

RAIMUNDO NONATO DE PÁDUA CÂNCIO
(ORGANIZADOR)

FERNANDO FRANQUEI GOMES
(TRANSLATION BY)

INTERCULTURAL AND INTER-EPISTEMICAL
DIALOGUES IN THE INTERFACE WITH EDUCATION





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PRESENTATION

This work invites us to reflect not only on educational practices, but also on cultural, political and economic issues that cross educational relationships and experiences in different times and spaces, seen here through the prism of an intercultural perspective and an epistemic bias that opposes the universalists pretensions of hegemonic Western thought. The central issue that articulates the studies gathered here are the possible relationships between different knowledge that can support theories and new practices. It is about highlighting dialogues, experiences and knowledge that were denied and subjugated, as well as the histories and cultures of so many other peoples in Latin America, in a clear invitation to reflect on other possibilities and conditions for the production of knowledge.

The idea is that the studies produced for this work are not here just to be incorporated into the academic ethos, but above all to provoke questions about forms of production that undermine subjects, bodies, spiritualities, memories and histories, and that served and still serves as a base to justify colonialism and imperialism. As well noted by Palestinian literary critic Edward Said (2002) on this issue, Europe not only invented others, but also itself, in such a way that this imaginary needed a materiality, which was established through the link between knowledge and discipline. And this relation, for the Colombian intellectual Santiago Castro-Gómez (2007), turned the project of modernity into an exercise in epistemic violence that “disappeared” with an immense wealth of experiences and knowledge capable of preserving ways of life, symbolic universes and vital information for the survival of subalternized peoples (SANTOS, 2010).

In this sense, Venezuelan sociologist Edgardo Lander (2005), who also questions the hegemonic strength of neoliberal thought, calls attention to the search for alternatives to the exclusionary and unequal accommodation of the modern world and says that it requires an effort to deconstruct the universal and naturalized character of capitalist-liberal society. However, it warns that the search for perspectives of non-Eurocentric knowledge already has a long and valuable tradition in Latin America, that is, although ignored, there was already a production that questioned the pattern of global power and the coloniality of knowledge, such as studies of José Martí, a Cuban thinker who not only actively participated in the revolution for the independence of Cuba, but also fought against imperialism throughout Latin America at the end of the 19th century; and José Carlos Mariátegui, a Peruvian theorist who made the first successful effort to approximate Marx’s theoretical framework in our continent, among others.

It is important to note that in this work we also initiate a movement to change places, forms of enunciation and production of knowledge. It is a movement that transcends traditional academic practices and follows a logic of inclusion of the dense historical and symbolic plot that characterizes the knowledge of subjects who have been historically inferior. This is what is intended to be glimpsed in *Intercultural and Inter-epistemical Dialogues in the Interface with Education*, a work that brings together situated knowledge that integrates what is conventionally called Epistemologies of the South (SANTOS; MENEZES, 2010), not only because of the geographic scope, but above all, because they approach and question knowledge, educational practices and social experiences that are not intended to reduce the lives and ideas of subjects. Contrary to the logic that presupposes the existence of disciplinary structures and a dominant culture, overcoming the reductionist opposition between monoculturalism and multiculturalism, the idea of interculturality present in the studies gathered here is materialized in educational and political practices. This work also presents other ways of thinking and to act, to claim rights and equality, without abdicating the rights to difference, since “we have the right to be equal, whenever difference makes us inferior; we have the right to be different whenever equality deprives us of character” (SANTOS, 2006, p. 462).

In the first text, “For a pedagogical practice based on inter-epistemic dialogue and the appreciation of indigenous epistemologies”, **Lara Hanna Ribeiro Feitosa** and **Raimundo Nonato de Pádua Cândia**, from the Decolonial critical perspective, describe the “Tora Grande Ritual” practiced by the Apinaje indigenous people (Macro Jê) and point out some contributions of it, based on Law No. 11,645/2008, for a pedagogical practice in non-indigenous schools based on inter-epistemic dialogue. The data presented show important sources of knowledge to be approached at school, mainly because they provide opportunities and enable the discussion of the historical relationship between the indigenous person and the environment. The elements that make up the body paintings in the ritual discussed are translated into knowledge that help to deconstruct the idea that indigenous peoples are unaffected, that their cultures are backward, forming a rich historical and pictographic collection of the Apinaje culture.

In “The Postcolonial and Decolonial Rainbow in Mythological Narratives about Oxumarê, the Orixá Serpent”, **Marcos Henrique de Oliveira Zanotti Rosi** and **Josebel Akel Fares** emphasize that the mythology of the Orixás plays an important role in the educational formation of children and saint fathers at the Umbanda and Candomblé terreiros. The authors discuss how narratives about Oxumarê are related to postcolonial critique and decolonial thinking. Therefore,

as they walk the winding paths of the serpent orixá in the Rainbow, which houses the knowledge of this orixá in its horizon, they verify the knowledge conveyed in the narratives about Oxumarê, especially to understand his importance and the means of resistance that are evoked in the narratives about him.

In the text “Education and Indigenous Intellectuals”, **Uislei Uillem Costa Rodrigues** analyzes the main themes addressed by indigenous intellectuals in Brazil, based on the materialization of indigenous thought in academic productions. To do so, he analyzes productions, in the form of a thesis, defended in graduate programs in Education at national universities. This is a study with intellectuals who acted and act as educators and have a notorious recognition for engaging in their indigenous causes. Among other equally important issues, the author found that in the life trajectory of the studied intellectuals there is a common point: they all claim and defend their ethnic origins. They understand that the access to school institutions makes it possible to master non-indigenous codes, so necessary in the “epistemic battle”. On the other hand, it highlights that those who managed to access and remain in higher education elaborate debates that are not correlated with the understanding of the phenomenon of indigenous intellectuality, since they have been dedicated to debating more urgent issues for their peoples.

In “A study on bilingual and differentiated indigenous school education in the Amazon context”, **Malena Meneses Vilanova Gomes** and **Raimundo Nonato de Pádua Cância**, based on a bibliographical research that carried works produced in the areas of Education and Linguistics, available in the virtual libraries of the programs of graduate studies from universities located in the Brazilian Amazon. These works present a brief study on Indigenous School Education (IES) with an emphasis on bilingual and differentiated Indigenous School Education. The authors discuss the indigenous issue related to school education in a critical intercultural perspective. It was evident in the works investigated that schools are still unable to engage and articulate in their teaching projects issues related to the valuation of indigenous languages, identities, belonging and territories, which are fundamental for the defense of practices that help them to reconstruct their experiences, stories and voices.

Eliseu Riscaroli analyze the history of the celebration in honor of St. John the Baptist, held in Ribeirão Grande Pedro Bento Village, in the municipality of Tocantinópolis – TO, in the text “Ethnography of the St. John the Baptist celebration – pedagogical, cultural and religious sections”. The study is done in order to identify and characterize its cultural and religious specificities, to understand how this celebration has been practiced and presented to new generations and visitors. The results show that while this celebration educates, in the sense of being a formative process of human consciousness, which takes place from the relation between the

sacred and the profane that constitutes it, the celebration also promotes the preservation of memories, which are passed from generation to generation, proving to be fundamental for the maintenance of this local religious tradition.

