Warao mobility process, which, in the Brazilian context, is in full swing. Another observation is also worth mentioning:

Among the Warao men and women with whom we spoke at the Immigrant Reference Centre, there are those who have already travelled to Maturin, Ciudad Bolivar, Valencia, Maracaibo and Caracas. They hope to be able to return with some money, clothes and food and, if the Venezuelan situation does not change, bring their children and other members to Brazil. We understand, from these conversations with them, that currently their perspective is to be able to come and go, although staying is also a considered possibility. What is certain is that they cannot predict anything at this moment, when they have just arrived, having left situations that they report as being very painful.⁹

Thus, since the beginning of 2017, Warao mobility in Brazil has already encompassed the cities of Pacaraima and Boa Vista, in the state of Roraima, and Manaus, in the state of Amazonas. Also, according to the data in this opinion, the presence of indigenous Warao people in Brazil in 2017 is approximately 600 people.

⁷ “Other previous deportations had effectively occurred, with one of the first reported taking place in the beginning of the first semester in 2014, which involved around sixty people. In fact, in an interview with the Federal Police Marshal in Pacaraima, we received the information that only collective deportations of indigenous Warao had happened.” Ibid, p. 23.

⁸ Ibid., p. 15.

⁹ Ibid, p. 17.

In May 2017, the MPF prepared a second technical opinion, which evaluated the shelter in Boa Vista based on interviews with the six *aidamos*¹⁰ at the time.¹¹ In this opinion, it was registered that their living conditions had not changed since their transfer to the shelter and that the expectation of insertion into the labour market in Brazil was being frustrated. Despite this, the number of Warao in that shelter had increased to 250, while some families had already moved to Manaus.

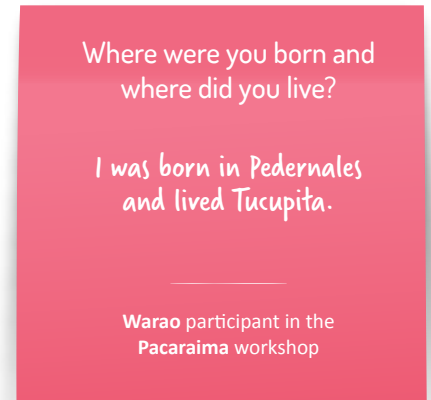
As in the first opinion, there were complaints about the shelter being mixed, that is having indigenous and non-indigenous people, about the precarious conditions of infrastructure and about the lack of access to adequate food and health services. This opinion noted the absence of participation from the indigenous body, the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI), with regard to documentation and monitoring in the cities where the Warao presence was registered by the organ's regional coordinators.

Only in December 2017 did the *Pintolândia* shelter start to receive only indigenous people, as the Eñepa or Panare, homeless in Boa Vista, were also housed there. This then became the first indigenous shelter in the city of Boa Vista. During this period, the Pacaraima indigenous shelter also began operating; up until then this population was homeless. Only the Warao remained in this shelter.

1.2.2 Arrival in Manaus

Still in 2017, the Office of the Federal Prosecutor in Manaus also issued a technical opinion, which gathered data on the presence of the indigenous Warao in the city.¹² It is interesting to note that the Warao's arrival in Manaus took place in a different context as to that of Boa Vista, since some families rented rooms upon arrival there, while others later found themselves on the streets:

The displacement of the Warao indigenous people to the Amazon capital started in a more evident way in December 2016 and continues to intensify. The Warao families who arrived in Manaus at the end of the year initially settled in hotels in the city centre. At the end of January, some newly arrived indigenous people set up a camp at the bus terminal in the Flores neighbourhood, which began to receive an increasing number of people over



10 *Aidamo* in the Warao language refers to leadership. In Brazil, it was incorporated to identify those who communicated with the shelters' management, who could be a leader or a person nominated by the sheltered. Each shelter adopts their own way of choosing *aidamos*.

11 MPF. Attorney General's Office. Secretariat of Expert Support. Regional Expert Centre 4. *Expert Piece no. 1*. Acolhimento dos indígenas Venezuelanos residentes em Roraima. Prestação de segurança e assistência social, proteção a liberdade de locomoção [Reception of Venezuelan Indians residing in Roraima. Provision of security and social assistance, protection of freedom of movement]. Boa Vista, 12 May 2017.

12 MPF, *Technical Opinion n. 10/2017*, op. cit.

the following weeks and months. Other families also chose to rent houses or rooms in properties in central Manaus and in other neighbourhoods, such as Educandos and Cidade Nova.¹³

In February 2017, the Manaus City Hall had already carried out a Warao census in the city.¹⁴ City Council data showed the presence of 117 indigenous people, 35 of whom were homeless around the bus station, 43 in homes in the south zone and 39 in low-quality hotels downtown. In April 2017, a new survey carried out by the city registered the presence of more than 300 Warao in Manaus – a number that increased to 500 in the following month. Thus in 2017, when the Brazilian government began to pay more attention to producing technical opinions on the indigenous issue in the Venezuelan migratory flow in Roraima, there was already movement towards Manaus.

In the MPF's first technical opinions, in Boa Vista and Manaus, there were some justifications for continued mobility to other urban centres: difficulties for indigenous people carrying out their activities on central public roads in Boa Vista; the emergence of new trade routes, such as in Manaus; complaints regarding the mixed shelter model; perception of an unequal distribution of donations for indigenous and non-indigenous migrants and refugees; word of better conditions in Manaus.¹⁵

What are your
future plans?

I want to be a university
student to be able to work in
any field in Brazil.

Warao participant in the
Pacaraima workshop

If we look carefully at the opinion on the Warao's situation in Manaus, we see that the number of these indigenous people grew in 2017.¹⁶ That opinion mentioned the fire that occurred in May of that year in one of the houses rented by the Warao, and a second fire threat in another house in the centre of the city.¹⁷ There was a total loss in the fire of the indigenous people's belongings, including documents and handicrafts.

¹³ Ibid., p. 11.

¹⁴ "From 14 to 16 February 2017, the Municipal Secretariat for Women, Social Assistance and Human Rights (SEMMASDH) carried out the first census and mapping of the Warao, identifying 117 indigenous people in the city, 35 of whom were camped at the bus station, 43 staying in two semi-detached houses in the Educandos neighbourhood, in the South Zone (Rua Ana Nogueira, Beco São João Batista, 39-A), and 39 were in houses and hotels in the city centre. This total was made up of 62 adults, 48 children, 4 teenagers and 3 elderly people." Ibid., P. 11

¹⁵ The recommendations of this opinion are as follows: "(1) the allocation, in Boa Vista, of a space reserved exclusively for the Warao, where they can minimally reproduce some of their cultural practices, and which guarantees their freedom to come and go; (2) greater assistance from the three spheres of the executive branch in order to jointly guarantee adequate conditions for food, safety and health for the Warao; (3) assistance from the Brazilian indigenous institution, through its regional coordinators, in order to periodically monitor the situation of the Warao in the Brazilian cities where they are collectively, as well as provide assistance in the procedures for issuing records and documents to regularize the situation in Brazil, either as immigrants or as Indians." MPF, *Expert Piece no. 1/2017*, op. cit., p. 10-11.

¹⁶ Id.

¹⁷ "Although the Warao were sheltered from rain and harsh sun, housing conditions in the city centre were also poor. There were, in general, a large number of indigenous people per house and per room, which increased the likelihood of unhealthy conditions in these places. Most rooms, especially in House 2, were dark and poorly ventilated, increasing the risk of spreading disease." MPF, *Technical opinion no. 10/2017*, op. cit., p. 31.

It is important to note that these rentals were charged per person, with prices between 10 and 30 Brazilian reals per individual (around USD 2-6), reaching in some cases R\$ 3,600 per month (USD 720), while the rent for some studio apartments was around R\$ 600 monthly (USD 120). However, in May 2017, many landlords demanded that the Warao leave their properties.

The opinion also indicates that there were family rearrangements among the Warao in their places of residence, in addition to frequent trips back to the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela and return to Brazil, which came to be described as “pendulum movement”.

From an institutional point of view, the city hall of Manaus and the government of the state of Amazonas were monitoring the situation and providing health care to the *Consultório na Rua* [Doctors on the Street] team. The State government set up a medical post at the city’s bus terminal. The consultancy began attending the Warao in January 2017, registering, among the most frequent diseases, tuberculosis, chicken pox and pneumonia.¹⁸

As in Roraima, the MPF in Amazonas began a civil investigation to monitor the support measures for the Warao indigenous people in Manaus, and then started to monitor planning meetings and actions at the municipal, state and federal levels.¹⁹ One week after the MPF’s recommendations, the government of the State of Amazonas announced the Emergency Humanitarian Aid Plan for the Warao indigenous people and a transfer of approximately R\$ 205,000 (USD 41,000), which enabled the creation of the Institutional Service for Adults and Families (SAIAF), or simply *Abrigo do Coroado* [Coroado Shelter], which currently serves Venezuelans. The shelter initially took in homeless indigenous, with a prevision to house 300 people, and some of the Warao who still lived in lodgings that were under threat of eviction.

The *Diagnostic and assessment of indigenous migration from the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela to Manaus, Amazonas*, published in Portuguese by IOM in 2018, recorded that in January of that year the Coroado indigenous shelter had emptied:

Data from the Institutional Reception Service for Adults and Families of Coroado of 25 January 2018 (Annex III) show that, among the 551 Warao attend- ed in Manaus, 319 returned to the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, that is, more than half. Another significant number of them, 175, went to [the

18 OIM. *Diagnóstico e avaliação da Migração indígena da República Bolivariana da Venezuela para Manaus, Amazonia*. [Diagnosis and evaluation of indigenous migration from Venezuela to Manaus, Amazonas]. Editors: Sidney Antônio da Silva and Marcelo Torelly. Brasília, 2018.

19 The MPF recommended that public agencies effectively involve the Warao indigenous people in the process of drafting public policies, listening to them and consulting them in advance. The recommendation also pointed out the need for monitoring by bodies connected with indigenous policymaking, such as FUNAI and the Special Secretariat for Indigenous Health (SESAI), which until then had not been effectively participating in interinstitutional discussion on the issue.

State of] Pará. The number of those who remain in the city is considered low, around 139, continually oscillating up and down.²⁰

This study also reported that those first Warao that arrived in Manaus and rented precarious accommodation had been transferred to other houses, this time with a policy supported by the then Ministry of Social Development (MDS): in the City Centre, Redenção (West Zone), Monte Sinai (North Zone), Educandos (South Zone) and Zumbi (East Zone). The Coroado shelter was managed by the State Secretariat for Social Assistance (SEAS) and had an industrial kitchen that provided breakfast, lunch and dinner.²¹ After the Warao themselves decided to leave the shelter, as well as some houses, the placement of women to the cities of Belém and Santarém, in the State of Pará was recorded; according to the same study, only 47 Warao indigenous people remained in Manaus on that date, distributed across three houses managed by the city.

The 2018 MPF technical opinion, on the other hand, considered that the evacuation of the shelter was mainly due to a process of inclusion of new cities that were beginning to be included in the Warao migration pendulum, especially the aforementioned cities of Santarém and Belém, in the state of Pará. According to this opinion, this process had begun in September 2017 – two months after the beginning of the shelter policy in Manaus.²²

1.2.3 Migration to Pará

A second MPF study in Manaus, from February to March 2018, revealed three houses that were home to 136 Warao indigenous people, confirming that while some families moved to Belém and Santarém, others went to Manaus. At that time, this migratory pendulum was already composed of the Pacaraima > Boa Vista > Manaus circuit, with the addition of Santarém and Belém in 2018.

The other interesting piece of data in the MPF technical opinions is where the families originated from in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, as the last dwelling-places of the Warao in Manaus were registered: 25.8 per cent were living in Delta-channel communities, while 74.2 per cent were in small towns in the States of Delta Amacuro (in particular Tucupita), Monagas and Bolívar. The opinions also informed that in March and April 2018, two of the host houses were being closed to the Warao, who were transferred to a new shelter in the north of the city, in the Alfredo Nascimento neighbourhood.²³

20 OIM, *Diagnóstico e avaliação da Migração indígena da República Bolivariana da Venezuela para Manaus, Amazonia*, [Diagnosis and evaluation of indigenous migration from Venezuela to Manaus, Amazonas]. op. cit., p. 17.

21 One of the Warao's complaints about the shelter is precisely that they are unable to prepare their own food.

22 MPF, *Technical Opinion no. 328/2018*, op. cit.

23 The MPF is finishing another technical opinion, which we will have access to before the end of our research. In that study was a questionnaire that will provide information about places of origin in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela and professional experience.

In that same technical opinion by the MPF, which also included data on the presence of the Warao in the states of Roraima, Amazonas and Pará in 2018, 19 families totalling 85 people were registered in the city of Santarém, Pará. There was also an increase in their circulation in the city that began in the second half of 2017, which coincided with the emptying of houses and shelters in Manaus and with the complaint about living with *criollos* in the same shelter in Boa Vista.²⁴

In Belém, an increase in the flow between September and October 2017 was noted. In September, there were approximately 60 homeless people and 30 in rented properties, all in the vicinity of the *Mercado Ver-o-Peso* region.²⁵ In February and March of the following year, when the MPF carried out the research for the new technical opinion, the numbers were not that different. One shelter – Travessa do Chaco – managed by the Pará State government housing 60 people was identified. There were also 14 people in rented rooms (Campos Sales) and 19 in a rented house (Riachuelo), totalling 97 indigenous Warao in the city.

This period defined the first phase of the emergency situation in Roraima and Manaus, due to the increased presence of homeless non-indigenous Venezuelan migrants, particularly in the cities of Pacaraima, Boa Vista and Manaus.

In March 2018, the Federal Government lead Operation *Acolhida* began in the State of Roraima, being the operational arm of the Brazilian humanitarian response coordinated by the Federal Emergency Assistance Committee, led by the Presidency of the Republic's



The Brazilian flag as draw by a Warao child.

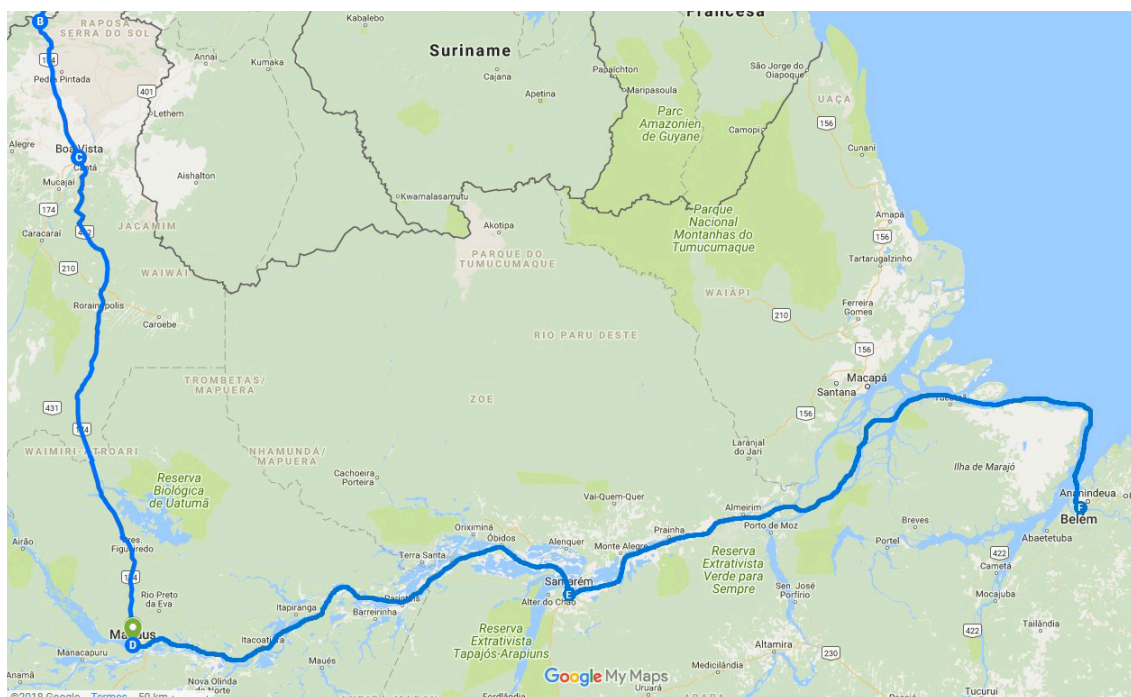
²⁴ *Criollos*, in the Spanish language, is marked by the exclusion of white and indigenous people. Currently, the term is used to refer to non-indigenous people.

²⁵ MPF, *Technical Opinion no. 328/2018*, op. cit.

Chief of Staff Office. The operation, with the support of the UN system in Brazil and various civil society organizations, was expanded to Manaus in 2019.

The following map shows the displacement of the Warao from their entrance into the country in Pacaraima to Belém.

Figure 1. Path of the Warao Indians from the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela and the cities of Pacaraima (B), Boa Vista (C), Manaus (D), Santarém (E) and Belém (F)



Source: MPF, Technical Opinion no. 328/2018, op. cit., p. 6.

This map is for illustration purposes only. The boundaries and names shown and the designations used on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the International Organization for Migration.

Image: Google Maps

Worth noting is the arrival of an Eñepa group in Santarém in September 2019. Another relevant fact is the number of sheltered indigenous people by October 2019: in Roraima, a total of 1,008 (in addition to 267 in urban occupation) and in Amazonas, 730.





02

METHODOLOGY AND
RESULTS OF THIS STUDY





METHODOLOGY AND RESULTS OF THIS STUDY

Data for this study was collected through workshops held with the Warao, Eñepa and Pemón peoples. These workshops took place in the Pintolândia shelter, in Boa Vista; in the urban occupation of Boa Vista – Kauabanoko – with the Warao and Eñepa separately; at the Pacaraima shelter – Janokoida – where the Warao are; in the two shelters in Manaus – Tarumã and Alfredo Nascimento; and in the Bananal community, at Terra Indígena São Marcos, where Pemón families from the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, particularly the Kumaratapay indigenous community, were placed.

Preparatory meetings were held in which we outlined how the workshops would work, explaining that the invitation was for everyone and not just the group or families' representatives known in Brazil as *aidamos*.

2.1 Thematic workshops

The workshops were participatory and thematic, lasting four hours on average. The objective of the themes was to expand the available information about the indigenous population in general and the number of sheltered people. Guiding questions were used that allowed each participant to express themselves in writing. Each participant recorded – individually or with the help of a relative – whatever they liked about each topic, and then shared their responses with the group. Many responses were like short letters, telling their stories, or simply phrases, like “I had a lot of friends at school”.

The questions asked in the workshops were:

- » Where was I born and where did I live in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela?
- » Where are my relatives in Brazil and in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela?
- » What was my work experience in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela? (In Manaus, we added work experience in Brazil)
- » How is my health?
- » How is my education?
- » What are my future plans?

The shelter managers participated, partially or fully, in the two shelters in Roraima during the activities. Young people and adults participated, and children were able to be present in a painting workshop. In Roraima, local IOM workers participated in all the workshops; in Manaus, there was also the presence and support of a UNHCR representative. In the Alfredo Nascimento neighbourhood shelter, the Instituto Maná team participated.

Of the Warao in the Pintolândia shelter, there were 35 adults who participated and 12 Eñepa; in the Kauabanoko occupation, there were 8 Eñepa and 15 Warao participants. In Pacaraima, 86 people took part in the shelter, while the Pemón workshop had 12 people. 26 people attended in the Tarumã shelter in Manaus and 22 in the Alfredo Nascimento neighbourhood shelter.²⁶ In total, the qualitative study had 216 participants: 184 Warao, 12 Pemón and 20 Eñepa.

The language used varied in each workshop. Among the Pemón, their mother tongue was used, as we had an IOM staff member who was Pemón; in other shelters, we use Spanish, and there was always someone whose mother tongue was Spanish; at the Tarumã shelter, Portuguese was used. The questions were asked in Portuguese and translated into Spanish, and all situations had someone who translated the doubts into their mother tongue. We use Portuguese in this particular shelter because we were given the time during their Portuguese class, and their teacher accompanied the workshop. At the Pacaraima shelter, Warao leaders gave opening and closing speeches in Spanish and in their mother tongue.

How was your education?

*I studied until 6th grade and
I learned handicrafts.*

Warao participant in the
Pacaraima workshop

In the workshops, maps of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela and the regions around Delta State (with the Warao) and Bolívar State (with the Eñepa) were also used to facilitate the visualization of their communities of origin.

In addition to the workshops, we held meetings with the Special Secretariat for Indigenous Health (SESAI), the Special Indigenous Sanitary District East (DSEI), the Indigenous Council of Roraima (CIR) and the Terra Indígena São Marcos (TISM) Indigenous Association, as well as those responsible for managing shelters in

Manaus. It is worth noting that at that moment the possibility of closing both shelters and accommodating all indigenous people in another neighbourhood in Manaus is under discussion.²⁷

For the Kauabanoko occupation, there were complaints recorded about living alongside non-indigenous people. The internal management works with coordinators in areas such as health, cleaning and women – each having an indigenous and a non-indigenous coordinator. This data is important as the Kauabanoko occupation is the only informal urban collective outside the official shelters and indigenous lands that participated in the workshops.

²⁶ According to the Tarumã shelter census, 163 people are there, 63 of whom were children and 9 teenagers. There are 36 sheltered families. In October 2019 at the Alfredo Nascimento neighbourhood shelter, there were 667 people belonging to 161 families: 42 families in Block 1, 37 in Block 2, 29 in Block 3, 43 in Block 4 and 10 in Block 5.

²⁷ Manaus City Council. *Plano de ação humanitária ao fluxo migratório de Venezuelanos indígenas Warao na cidade de Manaus* [Humanitarian action plan for the migratory flow of Warao indigenous Venezuelans in the city of Manaus]. Manaus, 2019.

During the workshops in the shelters and in the urban occupation, we met people with university degrees and even young people who had completed high school and had goals to pursue their university studies in Brazil. The revalidation of diplomas is already a demand for indigenous migration projects, especially among the Warao and Pemón.²⁸ There is the expectation for access to qualified information on the revalidation of diplomas, professional courses, or even Portuguese courses. From this point of view, the presence of indigenous people in the city must be understood within the wider range of opportunities they seek and not just financial opportunities to sell handicrafts.



2.2 Reasons for the displacement of the Warao

In general terms, indigenous migration is marked by a strong kinship in the people's movement. Family bonds predominate when it comes to the possibilities of dispersion and eventual economic gains from working on the streets of new cities. Investment in displacement considers the possibility of people regrouping. Handicrafts as a resource is considered important by all: not only does it provide a financial ticket to Brazil, but it maintains links with relatives who stayed behind in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela.²⁹

Some Warao reported that they arrived in Manaus in 2015. There, they adopted markedly different strategies from those observed in Boa Vista. Upon arrival, they rented houses or rooms close to the port area or in the city centre. This arrangement of rented houses persisted until July 2017, according to the technical opinion by the Manaus MPF that same year. Then, and in parallel to this pattern, the presence of homeless Warao was observed at the city bus station.

According to reports by the Warao themselves, there is the case of a *criollo* married to a Warao woman who obtained paid employment and left the shelter, renting a house. This case exemplifies cases of leaving the shelters, serving as an example that building another life outside these places is part of the plans of many families.

The ability to pay rent, most often charged on a daily basis, is based on the sale of handicrafts and the work of women going to the streets, either begging for financial

²⁸ In Manaus, in an important UNHCR initiative with the State University of Amazonas, a Warao professional managed to revalidate their diploma for the first time.

Minvielle, Nicole. "I feel very proud to be the first Warao to start the diploma revalidation process in Brazil". *UNHCR*, 22 April 2019. Available at www.acnur.org/portugues/2019/04/22/eu-me-sinto-muito-orgulhoso-em-ser-o-primeiro-warao-a-inecion-o-processo-de-revalidacao-de-diploma-no-brasil/. Accessed on 20 March 2020.

²⁹ However we noted that in Boa Vista, Warao handicrafts can also be found in specialized stores, with some pieces having sold for more than R\$500. This exchange is made directly between the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela and Brazil.

support or selling handicrafts.³⁰ In Manaus, according to some Warao women, the daily amount obtained with this type of work varies between R\$ 20 and R\$ 40 (USD 4 — 8). This is not a negligible amount for families, who claim to have to buy food to complement their daily diet and whose men face difficulties in getting paid work.³¹ This resource is also a source of income to invest in products such as water or razors, which are resold by Warao men on the streets of Manaus.³²

This income goes into a fund for each family and also toward purchasing transport to other cities, either to visit relatives or to move. As established by the literature and practice in Brazil and the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, working in the streets was the subject of a dispute with Brazilian guardianship councils, with the threat or removal of children who accompanied their mothers when begging for money or donations in streets.³³

According to the Warao responses in the study, moving cities also helps in street work, because where there are fewer Warao, higher revenue is possible. However, it was noted, in the 2017 circuit from Pacaraima to Belém, that there are other elements influencing mobility, such as the new networks built, like contacts with state and non-state agents; knowledge of how to get around the city; or the reunion of a kinship network and maintaining the distribution of handicrafts between the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela and Brazil.³⁴

In other words, if the logic were strictly economic, the Warao would move from city to city, betting everything on this street work. However, care was taken to secure their places in shelter policies in Brazil. The shelter policy concentrates the broad network of clothing donations and attention in different ways. Two people at the Alfredo Nascimento shelter claimed to have been *aidamos* in other shelters, particularly in Pintolândia. Although this does not give them the title of *aidamo* in other places or contexts, this experience appears in their narratives as an important piece of data for non-indigenous interlocutors, seeking to enhance their role in shelter policies. This indicates that the

30 Women working on the streets decreased significantly in both Boa Vista and Pacaraima. In the MPF opinions, the existence of any impediment to working on the streets is indicated as one of the reasons for leaving in search of other cities.

31 In Manaus, men, besides being street vendors when they manage to have some merchandise or handicrafts (hammocks and hats), work in construction, hand out flyers or work as shoe shiners.

32 Orlando, from the Tarumã shelter, says he buys razors for R\$15 from a Brazilian, and resells them for between R\$20 and R\$25.

33 This topic was addressed in a piece produced by UNHCR to be disseminated in the municipalities where the Warao are present. In October 2019, the National Council for Human Rights (CNDH) published a recommendation in this regard, targeting the states of Roraima, Amazonas, Pará, Maranhão, Acre, Rondônia, Tocantins, Mato Grosso, Piauí and Ceará, indicating a mapping of where Warao groups were already known to be.

UNHCR. *Informative note*: for municipalities on spontaneous arrivals of the Venezuelan population, including indigenous people. 2019. Available at www.acnur.org/portugues/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/Nota-Informativa-para-Munic%C3%ADpios.pdf. Accessed on 8 April 2020.

34 “Thus, despite the significant increase in the total number of people attended by the CRI and the number of indigenous people remaining as a numerical majority, there is a progressive departure of families from the location observed from the beginning of 2017. Possible causes include difficulties in performing their work in the downtown public thoroughfares because of the distance from the CRI; and the emergence of new trade routes, such as Manaus.”

MPF, *Technical Opinion 208/2017*, op. cit., p. 26.

shelter policy itself has created a different experience that, according to the Warao in particular, can be valued in other cities.

2.3 Access to health care for indigenous migrants and refugees

The Unified Health System (*Sistema Único de Saúde – SUS*) and the indigenous health subsystem were not included in information provided by the indigenous people in the migratory flow. The difference between the basic care of the indigenous health care subsystem, associated with SUS, and universal access to the health system involving specialists does not seem clear to the indigenous people. The indigenous health subsystem must include differentiated services for indigenous peoples, both in terms of language and understanding of differentiated therapeutic approaches, with their own specialists in cures and non-biomedical treatments.

At the workshops in Roraima, the Warao signalled a decrease in the medication available in shelters, reporting that in some cases, they had to buy medications themselves. Many indicated knowledge that access to health and medication is free in Brazil's SUS. In the workshops, they highlighted the limitations in access to specialists and sometimes to medicines in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, citing migration as a strategy for access to health care. At the shelters in Roraima and Manaus, the search for ophthalmologists, dentists and diabetes treatment was salient. The indigenous suggested that there be specialists in the shelters themselves. After a consolidated period of Warao mobility in Brazil, despite cases of emergencies such as malnutrition still occurring, the demand for specialized treatments has begun to become more apparent.

Where were you born
and where did you live?

I was born in Araguabisi, I
studied there until I was
14, I went to Tucupita and
then to Brazil.

Warao participant in the
Boa Vista workshop

This data indicates that there is no clarity among indigenous migrants regarding access to the public health system or the indigenous health subsystem. Clarifying this information for people in the migratory flow would avoid false expectations and promote greater dialogue with indigenous leaders in Brazil, who in turn claim to have difficulties in maintaining a quality health subsystem and report the strain on SUS, which attends the medium or high complexity demands of the indigenous and non-indigenous population.

Qualified information about SUS and the indigenous health subsystem needs to be incorporated into the management of indigenous shelters. The newly arrived Pemón lack information about how the service works, about the services provided in villages and their place in SUS. This is an important point: there are no durable solutions without accurate information.

A relevant finding in this study is that the DSEI East of Roraima team confirms that there is no data on Venezuelan Pemón consultations, even those that are in indigenous lands. The DSEI East also stated that basic care in the Indigenous Territory is provided, although there is still no tool to measure this, and confirmed that consultations at the Pintelândia shelter are carried out once a week.

Although relatives were attended to at hospitals in Boa Vista, the Pemón regret receiving the information that a new census will be needed for consultations in village medical posts. This information contrasts with that provided by DSEI East, which informs of providing assistance, although there is still no differentiated data on consultations with Pemón in Terra Indígena São Marcos villages.

2.4 Access to education for indigenous migrants and refugees

Data on access to formal education for indigenous people in the migratory flow is varied. In the case of the Pemón, children are in indigenous schools or will be able to integrate with them. There are possibilities for hiring new indigenous teachers and for physical expansion of schools in villages in Brazil to meet this migratory flow. For the Warao and Eñepa, the situation is quite different. There are no bilingual schools in their languages in Brazil. Eñepa children so far do not have access to formal schooling.

In Manaus, the shelter policy has involved location changes in recent years, which made it difficult for children to enrol and stay in public schools close to their home. At the Alfredo Nascimento shelter, school enrolment is low, and many already know that there is a possibility of moving in the shelter. At the Tarumã shelter, the Warao claim that schools are far away and are afraid to send their children to them alone, particularly because of the city's traffic. In shelters in Manaus, Portuguese courses are being offered for young people and adults.

In Boa Vista, indigenous children in the migratory flow face great difficulties in accessing formal school. One of the justifications may be related to the high turnover of families passing through the shelter over the years. In Pacaraima, various Warao children are enrolled in public schools.

Even having registered incidents of conflict and violence involving migrants, the municipality of Pacaraima is responding differently to the enrolment of indigenous children in schools. Firstly, Operation *Alcolhida* itself is physically more visible and present in this municipality with a large number of indigenous permanent residents and a historically consolidated non-indigenous population pendulum movement across the border. According to the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), more than 55 per cent of the municipality's population is indigenous. Secondly, in addition to

What are your
future plans?

That we have a Portuguese
for foreigners course.

Warao participant in the
Boa Vista workshop

being small (around 10,000 inhabitants), the municipality has cultural projects that integrate indigenous and non-indigenous migrants, favouring successful interaction when both are in the same school. Thirdly, there are families who have been living in the municipality since the shelter opened; with this, there is a strong presence of people from the same place of origin in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, which enables the child to remain with relatives in the absence of someone on the move, and this is important for the continuity of schooling. Finally, there are other Venezuelan children in public schools in this municipality.

Where were you born and where did you live?

In a community called San Francisco de Guayo. I lived in Araguabisi.

Warao participant in the Pacaraima workshop

It is worth noting that in the first indigenous shelter, Pintolândia, there were school projects organized by the non-governmental organization (NGO) Fraternidade – International Humanitarian Federation, which manages two indigenous shelters in Roraima, followed by the Casa de los Niños project, which employed Warao teachers or experts. The common element in these two projects is the fact that they ended without continuity. According to testimony from some Warao regarding these experiences, it is not enough to talk about Warao culture if children do not learn, for example, mathematics. This indicates that access to education must also undergo internal discussions among each of the peoples, not forgetting that they have bilingual education experiences in their countries and know what a school can and should offer.

The situation for youths also deserves a close look. Generally in indigenous populations, social status is differentiated by sex – after menarche, women assume other responsibilities, with the possibility of motherhood as an objective, and men can also change their social status with paternity. These passages do not always coincide with our categorization of adolescents and young adults, but internally there will be greater demand for the young person to fulfil their social obligations to their spouse, children and in-laws. Greater dialogue is required to understand the situation of each adolescent or young adult, as well as their expectations and alternatives for employment or study.

2.5 Shelter policy

The shelter policy, as we have seen, was one of the first measures taken by the Brazilian Government, and the importance of maintaining shelters for indigenous people separate from other migrants was clear from the beginning. This separation was accompanied by the recommendation to maintain the bonds between the indigenous people and their family relationships, not only because it is a demand, but because it would help with living together and the possibility of conflict resolution in these spaces.

This shelter policy became practice for municipalities and State governments where indigenous Warao were recorded. At the same time, it seems to have been a novel experience for the indigenous people during their migration within their country of origin.

The shelters have rules for living, with expulsion in cases of breaking the rules, and the election of *aidamos*, the name given to designate traditional leaders within the shelters. In the context of shelter, *aidamo* translates into people – men or women – with the authority to communicate with shelter management and other non-indigenous authorities. Their selection can be through elections or another nomination mechanism. There are reports on the participation of indigenous people in the management of shelters and recommendations on the need to respect and listen to them in the construction of living rules and in the formulation of policies for them.

All the shelters were planned and organized to accommodate a much smaller number of people than they actually house, causing overcrowding, violence, misunderstandings and other conflicts. In Boa Vista, for example, one of the rules questioned by the indigenous people is the possibility of being absent for only seven days in cases of travel to visit relatives; they claim that more time is needed for this type of visit, whether in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela or in Brazil.

In some shelters, the common origin from the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, understood here as the set of kinship relationships and common displacement experiences in their country of origin and in Brazil, has been an important factor in the re-composition of family groups. That is, although this was not an institutional policy, the Warao preferred to arrange themselves within these spaces. For example, most of those from Mariusa are concentrated in the Tarumã shelter, while in Pacaraima there are people from Araguabisi and Winiquina. In terms of place of origin, the Janokoida shelter in Pacaraima stands out, where out of the more than 80 people who participated in the workshop, the majority are from the region of Araguabisi and Winikina – either born or lived in or close to this community. This regionalism is not only spatial but conveys different stories and experiences in relation to the territory of origin, access to education, professions and life strategies, even before the start of the crisis in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela. The same regional profile of Pacaraima is repeated in the Alfredo Nascimento shelter in Manaus.

In the Kauabanoko occupation space, in addition to the Eñepa, are people from the Mariusa region, with those who were born or lived in Tucupita being more prevalent. At the Pintolândia shelter, there is currently a large number of people who were born in Tucupita and lived in San Felix, and some from Araguabisi. In other words, it is a more diversified shelter. It has some Warao women married to non-indigenous people, which was not as widely seen in other shelters. It is worth noting that in the Kauabanoko

occupation, there are marriages between an Eñepa woman and a Pemón man and between a Warao man and a Karina woman.

This profile may change, but it shows that there was an appropriation of shelter spaces by Warao family networks. Between the coming and going of shelters and the entry and exit of families, today some of these shelter spaces clearly represent kinship networks. This social and political appropriation in the face of a foreign state policy indicates that the Warao migratory project, with all the challenges and problems, is far from being improvised. The Warao and Eñepa show great autonomy, strong exchange of information and organization in support networks that focus on the shelter policy itself, where the Brazilian government has placed its main proposals for the indigenous population, today with shelters ranging between 400 and 700 people. The two most stable shelters remain Pintolândia and Janokoida, but both are overcrowded.³⁵

Although there were other forms of shelter, such as the rented houses in Manaus, there seems to be a tendency to maintain shelters and manage the risks of overcrowding.³⁶ A lasting and culturally sensitive solution requires the formulation of multiple ways of housing this population.

2.6 Presence of relatives in Brazil

Another aspect to point out, based on data from each shelter, is that in the Tarumã Shelter in Manaus, the movement of relatives is based around Pacaraima and Boa Vista, rather than following the envisioned sequential route (Pacaraima > Boa Vista >- Manaus > Santarém > Belém > other cities). In the Alfredo Nascimento neighbourhood shelter, despite having mentioned cities like Porto Velho (State of Roraima) and Belém (State of Pará), most cite Pacaraima and Boa Vista as places where their relatives are.