In “A dialogue on the teaching of indigenous history and epistemologies from intercultural and decolonial perspectives”, **Lucas Lucena Oliveira, Adriano da Silva Borges** and **Ilma Maria de Oliveira Silva** draw attention to the need to increasingly investigate and problematize the discourses that subsidize teacher education over the decades in Brazil. With a qualitative approach, which was carried out through bibliographical research and interviews with History teachers, the study aims to reflect on the representations about indigenous peoples in textbooks and in the discourses of History teachers, in order to understand how they can contribute to combating or accentuating ignorance, intolerance and prejudice against indigenous populations. The authors found that many studies produced about the indigenous people ended up disseminating mistaken ideas and concepts about these populations and did not faithfully reproduce the complex dynamics of their cultures. This weakness is also perceived in the contents of textbooks and strengthened by gaps in the initial and continuing education of teachers. And they point out that, in contrast, indigenous epistemologies can contribute to ways of overcoming hegemonic constructions of indigenous history.

Finishing this compilation, there is the text “Traditional peoples and communities of southern Maranhão: notes on interculturality and education”, **Lilian Rolim Figueiredo, Cleidson Pereira Marinho** and **Witembergue Gomes Zaparoli**. The study was based on a survey of works that address specific aspects of traditional peoples and communities in the southern region of Maranhão, articulated with a theoretical perspective critical to hegemonic and monocultural policies and practices of knowledge construction and power distribution. The authors seek to understand the more specific characteristics of traditional communities in the southern region of Maranhão, and establish possible dialogues between education and interculturality, concerning the experiences of these traditional peoples and communities. They emphasize that the treatment of neglect and less attention from the State to this population places them in a condition of subjection to the capitalist system. In education, the absence of an educational policy integrated with a regional development project, compatible with the region’s natural and socioeconomic abilities, has resulted in mistaken planning and development models that do not repair the social and environmental costs caused.

Have a good read!

Prof. Raimundo Nonato de Pádua Cândia

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FOR A PEDAGOGICAL PRACTICE BASED ON INTER-EPISTEMICAL DIALOGUE AND THE APPRECIATION OF INDIGENOUS EPISTEMOLOGIES¹²

Lara Hanna Ribeiro Feitosa
Raimundo Nonato de Pádua Cândia

Introduction

In the work *Epistemologias do Sul*, Santos and Menezes (2010) gather studies that discuss the conditions for the production of current knowledge, approaching the paths of the critique of epistemology as a project of modern science. It is important to note that there are different perspectives through which we can think about epistemology as a study or theory of knowledge. However, in this study, our approach follows the perspective which considers epistemology “the whole notion or idea, reflected or not, about the conditions of what counts as valid knowledge” (SANTOS; MENEZES, 2010, p. 15).

Then, we understand that there is no knowledge without social practices and actors, and that different types of relationships and social experiences can generate different epistemologies,³ consisting of various knowledge, “each with its own criterion of validity, that is, they are constituted by rival knowledge” (SANTOS; MENEZES, 2010, p. 16). However, it is important to highlight that modern knowledge, historically hegemonized, was built in certain specific places and contexts, leading us to question the exclusion and silencing of peoples and cultures by a dominant epistemology along this process. Thus, with regard to the monopoly of the “right” or “wrong”, the “true” or “false”, there is a modern epistemological dispute between the so-called scientific and non-scientific forms of truth (SANTOS, 2010).

¹ This study was produced as a final work of the Specialization Course in Management and Organization of School Work at the Federal University of Tocantins (UFT), Campus of Tocantinópolis.

² We thank Prof. Dr. Lígia Raquel Rodrigues Soares/UFT for her important contributions and guidance on the Tora Grande Ritual and the sociocultural aspects of Apinajé.

³ In the last decade, there has been a movement to revalue the theories and epistemologies of the South in different areas and Universities around the world. It is not, however, about the replacement of a new paradigm, but the emergence of other paradigms (MIGNOLO, 2003).

Regarding the production of knowledge, such practices contributed to the silencing, to the extermination of experiences and epistemologies of non-European populations, justified by the colonizers with their alleged superiority, under the argument that it was necessary to develop the most primitive, as they were rude and barbarians. In this scenario in which the control of commercial capital, labor and production resources in the world market as a whole is sought (QUIJANO, 2005), Eurocentrism and ethnocentrism are being strengthened, legitimized through colonial and racist concepts.

Following this debate, the epistemic perspectives from the margins, from stigmatized and subalternized populations, can contribute to tension these ideas built from asymmetrical power relations, as they show the strength of southern epistemologies (SANTOS; MENEZES, 2010) through different types of social relationships and experiences and through the way people relate to the world and to nature, especially concerning environmental protection and the sustainable use of nature.

With these initial issues in mind, the Decolonial critical perspective, by addressing the power relations that involve the production and circulation of knowledge in the cultural or scientific dimension of colonialism, helps us to question the matrices that tend to classify and exclude a multiplicity of epistemologies, producing hierarchies and sustaining a series of prejudices. In this sense, this study aims to describe the Tora Grande Ritual practiced by the Apinaje indigenous people (Macro Jê) and to explain how this ritual can contribute, based on Law No. 11,645/2008, to a pedagogical practice at non-indigenous school⁴ based on inter-epistemic dialogue, suggested by Walsh (2007), based on the idea of epistemological multi-versatility, that is, the introduction of cosmovisions which are different from the Western one that resist the patterns of subalternization of subjectivities and knowledge.

This work is organized into three sections, in addition to the introduction and final considerations presented. In the first section, we address the context of the creation of Law No. 11,645/2008, drawing attention to the deconstruction of some misconceptions about the culture of indigenous peoples. In the second

⁴ Although it is much discussed, and subjected to criticism, due to the formulation of a mandatory and unique typological model for indigenous schools (SECCHI, 2002), there is a set of regulations that guide pedagogical practice in indigenous schools by the precept of interculturality, of specificity, bilingualism and difference, such as proposed by Resolution CNE/CEB No. 3/1999, which establishes National Guidelines for the Functioning of Indigenous Schools; and Resolution CEB/CNE No. 05/2012, which defines National Curriculum Guidelines for Indigenous School Education in Basic Education; among others.

section, we describe the Tora Grande Ritual practiced by the Apinaje people, understood in this study as social experiences constituted by various knowledge, which characterize what is understood as resistant and non-hegemonic epistemic perspectives. In the third and last section, we explain how this indigenous ritual can contribute to a pedagogical practice based on inter-epistemic dialogue in non-indigenous schools.

Law No. 11,645/2008 and the possibility of deconstructing mistaken ideas about indigenous peoples

Since the 1990s, studies have been carried out in Latin America that question the dynamics of accumulation and economic exploitation, as well as the asymmetry of power relations on a global scale, we highlight those conducted by Peruvian sociologist Aníbal Quijano and Argentine semiologist Walter D. Mignolo, that constitute the Modernity/Coloniality⁵ (M/C) (BALLESTRIN, 2013). Quijano (2010) conceptualizes the idea of coloniality of power to name what he understands as a pattern of global domination, a kind of hidden face of the so-called modern civilizations, which has origins in the “conquest” of America in accordance with the constitution of the capitalist mode of production.

From this perspective, Decolonial studies are fed by a critical look at the investigation and analysis of structures based on theoretical contributions and research that specifically investigate coloniality in Latin America. Following this orientation, as proposed by the American linguist based in Ecuador Catherine Walsh (2008), in decolonial thought, what Eurocentric knowledge names as “myth” is now approached as epistemologies, cosmographies of worlds, cosmologies, among others, narratives that need to be seen from a decolonial pedagogy.