At the Pacaraima shelter, where 427 people lived at the beginning of October 2019 and which had the largest proportional workshop participation (86 of the 216 adults), when we enquired about relatives in Brazil, although cities like Brasília (Brazil's Federal District, in the central region) were referred to twice, and Fortaleza (in north-east State of Ceará) were mentioned once, most were concentrated in the North, in cities such as Manaus. Only six participants cited Belém and lastly Boa Vista. The other place stated was Saint Helena de Uairén, in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela. This data shows a consolidated pendular circuit, which includes primarily the cities of Pacaraima, Boa Vista and Manaus.

The Santarém > Belém circuit deserves separate study because the fact that these cities are mentioned few times in the workshops does not mean that they are not integrated into the same network. It can simply show that this displacement requires

35 As pointed out in the previous chapter, the city of Manaus is currently evaluating a proposal to remove the Warao from the two shelters and place them in another part of the city. Manaus City Hall, op. cit.

36 IOM, *Diagnóstico e avaliação da Migração indígena...*[Diagnosis and evaluation of indigenous migration ...], op. cit., p. 17.

greater financial investment, but there are other explanations, such as those cited in the MPF technical opinion on Manaus in 2017: disagreements and conflicts, including accusations of witchcraft by family groups in Belém.³⁷ These situations may have strained relationships, and the Warao migration network itself, but the fact that the city was not mentioned by anyone in the workshop at the Tarumã shelter is important. However, we highlight that Pacaraima remains one of the most cited cities in shelters in Roraima and Amazonas.

Finally, we must consider the information about the population of the Pacaraima shelter. The majority's region of origin is Araguabisi, followed by Wikinina, which both have a close relationship with the city of Tucupita in the Delta region. This regional reference, between the low and the high Delta, is not exclusive to the Pacaraima shelter; however, the profiles of professional experiences and schooling are different, hence the importance of cross-referencing data from places and stories.³⁸

2.7 Origins: the region of Araguabisi, Winikina and Mariusa

In the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, information from the National Statistics Institute (INE), comparing the 2001 and 2011 censuses, recorded the percentage of indigenous population in urban centres as 63 per cent. In the Delta region, this figure rose from 6.9 per cent in 2001 to 12.8 per cent in 2011.³⁹



This trend is not exclusive to the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela. Data from Brazil indicates a similar trend, even though the majority of its indigenous population live in rural areas. There are wide variations across Brazilian regions. In the North Region, for example, more than 70 per cent of the indigenous population live in rural areas, and in the State of Roraima, more

37 Federal Public Ministry. Attorney General's Office. Secretariat of Expert Support. Regional Expertise Centre 4. *Technical Opinion 1*. Technical opinion describing the anthropological follow-up carried out on 14, 17, 18, 20 and 21 April 2017 with a family of indigenous Warao living in downtown Manaus, to determine the decision of the group in relation to funeral care and rites to be performed following the death of the indigenous Américo Mendonza, in addition to observations on the funeral itself and other related rituals. Manaus, 27 April 2017.

38 Anthropologist Olivier Allard, who has worked with the Warao in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela since 2007, maintains that the atomization of the Warao and the large distribution of groups would in some way translate into resistance by the Warao to any kind of control from the State or other organizations. Allard, Olivier. *Un espace fragmenté et partagé: le Delta de l'Orenoque* (the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela). Conference at the Collège de France, 28 February 2018.

39 "Un dato revelador es que la concentración de población indígena según área rural o urbana evidencia que el 63% se encuentra asentado en zonas urbanas. Los estados con mayor aumento de desplazamiento urbano son Amazonas, Anzoátegui, Delta Amacuro, Bolívar (INE 2011)." Equipo de Investigación El Entrompe de Falopio. *Desde nosotras: situación de los derechos humanos de las venezolanas*. Caracas: El Entrompe de Falopio, 2018. p. 177.

than 80 per cent live on indigenous lands, despite many peoples having constructed mobility strategies including urban areas over time.⁴⁰

The study *La mujer Warao: de recolectora deltana a recolectora urbana*, by Lafée-Wilbert and Wilbert, brings forward valuable information about the regions most reported as the origin of the Warao in Brazil today.⁴¹ It is important to note that the cholera epidemic of the 1990s, cited in several works produced in Brazil, had a major impact on the Mariusa region, causing a large migration to the cities of Tucupita and Barrancas, data confirmed in this research by the reports by the Warao in the Tarumã shelter.

Life in urban centres in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela is not limited to the inhabitants of Mariusa. The above study contains data from 2005, when 189 Winikina living in the Malecón de Barrancas were recorded. A year later, this number had grown to 276, in addition to another 53 Winikina in Porto Ordaz and 183 in Mariusa, while 143 were living in the area known as El Volcán, in addition to the Warao from Koberuna, who lived for several years in the Valencia central business district. The same study mentions the following communities making trips to large urban centres in search of financial resources and the sale of handicrafts: JanoKoida (Barranquilla), Ojido, Sanuka (Morichito), Jesu Wabanoko (España), Bamutanoko and Koberuna. The region of Winikina and Araguabisi is located in the lower Delta and maintained the strongest relationship with the city of Tucupita, especially in the sale of handicrafts, not to mention that people from these communities have also joined the urban exodus to large centres.

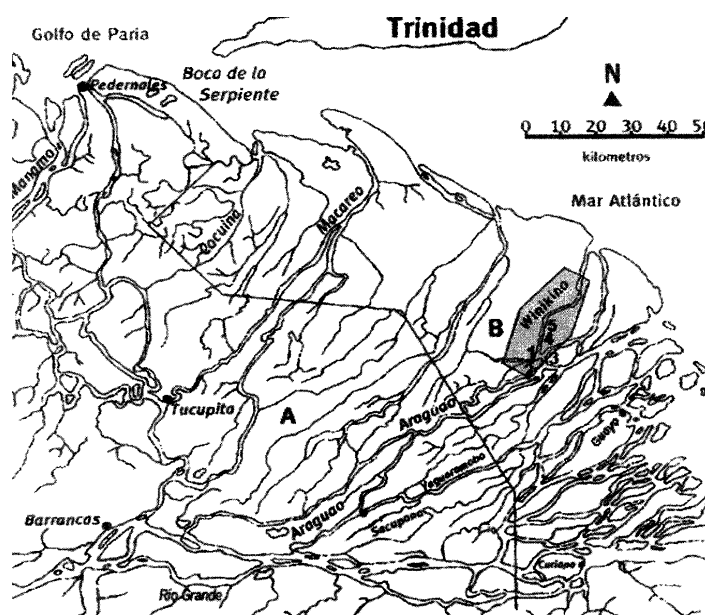
In more recent studies from 2018, the health indicators for the Warao did not show improvement. Women remained alongside the Wayuu people with the highest rates of maternal mortality. Regarding measles, despite the highest rate being registered in Bolivar State with 35 deaths, there were 33 from Delta Amacuro State – specifically the municipalities with a large number of Warao: Antonio Díaz, Tucupita and Pedernales.

The following map shows that the Araguabisi channel is parallel to the Winikina channel, the region from where many of the people from the Pacaraima shelters come. In addition, despite the strong Warao presence in the Delta region, the majority of the non-indigenous population is concentrated in the cities of Tucupita, Antonio Díaz, Pedernales and Casacoima. Most of the Warao population is located in the lower Delta, and the rest live in the Tucupita and Barrancas regions, that is, in the upper Delta. Another piece of information presented by Lafée-Wilbert and Wilbert is the suggestion of three dialects across the Warao: one from the region of Mariusa and Manano, another from the region of Winikina and Sacupana, and a third between the Rio Sacupana and Rio Grande.

40 IBGE. *O Brasil Indígena [Indigenous Brazil]*. Rio de Janeiro, 2011. Available at https://indigenas.ibge.gov.br/images/pdf/indigenas/folder_indigenas_web.pdf. Accessed on 7 April 2020.

41 Lafée-Wilbert, Cecilia; Wilbert, Werner. *La mujer Warao: de recolectora deltana a recolectora urbana*. [The Warao woman: from delta collector to urban collector] Caracas: Fundación La Salle, 2008. Monografía 51.

Figure 2. Map of the research area of the book *Mujer Warao*



Source: Lafée-Wilbert, Cecilia; Wilbert, Werner. *La mujer Warao: de recolectora deltana a recolectora urbana* [The Warao woman: from delta collector to urban collector]. Caracas: Fundación La Salle, 2008. Monograph 51.

This map is for illustration purposes only. The boundaries and names shown and the designations used on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the International Organization for Migration.

Few of the 365 Warao villages have a population of 500. Most have 50 to 250 people. This settlement pattern, described as a type of atomization and an indicator of the autonomy of Warao family groups, reveals one of the escape strategies from different controls imposed by the State or other relationships.⁴² In the universe of relationships with the non-indigenous world, there is no doubt about the Warao's interest in technology and non-indigenous objects; on the other hand, there is a rejection of non-indigenous people's means of production: escaping control is what enables the Warao to produce Warao people.⁴³

Origin does not explain or homogenize the experiences of the Warao in the migratory flow. Therefore, we highlight the importance of knowing skills and previous professional experiences, remembering that the literature produced in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela highlighted the flow to urbanized cities with a non-indigenous majority and migration with strong relationships in projects to give greater value to handicrafts. If it is still important today to know about the life of the Warao in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, it is also relevant to know who is in Brazil. Their rights, as indigenous and as migrants, remain the main objective in defining public policies for this population.

42 Allard, op. cit.

43 Ibid.

2.8 Professional profiles of indigenous migrants

Technical Opinion Number 2,193 by the MPF, released in 2019, sought to outline the employment profile of indigenous people in Manaus in order to understand the feasibility of transferring some of this population from shelters to a rural area in Amazonas, and it is a good starting point for understanding the professional profile of indigenous migrants.⁴⁴ The study was wide-ranging through its questionnaires in the Tarumã and Alfredo Nascimento shelters.

179 questionnaires were distributed, one per family unit, totalling 778 people – 32 families from the Tarumã shelter and 133 from the Alfredo Nascimento shelter. Of this total, 353 were between 0 and 14 years old, indicating the importance of considering policies for this age group, including education, leisure, sport, etc.

Furthermore, of this total, 48 have a bachelor's degree, 3 are technicians, 12 have higher education and 8 have incomplete higher education. This data should not be disregarded in the indigenous context in Latin America, due to the limited access to formal education. The study also sheds light on internal displacement from rural to urban areas within the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela: of the sample universe, 17 per cent came from rural areas to Brazil, while 83 per cent were in urban areas before arriving in Brazil.

Of the 179 families, 55 declared interest in moving to a rural area, but this number dropped to 22 families if this location was far from urban centres. This indicates that life in rural areas may be an alternative, but it cannot be the only one. In terms of durable solutions, the study points to how important dialogue with the indigenous people is to qualify the information, because otherwise the information on rural areas near or far from urban centres would not have shown up in the survey.

With this brief history of displacement of indigenous people in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuelan migratory flow, it is possible to understand a little more about the mobility of these indigenous peoples from the first signs of their presence in Brazil.

The workshops gave access to diversified information on the professional profile of the indigenous people, especially among the Warao and Pemón. Although work related to handicrafts has drawn attention in these years, there are other professional profiles and projects that deserve attention for durable solutions implementation. One of them is the presence of young adults with university degrees, especially in the areas of education and health. Another is the presence of young people with complete high school who are interested in continuing their studies in Brazil.

44 MPF. Attorney General's Office. Secretariat of Expertise, Research and Analysis. National Expertise Centre. *Technical Opinion no. 2,193. Levantamento do perfil laboral dos indígenas Warao na cidade de Manaus (AM) e investigação sobre o interesse das famílias indígenas da referida etnia em viverem na zona rural do estado do Amazonas.* [Survey of the work profile of the Warao indigenous people in the city of Manaus (AM) and investigation of the interest of indigenous families of that ethnic group in living in the rural area of the State of Amazonas]. Manaus, 26 November 2019.

The presence of other professionals, such as welders, industrial kitchen operators in hospitals and cabinetmakers, sets up a framework that, in a way, brings the flow of indigenous people more in line with other migratory flows, with their investment in family members who could continue their studies and find employment in a host country.

In Pacaraima, there are many artisans, people involved with community organizations in the Delta, university-educated teachers, domestic workers, fishermen and farmers, as well as many young people with a high school education.

In the Pintolândia shelter in Boa Vista, the professional profile seems more urban, since many were born or raised in Tucupita. Many indigenous people said they worked as construction labourers, welders, security guards, farmhands, nurses, police officers, loaders, and *caleteros*,⁴⁵ among others. However, there were also teachers with university degrees and some youths who had graduated high school.

The Kauabanoko urban occupation, where the Warao and Eñepa live in Boa Vista, has professionals including a medical doctor, in addition to the Warao from Mariusa, with the same experience in fishing and other urban jobs, such as packers, dressmakers, transporters, *caleteros*, recyclable materials workers and artisans.

The existence of Warao and Eñepa professionals in the areas of health and education is in line with the records in the literature of diversified experiences in their traditional territories. The comments by the Warao and Eñepa on these educational experiences, as health workers or in bilingual education, are confirmed in the literature that describes initiatives by Venezuelan Government after the 1999 Constitution, such as the Indigenous Languages Act of 2008.⁴⁶ Although such projects have been disrupted by the crisis, the bibliography records the participation of these peoples in Venezuelan public policies.⁴⁷

In the Taramã shelter in Manaus, where the most common origins are from the Mariusa region in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, many of the adult men say they have worked in industrial sea fishing under commission: a *criollo* owner provided vessels, ice, fuel and food for the fishing expedition at sea; after covering these expenses, the net value of the catch was divided into two and shared between the owner and fishermen. Respondents reported that more than two tons of fish were caught per expedition,

45 The job of loading and unloading in ports or urban centres.

46 Villalón, Maria Eugenia. *Los idiomas indígenas oficiales*. [The official indigenous languages] In: Bello, Luis Jesus (ed.). *El Estado ante la sociedad multiétnica y pluricultural: políticas públicas y derechos de los pueblos indígenas en Venezuela (1999-2010)* [The state in the multiethnic and multicultural society: public policies and rights of indigenous people in Venezuela]. Caracas: IWGIA, 2011. p. 22-34. Serie Derechos Indígenas.

47 Ibid.; Tillet, Aimé. La implementación del derecho a la salud integral de los pueblos indígenas y el reconocimiento de la medicina tradicional. [The implementation of the right to comprehensive health of indigenous peoples and the recognition of traditional medicine] In: Bello, Luis Jesus (ed.). *El Estado ante la sociedad multiétnica y pluricultural: políticas públicas y derechos de los pueblos indígenas en Venezuela (1999-2010)*. Caracas: IWGIA, 2011. p. 132-161. Serie Derechos Indígenas.

which does not exclude knowledge of other fishing modalities, but indicates a strong relationship with maritime life, including specific knowledge about navigation.⁴⁸

In the Alfredo Nascimento shelter, the most common professional experiences were of craftswoman, indigenous health worker, teacher with university education, construction worker, fisherman, farmer, social worker, ambulance driver and *caletero*.

This data brings indigenous people in line with other migrant populations with projects on for work placement and further studies, the difference being that most teachers and those who worked in the health field worked in an indigenous community context or in urban contexts, in neighbourhoods that had an indigenous majority. Among these professionals, there is the expectation to work alongside their own people in Brazil. This data is important when considering durable solutions that combine access to paid employment, study and community life in the indigenous languages themselves.

How was your education?

I went to Teacher's College full-time and taught in neighbouring communities.

Warao participant in the Pacaraima workshop

2.9 New data and flows

2.9.1 The Eñepa

This group's participation in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuelan migratory flow was recorded in a 2017 survey.⁴⁹ The Karib-speaking group's territories are in the Bolívar state, in areas of tropical forest in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela. All speak the mother tongue, and few speak Spanish.

In Brazil, the Eñepa in both the shelter and the urban occupation of Boa Vista come from the same region in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela. They were born in Perro Dágua (where 269 people lived in 2005), or have relatives in this community, but they moved to Caicara, a town on the bank of the Orinoco River crossed by roads that connect the region to other urban centres, such as Porto Ayacucho and El Tigre.⁵⁰ The biggest change in this traditional territory was the roads, with the objective of logging, having considerable impact on the health of this population.

48 One of the reports from the Tarumã shelter confirmed that the maritime fishing sector is experiencing strong conflicts between rivals over market share. The source of the report says that his life was threatened, so he decided to come to Brazil. After spending time in a community, he arrived in Boa Vista, stayed for two days at the bus station and then went to Manaus. Having lived in Mariusa, he knew where to find shelter with the people he knew.

49 Simões, Gustavo da Frota (org.). *Perfil sociodemográfico e laboral da imigração Venezuelana no Brasil [Sociodemographic and labour profile of Venezuelan immigration in Brazil]*. Brasília: National Immigration Council, 2017.

50 The literature records major impacts on the health and settlement pattern of the Eñepa: "Este cambio en el patrón de asentamiento dificultó el sustento por los medios tradicionales de producción, condujo a un sensible desmejoramiento en la dieta, y mermó la independencia alimentaria de los Eñepa. Con las carreteras surgieron nuevas necesidades sin las correspondientes fuentes de ingreso que permitieran saciarlas adecuadamente. Fue así como a través de un desventajoso y precario comercio los Eñepa comenzaron a vender artesanía". Villalón, María Eugenia. Los Eñepa. In: Freire, Germán Nicolás; Tillet, Aimé (org.). *Salud indígena en Venezuela [Indigenous health in Venezuela]*. Caracas: Ministerio del Poder Popular para la Salud, 2007. v. II, p. 30.

In anthropological literature, the Eñepa are known for their basketry with geometric designs, on display in various ethnographic museums. In Caicara, they were living off the sale of handicrafts. There are teachers among those who live in Brazil, while all are expert craftsmen. Their basketry, based on *arumã* fibre, is not manufactured in Brazil due to the lack of the material, according to their reports. Women collect seeds on the streets of Boa Vista and produce objects to be sold in the shelter or on the street. In addition to pieces made of seeds and beads, they manufacture bows and arrows, which they sell on the streets of the city. In Brazil, they somehow do not compete with the Warao in the basket weaving market; *arumã* fibre can probably be found in Brazil, like the buriti fibre used by the Warao, but they did not relate this demand. One of the young people who had studied in Mariapures, in Monagas state, also travelled to sell handicrafts in Ciudad Bolívar, Puerto Ordaz, Upata and San Félix, where they met the Warao before arriving in Brazil. In 2017, there were around 20 people in Boa Vista; today there are about 60 in the shelter and the occupation, and a group moved to Santarém in September 2019.

2.9.2 The Pemón

In February and March 2019, the important presence of Pemón indigenous people in the Venezuelan migratory flow in Pacaraima was reported. When a conflict with Venezuelan authorities happened, possibly 1,200 indigenous people crossed the border.⁵¹ There are numerous records in the local and national press about this conflict, which caused deaths and wounded people, who were treated in Boa Vista. None of them made it to the shelters. They were received by relatives in villages close to the border region, in the municipality of Pacaraima. The history of migration of the Pemón in this region has produced a different result from those analysed so far among other indigenous people in the Venezuelan migratory flow.

According to the 2011 census in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, the Pemón (Arekuna, Kamarakoto, Taurepang) have a population of more than 30,000, representing the fourth largest group among the country's indigenous peoples, and belong to the Karib-speaking peoples.⁵² The arrival in 2019 of a significant number of this population to Brazil took place in the context of political polarization regarding the acceptance or refusal of humanitarian aid to the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela in February and March 2019. Most of the more than 800 Pemón who arrived in the Brazilian territory

51 Burks, Roger. *Indígenas da Venezuela cruzam a fronteira com o Brasil em busca de segurança [Indigenous people from Venezuela cross the border with Brazil in search of security]*. UNHCR, 9 August 2019. Available at www.acnur.org/portugues/2019/08/09/indigenas-da-venezuela-cruzam-a-fronteira-com-o-brasil-em-busca-de-seguranca/. Accessed on 21 March 2020.

52 "The Taurepang call themselves Pemón, a term that means 'people' or 'folks'. Little known in Brazil, this ethnonym is used much more frequently in Venezuela, where it designates a large indigenous Karib-speaking population. A. B. Colson (1986: 74) claims that there are two major ethnic groups in the border region between Venezuela, Brazil and Guyana: the Pemón and the Kapon, the first of which is the self-designation of the Arekuna, Kamarakoto, Taurepang and Macuxi, and the second Ingariko and Patamona. In Venezuela, the group – called Pemón – inhabits the so-called Gran Sabana, corresponding to the southeastern part of Bolívar state."

Indigenous Peoples in Brazil. Taurepang. Available at pib.socioambiental.org/pt/Povo:Taurepang. Accessed on 21 March 2020.

are now in Terra Indígena São Marcos and are mainly spread out across four villages: Bananal, Sorocaima, Sakaomota and Tarauparu.⁵³

All whom we spoke to in the Bananal village lived in the communities of Kumarakapay and Santo Ignacio de Yuriani, Gran Sabana, Bolívar state, on the border with Brazil.

According to participants in the workshop held in Bananal, the largest number of those who had to cross the border were found in the villages of Sakaomota and Tarauparu. Despite experiencing situations of great tension in their home villages, as reported in the workshop, many of these people continue to come and go from the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela to harvest their crops, and part of their families remain in Venezuelan territory. Many said they were afraid to return; some went to the Cooperative Republic of Guyana and then came to Brazil; others, with the help of cars belonging to people in tourism or religious orders, came via “green paths”.⁵⁴ They said they feel safer in Brazil.

Out of the participants, it was women who most talked about the conflict experienced in early 2019 within their territories in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela. This topic was not raised by our methodology during the workshop, but when they were given the opportunity to speak, they reported what had happened. One claimed to have lost one of her children in the conflict, another lost her sister, and a third’s husband was shot in the shoulder.

Of the families who participated in the workshop, all claimed not having received enough food, especially for their children. In addition, for religious reasons, they are unable to eat pork or fish without scales.⁵⁵ The only person who reported being able to have a farm in the Indigenous Land has family connections, as her father was born in the same village where she is today.

The women spoke above all about their concern with digging new fields for crops, since this collective activity requires the assistance of men as well as the investment required in preparing collective meals during the cutting and burning for new crops. However, many families have favoured leaving their home village with their youngest children. In other words, in addition to the support in infrastructure that can be offered by various institutions, such as houses and plumbing, in social relations and in the social division of labour, many families lack support due to the scarcity of male labour and the inability find counterparts for collective projects, either for the construction of houses or for creating new crops. They ask for support with items such as tools and seeds, but they also speak

53 The northern Indigenous Land sector, where the Taurepang population is concentrated, is precisely where the BR-174, the ‘Guri’ electric cables and the municipality administration of Pacaraima are located, forming a corridor between Boa Vista and Santa Elena, in Venezuela.” Ibid.

54 “Green paths” are what they call the trails that connect Brazil and the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela through the forests, away from the road where official border posts are located.

55 According to Andreello’s research, dietary restrictions extend to game animals traditionally consumed by indigenous peoples in the region, such as tapir, paca and agouti. Andreello, Geraldo. *The Taurepang: memory and prophetism in the 20th century*. Dissertation (master’s degree) - Unicamp, Campinas, 1993.

of the impossibility of or limitations for a socially desired exchange in collective work, which may leave some women without access to their new crops.⁵⁶

Relationships between villages that are divided by national borders share kinships that immediately house and confer on those arriving a greater or lesser legitimacy in the host village, which can be integrated in some way into their hospitality obligations. In the case of the Bananal community, religion is another criterion that guides the rules of reception and housing, since everyone who lives in the community is or declares themselves as Adventists and, according to our interlocutors, the rules of religion, such as attending services, not drinking, not smoking, resting from Friday to Saturday and practicing dietary restrictions, must be respected, influencing whether or not their families remain in the community.

Although we are talking about a Western religion, it is important to read this information within the context of indigenous populations, since this does not mean that other values and fears of their culture are absent, nor that they will stop seek out their experts or fear spirits and vengeful forces.

It is important to note that Adventist missionaries have been travelling in Venezuelan territory since the beginning of the 20th century, focusing on the movement of the Taurepang between Brazil and the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela. The expulsion of Adventist missionaries in 1931 from the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela contributed to the increase in prophetic movements among indigenous peoples in the region. During this period, the Franciscan order arrived in the Savana region and founded Catholic missions. On the Brazilian side, the Catholic mission in Surumu, founded last century by the Benedictines, seems not to have influenced the Taurepang, since many were already part of the prophetic movements and the Seventh-day Adventist religion, even attracting their population to the Venezuelan side.

Religion was not the only motivation for the Taurepang's movement to and from Brazil and the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela. Andrello's (1993) study bears witness to Taurepang leadership on the Brazilian side in 1989:

Before I was born, there were many residents here, Sorocaima, Macaiapáng, Boca da Mata... [...] but there was a lot of disease. Many people died, so her [Rosa's] father took the whole family to the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela. Here there was a lot of diarrhoea, measles [...] (Mário Flores, Sorocaima Village, Jan/89).⁵⁷

This information helps us to understand the reason for the strong relationship between the Taurepang families from the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela and from Brazil, as does the fact that the flow of these families is not a new phenomenon. The extraordinary

⁵⁶ Ibid. According to Andrello, the period for digging, cutting and burning takes place from January to March. This corresponds with the drought period, which means that the period for villages to make decisions on creating new crops is coming.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 15.

factor therefore appears to be the context: a significant number of people moving to Brazilian villages, combined with the traditional visits reported in ethnographic studies of numerous marriages between Pemón from the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela and Brazil in the 1960s and 1970s and the processes that accompanied moving decisions through various negotiations. Despite the emergency context in which these moves took place, the Taurepang on the Brazilian side's acceptance of the Pemón continues along the lines of kinship memories and religion.⁵⁸

58 Studies on the health situation of the Pemón people published in Venezuela warn of the problems they face with the presence of mineral exploration in the region: "las poblaciones distribuidas a lo largo del eje vial Tumeremo-Santa Elena de Uairén (como es el caso de San Miguel de Betania) ubicadas cerca de los puntos de explotación minera y forestal, o en las inmediaciones de núcleos poblados que prestan soporte a tales unidades de extracción (Tumeremo, Las Claritas, El Dorado, Santa Elena) muestran las mayores señales de transformación, y si bien poseen mayores facilidades físicas (transporte) para acceder a servicios médico-asistenciales y sanitarios, son las que se encuentran más expuestas a los problemas derivados de una alta descomposición social: enfermedades gastrointestinales, enfermedades venéreas, sida, alcoholismo y violencia física". Freire; Tillet, op. cit., p. 232.



03

CULTURALLY APPROPRIATE
DURABLE SOLUTIONS: BEYOND THE
TRADITIONAL CONCEPT





CULTURALLY APPROPRIATE DURABLE SOLUTIONS: BEYOND THE TRADITIONAL CONCEPT

The traditional concept of a durable solution is centred around three modalities: voluntary return to the country of origin; resettlement in a third State or territory; and local integration. In order to conceive culturally appropriate durable solutions for indigenous migrant peoples (Warao, Eñepa and Pemón), it is necessary to consider the specific characteristics of these populations in such a way that the strategies of return, displacement or integration into the host territory do not disfigure or violate their indigenous identities.

Although indigenous populations in the Venezuelan migratory flow are entitled to differentiated treatment in their collective rights, such as the use and preservation of their languages, customs and decision-making processes, these populations still have the same rights and obligations as other migrants. In order to proceed with the formulation of a concept of a durable solution in this context, we will relate it to: the themes of circular migration; access to health, education and other rights information; coming and going in indigenous mobility; and urban spaces and indigenous populations.

As seen in the profile presented in this study, there are professionals who have attended higher education among indigenous migrants, as well as many young people that have graduated high school and wish to enrol in Brazilian universities. The Warao demand access to universities and recognition of their professional skills, especially in the areas of education and health.⁵⁹ These requirements, and viewing them as potential goals, will have an impact on people's migration, as well as on the possibility of local integration.



The concept of durable solutions needs, among other factors, a form of dialogue on the mobility and range of circulation of indigenous peoples in the Venezuelan migratory flow. For this, the movement to and from the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela and Brazil must be considered, which was initially identified as a pendular movement,⁶⁰ as well as the internal circuits built between the main cities chosen by the indigenous people in this migratory process.

⁵⁹ The fact that we find young professionals with a high school education in the migratory flow should not be underestimated in the investment that the Warao make in this flow. Recent studies highlight: "el analfabetismo en población indígena es en promedio 25% mayor que el de la población en general. Los estados con mayor incidencia son Delta Amacuro (57,57% versus 15,82%), seguido de Apure (54,54% versus 10,01%), luego Bolívar y Amazonas". Equipo de Investigación El Entrompe de Falopio, op cit., p. 177.

⁶⁰ IOM. *Legal aspects of assisting Venezuelan indigenous migrants in Brazil*. Coordinators Erika Yamada and Marcelo Torelly. Brasilia, 2018.

Considering that there is a circuit involving Pacaraima, Boa Vista and Manaus built by the Warao themselves from 2015, how should durable solutions be approached in these cities? Here, the idea of a “migratory field” is a relevant key to understanding. If in a traditional migratory movement there is a clear reference to a State of origin from which migrants leave and decide not to return, even if provisionally, in the migratory field or circuit, migrants continue to move constantly through a given territory – the so-called pendulum movement.

The Santarém and Belém circuit also records the presence of a significant population, particularly the Warao. According to data from Caritas Brazil, the metropolitan region of Belém already has more than 700 indigenous Warao.⁶¹ Despite this, there is a lack of data on the current housing policy for them in this city, their professional profiles, places of origin in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela and their kinships.

However, people travel on the Warao migratory pendulum in both directions, towards and away from the border. Among the reasons for the movement of indigenous people revealed in this study, one was an investment to improve family conditions through displacement (both cases we learned of were women); when deemed necessary, this investment occurs in situations in which a relative has illnesses considered serious by the Warao themselves. They continue to bear the cost of this mobility. In addition to this movement, the data in the Caritas report suggests that we are facing a situation of dispersion. In particular, the Warao in this period are forming new routes that include cities in the north-east and central-west, such as São Luís (State of Maranhão), Teresina (State of Piauí), Fortaleza (State of Ceará), Goiânia (State of Goiás) and Porto Velho (State of Rondonia).

The social composition of people and their kinship relationships in this indigenous mobility needs to be incorporated into the structuring of public policies for humanitarian assistance and local integration.⁶² In other words, the logic of indigenous mobility and family reunification need to be reconciled with the policies aimed at this population. How should this be done, considering that there is already overcrowding in shelters? How can indigenous people be accommodated without harming their rights and ways of reuniting families? How can family models other than the nuclear family be recognized?

How was your education?

I did a bachelor's degree in Venezuela, but with the crisis there was no longer any work. I want to build a stable future in Brazil.

Warao participant in the Boa Vista workshop

61 Caritas Brazil. *Contexto atual dos Warao na região metropolitana de Belém*. [Current context of the Warao in the metropolitan region of Belém]. Brasília, November 2019.

62 Considering some of their relatives, as some remained in their home territory.

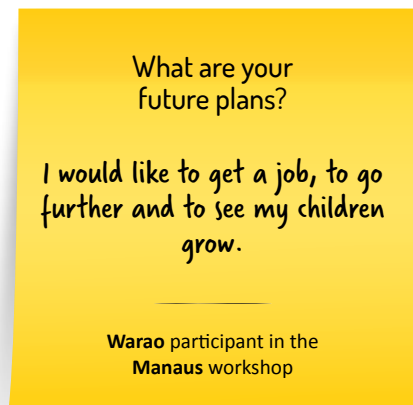
3.1 Migratory fields and shelter

The Roraima, Amazonas and Pará circuit must be thought of as a field of pendular or circular migration that has already become consolidated in terms of Venezuelan indigenous migratory mobility in Brazil. As indicated in the previous sections of this work, this had been formed even before the Brazilian government began to take proactive measures on the situation.

It is necessary to seek new solutions and discuss the options available in this migratory experience. So far, this flow has passed through small shelter structures (like the houses in Manaus and Belém), medium- and large-scale structures (in Roraima and Amazonas), urban occupation, daily rentals, and homelessness. In Roraima, as in Manaus, there are families that have been in these cities and shelters for more than a year. How can this be reconciled with social reception policies that are not limited to shelters? What are other possible decent housing models for this population? How can social and kinship relationships be respected while avoiding overcrowding in shelters or other places of residence?

The new cities and States, which still seem to be visited by small groups, especially the Warao, could and should be informed of the entire experience of cities that have had a steady flow, with the aim of avoiding conflicts, such as clashes with Child Protection services,⁶³ labour exploitation, protection against racism and access to health. Since 2017, there have been reports of the exploitation in manual labour from Warao men, as well as attempts to remove their children by child services.⁶⁴ Joint projects with the relevant institutions to disseminate knowledge on the bylaws in cities where indigenous migrants arrive is one of the good practices in this process. In health, it is important to make it clear to the indigenous peoples how SUS and the indigenous health subsystem function so that there are no false expectations.

Another key feature of this migration field built by the Warao is to accommodate the diversity intrinsic to the group. Today, some of the indigenous shelters are home to a set of close relationships, identified in this study by their region of origin in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, comprising family relationships and differentiated



63 This issue has been present since the beginning of this flow. Various authorities have already been involved in it, such as the Child Court and Public Defender's Office. National Council of Justice (CNJ). Child and Youth Court debates the situation of Venezuelan children in Boa Vista. *CNJ*, 1 August 2017. Available at www.cnj.jus.br/vara-da-infancia-discute-situacao-de-criancas-venezuelanas-em-boa-vista/. Accessed on 21 March 2020.

64 Machado, Alessandro. Indigenous Warao are advised on the illegal practice of begging with children on the streets. Manaus City Hall, 21 November 2018. Available at <https://semasc.manaus.am.gov.br/indigenas-warao-sao-orientadas-sobre-a-pratica-ilegal-de-mendicancia-com-criancas-em-ruas/>. Accessed on 21 March 2020.

work experiences, as well as neighbourhood and mobility in the urban spaces of their country of origin.

Additionally, this circular migration appears to have accommodated internal differences and the very conflicts over charges of witchcraft between the Warao and the Pemón. This data expresses their agency, as well as the appropriation of a public policy by the indigenous people. This appropriation and action in the migratory flow has remained invisible in recent years, but it can be incorporated in future proposals. The most obvious example is the Tarumã shelter, which houses basically only the Warao from Mariusa.

With this situation in mind and knowing that it partly results from the indigenous peoples' own strategies regarding the government's policy of accommodating them, these strategies must be considered in the formulation and improvement of shelter policies offered by the Brazilian government. For a culturally appropriate durable solution, it is recommended that the experiences of shelter be evaluated, taking into account that in some cities the indigenous presence is transitory and, in others, stable – understanding that “stable” here implies incorporating the people's coming and going.

The shelter policy is undoubtedly the main policy promoted so far by the federal, and local governments for the indigenous population in the Venezuelan migratory flow.

A positive factor of this policy is that it seems to have incorporated the importance of maintaining indigenous populations without the presence of non-indigenous people in shelters in the States of Roraima and Amazonas. The experiences of rented houses, with fewer people per place of residence, were not sustained as a public policy in Manaus. The main problem indicated by public authorities was not the value of rents, but the cost of maintaining management teams in each house.

The Alfredo Nascimento shelter, with the largest number of residents in Manaus, maintains a 24-hour security service, a manager and an indigenous support team, in addition to the *aidamos*, who are elected from among the residents and collaborate in relaying information and planning activities. Present in all of the indigenous shelters in Roraima and Amazonas, *aidamos* have become the main interlocutors between shelter managers and residents. There is also security in Boa Vista and Pacaraima. In Tarumã, which does not have this service, it is necessary to ask whether this difference is linked to the larger number of people housed or to their location on the outskirts in areas of higher risk. If this is the case, it is necessary to evaluate the cost and the advantages and disadvantages in selecting social services for the shelter.

What are your
future plans?

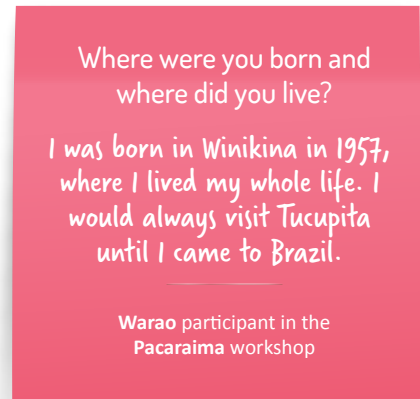
That we have land where we
can live, sow and cultivate,
and not to depend on the
government.

Warao participant in the
Pacaraima workshop

As sheltering – the basis for maintaining the quality of life for the indigenous people within the migratory field – is one of the main policies practiced in Brazil, especially in the States of Roraima, Amazonas and Pará, interstate forums could be considered to share experiences, as well as the positive and negative aspects of these policies. This exchange between managers and indigenous people can enable good practices.