This review is necessary because it allows the production of scientific knowledge configured from a single epistemological, monocultural model to be questioned, preventing the emergence of other forms of knowledge throughout modernity. In this process, there was the denial of epistemological pluralism, the non-recognition of the existence of multiple views that could contribute to the knowledge of other experiences and alternative social practices of thinking about the world. It is in this direction that we look at the Tora Grande Ritual practiced by the Apinaje people, from the perspective of an inter-epistemic dialogue, in order

⁵ Due to theoretical divergences, the Latin American Group of Subaltern Studies was disbanded in 1998, the year in which the first meetings between the members who would later form the Modernity/Coloniality Group took place. (BALLESTRIN, 2013).

to envision a different pedagogical practice in the non-indigenous school, which enables the socialization of experiences, social practices and knowledge from local experiences, aiming to promote the dialogue between different knowledge and rationalities in non-indigenous schools, avoiding to place them in a hierarchy.

However, for this, it is necessary that the silenced thought, knowledge and practices produced in extra-academic and extra-scientific environments circulate in school (WALSH, 2007), as we understand that, if known, they contribute to the deconstruction of coloniality of knowledge,⁶ of epistemic racism,⁷ and enable the emergence of practices, agents and knowledge that, until then, “do not fit within the hegemonic and dominant rationality” (WALSH, 2007, p. 104). It is the possibility of dialoguing knowledge and practices in order to promote in the non-indigenous school what is conventionally called interculturality,⁸ which refers to “confrontation and intertwining, what happens when groups enter into exchange relations” (CANCLINI, 2007, p. 17). But it is important to understand that school not only socializes knowledge, it can also produce experiences in this particular space.

As a way to contextually situate the various ways of producing knowledge and criticize the universalist pretensions of hegemonic Western thought, Mignolo (2003) points to a geopolitics of knowledge based on the idea that there is a direct relationship between the place of enunciation of knowledge and its forms of validation. This is what arises in response to the need to rethink the stories narrated and the concepts presented with the intention of “dividing the world between Christian and pagan, civilized and barbaric, modern and pre-modern and developed and underdeveloped regions and peoples, all of them being global projects mapping the colonial difference” (MIGNOLO, 2003, p. 48).

⁶ The coloniality of knowledge not only established Eurocentrism as the only perspective of knowledge, “it was the fact that at the same time, it completely discarded indigenous and African intellectual production as “knowledge” and, consequently, its intellectual capacity” (WALSH, 2007, p. 104).

⁷ There is a privilege and a regulatory monopoly of knowledge by Western men, which has generated structures and institutions that produce epistemic racism. Thus, there is the overlapping of knowledge of “Western men on the knowledge produced by other political bodies and geopolitics of knowledge has generated not only cognitive injustice, but it has been one of the mechanisms used to privilege imperial/colonial/patriarchal projects in the world” (GROSFOGUEL, 2016, p. 25).

⁸ Canclini (2007) observes that indigenous peoples are today the most prepared people for intercultural dialogue, which has to do with possibilities of dialogue, in knowing how to articulate traditional and modern knowledge, among other possibilities.

In this sense, Kilomba (2019) reflects on these classifications, questioning who produces them, and the epistemological production accepted as a paradigm to be followed:

The themes, paradigms and methodologies of traditional academicism – the so-called epistemology – reflect not a heterogeneous space for theorizing, but rather the specific political interests of white society. Epistemology, derived from the Greek words *episteme*, meaning knowledge, and *logos*, meaning science, is the science of acquiring knowledge and determines what questions deserve to be asked (themes), how to analyze and explain a phenomenon (paradigms) and how to conduct researches to produce knowledge (methods), and in this sense defines not only what true knowledge is, but also who to believe and whom to trust. But who defines which questions are worth asking? Who is asking? Who is explaining? And to whom are the answers directed? (KILOMBA, 2019, p. 50).

Kilomba's reflections on this epistemological paradigm draw attention to the places of knowledge production that have become hidden, because, when universalizing one form of knowledge, we make the place of enunciation of other knowledge disappear. It was in this way that Western ideas, concepts and perspectives were introduced in the most diverse cultures, and this model crystallized and made the "other" "lose" its "power to signify, to deny, to initiate its historical desire, to establish their own discourse" (BHABHA, 2007).

In this way, a process of domination, which consists in appropriating the other as a non-existent space is promoted (and justified), on which the hegemonic proposal will be based. It supposes the denial of the other (as a physical, ethnic, social or economic space) and, therefore, the "obligation" to build a new order (rational, economic, moral...). Traditional colonialism used armies to conquer this "empty" space that constituted the territories to be conquered. In postcolonial dynamics, they were replaced by ideological and epistemological conquest. (RIVAS, 2019, p. 29).

Then, having Europe as a reference, modern/colonial science, defined as "epistemicide", produced a single, universal and objective model (SANTOS, 2007), excluding other knowledge, disallowing epistemologies from the western periphery, which was also supported by the arboreal structure of the universities (CASTRO-GOMÉZ, 2007). However, it is worth noting that behind this reality

there have always been forms of resistance against the political/scientific discourse that tends to distort ancestry, confuse history, the identity processes themselves, the modes of production and dissemination of knowledge, and prevent socialization and the dissemination of different ways of thinking about the world.

As a manifestation of resistance, resulting from the struggles and social demands of the indigenous peoples of Brazil in the search for recognition of their rights and respect for their ethnic social diversities, we highlight among the official documents the Federal Constitution of 1988; the Law of Guidelines and Bases of National Education (LDBN), Law No. 9,394/1996 (1996), especially when it was amended by Laws No. 10.639/2003 and No. 11.645/2008; and the National Curriculum Parameters, PCN (1997), in their contextual singularities. More explicitly, the 1988 Constitution was the first legal framework that formalized the recognition of the sociocultural specificities of indigenous peoples. Stating that “Regular elementary education will be taught in Portuguese, with indigenous communities also guaranteed the use of their mother tongues and their own learning processes” the contents and processes of indigenous education school are addressed by the article 210 (BRASIL, 1988).

Even though the 1988 Constitution had been promulgated, many indigenous teachers, intensifying the struggles, started to demand changes in the pedagogical practices of non-indigenous schools. They claimed that these schools reproduced and nurtured prejudices and historical discrimination against indigenous peoples, and that the information conveyed in textbooks and in the classrooms did not match the reality and current experiences of indigenous peoples (GRUPIONI, 1995). However, many studies on school practices and educational subsidies for indigenous peoples will show that there has been little progress in this field. Because of this matter, it was necessary to amend article 26-A of the LDBN, Law No. 9,394/1996, through Law No. 11,645/2008, making the teaching of Afro-Brazilian and Indigenous history and culture mandatory in basic education. With this last law, the indigenous theme was included, suggesting to the areas of knowledge that they effectively address this theme.

In this regard, Nascimento (2010) observed that:

in addition to continuing the debate on ethnic and cultural diversity in education, the approval of Law 11.645/08 causes the adoption of new methodologies and pedagogical practices guided by respect and recognition of these different presences in our country, in our cities and in our schools (NASCIMENTO, 2010, p. 234).

From the point of view of criticizing the application of this law, there are authors who points that it ends up reinforcing a secondary or supporting role of indigenous peoples in the process of formation of the Brazilian population, as observed by Giralдин (2016), when he argues that the content about indigenous peoples to be worked should include various aspects of history and culture that characterize each people in their specificity and not submit them to the formation of the Brazilian population. In reference to the content of the aforementioned law, he argues that to follow it, only the contribution of indigenous peoples to the formation of Brazilian society would be taught in schools. Thus, according to him, “[...] what should be taught in schools is not the multicultural aspect of the country, not even to establish an intercultural learning process” (GIRALDIN, 2026, p. 97).

In this regard, it is questionable that the approaches generate, in fact, a break with coloniality, since they are guided by a monocultural perspective, which ends up subordinating indigenous peoples and of African origin to the national society. However, as Baniwa (2013) observes, the dialogue encouraged by the approach to indigenous history and culture at school “is an opportunity for this reunion of us, not with someone from outside, but with ourselves, or rather, among ourselves. We, who live and form our society, our country and our nation” (BANIWA, 2016, p. 62). For Secchi (2013, p. 140), “Once again, diversity is admitted and difference is domesticated, without, however, giving up the right to grant rights”.

Therefore, this law is the result of the effective participation of indigenists who wanted to include the theme of diversity in the school curriculum and not the result of the direct participation of the indigenous movement (BRIGHENTI, 2016). Baniwa (2013) also observes that these laws, like Law No. 11,645/2008 itself, are ways of expressing a certain sense of guilt for the massacres and deaths of indigenous peoples by the colonizers. However, we believe that this law also opened up spaces for discussion in non-indigenous schools, since the “presence of the indigenous theme in the school has the potential to profoundly change the parameters of the content used in the classroom, because it works towards to deconstruct references and bring to the debate new perspectives of dialogue in common spaces” (BARBOSA; LIMA; BRIGHENTI, 2018, p. 85).

However, with the inclusion of the indigenous theme in the basic education curriculum of non-indigenous schools, there was a need for epistemological changes and the strengthening of debates concerning racism. The debate on the need to fight the historical conception that refers to a Western Eurocentric and ethnocentric view of knowledge, which marks the beginning of history in Brazil

with the invasion of colonizers, ignoring indigenous protagonism and the capacity to be historical subjects, has increased. It was necessary to take a strong stand against this negative view of indigenous peoples, which emphasizes narratives about the massacres carried out by Europeans, which ended up fueling the imagination that these peoples were only defeated in the face of capitalist colonial processes (BITTENCOURT, 2013).

It is important to consider that this intercultural perspective at school should not be reduced to a mere incorporation of some themes in the curriculum, or in the school calendar, although, as well observed by Candau and Russo (2010):

It is, in particular, the critical perspective, which we consider to be the one that best responds to the current problem of the Latin American continent, an approach that encompasses different areas - ethical, epistemological and political -, oriented towards the construction of democracies in which social and cultural justice are worked in an articulated way (CANDAU; RUSSO, 2010, p. 167).

In contrast to this negative view of the people who were subjugated, Maldonado-Torres (2007) observes that it is possible to claim denied identities as a fundamental practice in the decolonization of being, as it is about the re-encounter of the meaning of the human being and of being in general, by those who were considered in modernity to be mere humans. For the author, it is about the liberation of great arbitrary imaginaries propagated by the subordinate relations left by the West.

At least by a portion of the society, the indigenous people, even though they have already won important rights, are still seen as “ignorant”. As an example of this prejudice, Freire (2016) discusses in his work *The indigenous cultural heritage, or five mistaken ideas about the Indians* the ideas that he considers wrong about the indigenous peoples of Brazil. The first is that “they constitute a single space, with the same culture, sharing the same beliefs, the same language” (FREIRE, 2016, p. 04), that is, people see the indigenous in a generic way, when there are more than 200 ethnic groups in this country, speakers of more or less 188 different languages, with different beliefs, policies and social organization.

The second mistaken idea is the fact of “considering indigenous cultures as backward and primitive” (FREIRE, 2016, p. 06). In this country, the importance and innovations of the knowledge of indigenous populations, which produce science, art, literature, poetry, music and religion, are not recognized. The

author argues that the cultures of peoples that produce knowledge cannot be considered as being backward, since it can be verified in cuisine, medicine, jewelry, and in many other areas of Brazilian culture. However, “Indigenous sciences were also treated with prejudice by Brazilian society. Indigenous knowledge was despised and ridiculed, as if it were the negation of science and objectivity”. (FREIRE, 2016, p. 21).

The third misconception is the freezing of indigenous cultures. The author points out that an image of what the indigenous should be like was placed in the minds of many Brazilians: “naked or in a loincloth, in the middle of the forest, with bow and arrow, as described by Pero Vaz de Caminha” (FREIRE, 2016, p. 24). This makes many people unable to accept, for example, an indigenous person in the university, making use of technologies, because they do not understand that indigenous cultures are dynamic just like any other. Therefore, clothing, education and the use of technologies do not make an indigenous ex-indigenous, so it is arbitrary to think their cultures as being contrary to cultural dynamism.

The fourth mistaken idea “consists in thinking that indigenous are only part of Brazil’s past” (FREIRE, 2016, p. 27-28). For the author, to have this thought nowadays is the opposite of reality, as what we see the most are indigenous people fighting and defending their culture, customs, territory, in addition to the fact that there are many elements of indigenous culture in this country, although there has been “a real massacre during those 500 years, with the extermination of many peoples. The indigenous people were relegated as belonging to an uncomfortable and distant past of Brazil” (FREIRE, 2016, p. 30). The author also highlights that these people “are part of our past, but they are part of the modern Brazil of today, and it is not possible for us to imagine Brazil in the future without the richness of indigenous cultures” (FREIRE, 2016, p. 28).

The last misconception “is that Brazilians do not consider the existence of the indigenous in the formation of their identity”, which is related to the fact that “as Europeans dominated politically and militarily other peoples, the tendency of Brazilians today is to identify themselves only with the winner – the European matrix – ignoring African and indigenous cultures”. For the author, it “reduces and impoverishes Brazil, because you end up presenting what is just a part, as if it were the whole” (FREIRE, 2016, p. 31-32).

Recognizing these misconceptions about indigenous people by a large portion of the Brazilian people, the indigenous movement sought, through claims, to deconstruct and overcome them, drawing attention, in the 1980s, to the concept of multiculturalism, a term that according to Faustino (2006, p. 76) “refers to the official recognition of the existence of culturally different groups in a

given country". "Multiculturalism has its main focus on education, as the school enthusiastically welcomes the idea of equality for all and the fight against discrimination and racism, but often without reflecting on which bases this anti-racism was built" (FAUSTINO, 2006, p. 84).

Since the school is a space for the construction and circulation of knowledge, the teaching of indigenous history and culture should then prepare students for the recognition of the different peoples that make up our society, at the same time that it has the ethical role of fighting any type of prejudice and discrimination against indigenous peoples, providing room for dialogue and for the knowledge of difference as a humanizing action.

Indigenous Epistemologies: the Tora Grande Ritual practiced by the Apinaje people

A Decolonial education requires that we (re)know other epistemologies,⁹ that we understand the most varied educational processes, which is essential for us to understand the different sociocultural universes, many of them still invisible due to the great social, political and economic inequalities that many people were, and still are, subjected to. In this asymmetrical power relationship, the circulation and affirmation of Eurocentric knowledge as the only valid ones reflected in the denial of knowledge produced by subalternized groups, which Santos (2010) will understand as an epistemicide.¹⁰

The great challenge and the main focus of a Decolonial and multicultural education is the confrontation, the deconstruction of the narratives that emerged from colonial relations, which implies to assume the complexity and diversity of voices of subjects and cultural places produced as periphery by modernity. It is in this direction that we bring to this dialogue the Ritual of Tora Grande practiced for centuries by the Apinaje people, evidencing the validity and vitality of indigenous systems as sophisticated systems of thought production, which highlights the potential of these indigenous people to keep their particular social

⁹ Neves (2008) observes that, in terms of knowledge production, "the time has come to overcome the conceptualization that establishes the false antagonism between scientific knowledge/ethnic knowledge, which reaffirms epistemological distances and imposes incommunicability on different forms of knowledge production historically constructed by colonization".