Among the challenges for indigenous shelters is the maximum stay, which is three months for accommodated families according to the social assistance model.⁶⁵ This limit has impacted migration, often precipitating displacements between cities to the extent that it has not been in accordance with the intention of the indigenous population. There are families that have been in the same shelter or in sheltering situation for more than two years.⁶⁶

Therefore, it is necessary to find other institutional solutions and arrangements for managers so that access to this shelter policy remains regular but adapted to this population. Possibilities for shared housing, like that in Manaus and Belém, need to be assessed in this process. It will be necessary to envision other forms of housing and, when there are shelters, their model and conditions.



The proposal for temporary shelter in conjunction with a policy of local integration lacks economic alternatives for this population. So far, not all employment possibilities have been explored in terms of their work experiences as welders, teachers, accountants, doctors, painters, farmers or tourism operators, and the like.

These are challenges faced by all indigenous shelters. One of the necessary criteria in assessing shelters must be the participation of indigenous migrants, highlighting that although *aidamos* have been a successful part of management strategies in indigenous shelters and that this solution can be considered good practice, it cannot replace the right to be heard and receive free, prior and informed consultation from the Warao, Eñepa or Pemón indigenous peoples.

65 On the website of the Secretariat for Social Development, we find as reception alternatives for adults and families:

1. Institutional Shelter: institutional unit similar to a residence with a maximum limit of 50 people per unit and four people per room;
2. Passage House: institutional unit offering immediate and emergency reception, with professionals prepared to receive users at any time of the day or night, while carrying out a detailed diagnostic study of each situation for the necessary referrals. Ministry of Citizenship. Special Secretariat for Social Development. High complexity social protection. Brasília, 2020. Available at <http://mds.gov.br/aceso-a-informacao/mds-para-voce/carta-de-servicos/gestor/assistencia-social/alta-complexidade-2>. Accessed on 21 March 2020.

66 In Roraima there are also indigenous people who have been living in shelters for years. There is also to and from travel, including from the shelters to Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela.

Caritas' November 2019 report recorded a multiplicity of housing arrangements in that city, from precarious rental properties to shelters organized by the government: "Today, the majority of Venezuelan Warao migrants live around the neighbourhood of Campina and other neighbourhoods in Belém, and pay daily rentals in properties that are in terrible condition for housing".⁶⁷

The report also indicates the existence of shelters with indigenous and non-indigenous people, the departure of Warao from some shelters, the return of daily rentals in some neighbourhoods, and the uncertainty of how many are in the city and its surroundings. Leaving for other cities and dispersion into the interior of the territory seems, in part, one of the consequences of the lack of a shelter policy, which in recent years has undergone several revisions and registered, as we saw in Manaus, the option for daily rates in rented properties and homelessness. The same report records the deaths of ten Warao in the past two years: seven children and three adults.

Among the cities included in the spread of Warao from Belém to the interior of Pará are: Marabá, Altamira, Itaituba, Barcarena,⁶⁸ Abaetetuba,⁶⁹ Castanhal,⁷⁰ Capanema,⁷¹ and Bragança.⁷² This seems to indicate that these indigenous people may already be choosing the option for medium-sized cities, not limiting themselves to the State capitals of the north and north-east. In fact, there is a lack of information about this spontaneous move inward from Belém. In a brief survey of the cities mentioned in the Caritas report, the choice seems far from being random. The set contains cities with rivers, tourism, highways and ports, with economic expansion and outflow of goods – probable indicators of employment opportunities, such as for *caleteros*.

The situation outlined in the Caritas report reinforces the essential relationship between a good shelter policy and risk and vulnerability, since the diffusion of the Warao to other cities does not enable clear information on how many are in the outskirts of Belém and in Brazil as a whole.

67 Caritas Brazil, op. cit.

68 This city is an important industrial hub, where the industrialization, processing and export of kaolin, alumina, aluminum and electric transmission cables takes place. Its economy is traditionally based on agriculture, but it is also progressing through tourism and factories, generating economic growth for the municipality and for the State of Pará. The largest port in Pará, Porto de Vila do Conde, is located in Barcarena.

69 The municipality has a vast network of waterway, navigable in almost all its length. There are 72 islands that make up the so-called *Região das Ilhas* (Islands Region). The climate is typical of the Amazon: equatorial and very humid. There are solid-ground and swamp forests in the region. Known for *miriti* handicrafts, the region also has tourism.

70 Castanhal is the fifth most populous municipality in Pará, with an estimated population, according to IBGE data of 2019, of 200,793. The city is privileged geographically in Pará, being bisected by the BR-316, an important route for the production transport; in addition, it is just over 60 kilometers from the port, the airport and the Beltway, in the metropolitan region of Belém.

71 Capanema is 160 km from Belém by the BR-316. It is one of the most developed municipalities in the Bragantina Region of northeastern Pará, behind only Bragança. One of the main economic activities in the municipality is the manufacture of cement, with the Nassau factory being the first in Pará. Capanema is the most economically developed city in the Bragantina Region.

72 The city of Bragança is the largest fishing centre in the State of Pará, exporting its production mainly to the capitals of the north-east and the State of Pará. There are also livestock, agriculture and crab industries.

Knowing this reality more clearly requires monitoring and dialogue about the Warao's own choices, as dispersion can be a solution from their point of view. However, building durable solutions requires protection and monitoring actions to prevent illegal exploitation of the Warao's manual labour, which has already been reported in other cities.⁷³

This data reinforces the importance of indigenous participation in the formulation of these policies. Although the official indigenous agency, FUNAI, is not permanently monitoring the process, this does not mean that the rights of these indigenous people should not be considered when guaranteeing their participation in the formulation of public policies directed at them.

3.2 Access to information on health, education and other rights

There is a need to qualify information on access to health and education for indigenous peoples in the migratory flow. What SUS and the indigenous health subsystem are, as well as differentiated education, or even the applicability (or not) of affirmative action quota policies in Brazilian universities, are all examples of information to be clarified and incorporated into the agenda of indigenous migrants.

With regard to documentation and the differences between asylum request and temporary residence permit request, there are still doubts among the indigenous communities heard in the workshops. In the indigenous migratory flow, we find both indigenous requesting for asylum and temporary residence without a clear understanding of the legal grounds and conditionalities for each modality of regularization. If this duplicity seems absent among the Pemón, it is not the case for the Warao and Eñepa. There are doubts among the indigenous themselves about what documentation would give them greater access or not to social programmes: for example, can they access programmes like *Bolsa Família*, the federal basic income programme? Why are policies in some cases aimed at refugees and not residents?

In the Pemón case, the involvement of local indigenous organizations is recommended in the search for solutions, involving both support in terms of physical structures as well as logistical and emergency support in villages. The issue of sheltering in villages, specifically in Terra Indígena São Marcos, is being negotiated internally with indigenous Brazilians and their relatives from the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, thus it is important to monitor this process with the involvement of indigenous organizations, promoted by State agents or civil society.

The difference is undeniable for cross-border indigenous people, from the point of view of social relations and the possibility of sheltering. Social and kinship relations were and

⁷³ MPF investigates cases of Venezuelan Indian exploitation in Belém. D24AM, 13 October 2017. Available at <https://d24am.com/amazonas/mpf-investiga-casos-de-exploracao-de-indios-venezuelanos-em-belem/>. Accessed on 21 March 2020.

are an additional resource in this mobility context. Accommodation in villages is just one of them. Language, religion, beliefs and knowledge of plants are also social resources that other indigenous people do not have in this mobility experience.

It is important to remember that the Pemón are not the first case of cross-border indigenous people living in Brazil; other studies show the Macuxi migration or mobility between Roraima State and the Cooperative Republic of Guyana, for example. This experience has generated research on periods of flow on both sides of the border. Today, indigenous communities from the neighbouring country have cultural associations, relate to local indigenous organizations, preserve their languages and produce handicrafts. There are families that live in Boa Vista, as well as others that live in villages close to the border. Circulation between the two countries has never ceased. There are in fact populations whose history has produced kinships and shared experiences in the host country, as national borders are a set and should not represent a problem. Regardless, all are indigenous and subjects of rights, but their histories and social resources, whether available in the country of passage or in life, will be marked by an insurmountable historical difference in the field of social relations, but not in the field of law.

Another point to highlight is the practical challenge in accessing existing public policies, whether social, health or educational. As in the case of indigenous children in Pacaraima, part of the success in accessing public policies seems to depend on the social relations established locally. These relationships end up, in part, overcoming administrative obstacles. In the indigenous migratory flow, any reception policy, whether personal or institutional (schools, health centres, cultural facilities, places for selling handicrafts, leisure, and internet access, among others), must be combined with social work around them. In other words, policies in friendly coexistence, cultural projects, exchange of experiences or other actions that value respect for differences can favour not only culturally appropriate local integration, but also access to public policies. Mediation initiatives around shelters, or other housing models, need to be part of the shelter policy.

3.3 Coming and going in indigenous mobility

3.3.1 Voluntary return to the country of origin

Sustainable voluntary return to the country of origin is part of a migration policy when individuals or families choose to set their return as a goal. However, the desire for a return is not enough if it means great risks, thus there is the need for monitoring and guidance, as well as an assessment of safety conditions.

According to the history and the main reasons for displacement of the indigenous peoples identified in this study, the likelihood of return may vary for each of them.

The conflicts experienced by the Pemón, for example, indicate that the return of some families no longer depends only on the context of general change in their country of

origin, but it could take a long time to recover from the point of view of local social relations. The Eñepa brought together a large portion of their relations in Brazil. Once around 100 people were gathered, they started to accompany the Warao to Belém. Today the group is divided into two: one in Boa Vista (in the shelter and in urban occupation) and another in Belém.

The number of Warao, which in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela is over 50,000 people, continues to grow in Brazil. Apart from shelters in the three federal States, there is little information on a census of this population.

The pendulum movement between Brazil and the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela today faces a new challenge: the cost of travel. In 2016, the cost of a bus ticket from Santa Helena do Uairén, a Venezuelan city bordering Brazil, to Tucupita (Delta Orinoco), was around R\$11 (USD 2.20) and was decreasing due to the evolution of the real-bolivar exchange rate⁷⁴. Today, with the dollarization of the Venezuelan economy, this ticket costs R\$50 (USD 10) per person, and the cost of luggage can vary from R\$40 to R\$100 per piece (USD 5-20).⁷⁵

The fluctuation in domestic transport costs in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela may have contributed to an investment by the Warao in other Brazilian cities further from the border. The Warao affirm that the resources collected from street work when they arrive in a new city are always greater than those collected in Manaus and Belém. The greater their distance from the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, expanding the size of their migration field, the more the Warao become part of economic and social networks, reducing their interest in a definitive return to their country of origin, without diminishing the desire for a temporary return.

A Warao family in Brasília interviewed for this study says they spent more than a year at the Alfredo Nascimento shelter in Manaus. They later travelled to Porto Velho, Rondonia, where they met with other relatives, arriving in Brasília in November 2019. In Brasília, they claimed to collect around R\$270 (USD 54) daily on the street and to pay R\$140 (USD 28) for accommodation – the couple and their three children – in a bed and breakfast in Asa Norte that usually hosts indigenous Brazilians visiting the federal capital. They also stated that they had collected more donations in that pre-Christmas period, and that they intended to return to Porto Velho before Christmas. The estimated cost of transportation for this return was R\$1,500 (USD 300), which was how much it had cost to get from there to the Brazilian capital. One of the positive points reported in Porto Velho was that they were able to rent a property where they could cook their own food, which was not possible at the bed and breakfast, thus increasing the cost of staying in Brasília.

74 Simões, op. cit.

75 The cost of traveling by private car on the Santa Helena do Uairén-Tucupita route is now R\$500 per person. Transportation by Venezuelan taxi drivers on the Pacaraima border to Santa Helena de Uairén Bus Station can cost R\$20 per person. Data obtained at the Santa Helena de Uairén Bus Station in November 2019.

The family had a cell phone, with which they took pictures of the Cathedral of Brasília to send to their relatives in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, and they regretted the situation of poverty in their country. The man stated that before travelling to Brazil he had worked for a Guyanese national as a motorboat driver and also as a painter. When he finished his work, he sold their television to be able to come to Brazil. To return to the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, the family would need to bring items to support relatives who had remained behind, such as clothes and food, and be able to afford to buy handicrafts from their relatives.

This example illustrates that, using their *modus operandi* of circulation in urban centres, the Warao are investing in their new cities while travel to the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela appears to cost more at this time. The amount invested in the outward and return trip, of more than R\$1,000 (USD 200), as well as the length of time they calculated, around a month, for what they call “city work”, is striking. Among their goals are buying clothes and shoes, obtaining donations to take to Porto Velho and purchasing a television set to learn Portuguese.

Access to public thoroughfares to collect any kind of donations, not just monetary, is part of the Warao’s strategies in cities. This, despite making them vulnerable and with the risk of racial violence, needs to be included in protection policies. However, due to the difficulty of accessing a paid occupation, this work needs to be seen as a relatively successful practice from the point of view of the Warao, as it worked in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela and reproduces in Brazil. The very language used to designate this activity, described as “work”, reflects such success. However, in all the workshops the Warao stated that they had as their objective a paid job, a fact related to the prospect of leaving the shelters or the possibility of renting houses, for example.

There are records of people having been in shelters for more than three years. A woman at the Alfredo Nascimento shelter says she spent two months in Pacaraima, eleven months in Boa Vista and two years in Manaus. Similar cases were seen during this study.

A common observation among the three indigenous peoples in the migratory flow was that part of their economic resources, largely obtained from the streets or from selling handicrafts, is now spent on food in Brazil, by both those who are and those who are not sheltered, as is the case of the indigenous people in the urban occupation in Boa Vista. The deterioration of the economic situation in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela no longer allowed for the efficient use of this same survival strategy.

It is important to bear in mind that, in the case of the Warao, migration is not separated from the desire and practice of sending objects, food and money, as well as exchanging handicrafts with relatives in their traditional territories. The offer of safe return to their country of origin, when possible, tends to be interpreted as opening the possibility for coming and going, keeping the pendulum movement, and not for returning and staying.

3.3.2 Resettlement

Sustainable resettlement in a third country or territory is another possibility for a durable solution for groups that may find better reception elsewhere, whether for work reasons, or for family, religion or other motivations. These initiatives are seen as a durable solution for many people who cannot return to their country of origin, or those who are unable or do not wish to stay where they are.

Sustainable resettlement within the country, in a voluntary manner within the governmental strategy, is still something to be constructed with the indigenous people in this flow, since it can be a durable solution to support them in places with greater possibility of building autonomy, whether rural or urban. One of the major outstanding issues at the time of this study was whether or not to include indigenous migrants in the federal interiorization strategy. Doubt remained about this strategy's cost-benefit, especially, whether the parties involved clearly understood the long-term objectives of the strategy or just sought to leave the State of Roraima in the short term, maintaining the idea of returning to the border or even their country of origin in the medium term, preserving the pendulum movement strategy earlier identified.

So far, the indigenous peoples' internal displacements have happened spontaneously, using their own resources, without governmental support and with an emphasis on urban spaces, mostly in or near capitals. This does not mean that Warao families would refuse to go to a rural or inland region to work as farmers, for example. However, it does need to be discussed with the indigenous people. This option seems to make more sense if it is combined with paid work, allowing them to maintain their ties with the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela. On the other hand, this could be confused in some contexts as a lifestyle designed for indigenous peoples by non-indigenous society.

A Warao and Eñepa strategy is the search for other urban centres where relatives can come together and continue to work collecting goods on the streets, which is understood as the only certain work on arrival. This reallocation cannot be confused with the federal government's strategy of internalization, which involves planning and, sometimes, job insertion. In this sense, it is necessary to seek other forms of support in this movement besides protection, which must be a permanent policy.

We must take into account labour, housing and education policies, considering that people do not move as nuclear families. The large number of children in this flow should not be considered as unimportant, but it seems that including these children in education will not be solved without greater and diversified investments in public policies aimed at indigenous migrants.

Some facts draw attention to the issue of the mobility of the indigenous people: most of the indigenous shelters have a population above what was expected and there are urban

occupations with indigenous and non-indigenous populations; new indigenous people are continually arriving through the migratory flow; there is a wide territorial dispersion, like those happening in Belém and in other States in the north, north-east and south-east. All these factors impact the relocation of these people, so that it is necessary to monitor the indigenous migration issue properly.

The Warao in particular, with their movement to and from other cities, will be able to contribute to forming solutions that meet their needs. Perhaps what can still be improved are proposals negotiated with them in order to create sheltering alternatives, because as it stands today, they do not seem to meet the volume and needs of the flow. The risk is a dispersion that competes with the protection policies.

In this study's workshops with the indigenous people, what repeatedly came up was that their goal is to have a job and rent a house, as well as being able to educate their children and help their relatives in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela. In the workshops, the question about the future was the least answered; this may indicate a fault in the question's composition, but also a situation of difficulty in making plans, either because they still do not see any way out or because there is a lack of information that allows the expression of alternatives. The responses we had bring this population in line with other migrants, that is, they want to have a home and a better future for their children.

The search for alternatives to the interiorization of this population, whether spontaneously or as part of the governmental strategy, should not be restricted to rural or urban opposition. Some of the indigenous people who said in the workshops that they worked as farmers referred to working on third party farms. Many in Boa Vista, for example, worked in civil construction as construction labourers, and many of those in the Tarumã shelter who identified themselves as fishermen practiced industrial maritime fishing. Thus, the division between urban and rural should not be seen as an excluding factor, neither in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela nor in Brazil. In fact, such categories are inclusive in the sense that both elements have differences in terms of work experiences and relationships with the State and trade.

In the Pemón case, proposals and monitoring of support projects need to pay attention to the social relationships in the collective work of this group, known in the region as *ajuri*. Here a gender issue reappears: the existence of indigenous women without adult male labour, necessary as a counterpart for community work, whether in the breaking of new ground for crops or in building houses.

3.3.3 Local integration

Local integration takes place through the inclusion of migrants in the society of the country in which they live, in terms of economic, cultural, political and other aspects. In the case of indigenous peoples, integration respecting their culture, languages and

customs should be considered, while appreciating and respecting difference. This point is not different with indigenous migrant peoples; it must be present on all action fronts targeting this population, such as housing, education, health, combating xenophobia and labour.

For migrant indigenous peoples, a strong and pervasive prejudice is labelling them as “strangers” in urban areas – not simply because they are migrants, but especially because they are indigenous – as if it would only be possible to be an indigenous person if you lived in a rural area. Nothing supports this idea, either in anthropology or in law, since it is not the place that an individual inhabits that gives them an ethnic identity, but their history of belonging to a people. This conceptual clarity and the rights attached to this factual situation need to guide any and all policies designed for these peoples.

In all the cities with an indigenous presence, an investment in the training of local actors is necessary. Raising the actors’ awareness so that they know who these peoples are, where they came from and what their rights are is an important measure in supporting this flow of indigenous migrants. It is also necessary to develop culturally sensitive guidelines in approaches to people in street circumstances, including the collecting of goods, avoiding threats in situations involving parents and minor children. These are situations that deserve attention in order to offer differentiated service.

The streets are still a space occupied by the Warao. The work performed by women on the streets is considered an important source of funds. Thus, it is necessary to make this public aware of the risks in urban centres, not strictly to curb this type of work, but to prevent and reduce risks associated with it, especially for the children. Holding workshops with women and promoting the sharing of experiences can produce successful narratives or constraints experienced by them on the streets. Relevant social issues related to the functioning of families include the Warao indigenous women’s assertion that if their husbands had paid work, they would not have to work every day to raise money.

3.4 Linguistic ties and new spontaneous movements

The Warao, and more recently the Eñepa, began a spontaneous process of interiorization, based on their own kinship relations, forming pendular migration fields and bearing the costs of these displacements. In the Warao case, the field includes Pacaraima, Boa Vista and Manaus, extending to Santarém and Belém from 2017. In 2018 and 2019, with the increase of this population in Brazil, new circuits are being built. Faced with this multiplication of locations, there seems to be a loss in monitoring, mainly because this is limited to people in shelters. Countless cities have registered the presence of indigenous people, especially Warao, but we do not know for sure how many are in Brazil. What is known today is that they continue to be in areas such as the city centres and port regions of Manaus and Belém.

In the cities where they go, indigenous people value the relationships that families and/or leaders are able to establish with local actors. Some of these are still being cultivated, such as the case with the Catholic network that was present from the beginning with the Warao in Manaus. They resort to Priests and lay people for possible paid employment and donations, as well as for weddings. Time in the city is also invested in building contacts, for example with Brazilians who sell water or razors for the Warao to resell, or even with places to buy recyclable materials. All of this requires time to get to know the cities, going to small businesses to buy and sell, until identifying businesses who welcome them.

Today three peoples are registered in the migratory flow from the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, each one with their unique characteristics and histories that have resulted in internal displacements and the migration to Brazil. Public policies need to pay attention to these differences, respecting the diversity within groups and between groups. Indigenous peoples are not closed structures in themselves; they have their own strategies and, in most cases, mobility within and outside their territories.



One of the differences between these peoples present in the migratory flow is the relationship with indigenous peoples in Brazil. The most prominent example is the Pemón, who have relatives in Brazil, with whom they share the same language. This fact influenced diversified responses in welcoming and caring for these people in Roraima. In addition, it highlighted the difference between cross-border indigenous people and others. The border doesn't just separate; it unites and builds relationships, often translated by kinship and shared histories.

Similar to what happens with other indigenous peoples in Brazil, the Warao and Eñepa today are spread across various States in the Federation. This dispersion is part of a modus of resistance and political action, given the countless interventions in their territories and in their history. Each has their own internal organization, with their own ways of making collective decisions and with calendars for assemblies that bring together leaders scattered across States and even countries, as is the case of the Guarani people in Brazil. This diversity in the way of living and building alternatives includes strategies for community life in and outside the city.⁷⁶ This diversity does not impact their rights as

⁷⁶ "According to a report by the United Nations Programme for Human Settlements (UN-Habitat), there is still little data on the precise number of indigenous people living in urban contexts in the world. The document cites information from the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD), which indicates that approximately 40 per cent of the world's indigenous population lives in urban environments. Regarding Latin America more specifically, based on census data from 2000, it is estimated that there are 30 million indigenous people in the region, and among them 12 million living in urban areas." Agopyan, Kelly K. *O indígena no contexto urbano: o caso de São Paulo*. [The indigenous in the urban context: the case of Sao Paulo]. In: Paredes, Beatriz (coord.). *O mundo indígena na América Latina* [The indigenous world in Latin America.] Sao Paulo: Edusp, 2018.

indigenous peoples, and must be a source of information in the dialogue in the search for durable solutions in the migratory flow of Venezuelan indigenous people.

In this scenario, lasting culturally appropriate solutions must pay attention to the considerable diversity of strategies developed by and within the peoples. The search for solutions needs to be multiple and gradually evolve the single shelter into a complex policy. We need to consider that today the indigenous people in the Venezuelan migratory flow themselves will be able to evaluate policies targeting them and devise alternatives in search of durable solutions. This is not a minor detail in the construction of accommodation policies for indigenous peoples in this flow.

Lastly, the migratory flow of indigenous people today is an excellent opportunity to consider policies for indigenous populations in urban contexts in general. Dialogue with national, regional and local indigenous organizations should be promoted, as well as actors working in the Brazilian indigenous area, especially FUNAI, an indigenous body linked to the Ministry of Justice and Public Security, and the Office of the Federal Prosecutor. All these actors are aware of the multiplicity of experiences of indigenous peoples in Brazil and can contribute to the process to be built with indigenous people in the migratory flow. The basis of this dialogue must be the rights of indigenous peoples, rights of ethnic and linguistic minorities, migrants' rights and universal human rights.



04

BUILDING DURABLE SOLUTIONS
FOR INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN THE
VENEZUELAN MIGRATORY FLOW





BUILDING DURABLE SOLUTIONS FOR INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN THE VENEZUELAN MIGRATORY FLOW

As seen in previous chapters, the concept of durable solutions found in the literature on migration needs to be subjected to a critical review so that it can be adjusted to the context of the movement of indigenous people. Each context will lead to the construction of a solution, always with the participation of stakeholders and especially indigenous migrants.

The recent migratory flow from the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela to Brazil offers abundant material for analysis and numerous possibilities for ways ahead. In this chapter, we address key elements for a long-term articulated response that guarantees the rights of migrants and indigenous asylum seekers. In addition, we return to the determining characteristics of the three main displaced peoples in order to make some recommendations.

4.1 The development of a long-term strategy

The construction of medium- and long-term policies to deal with indigenous migration from the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela to Brazil encompass at least four steps: (1) construction of an appropriate institutional architecture, (2) implementation of the governance structure on the ground, (3) expansion of federative engagement and alignment of actions with the communities involved, and (4) structuring and implementing an action plan.

Regarding the first measure – the construction of an appropriate institutional architecture to deal with the issue – the Brazilian response to the human flow caused by the emergency in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela has been hailed as good practice on the international stage. Operation *Acolhida* has been widely recognized as a successful humanitarian operation, in which the governance architecture allows public agents involved in the reception of Venezuelans to act quickly, safely and in a coordinated manner.

While FUNAI plays a leading role in the indigenous issue, its engagement in welcoming Venezuelans is still reticent. Likewise, key actors in other sectors of government, such as the ministries of Education, Health and Citizenship (social assistance), are still unclear on how to act, especially outside the institutional spaces where Operation *Acolhida* is directly present in coordinating the field actions of all federal agencies.

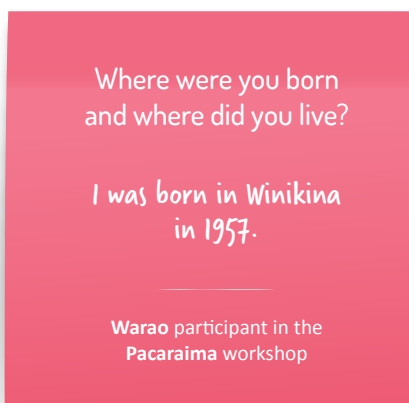
In this sense, it is fundamental to create and expand governance structures that allow these federal actors, in addition to State, municipal and civil society actors, to share



information and good practices and to make coordinated decisions. The existence of structures already in place that can play a leading role in the issue, as is the case with Operation *Acolhida*, indicates that it is possible to produce a coordinated response structure in the short term.

As for the second measure – the implementation in the field of the governance structure and its communication to the concerned parties – the main underlying public policy structure for indigenous migrants at the time when this study was concluding was the shelter policy. Thus, it seems reasonable to point out that shelters can be the basis for implementing a broader culturally appropriate assistance and social integration programme.

Sampling from the fountain of other internationally recognized Brazilian good practices, such as the creation of the São Paulo Migrant Reference and Service Centre (CRAI),⁷⁷ one recommendation is to set up reference centres in shelters that can inform indigenous migrants about their rights and duties in Brazil. Positioning shelters as central information and support structures will make them stronger, and this in addition to creating other places with the same referral services, possibly linked to existing social assistance equipment (in the most appropriate places for each locality), will assist in making the shelter experience a step in the process of adapting to life in Brazil.



As seen, indigenous migrants in general do not give a structured narrative regarding their expectations for the future and about their current stay in shelters, which makes it difficult for the government to act. The existence of information centres where an “options menu” is available for this population is a fundamental step to ensure that their decisions are made based on correct elements and with sufficient clarification on the burdens and risks involved in each life choice.

With a well-designed institutional architecture and a first-response agent in place, the next step in building durable solutions that are culturally appropriate for the indigenous population is to expand federative engagement and align actions with the communities involved.

At the time of writing the first studies on the arrival of indigenous Venezuelans in Brazil in 2017 and 2018, this population was basically in the State of Roraima, with some family ramifications in other parts of the North Region. The survey carried out for this study and data from the United Nations Regional Interagency Coordination Platform (R4V) show that today the reality is different: Venezuelan indigenous people have already spread

⁷⁷ IOM. *Local Migration Governance Indicators:: the city of São Paulo*. Sao Paulo, 2019.

across the five regions of the country, though the main concentration is in the north, where their access point to the country and emergency shelters are located.

Cities as diverse as Teresina in Piauí, Campo Grande in Mato Grosso, and Porto Alegre in Rio Grande do Sul already have a presence of the Warao people. The concentration in the North Region occurs both in large cities like Boa Vista and Manaus, and in small and medium-sized cities in the interior, such as Santarém. The main economic centres of the country also register presences of the population, especially São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, already in large groups.

Clearly durable solutions involve federative articulation with the countless actors involved. As already mentioned, consultation with indigenous peoples is an international obligation undertaken by Brazil, but the process of building a culturally appropriate durable solution with a focus on social cohesion must take into account both the needs and desires of migrants and the context, rules and the needs of the host communities.

Expanding engagement with local public authorities, States and city councils is therefore essential for targeting public responses and policies to the contexts of the areas where migrants will live, either permanently or for a period during their displacement.

Finally, it is essential to structure and execute an action plan that contemplates and articulates both emergency responses and medium- and long-term public policies. In addition to the challenge of building medium- and long-term policies for this population, it is vital that these policies are linked to emergency policies, facilitating a gradual integration into Brazilian society that respects the rights of indigenous people and, at the same time, guarantees their autonomy.

The R4V Working Group on indigenous migration, in coordination with Operation Acolhida, has already drafted a plan that offers some medium- and long-term solutions. The working group is led by IOM and UNHCR and has more than 40 civil society organizations and United Nations agencies.

4.2 The need for free, prior and informed consultation

The principles of free, prior and informed consultation demand, above all, a relationship of respect for the rights of indigenous migrant peoples and represent a key mechanism for the construction of a public policy capable of supporting any lasting solution. Prior consultation does not depend on the presence of an indigenous organ to be taken into consideration. It is advisable to start an approach by working with the indigenous



populations to learn how their internal decision-making processes operate, with the obligation falling on everyone, governmental or not, to ensure that the information is clear and can be discussed internally by the members of each community.

Time is needed to clarify doubts and for discussion in their own language, for example. Thus, more than a principle, the consultation establishes a differentiated relationship and guarantee of rights. This is not a formal consultation protocol, but rather the production of substantive means to guarantee a right that should guide relations with indigenous peoples in Brazil.

In practice, however, this process has sometimes been confused with the appointing of *aidamos*. Although this can be considered a good practice, in the sense of adopting a term from the Warao language, these appointments alone cannot guarantee the principle of free, prior and informed consultation. The term itself has taken on a very contextualized meaning in the sheltering process experienced so far in Brazil. As we have seen, today it refers to leaders – sometimes elected, sometimes appointed – but above all requested from the start to collaborate in the management of shelters.

Since the beginning, various indigenous men and women have held this position in the experience and management of each shelter, both in Roraima and in Amazonas. The work carried out by the Office of the Federal Prosecutor anthropologists has always drawn attention to the fact that the *aidamo* position did not reflect a traditional form of organization, but in the context of migration, it produced interlocutors between the people and local authorities, governmental or not. After three years of experience with shelters for indigenous populations, we see that occupying the position remains a point of reference, whether for the individual, who when arriving at another shelter declares having been an *aidamo* in another shelter, or for the group, who understood the need to appoint interlocutors when requested by shelter managers.

The *Aidamo* points to positive processes of bringing Brazilian organizations and indigenous peoples closer but must be guided by the principles of Convention 169 of the International Labour Organization (ILO) so that the consultation processes are able to support and guarantee the rights of these peoples. On the other hand, the *aidamo* experience may have created important interlocutors for an expanded discussion on the experiences in shelters today, on alternatives, and as well as on positive and negative evaluations already experienced by these peoples.

How was your education?

I studied until I was 14. I went to Tucupita and soon after I arrived in Brazil.

Warao participant in the Pacaraima workshop

4.3 Determining characteristics of migrant peoples in designing solutions

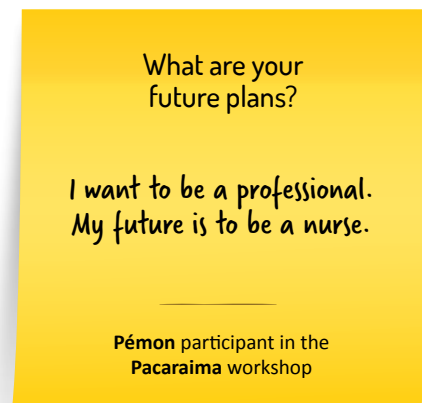
Before presenting how some of the planned actions relate to the main findings of this study, let us return to some conclusions on the profile of the three main groups of indigenous migrants identified, as well as cross-border peoples, so that the recommendations can be contextualized in relation to each population group.

4.3.1 The Warao

In previous studies carried out about the Warao people in Brazil, information was recorded on the environmental impacts in their original territories, which helped to understand the losses of autonomy and natural resources suffered there.⁷⁸ As well as exposing the health impacts from significant losses caused by cholera in the 1990s, these studies pointed out the alternatives of internal migration experienced by the Warao in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, in large and medium urban centres, and how they affected sales of their handicrafts.

Since the first surveys in 2017 and 2018, the economic crisis, representing food scarcity, difficulty in selling handicrafts and problems in accessing health services in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, was the main reason reported by the Warao and Eñepa for their coming to Brazil. This data is confirmed in the most recent bibliography produced in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela. Some of these studies, carried out by Venezuelan authors, report on a new impact element: urban violence.⁷⁹

In an article published in 2018 in *Cadernos de Saúde Pública* [Booklets of Public Health], based on studies carried out with the Warao in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, worrying data was recorded on issues related to urban health and violence, including illegal activities and youth prostitution.⁸⁰ There was an alarming rate of the presence of the HIV type 2 virus, with a substantial impact on the lives of young people. According to the survey, this impact was high enough to hinder marriages among a younger generation, in addition to causing a significant number of orphans. The data



78 MPF. Attorney General's Office. Secretariat of Expertise, Research and Analysis.

National Expertise Centre. *Technical Opinion no. 1*. CRI do Pintolândia: apurar conflitos ocorridos aos 14/15 de abril de 2018 entre indígenas e militares. [Pintolândia CRI: investigating conflicts that occurred on April 14/15, 2018 between indigenous and military personnel.] Boa Vista, 3 August 2018; MPF, *Technical Opinion no. 10/2017*, op. cit. ; MPF, *Technical Opinion 208/2017*, op. cit. ; MPF, *Technical Opinion no. 328/2018*, op. cit. ; MPF, *Technical Opinion no. 2,193*, op. cit. ; Simões, op. cit. ; *Legal aspects of assisting Venezuelan indigenous migrants in Brazil* op. cit.

79 Briceño-León, Roberto; Perdomo, Gloria. Violence against indigenous children and adolescents in Venezuela. *Public Health Notebooks*, v. 35, suppl. 3, e00084718, 2019. Available at www.scielo.br/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0102-311X2019001505008&lng=en&nrm=iso. Accessed on 23 March 2020.

80 Ibid.

corroborates the high presence of children and adolescents in the indigenous migratory flow, many unaccompanied by their parents.

The Warao are not the only carriers of this type of virus, whose numbers are also worrying among indigenous peoples in Brazil. Thus the impact, in terms of orphans and a generation's difficulties in marrying, needs to be taken into account: the presence of young people and indigenous children in this flow is a theme to be highlighted by the shelter policy.

The study also describes violence in some urban centres and in regions dominated by the illegal trade in oil products, as well as goods transported by sea, drugs and minerals. This situation confirms the report from an adult Warao who travelled to Manaus in search of protection, meeting his relatives from Mariusa, after suffering death threats. This data is important to consider that in certain regions of the Delta, the return of this population is not seen in the short term and that the pendulum movement itself is not the same for all Warao.

If the cost of returning today is more expensive, making the pendulum movement more difficult, return is not even on the horizon for some Warao, either because of the threats received or because of their feeling insecure. This can also help us to understand the Warao's interest in moving further away from the border between the two countries. All of this shows that promoting dialogue with them, learning their internal differences and their differentiated goals is fundamental, as these are important components in the construction of durable solutions for each case.

Another important aspect is that migration itself produces internal relationships and contradictions that impact the strategies of families in the migratory flow. Accusations of witchcraft and interpretations of diagnoses of illness and death are discussed among family members in Brazil and in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela. If the diagnosis of witchcraft is confirmed, the return to the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela and the abandonment of shelters or other places of residence will reoccur regardless of sheltering policies. The suspicion (well-founded or not) that people are having differentiated access to benefits can be a trigger for conflicts. As far as we can see, this issue is often not raised with shelter managers, but it is the reason, as some families explained, for their internal displacements in Brazil. These internal dynamics need attention, not in order to curb them, but to be clear in the management of material and immaterial resources and job opportunities for various Warao professionals, in the interior or in the cities where they are close to the support organizations.