¹⁰ It is about the immense loss of knowledge in the colonization process and the affirmation in the imagination of the modern world of the myth of the epistemological superiority of European thought.

experiences resistant, constituted by various knowledge, even in the face of historical attempts to subaltern and silence these peoples in Brazil.

It is not about submitting the formation/constitution of Apinaje knowledge to the validity of westernized scientific knowledge, but to bring it to dialogue, above everything to overcome the absences of their stories, fight the reproduction of stereotypes, among others, in their spaces of circulation, like non-indigenous schools, because we understand that the overcoming of these colonial schemes will only take place through the articulation of “a praxis based on a purposeful educational insurgency – therefore, not only denouncement”. The term “rise”, in this perspective, “represents the creation and construction of new social, political, cultural and thought conditions” at school (OLIVEIRA; CANDAU, 2010, p. 28). If we understand that knowledge derives from these conditions and is produced in interrelationships with the other, then it is necessary to conceive it within the order of coexistence, based on the recognition and appreciation of the most different types of knowledge.

The Apinaje indigenous people, belonging to the Macro-Jê linguistic trunk and the Jê linguistic family, live in the Apinajé Indigenous Land (TI), located in the far north of Tocantins, in the region called “Bico do Papagaio”, at the confluence of the States of Tocantins, Pará and Maranhão. Cassiano Apinagé (2017) observes that anthropological research indicates as the most likely hypothesis “the stock of the Apinajé forming the Western Timbira stock.¹¹ The fact is that we realize that studies and research point to some very similar cultural aspects, as well as in celebrations, languages, rituals and stories” (APINAGÉ, 2017).

When this Indigenous Land was demarcated, in the 1980s, it was possible to find the villages of São José, Mariazinha and Cocalinho (LADEIRA, 1984). With the demarcation, they subdivided, occupying the territory that belonged to them and creating new villages. The Apinaje villages are located in the municipalities of Tocantinópolis, Maurilândia, São Bento, Itaguatins, Cachoeirinha and Nazaré, in Tocantins, directly connected to the TO-126, TO-134 and BR-230 highways. The main villages, called central villages, are Aldeia São José and Aldeia Mariazinha, the latter is 18 km from Tocantinópolis.

Santos et al. (2018, p. 47) points out that, according to the Special System of Indigenous Health (SESAI-TO), it is currently possible to find 37 villages registered in its system, but the president of Associação União das Aldeias (PEMPXÁ)

¹¹ Nimuendaju (1983) made this classification and placed the Apinaje as Western Timbira, as being the only people in this portion, since he noticed great cultural differences between them and the Eastern Timbira.

shows that the Apinaje Indigenous Land is composed of approximately 44 villages. According to the author such divergence between the number of villages occurs because SESAI only counts the villages registered in its system. In order for a village to be registered, it is required a certain number of indigenous peoples living in these villages, but some have a smaller number of residents, these being combined with the larger ones.

Regarding the environment, this Indigenous Land has riparian forests and closed forests, streams of crystal clear water and countless fruit trees. The babassu trees present in the region are of great importance to this indigenous people, as everything is used from this palm tree, as observed by Silva et al (2018):

straw to cover their homes and make household items; from the almond of the babassu coconut they extract the oil to cook and the milk to put in the hunts; from the rind of the fruit and from the feet they produce charcoal; from the babassu plantations nothing is wasted, everything is used by them for something. The woods are used for hunting and agriculture. (SILVA et al, 2018, p. 79).

Babassu can be used for everyday runs, even during rituals. However, the log (Pàrkapê) must be of buriti or barriguda¹². The use of the stems of palm trees in this indigenous ritual is subject to its availability in the indigenous land. Lima (2018, p. 113) explains that “in areas where there is no buriti, the Timbira choose other trees and leafy palms that exist close to the villages. In some communities the babassu has the same symbolic weight as the buriti”.

Logs are always present in the Apinaje rituals. In each of these rituals or festivals, they have a specific name. However, our focus in this work will be the Tora Grande Ritual, also called the Tora Grande Celebration (Pàrkapê). In this study, we use the name Pàrkapê to refer to a celebration of the Apinaje people to end the relationship of the living with that person who died, interrupting the connection between them. In this ritual everyone gathers to celebrate the closing mourning ceremony. The Association of United Villages (PEMPXÀ) observes that the Pàrkapê is one of the main celebrations of the Apinajé people, “it is a ritual that involves all the families and relatives of the people honored, who gather to celebrate this important closing ceremony of mourning” (PEMPXÀ, 2014, p. 01).

¹² Barriguda is a tree in Brazil also called “paineira” and “silk floss tree”, being formerly called *Chorisia Speciosa*.

There are some elements of the Pàrkapê that contribute to affirm that there are social experiences among them there, which constitute knowledge, therefore, in indigenous epistemologies. There is a story that serves as a basis to justify the existence of the Parkapê ritual. According to Giralдин (2000, p. 225), “the memory of this ceremony is related to the episode of an Apinaje that visited heaven”. To justify the origin of Pàrkapê, we chose to bring the description of the origin made by Grossinho¹³, in November of 1996, presented by Giralдин (2000):

A boy had died. The inhabitants of the village placed him on two logs in the yard and covered it with straw mats. And they moved to another village. A vulture came down and started walking through the houses. In each one, he stuck his head inside and watched. After he closed the circle, he went out into the yard. There he found the logs. He lifted the straw mats and saw the dead body. He flew to heaven and told his boss that he had found a dead boy. They went down to the yard with a **wajaga** (healer). The **wajaga** vulture failed to cure the indigenous boy. So he sent for another **wajaga**. He sent for the horsefly. The horsefly looked and said: he is not dead! He is sleeping. Do you want to see? He sat on the boy's leg, stinging him. The boy woke up startled. They asked what he did. He replied that he just slept. Then the vultures asked what they would do with the boy. The head of the vultures replied that they would take him to heaven to finish the treatment. Before, however, they decided to have a “celebration” for their departure. They gathered wood for the fire and sang all night. The boy was recommended to learn the song, as he could sing it when a person died. The boy learned the song of the **parkape** that was sung throughout the night. The next morning, the vultures made a “bed” with the wings and placed the boy on them, and took him to heaven. Up above, the vultures purposely let him fall into free fall, then parried him. The head of the vultures rebuked this attitude. The vultures replied that they were just exercising. Once in heaven, the boy was taken to the house of the chief of the vultures. They offered only carrion to the boy, who was hungry. But he did not eat. The vultures, seeing this, called the ornate hawk. This one gave only good food: baby deer, armadillo. With that, the boy got better. Then “God”. called the boy. He wanted to meet him. The boy went to where “God” was. Arriving there, he was bitten by a snake. There he stayed learning how to treat himself until he

¹³ Katàm Kaäk - Amnhimy (Grossinho) was considered by all as a deep connoisseur of the Apinaje culture and tradition.

was cured of the snake bite. Then it was Saint Peter who called him. The yard of Saint Peter's house was clean. There, a stump pierced the boy's foot. There he stayed until his wound was healed. Then he was called by **Nakrak** (lightning and thunder). There, too, a stump pierced the boy's foot. **Nakrak** took care of the boy's foot, teaching him. When the boy felt healed, the **Nakrak** told the boy to train to demonstrate if he had learned. Charcoal was passed over the whole body, including the face. The **Nakrak** blew its horn (sericora) and, with that, caused wind, thunder and haze on the Earth. Next, **Nakrak** chose some trees to be knocked down by lightning. **Nakrak** had a sword, which he sent lightning when he shook. **Nakrak** fired the bolt first, knocking down a tree. Then the boy demonstrated that he could do it too. **Nakrak** was convinced that the boy had learned. Then the boy said that he wanted to return to his village and his people. **Nakrak** presented him with a magical arrow that could hunt by itself. It would follow the trail of animals and kill a whole stick of peccary. The vultures prepared and lowered the boy, who was left near the new village, where the Apinajé were transferred before leaving the old village. (GIRALDIN, 2000, p. 226-227, emphasis added).

There is a whole preparation for this ritual, starting from the choice of the palm stem that will be used to make the logs. It takes place at the end of the rainy season, that is, "Pàrgapê takes place in summer time; it is a log that honors the dead" (CTI, 2013). The preference for performing in the summer period is due to the fact that almost all activities during the ritual take place in open environments, such as in the village yard, in the woods and in the fields.

In the text published by PEMPXÀ there is an explanation that the ceremony aims to revere the dead, which can be a child, an adult or an old man. It is also observed that this ritual is full of "feelings and expressions, [...] and it always takes place a year after the individual dies" (PEMPXÀ, 2014). For these indigenous people, "the Pàrkapê also means a sacred ceremonial, full of mystique and spirituality, carried out with great seriousness" as they believe that their "social relationships are regulated by principles and feelings of friendship, joy, solidarity, equality, humility, respect and love for others to continue even after death" (PEMPXÀ, 2014).

In this sense, the Apinaje defend that:

[...] the celebration of this ritual is necessary for the maintenance and strengthening of our culture. The participation and involvement of young people is important, so that they can acquire the knowledge and meaning of this

tradition and thus maintain our ethnic identity and strengthen our cultural values (PEMPXÀ, 2014, p. 01).

The entire Pàrkapê ceremony begins with the felling of the palm tree, which must be located at a distance of approximately 3 km from the village. There is a cultural tradition in the work of felling and preparing the log. Regarding this issue, the Center for Indigenous Works (CTI) brought together some Apinaje researchers to accurately explain this process of felling and preparing the log:

Only the old ones dig the logs, because if the new ones who date someone take them, they wither. Some men from both parties leave the village to prepare the log. Two cutters choose the buriti or barriguda and cut the logs, and two men, one from each party, dig the logs [...] One log will be called Kolti (summer log) and the other Kohre (winter log) and the paintings represent each of them. (CTI, 2011 apud CTI, 2013, p. 50).

The excavation that is carried out in the log leaves it partially hollowed, a process that is carried out on both sides of the stem of the palm tree. The two parts taken from the stem are cut into a cylinder shape and equal in size. The parties presented above are related to a nomination system¹⁴ creating two groups into which the Apinaje are divided,¹⁵ called Katàm and Wanhmě, for the log race. These races are carried out by two groups of men (composing the Katàm and Wanhmě parties) who “compete running with the (02) two logs; the party that arrives first in the village yard wins” (PEMPXÀ, 2013).

In the painting¹⁶ of the large log (kamer japê) it is used a “wool” from the bark of babassu leaf glued to a stick of milk, applied over paintings made with genipap (*Genipa americana*) and annatto (*Bixa orellana*). The pau-de-leite (*Himatanthus obovatus*) is a medium-sized tree that has broad obovate leaves and white flowers. The popular name pau-de-leite is used due to the latex that it produces. According to Giralдин (2012), “Paintings with horizontal motifs are characteristic of the Katàm moiety, while those with vertical motifs are characteristic of members of the Waxmě half”. Considering these elements,¹⁷ the ritual lasts

¹⁴ Check Nimuendaju (1983), Roberto da Matta (1976) and Giralдин (2000).

¹⁵ Giralдин (2000) explains this dualistic system more deeply.

¹⁶ Giralдин (2018) makes a detailed study of Apinaje body paintings.

¹⁷ In addition to these elements, the painting is also composed of a scrape from the inside of the babassu. This scrape is used in the lines of body and face paintings. This and other

about fifteen or more days and during this period log races are held daily, for which new palm logs are cut. Men, women and children can participate in races, but there will always be one party competing with the other (GIRALDIN, 2012).

The Tora Grande Ritual, as we can see, is strongly anchored in many elements of the Apinaje tradition, as well as the geography of the region. The indigenous people who participate in the ritual present themselves decorated and painted, a process that allows them to strengthen the bonds between them when they are preparing for the ritual. This process involves a feeling of affinity, because even though they are separated into two groups (Katàm and Wanhmẽ) between them there is a deeper unity, as they are all Apinaje. And this is also expressed through more subjective aspects, attitudes and feelings, such as respect for the departed entity and the maintenance of the secular ritual in respect of the indigenous dead.

On the issue of organizing the race into parties, Melatti (1976) noted that

When starting a race, each half approaches the logs and one of its members, with the help of companions, puts it on their shoulders. Each of the log loaders, running, is followed by the other members of his half. When he is tired, one of the other companions replaces him. And so the logs go from shoulder to shoulder to the arrival point (MELATTI, 1976, 41).

Every event or ritual performed by the Apinaje people is full of singing and this one would be no different. According to Giralдин (2012), since the “cutting down of the parkapê log, night chants have been performed in the yard”. The author points out that such chants are called “kàmẽgrer (common ditties to sing in the yard). To call people to go to the place, a singer walks around the křkape singing and calling everyone” (GIRALDIN, 2012). Singers are the oldest people and they “must have a high degree of knowledge of the repertoire to be performed. Zé Cabelo is currently the best known Apinayé singer, being recognized within this society as a good singer” (RODRIGUES, 2015).

Giralдин (2012) also reports that since the felling of the palm tree there has been singing at night in the yard. They are proper songs to be sung in this space and they are performed throughout the night. However, nowadays, the

information can be seen in the book *Pinturas Corporais Apinajé*, by Giralдин (2018). In this work, the author presents graphic drawings that explain how the painting should be done on the body, as well as the materials used, and provides information about the social situation in which the painting is used. The work also features portraits made by the researcher of the Indigenous skin paintings.

singing takes place until ten or eleven o'clock at night. After that, everyone goes to sleep and around three o'clock in the morning the singer wakes up and starts singing in the "kríkape", a place where he walks and sings so that everyone returns to singing. Then, everyone gathers again in the yard and sings until dawn.

Soares and Giralдин (2014, p. 7) note that the songs for the Timbira "in addition to transmitting knowledge of the elements of the environment, they are part of a mythical musical corpus", because, they are not only being related to a myth, but "they express its reproduction and maintenance of the world, as well as the construction of bodies and people who are prepared and well-trained to deal with different situations in the world today". When dealing with musicalities among the Timbira, the authors highlight the issue of "practices and performances in which human interactions with different beings in the universe are poetic and sonically intertwined", because

All the musicality present in these rituals creates links between the beings/ subjects who are agents of the universe (the Timbira being just one of the actors in this group) and the performances of these musicalities create spaces for socialization between the Timbira and these other beings. Spaces for exchange, learning, preparation and formation of bodies and people are created. In these spaces there are fusions between beings, strengthening of bodies through the execution of chants, reproduction of different universes and beings from this universe" (SOARES; GIRALDIN, 2019, p. 93).