4.3.2 The Pemón/Taurepang

The Pemón situation, as already shown, involved armed conflicts and deaths in their villages in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela. These wounds will take a long time to heal. All the Pemón who arrived in the migratory flow have relatives who stayed in

the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela. People still need to talk about what happened, and it may be necessary to create safe spaces for this to happen. The presence of this population in Indigenous Lands in Brazil also poses the challenge of involving indigenous organizations and their ways of managing these territories, which are not to be confused



Pemón child drawing representing her home land.

with other governmental authorities.

On the other hand, if these organizations are left out, this could lead to new conflicts involving local actors, who are not limited to village leaders, despite them being important actors. There are models of local organization where each village leader is part of a larger context of sociocultural organization and territorial management in the different Brazilian Indigenous Lands.

The non-involvement of the actors and local authorities of this people may overlap with other conflicts and hinder the construction of humanitarian actions present in indigenous lands, in particular in the *Terra Indígena São Marcos*. The high acceptance rate of these people initially recorded cannot be understood as something given or permanent, as guaranteeing and reinforcing the involvement of indigenous organizations with the other local actors in the humanitarian actions to be developed is recommended, remembering that the indigenous themselves have forums (decentralized and/or coordinated organizations and associations, structures and territorial networks at local and regional levels) and village leaders (*tuxauas*) that can be called on in humanitarian actions. Community building and reinforcement is key to the sustainability of any durable solution with cross-border indigenous people.

4.3.3 The Eñepa

The Eñepa, still a minority group in the Venezuelan indigenous flow, already had a relationship outside the Delta region with the Warao in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela due to the homeless situation, but it is still necessary to deepen the understanding of this relationship. There is no record of marriages between them, although very distinct relationships are observed.

In Boa Vista, the reception of the Eñepa at the Pintolândia shelter was not something they decided. It happened at the moment when the shelter became exclusive for indigenous people in late 2017, with the removal of non-indigenous people. At that time, the Pintolândia shelter began to accommodate, with the Warao who were already at the shelter, the Eñepa and other homeless indigenous people. More recently in the urban occupation in Boa Vista, both indigenous and non-indigenous Venezuelans are coexisting.

The Eñepa seem to have gathered a family group of about 100 people in Brazil, some of whom have been in Boa Vista since 2017. They do not talk about returning to their traditional territory, but rather the need to sell handicrafts. They complain of always being in unfavourable places in the shelters, such as the areas that flood, citing that the fact of being a minority often makes them invisible. It is important to remember that they also have their own mother tongue, customs and culture, and need to be heard and involved in decisions to build alternatives and durable solutions.

4.3.4 Cross-border peoples

The new Brazilian Migration Law (Law 13,445)⁸¹ brought to the debate the issue of “cross-border indigenous peoples”, which does not apply to the Warao and the Eñepa, but is related to the Pemón. Despite the legal innovation, the provision still needs Executive regulation to be fully implemented in practice. Monitoring the debate and the guarantee of rights for indigenous peoples in migratory situations will be necessary.

The case of the Pemón, even more so than that of the Warao or the Eñepa, shows that national borders, especially in the Northern Region, are often referred to by indigenous peoples as empty spaces or “green borders” – these are, in fact, spaces inhabited by indigenous populations, which imposes a greater challenge to governments and humanitarian organizations in the field.

The category of cross-border peoples seeks to describe a non-exclusionary historical reality in relation to the movement of indigenous peoples between national States. The principle behind this category is to highlight the presence of indigenous populations,

81 Brazil. Presidency of the Republic. Law 13,445, of 24 May 2017. Institutes the Migration Law. *Federal Official Gazette*, 25 May 2017. Available at www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_Ato2015-2018/2017/Lei/L13445.htm. Accessed on 23 March 2020.

with a social organization that produces kinship and reciprocal relationships, which need to be respected by national States.

Far from the perspective of securitization, the international frameworks on the rights of these populations recognize the importance of respecting the movement of people, regulated by their own social and cultural relations, such as kinship, which in no way affect the sovereignty of each national state. On the contrary, these frameworks give them responsibilities and commitments to the rights of these peoples, especially due to the recognition that they were there even before the Nation State became a reality, recognizing the State must act to guarantee those rights by disregarding its formal borders and the general existing and accepted migration duties.

How was your education?

I did a course in Portuguese and I would like to continue studying in the fields of education or the military.

Warao participant in the Pacaraima workshop

This respectful relationship marks the advances in international law and various national laws in Latin America. In line with this, Article 32 of ILO Convention 169 states:

Governments shall take appropriate measures, including by means of international agreements, to facilitate contacts and co-operation between indigenous and tribal peoples across borders, including activities in the economic, social, cultural, spiritual and environmental fields.⁸²

Despite this progress, dialogue with national authorities is still necessary for a closer understanding of historical data and experiences recorded on national borders, so that they are a place of exchange and protection for the most vulnerable populations.

Thus, in Brazil today there are three indigenous peoples from the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, with their different languages and ways of life – Warao, Eñepa and Pemón – in addition to individuals from other peoples through marriage, as was registered by the marriages of Warao with Karina. It should also be noted that among the Yanomami and Ye'kuana cross-border peoples, there are families from the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela already living with relatives in Brazil.

In this diversity of peoples, indigenous migrants in Brazilian territory live in Indigenous Lands and in urban centres, on the streets, in shelters and in rented housing. Therefore, the issue of reception and the need for diversification in public policy is important, whether from a humanitarian point of view, from the point of view of protection and, above all, of the rights of these populations.

⁸² Brazil. Presidency of the Republic. Decree no. 5,051, of 19 April 2004. Promulgates Convention 169 of the International Labour Organization – ILO on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples. *Federal Official Gazette*, 24 April 2004. Available at www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_ato2004-2006/2004/decreto/d5051.htm. Accessed on 23 March 2020.

4.4 Existing recommendations

The construction of the entire indigenous peoples shelter policy to date in the Venezuelan migratory flow requires special attention regarding their ways of life, internal decision-making processes, their social organization, their languages and their autonomy. It also requires dialogue in order to give them information, mediate their choices and enable their participation in constructing public policies. It is not a matter of building a consultation protocol from the outside, but rather being guided by the principles of free, prior and informed consultation, to contribute so that they have established and respected consultation processes.

For indigenous peoples, it is not advisable to propose solutions for specific individuals or nuclear families, as this does not correspond to their forms of social organization and social obligations. Instead, durable solutions would be compromised and may even lead to conflicts of a different nature, such as accusations of witchcraft. Clarity, socialized information, constructive dialogue and respecting the time required for internal discussions are important working tools with this population.

The focus of every form of sheltering is the right, and in this case the rights, of indigenous peoples. Created for the indigenous people, regardless of where they are, they are covered by national and international legislation:

Indigenous migrants have three kinds of rights:

1. Universal rights: human rights acknowledged by Brazilian domestic law or by international instruments.
2. Rights as migrants: those which all migrants are entitled to in Brazil, either under domestic law or international law.
3. Rights as indigenous peoples: those which are assured to all indigenous peoples in Brazil, either under domestic law or international law.⁸³

These rights become even more vital in situations that make these peoples, all or some, vulnerable. The ideal would be the presence and involvement of the indigenous body in this process, due to its expertise in relations between the government and indigenous peoples in areas like education, health, social projects and social public policies. However, the rights of these peoples are independent of the presence or absence of a State agency: the peoples themselves are holders of these rights. It is the responsibility of the entire Brazilian government (federal and local) and society to protect these peoples.

Based on these premises and on the results of the field research undertaken with the Warao, Eñepa and Pemón, we will discuss the 35 recommendations made in *Legal Aspects of Assisting Venezuelan Indigenous Migrants in Brazil*, published by IOM in 2018. The report exercise is not exhaustive, but it can be a useful in evaluating changes and

83 IOM, *Legal aspects of assisting Venezuelan indigenous migrants in Brazil*, op. cit., p. 128.

continuing challenges, and above all solutions that can be implemented or improved in public policies for indigenous populations. The recommendations, divided into seven items – recognizing the indigenous status of migrants and according them due protection; institutional aspects and governance; documentation; reception; educational processes; health; and social assistance – are presented below:

Recognizing the indigenous status of migrants and according them due protection

1. The place where indigenous migrants are – either urban, rural or traditional areas – does not eliminate or modify their right to indigenous identity, to implement their collective ways of life, to specific modes of social organization and to engage in specific cultural practices.
2. The Brazilian federal government should offer guidance and coordination in indigenist and migration matters to improve the assistance given to indigenous migrants with respect for their particularities.
3. The leadership of FUNAI in coordinating actions to be implemented in view of indigenous particularities should be encouraged in the roles of harmonizing, in the three federative levels, the agencies responsible for implementing social and migration policies; of offering indigenous guidelines to the federal government; and of acting as consultant and monitor to the Brazilian State and to indigenous peoples, so as to ensure non-discrimination and promote a culture of peace in Brazilian society regarding indigenous migrants.
4. The State should act proactively to protect indigenous migrants' lives, languages and ways of life. This calls for institutional arrangements and normative guidelines that meet international standards of human rights, as well as defining and allocating budgetary provision to an action plan to be carried out by FUNAI.
5. Migrant indigenous peoples and those indigenous peoples who have a stake in or are affected by policies of reception for indigenous migrants should be consulted in accordance with ILO Convention No. 169.
6. Public agents who work with indigenous migration flows should, with indigenist support, identify factors and potentials of resilience associated with indigenous migrants' situations of vulnerability, adopting a holistic approach that takes into account their collective way of life both in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela and in the process of migration.

Institutional aspects and governance

7. In regulating article 120 of the new Migration Law (Federal Law No. 13,445/2017), which determines the creation of a National Policy for Migration, Asylum and Statelessness, the question of indigenous migrations must be considered, with special emphasis on the demand for federative coordination entailed by that migratory movement.
8. Public administration, and the federal government in particular, should pay attention to the special social dynamics related to the border context, establishing mechanisms that allow for budgetary flexibility and reallocation when it becomes necessary to make new plans and to put new public policies into effect pursuant to the arrival of new populations.
9. It is of fundamental importance to open up spaces of dialogue and engagement so that all federated entities involved in managing migration flows can have access to proper indigenist guidance.
10. The federal government, in a dialogue with states and municipalities and in consultation with the indigenist agency (FUNAI), should clarify responsibilities and give directives of action for and between federative entities, considering that the topic of migration falls within the federal competence but the performance of the resulting public policies is at least a co-responsibility of states and municipalities.
11. To draw up a general action plan for migratory movements and specific action protocols for indigenous migrant assistance, allocating extra federal funds to state indigenist action.
12. To ensure the participation of FUNAI in planning mechanisms and in the governance of federal activities having to do with migration.
13. To ensure the right of consultation and previous free and informed consent for migrant indigenous peoples and to establish specific forums in order to incorporate understandings and concerns of indigenous migrant women.

Documentation

14. Indigenous individuals born in Brazil are entitled to a nationality and, as a result, have the right to be registered and get their official birth certificate, as do the children of all immigrants born in Brazil.
15. Humanitarian reception can be an efficient channel to regularize the status of indigenous migrants, particularly when the need to ease the obligation of presenting parents' names is taken into account, for such

names are not stated in documents shown by indigenous people arriving from the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela.

16. All acts jointly signed by the Justice and Public Safety Ministry, the Foreign Office and the Labour Ministry that have to do with regularizing migrants' documents should provide for state action to facilitate access to basic required documentation, always taking into account migrants' indigenous identity.
17. The State should adopt differentiated measures to deal with the lack of documentation among indigenous migrants, so as not to penalize indigenous people who have not had their documents duly issued in their countries of origin.

Reception

18. It is necessary to make available more information about dangers and assistance related to migratory movement, to the political and social context in which migrants enter when they arrive in Brazil and to the urban context of medium-sized cities such as Boa Vista.
19. An improved assistance to indigenous migrants, especially women, children and teenagers, is tied to a greater indigenist engagement not only in social assistance actions, but also in actions aimed at strengthening the internal mechanisms of control and social protection of indigenous peoples themselves in the context of shelter and migration.
20. Creating an ombudsman and establishing a system of assistance in defence of indigenous rights in case of violence and violation can be a significant step in the process of empowering and fortifying community relationships between indigenous peoples and groups in a context of migratory reception.
21. Current institutional sheltering policies should be understood as temporary measures and should be deployed along with the development and implementation of long-term policies that respect indigenous migrants' self-determination and social organization on the basis of previous consultation.
22. There must be indigenous participation in discussing internal rules for shelters and for reception in a general sense. Indigenous peoples, groups and families must receive information on the emergency and temporary nature of structures when that is actually the case.

23. To draw up participative solutions that ensure long-term rights to proper housing for migrant indigenous peoples. Even collective housing solutions should be considered, respecting indigenous ways of life and social organization.
24. As a short-term solution, actions must be developed to convert shelters into reference centres, with teams capable of informing migrants about local habits and of giving them information about how to relate to people, get documents, look for schooling or take Portuguese classes with a view to better autonomy and integration.
25. As a medium- and long-term solution, federal and state governments should consult indigenous peoples and offer them differentiated policies of collective housing in urban and rural areas, with indigenist support to ensure sustainability and autonomy for migrant indigenous peoples. The State should privilege specialized direct dialogue with indigenous migrants.
26. Establishing indigenous collective houses in cities and towns and setting aside rural areas to ensure the physical and cultural survival of indigenous peoples or groups should not be confused with the demarcation of original indigenous peoples' traditional lands, but are ways of implementing the right to adequate housing by taking into account indigenous specificities.

Educational processes

27. As a short-term solution, sheltering policies should be accompanied by community education projects, valuing the knowledge and experience of indigenous educators, youngsters and elders, with a view to ensuring autonomous spaces for indigenous migrants' languages and cultures in the Brazilian context.
28. To provide information to and consult with indigenous peoples, offering them appropriate alternatives on the terms of the law in the quest for medium- and long-term solutions for indigenous migrants' presence in the country's educational system, always taking into account their right to bilingual, differentiated and specific education.
29. The federal government, in consultation with indigenous peoples, should ensure due monitoring by FUNAI and SECADI/MEC of all educational actions directed at migrant indigenous peoples so as to contribute with medium- and long-term migratory policies, particularly as regards forceful settlement policies and situations of discrimination and racism.

30. FUNAI should promote an interchange between indigenous migrants coming from the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela and Brazilian indigenous peoples.⁸⁴

Health

31. To ensure federative mechanisms and arrangements for differentiated health care aimed at indigenous migrants, also in an urban context and on an equal footing with Brazilian-born indigenous peoples.

32. To apply the indigenist expertise of SESAI/MS to indigenous migrants' health care, on an equal footing with Brazilian-born indigenous peoples.

Social Assistance

33. FUNAI and MPF should offer indigenist guidance to the social assistance network at state and municipal levels so as to ensure appropriate and specific assistance for indigenous migrants, understanding and explaining the notion of social risk from an intercultural point of view.

34. The social assistance network should be based on the federal Unified Register and should overcome obstacles that prevent indigenous migrants' access to the social assistance system.

35. The social assistance network, together with FUNAI and MDS, should implement processes of dialogue, information and consultation about social assistance programmes, services and benefits available to indigenous migrants.⁸⁵

After three years of action by the Brazilian government, civil society and international organizations, there are three more areas that relate to the construction of culturally appropriate durable solutions: indigenous participation, gender issues and the empowerment of indigenous women and girls, and the right to the city of indigenous populations in an urban context. The three themes are related to rights, but also to the concern of protecting these peoples from situations of great vulnerability.

4.5 Indigenous participation in building durable solutions

Durable solutions for indigenous peoples necessarily imply respect for their cultures, their languages, their forms of care, their culinary habits and their personal way of care.

⁸⁴ The Secretariat for Continuing Education, Literacy, Diversity and Inclusion (SECADI) was extinguished through Decree No. 9,465, of 2 January 2019.

⁸⁵ The Ministry of Social Development (MDS) is no longer a ministry. The policies under the former MDS have now become part of the Ministry of Citizenship.

In an unfavourable situation in a foreign country, indigenous people look to maintain their social relationships, recreate their family gatherings and value being able to make their own food. Every public policy must aim to contribute to this process of building a lasting solution, that is, to enable indigenous people to continue being who they are, with their beliefs and their languages, and being able to make informed choices in this new context by knowing their rights and duties in the new territory.

What are your future plans?

I want to go to university, besides shelter, because I want to be a professional.

Warao participant in the Pacaraima workshop

This study has shown that indigenous peoples, even in adverse situations, still have agency. The case of the Tarumã shelter is still the best example of this, as it is a reference point for the Warao from the Mariusa region. It is important to stress that the presence of a majority from the Mariusa region in the same

shelter was not the result of a deliberate public policy but of the indigenous agency in an attempt to find better living conditions, including prevention of conflicts and accusations of witchcraft. This also indicates the relevance of an effective dialogue with these populations in the search for culturally appropriate durable solutions. Knowing Brazilian law and policies is fundamental in this sense, hence the importance of having points of reference, ideally close to accommodation and shelter structures.

Today, unlike 2018, there is a large dispersion of the indigenous migrant population across Brazilian territory, which exposes the policies for their protection. The indigenous migrants themselves attribute the experience of *aidamos* in shelters where they had previously stayed as a unique experience in Brazil. Many of them had intimate knowledge of more than one shelter and will be able to help in the search for multiple and differentiated solutions for this population.

4.6 Gender issues and the empowerment of indigenous women and girls

There is a lot of demand in shelters for homecare and domestic workers. Shelters generally offer few tasks for men. Even when homeless, it is they who provide the food and take care of the minors with them. On the other hand, shelter activities, such as cooking, washing clothes and taking care of the family (children, the elderly, the sick), generally overburden the women, which results in the men being subject to the moralizing judgment of being idle in the eyes of the outside public. This situation can contribute to violence, alcoholism and other problems.

Along with the issue of gender relations, places are needed to listen women's views on their migratory experience and working on the streets asking for donations. Dialogue with them is needed to better understand this reality. In general, this is a topic that is

tackled from the point of view of either risk or morality, which does not contribute to having more information about this reality.

The work of women on the street asking for donations is a reality that has been rejected since the arrival of the Warao in Brazil; from the point of view of the Warao, however, it seems to be considered respectable work and a relatively safe source of income. To explore this theme more deeply, it is necessary to think about ways of dialogue and accompanying the women. They should be given guidance about safety and risks, but they must also indicate these risks. Legal actions to limit this work, aimed at the well-being of children, must take into account the burden of possible separation from them and their parents. In particular, these actions must be preceded by information campaigns on the rights and duties in force in Brazil and the risks associated with the exposure of children.