Thus, as the authors note, "it is also important to highlight that among the Timbira peoples the universe is musicalized and that when performing these songs, they are performing the musicality of the world and the universe that surrounds them" (SOARES; GIRALDIN, 2019, p. 92). Therefore, it is not just a matter of drawing attention to the force of the sound, but of understanding music as "a vector of force transmission, as a semantic and effective exchange between the different beings that built the universe". (SOARES; GIRALDIN, 2019, p. 92).

In addition to singing, another element that cannot be missing from this ritual is food. The main foods served come from the Apinaje plantations. The main food served during the Ritual of Tora Grande are sweet potatoes, beans, rice, bananas, flour, cassava. Before, game and fish were also served; however, nowadays, due to the scarcity of these last foods, the indigenous people started to buy meat and fish in the city (PEMPXÀ, 2013). Giralдин (2012) explains that food can be removed from the deceased's farm, if he still has one. A garden can

be planted for food consumption during the ritual, or even these foods can be taken from the gardens of the people who ordered the ritual. Throughout the ritual, real or classificatory relatives of the party's sponsors are in charge of preparing the food and the paints used in the paintings.

On the penultimate day of the ritual, at nightfall, the "Rôrôt" ritual takes place. In this ritual, two women adorn two dolls with personal ornaments made of beads or seeds and place them in buriti pieces used to carry the babies. After the log race and carrying the dolls, these women go to the yard where they sing a song and perform a specific dance, which is "Rôrôt" (GIRALDIN, 2012). During this ritual,

The singer stands to the west, facing the women who stand to the east. The singer sings and approaches the women in a circular motion. The women also move, as if they were being pushed by the singer, in such a way that they all end up in a circle. They initially rotate counterclockwise. Then perform the reverse movement. When the singing ends, they return to their original position (GIRALDIN, 2012, p. 13).

According to the same author, after the singing there is a distribution of *kinh xà*, a type of treat that is placed on the singer's body by the deceased's blood relative, but that anyone can take. In the end, everyone goes back to their homes and only returns to the yard at night, where everyone sleeps on the last night of the "Pàrkapê". During the last night, only songs that make up the Tora Grande Ritual are performed. The singers sing the same songs performed at the wakes and, during the songs, people from the deceased's family perform the same common gestures at the wake. They arrive "in groups as if they were coming to visit the dead. At this moment, they crouch together [...] and cry. In these moments, the singers interrupt the singing, waiting to start again when the lamentation ends" (GIRALDIN, 2012).

It is only on the last day of the ritual that the log race takes place, which is the final moment of the ceremony. On this day there is no singing in the yard, the parties *Katãm* and *Wanhmẽ* are painted by the women in the closed area where the logs are. After the log race, when they reach the village, the logs are received in the yard by residents and visitors and are slowly placed upright. At this moment the lamentation begins. At the end of the lamentations, the logs are taken to the deceased's house and when they get there, they start crying again.

After passing the deceased's house, the log is taken to the cemetery and placed on top of his grave and left there until it rots. At the end, the runners

are presented with an “xwỳkupu”, which consists of the paparuto cake, a cake made from cassava, which is taken to the yard to be shared among them. And so, the “Pàrkapê” ends (GIRALDIN, 2012). In this way, we understand the Ritual of Tora Grande as a ritual for the closing of a cycle among the Apinaje, but also a possibility of maintaining the ancestral indigenous culture, which occurs through indigenous education, which are the “proper processes of transmission and production of the knowledge of indigenous peoples” (LUCIANO, 2006, p. 129). This form of culture maintenance is presented in this study as an expression of strength and resistance to the historical mechanisms of exclusion imposed by the forced contact with the non-indigenous.

The Tora Grande Ritual is a funerary ritual that aims to separate the living from the dead, making the dead always in the world of the dead, ending the cycle of mourning and acceptance by their families (GIRALDIN, 2000). It is a necessary ritual to keep alive this trans-secular manifestation of indigenous resistance,¹⁸ which can be put at risk if the values and fundamental elements for its existence are abandoned.

That said, it is understandable that behind all the rituals there is knowledge that is translated into the cultural identity of a people. It is through the set of values that carry this knowledge that indigenous peoples keep them active and pass them on as teachings, from generation to generation, through oral tradition. Therefore, we can say that carrying out this ritual in the light of indigenous education results from the care taken with the knowledge of the elders, that is, it is a way of keeping alive the teachings of the elders among them. The valuation and maintenance of these traditions is also a way to guarantee the existence of their values, the personalities of the subjects collectively, their epistemologies, which is characterized as a practice of affirmation and resistance.

The Tora Grande Ritual and the possibility of an inter-epistemic dialogue in the non-indigenous school with indigenous epistemologies

In order to establish an inter-epistemic dialogue with the knowledge of indigenous peoples, we bring the Tora Grande Ritual as a possibility of study from different approaches, both in indigenous and non-indigenous schools, as an important source of knowledge about the Apinaje people where proper processes of education, experiences and practices are reflected and are also translated into

¹⁸ There are rituals among the Apinaje that are no longer performed, others that undergo changes throughout the process of contact with non-indigenous people. But they are still carried out constantly, despite the changes that contact and school education brought to these peoples.

knowledge, expanding our possibilities of counter-hegemonic practices, made difficult or even almost impossible by the epistemology that gave science the exclusivity of valid knowledge, those that traditionally circulate in the non-indigenous schools.

However, our discussion here is based on two important aspects observed in this ritual: traditional knowledge and impacts on direct articulation with nature; and the indigenous Apinaje graphics in body painting in the Tora Grande Ritual. In the first aspect, we highlight the impacts of economic enterprises on the traditional Apinaje way of life and on the Tora Grande Ritual, which will reflect on the limitation of some foods served in this ritual; the second aspect helps us to deconstruct the idea that indigenous peoples are free, occupying a position of cultural inferiority, since the indigenous Apinaje graphics that make up the body paintings in the Tora Grande Ritual are related to the social formation of this indigenous people, to social values and specific goals.

With regard to traditional knowledge and the embargo on direct articulation with nature, Cassiano Apinagé (2017) observes that well before “contact with non-indigenous society, the Apinaje already maintained their own relationship system with nature”. However, he highlights that in contact with non-indigenous people “new elements were incorporated in this system, also transformed into traditional cultural practices”. Considering the Tora Grande Ritual, we saw that some foods from the Apinaje plantations were traditionally served during the ritual, such as fruits, vegetables, game and fish. However, the latter two were no longer served due to their scarcity in the indigenous land, which made them buy meat and fish in the city.

This fact draws attention to the problems caused by the introduction of development policies in the region such as the north-south railway, eucalyptus monocultures, asphalts, transmission lines and hydroelectric power plants, and their sociocultural impacts on the Apinaje people. Regarding this issue, Fagundes (2017) observes that they still face the impacts of these economic ventures, which, directly or indirectly, affect their traditional territory, since this territory becomes a “confluence zone of economic projects of the State, called the “north-south development corridor”” (FAGUNDES, 2017, p. 35). When facing the problems caused by these undertakings, they soon come to be seen as an obstacle to what is conventionally called “development”.