Although this situation is frequent in Brazilian cities, we have little data about it other than the interventions of child welfare services, the threats or removal of children from their guardians, or even shelter rules that seek to curb this practice. Because it has been practiced for so long and in so many cities, more understanding is required, as is more dialogue with the indigenous women themselves. Still, it demands strong federative articulation, since legal actions to curb it in a certain location may result in the displacement of the population to another that it deems less rigorous. This process is harmful to the rights of children and also to the community, as the problem is not solved, but rather only moves, demanding constant reactive actions from public authorities.

Another issue to confront is that of violence, often related to alcoholism. Alcoholism is registered in various reports, especially from shelter managers, but in general treated as a reason for exclusion or expulsion from these spaces. The abuse of alcohol and other drugs must urgently be seen as a public health issue directly related to cultural and social characteristics, and not merely something to repress. This issue needs to be included both in the work done with women and in the preventative and combat actions by specialized teams. In this sense, health care for indigenous peoples needs to incorporate mental health and substance abuse. Positive experiments exist in Brazil and need to be shared with shelter managers, social assistance and other actors involved in working with this population. Such care and assistance must be integrated into durable solutions and in the creation of new shelters.

Also in the field of gender and violence is the theme of sexual violence, often reported in shelters with non-indigenous and indigenous populations. As we have seen, the significant presence of migrants and refugees under the age of 18 is a reality in this flow and is related to several problems, from the lack of educational and leisure activities to the use of alcohol and the overcrowding of shelter spaces. In the literature on the Warao,

violence or sexual abuse is considered a serious crime, and should not be regarded as a cultural issue at all.⁸⁶

4.7 Indigenous peoples' right to the city

In general, the Warao prefer to occupy urban spaces, a topic that deserves special attention. It is estimated that there are about 5,000 indigenous peoples in the world, totalling 370 million people.⁸⁷ According to data from the 2010 demographic census, in Brazil there are 305 indigenous peoples and 817,963 people declared themselves to be indigenous. Of this total, 502,783 (61.5%) live in rural areas and 315,180 (38.5%) in urban centres, contrasting with the distribution of the general population, 84 per cent of whom live in urban spaces, while only 16 per cent in rural areas.

While waiting for data from the next census, scheduled for 2021, we can estimate that the total indigenous population will exceed 1 million, with around 400,000 in cities, which demonstrates a significant presence of indigenous peoples in Brazilian urban centres. Although their protection and health policy is structured with a focus on Indigenous Lands, designated and/or ratified, each policy for indigenous peoples needs to take these numbers into account, and the fact that they can fluctuate, as a large number of young people from Indigenous Lands attend high school or university in urban centres; others travel to urban centres to sell their handicrafts or for seasonal work; while others live more permanently in urban centres, such as the Pankararu in São Paulo; or they occupy spaces considered sacred by different indigenous peoples, as in the case of the Sanctuary of *Pajés* in Brasília, located in the north-west sector of the federal capital. Thus, the reality of the Warao and Eñepa may not be so far from that of the other indigenous peoples in Brazil.

The data has revealed how absent public policies for indigenous peoples are in urban spaces in terms of housing, education and health. In a way, the issue sheds light on a more nationwide problem than that linked to international migration. In this sense, this theme can be seen as an opportunity to begin the debate on the rights of this population in urban spaces and the need for broader and more diversified public policies from the point of view of the diversity of the urban population in Brazil. This includes health services, documentation, legal advice, education and social assistance, which require specialized training in the topic of the population's sociocultural and linguistic diversity. If these services were a reality in Brazil, the presence of indigenous people in the migratory flow could cause less estrangement.

86 Bello, Luis Jesus (ed.). *El Estado ante la sociedad multiétnica y pluricultural: políticas públicas y derechos de los pueblos indígenas en Venezuela* (The state in the multiethnic and multicultural society: public policies and rights of indigenous people in Venezuela). (1999-2010). Caracas: IWGIA, 2011. Serie Derechos Indígenas.

87 Verдум, Ricardo et al. *Silenced genocides: Brazil* IWGIA Report 27. Sao Paulo: IWGIA/GAPK, 2019. Available at www.iwgia.org/images/publications/new-publications/IWGIA_report_27_Silenced_Genocides_Brazil_2019.pdf. Accessed on 7 April 2020.

Urban spaces should not be seen as places where culture is lost, but as new possibilities and strategies for so many peoples who have lost their lands and have come from other places in search of work, such as the indigenous people from the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela in the migratory flow. However, this does not make the Warao or Eñepa immune to risks they may encounter in urban social spaces, but rather disadvantaged from the point of view of infrastructure and security, which includes situations of racism and/or xenophobia.

Many Warao perceive the city as providing expanded opportunities. In this sense, the work to be carried out with them is still that of dialogue and providing information necessary for their decision making. Some of the shelters today place the indigenous people in areas far from urban centres where there is conflict and a lack of social facilities. From this point of view, an important guideline is the choice of places that can accommodate the indigenous people and where, at the same time, social work can be done in the surroundings to protect the sheltered population. People from other countries may not know these places in Brazil and will not be able to identify them immediately, but managers will know them, so a collective effort is necessary to not further aggravate the vulnerability of these migrants.

4.8 Final notes

Some key themes emerged during the consultation process to this study that add to the findings of recent investigations and reports by government technicians, international organizations, academics and social organizations.

Monitoring the number of indigenous people and ethnicities present in the migratory flow from the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela is important to formulate evidence-based public policies. Apart from the numbers of sheltered indigenous people, we still have unreliable estimates of the presence of this population in Brazil. This gap can be stressed to governmental and non-governmental agencies that work with the general documenting of migrants so that the option of ethnicity appears on self-declaration forms.

Regarding the professional profiles of this population, it is necessary to know and record the qualifications of the indigenous people inside the shelters. This can be useful in formulating accommodation policies. Opportunities for paid work need to be discussed with those sheltered to avoid internal conflicts. Forms of paid work that include indigenous people in shelters are welcome and need to be made clear to residents.

In recent years in Roraima, the Roraima Indigenous Council (CIR)⁸⁸ and the Terra Indígena São Marcos (TISM)⁸⁹ Indigenous Association have had a close relationship with the indigenous migratory movement. The Pemón, a cross-border people, were welcomed into communities within TISM, where, as we said, there are kinship relations, a common language and religious affinities, such as adherence to the Seventh-Day Adventist religion, present both in Brazil and in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela.

Regarding the Warao, the crisis in their country of origin, or even racism in local society against the indigenous people, means they maintain a diplomatic distance, with invitations to Warao leaders for coordination meetings or annual meetings of indigenous organizations. In this regard, what sets them apart from the Pemón are relationships that have been shared for centuries, in which the circulation of people has been built into the region of international borders.

Representatives of CIR and the TISM Indigenous Association reported the presence of non-indigenous people on Indigenous Lands working as day labourers and then going to Boa Vista. Thus, there is no evidence to indicate a willingness to accommodate indigenous migrants in local communities without historical social relations in the region.

However, as highlighted in the 2018 IOM report *Legal Aspects of Assisting Venezuelan Indigenous Migrants in Brazil*, it is important to involve indigenous organizations in the formulation of sheltering policies, which is not to be confused with meetings with the local leaders of the villages that have received the Pemón. Each organization has its expanded decision-making forums. This is important when considering durable solutions for those who will need to remain in the country indefinitely due to the armed conflicts experienced in their traditional territories in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela.

For education, projects such as pursuing studies in Brazil and revalidating diplomas appear as concrete demands from both the Warao and the Pemón. It is important that this information is available in shelters to clarify the possibilities of revalidating diplomas and to have accurate information from indigenous professionals.

The right to a bilingual and quality education designed for indigenous peoples in Brazil must also be guaranteed to international migrants. For the Pemón, this can be thought of in terms of supporting the expansion of schools, dialogues with the State and municipal

88 “The Roraima Indigenous Council (CIR) area covers the 35 indigenous lands of Roraima, with over more than 10 million hectares, a population of 58,000 indigenous people and 465 communities across the state of Roraima, including the Macuxi, Wapichana, Ingarikó, Patamona, Sapará, Taurepang, Wai-Wai, Yanomami and Yekuana ethnic groups, acting directly or in partnership with other indigenous organizations. The direct action of CIR is developed through the regional councils that form its action base, involving nine councils in the ethnoregions of Serras, Surumu, Baixo Cotingo, Raposa, Amajari, Wai Wai Tabaió, Serra da Lua and Murupu, and a population around of 30,000 inhabitants distributed in 242 affiliated indigenous communities.” TI Raposa Serra do Sol, which shares part of its borders with TISM, was approved by a Supreme Court decision in 2009. Roraima Indigenous Council (CIR). *About the CIR*. Available at <http://cir.org.br/sobre-o-cir/>. Accessed on 24 March 2020.

89 An important part of TISM is on the border with Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, as indicated in its homologation decree, Decree no. 312, of October 29, 1991. There are other indigenous organizations in this TI, some of which declare being against Venezuelan migration. We did not contact them in this study.

Education Department, and conversations with the Organization of Indigenous Teachers of Roraima (OPIRR) for the construction of durable policies.

For the Warao and Eñepa, this requires a constructive dialogue on the use of Warao human resources and on alternatives to overcrowded shelters in order to create



Pemón teenager drawing representing her community.

conditions, in all senses, which cannot be summed up in one school inclusion policy: physical spaces, educational material and housing, among others.

It is also necessary to provide more information to this population about their rights, such as availability and access to universal health system (SUS), the indigenous health subsystem and

social policies, such as basic income *Bolsa Família*, Continued Instalment Benefit (BPC), rural retirement and maternity leave.⁹⁰ There is an urgent need to clarify to indigenous migrants the right and duties to access to these benefits, since these can be resources to guarantee their autonomy, local insertion and dignity.

The fact that very few indigenous people gain access to social assistance generates internal conflicts, since access to information often involves the support of a volunteer or someone close to a family and not being part of an organized project to access information on public policies. The same is for access to rural retirement and other social benefits, as well as documentation, whether as an asylum applicant or as an applicant for temporary residence permit. Many Warao were born in the national territory and many have been here for more than three years, and yet they still need clarification on these policies.

Professionals who work with the Warao in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela say there is strong resistance from these indigenous to hospitals.⁹¹ Explaining the functioning of

⁹⁰ The Continuous Service Benefit is a social assistance benefit aimed at the elderly and people with disabilities, aiming to guarantee minimum conditions for a dignified life. It is part of the Unified Social Assistance System (SUAS), paid by the federal government and guaranteed by law. It remains to be seen how access to these benefits has been for migrants in the Refugee Statute or humanitarian residence. UNHCR has carried out research in this area. The Federal Attorney for Citizens' Rights (PFDC), from the MPF, has prepared material on the benefit: Federal Attorney for Citizens' Rights. *Learn more about BPC*. Brasília, s.d. Available at http://pfdc.pgr.mpf.mp.br/atuacao-e-conteudos-de-apoio/publicacoes/previdencia-social/cartilha_BPC_MDS_previdencia.pdf. Accessed on 24 March 2020.

⁹¹ Tillet, Aimé. "La población indígena es la más desasistida en materia de salud" [The Indigenous population is neglected the most in health]. *Provea*, 12 April 2018. Available at www.derechos.org/ve/actualidad/entrevista-provea-aimee-tillet-la-poblacion-indigena-es-la-mas-desasistida-en-materia-de-salud. Accessed on 24 March 2020.

health subsystems as part of the shelter policy can help in accessing long-term treatments and in situations that require hospitalization.

As we have seen, the Office of the Federal Prosecutor has produced several technical opinions based on research with indigenous populations. It was also the institution that requested FUNAI the most, judicially and administratively, so that the agency could act with the peoples in this flow. At the same time that it demands individual and collective rights enforcement, the judicialization can subsidize discussions for the formulation of public policies, hence the importance of dialogues between the Brazilian Federal Public Defender's Office (DPU) and the Office of the Federal Prosecutor, which have followed the indigenous presence in the Venezuelan migratory flow since the beginning. The challenge remains to involve and activate the expertise of these agencies and their reach in the Brazilian territory, which could contribute to the monitoring and formulation of public policies.

Finally, the issue of shelters needs to be discussed with indigenous people and local governments that have different situations and experiences, in order to contribute to the creation of protection and reception networks. The proposal from the Ministry of Citizenship for the creation of 3,800 posts in shelters necessitates dialogue with other expectations and ongoing solutions built by the indigenous people themselves, in order to rationalize the application of public resources in the migratory flow.

In addition, the issue of accommodation must be considered, breaking away from the rural and urban dichotomy, if only because the concept of rural can be interpreted differently by those involved. The participation of the indigenous people themselves in the discussion and search for solutions is essential. Governmental investments can be better used with the participation of indigenous people and respect for their autonomy. It is important to make an assessment, in the short and medium term, of the experiments already performed to guide the policies for accommodating indigenous populations.





05

RECOMMENDATIONS



RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the research team's effort to reflect critically on a culturally appropriate concept of a lasting solution, the rounds of conversation with indigenous peoples and the workshops and interviews with public authorities and academic, it is possible to outline a set of practical recommendations:

5.1 Recognition of the indigenous condition, documentation and community reinforcement

1. The Brazilian Government, civil society and international organizations must maintain a constant dialogue with the indigenous, local and migrant community, identifying leaders who can facilitate the joint construction of durable solutions.
2. This effort should not disregard that language and gender barriers can systematically prevent or hinder segments of the population's access to information and decision making, and the construction of affirmative actions is essential to ensure that no one is left behind in the process.
3. Brazil was the protagonist of an internationally recognized good practice by waiving the requirement of parenthood on the identity documents of Venezuelans who arrived in the country in a vulnerable situation in 2018. Nevertheless, difficulties persist with undocumented children born in Brazil and with young people, adults and the elderly who require delayed birth registration. The absence of documentation constitutes a serious impediment in accessing various public policies and should be given special attention. No indigenous people wishing to obtain documents should remain undocumented.

5.2 Institutional aspects of governance and dialogue

4. It is necessary to establish an institutional structure for dialogue and governance between the different levels of government and indigenous communities in order to define structured and comprehensive public policies.
5. With or without the establishment of a coordination structure, a vital step towards the construction of durable and culturally appropriate solutions is the establishment of an action plan that guides the various actors on the ground, with short-, medium- and long-term goals.
6. Any strategic action with an impact on the means and ways of life of the indigenous population must be accompanied by an informed consultation process. The establishment of guidelines for consultation methodologies and the sharing of initiatives conducted by civil society and international organizations can facilitate the introduction of this practice in the actions of local public authorities.

7. Specific action protocols can be constructed to guide public actors and civil society engaged in sheltering and humanitarian assistance to indigenous migrants (see sections on access to education and health below).
8. The governmental indigenous action, led by FUNAI, must be reinforced within the context of the organization, so that it adequately includes the presence in the national territory of migrant, urban and rural indigenous communities, with and without previous linguistic correspondents in Brazil.
9. A decisive factor for the construction of medium- and long-term public policies and consequently of durable solutions is the production of quality disaggregated data. This action can be led by the public services available in Brazil for the collection and analysis of data, qualifying the deliberation and decision-making process by the Government.
10. Public service teams that serve the indigenous population on a non-exclusive basis should receive basic training and awareness. Resources already available, such as online training and intensive workshops, can be mobilized to ensure a minimum level of quality in the provision of public services to indigenous and non-indigenous people.

5.3 Shelter reception and exit strategies

11. The shelter structure is today the pillar of the reception policy for indigenous migrants who arrive from the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela. Its recognition as good practice is important. The next step may be the creation of information centres in shelter structures, allowing migrants to learn about their rights, duties and available policies to support their integration into Brazilian society without detracting from their autonomy and their right to choose.
12. The information produced for information centres can be made available to public facilities in other units of the Federation where there are no dedicated indigenous shelter units and for the multiple federative actors involved in the response to Venezuelan migration, ensuring adequate knowledge of the rights and obligations of the indigenous migrant population also in those places where the volume of migratory flow does not justify large-scale actions like the construction of dedicated shelters.
13. The creation of new dedicated shelters, transition houses, community housing structures in an urban context and rural settlements is welcomed in its plurality, provided that indigenous migrants receive sufficient information on the reception modalities before their decision is taken.
14. Promoting, with the participation of the indigenous people, an assessment of existing shelter experiences, especially in the States of Roraima, Amazonas and Pará, can offer valuable information for the future design of public policies.
15. In cases where indigenous migrants from the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela settle

in communities with the same language family in Brazil, durable solutions include strengthening community and social cohesion, including investing in the physical infrastructure of the villages that have expanded their contingent population.

16. This study verified the existence of a variety of vocations and professional training among indigenous migrants. Promoting a survey of these profiles is necessary for the better inclusion in the job market of those who want it.
17. Specific professional training strategies are also recommended, taking into account the particular economic situation of each host community.

5.4 Access to education

18. Build an information protocol on the right to education in Brazil, to be offered as a way for indigenous migrants to learn about the possibilities of including their children in the formal education system or to consider the possibility of community education in their context, ensuring that no child is excluded from the right to culturally appropriate education.
19. Strengthen bilingual education and the teaching of Portuguese to young people and adults, removing or reducing cultural obstacles to culturally sensitive local integration.
20. Enable the validation of diplomas and degrees obtained abroad to promote good economic integration. The modernization of the Brazilian correspondence system may be a relevant action to facilitate integration and local economic development.

5.5 Access to health

21. Build national guidelines and standard operating procedures for health system agents on the care for indigenous people who demand access to SUS in an urban context, outside SESAI's dedicated care areas, facilitating access to the right to health in a culturally appropriate manner.
22. Producing audio-visual resources with basic questions and answers on health issues in indigenous languages or other culturally sensitive mediums is an important step so that durable solutions are not hampered by preventable or treatable health problems.

5.6 Social assistance and children's rights

23. Promote spaces for listening to and discussions with women who work on the streets asking for donations, seeking to protect them from situations of racism or other violence and informing them about the risks to children and the current Brazilian legislation, and above all hear what they have to say.

24. Qualify information on access to existing social assistance programmes (Bolsa Família, BPC, maternity leave, rural retirement for the indigenous population) for both indigenous people born in Brazil and those born in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela.
25. Given the existence of significant population contingents in spontaneous occupations, it is interesting to consider supporting social and cultural work initiatives in the vicinity of shelters to combat racism and xenophobia, as well as building exit strategies aimed at the population in homelessness or living in informal occupations.

ISBN: 978-65-87187-01-3

PRM



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THIS ACTIVITY IS FINANCED BY:



The Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration (PRM)