Fagundes (2017) highlights that “The reservation of a strip of land to the west of the Transamazônica highway for colonization, under military tutelage, directly affected an area of permanent use by the Apinajé”. And this area, according to the author, was a “cosmological, historical reference, used for hunting

and fishing and for collecting plants of ritual and medicinal use” (FAGUNDES, 2017, p. 35). Another impact occurred with the construction of a hydroelectric power plant on the Tocantins River and its dam, which changed the flow of the river, resulting in the disappearance of fish, a staple food for the local and indigenous population. Considering that the amount of resources, mainly hunting and fishing, no longer correspond to their daily needs,

Today, in addition to agriculture, the Apinajé are looking for other alternatives aimed at producing food as the solution to guarantee their survival. Gardens are usually built in the vicinity of villages, to facilitate the movement to and from the owners. (APINAGÉ, 2017, p. 94).

Cassiano Apinajé highlights that the “process of walking through the territory is not just about looking for resources, but about getting to know the environment itself” (APINAGÉ, 2017) and calls attention to the recognition of what the life of the Apinaje people was like before. and its relationship with the environment:

For the conservation of both fauna and flora, the ecological balance that exists until today in the territory is due to the knowledge acquired and passed on by their ancestors. The exploration of resources and differentiated management of agriculture has significantly contributed to the preservation of the environment. (APINAGÉ, 2017, p. 95).

Such knowledge is very important to be addressed in the classroom, it is also an opportunity to highlight among students the historical relationship of respect of indigenous peoples to the environment, their protection mechanisms, since they also do monitoring and help to protect their territories. This shows that their cultures “are not backward as the colonizers thought for a long time and as many people still think, that they completely ignore the complexity of these cultures or are guided by stereotypes and common sense about them” (FREIRE, 2010).

Regarding the Apinaje’s respect for the environment, Cassiano Apinagé highlights:

the Apinajé are symbols of environmental preservation and that only in this way can they ensure their children’s future. The issue of preservation would not be just a random thing, but to guarantee as a source of enjoying natural

wealth, at the same time contributing to the ecological balance of all species of beings that make up the planet. (APINAGÉ, 2017, p. 73).

At a time when the implementation of large projects in indigenous lands has been discussed, it is important that students (Panhĩ/Apinaje) reflect on the negative socio cultural impacts of these economic development projects, and they are also called to reflect on alternative ways of respect for the environment and for life itself. Regarding indigenous youth, Cassiano Apinajé highlights that this situation is worrying, “because it involves the future of these young people, the way to deal with the environment, since they are not realizing that they are putting at risk traditional knowledge about the entire territory” (APINAGÉ, 2017).

However, Freire (2010, p. 17) highlights that “trying to understand indigenous societies is not just trying to know “the other”, “the different”, but it implies conducting inquiries and reflections on the very society in which we live”, hence the importance of the role of the school in this process for deconstructing stereotypes and prejudices. The idea that indigenous peoples have no writing, is also the heir of Eurocentric conceptions supported by prejudice. The prejudice of Western world’s against non-alphabetic scripts tends to underestimate the specific resources of indigenous pictoglyph¹⁹ and ideographic systems.

It is important to understand that, in addition to alphabetic writing, other elements make up the text, such as visual elements/graphics, which cannot be confused with simple illustrations (THIÉL, 2012, p. 87). In this direction, Zumthor (1985, p. 5) asks: “In fact, what is writing? Symbolic marks, masks, tattoos, assorted social emblems [...] isn’t this all written?”. With regard to indigenous graphics, in addition to an alphabetical form, Menezes de Souza states that it is necessary to understand writing

[...] as a form of interaction whereby an action of the hands (with or without an instrument) leaves traces on any surface; in this sense, writing can be conceived as a non-alphabetical way to represent ideas, values or events. Understood in this way, writing has always been present in indigenous cultures

¹⁹ Santos (2004, p. 241) explains that an important cultural characteristic of the Mesoamerican peoples was the creation and systematic use of pictoglyph writings. The term pictoglyph evokes, for the author, in a more explicit way, the combination between pictorial and glyphic elements, which is one of the main characteristics of both the Mixteconahua and Mayan writing system. The bases of these systems were probably elaborated and spread to other regions by the Olmecs, from the year 1000 BC.

in Brazil in the form of graphics made in ceramics, fabrics, wooden materials, basketwork and tattoos. (MENEZES DE SOUZA, 2006, p. 203).

As observed by Thiél (2012, p. 69), “one possibility of interpretation is that, by bringing geometric shapes, the mandatory text is linked to ancestral tradition, narratives or ancestral knowledge acquired via oral tradition”. However, the author argues that for indigenous literature to reach classrooms, “it is necessary that its readers, teachers and students have theoretical references so that indigenous texts are interpreted in their cultural and aesthetic contextualization” (THIÉL, 2012, p. 73).

This impossibility also contributes to indigenous cultures being seen as backward, because “the complexity of these cultures is completely ignored or based on stereotypes and common sense about them”, and it is unknown that indigenous people produce “knowledge, science, refined art, literature, poetry, music, religion. Their cultures are not backward, as the colonizers thought for a long time” (FREIRE, 2010, p. 17).

If taken to be studied in the classroom of non-indigenous students as knowledge expressed through images, the Apinaje indigenous graphism, that make up the paintings in the Tora Grande Ritual, help to deconstruct the idea that indigenous peoples have no script, which is an argument used until today so that they will be seen in a position of cultural and intellectual inferiority. This idea has had an impact on the suppression of their knowledge, contributing to the reduction of epistemological and cultural diversity in different social spaces. We have seen that in the Tora Grande Ritual the Apinaje are decorated and painted and that body paintings are linked to different goals and values (GIRALDIN, 2018). In addition to painting with graphism on the body, in this ritual they also paint the logs. It is a very rich collection, both historical and pictographic of the art and ornamentation of the indigenous body through which knowledge is transmitted through information that is rich in meaning.

Giraldin (2018) explains that the formation of people’s social bodies through paintings is related to two large groups: Kooti (Wanhmë) or Koore (Katàm). Each painting pattern is related to belonging to each of these groups: the horizontal pattern paintings are Katàm and the vertical ones are Wanhmë. About the objectives of these paintings, the author highlights that

one of the goals is the formation of the person’s physical and social body; physical training is related to the therapeutic value linked to the paintings, hence the use of the pau-de-leite for the strengthening of bodies and transformation through growth (GIRALDIN, 2018, p. 13-14).

According to the same author, a body can also be painted so that it is protected from the dangers of spirit attacks. The painting of the bodies of the dead before burial indicates the protection of life as a vital principle, “for the dead person’s *mẽ karõ* continues to live (as if it were here) in the world of the dead. And to get there and be in ideal conditions, the body needs to be painted” (GIRALDIN, 2018, p. 14). However, we believe that this knowledge and rich information about the paintings of the bodies of the Apinaje and their graphism in the rituals do not circulate very much in non-indigenous schools. According to Ladeira (2005),

This seems to us a suggestive line of investigation that could modify the understanding of the ineffectiveness of the school system implemented in the most different villages and the consequent frustration that accompanies the work of educators who see writing, ethnocentrically, as a mark of “modernity” and “clarification”. In other words, in societies where the arts of oral traditions are alive, the writing arts do not find an environment to be constituted. (LADEIRA, 2005, p. 9).

Considering that reading is decoding signs, whatever they are, the indigenous graphism that make up the Apinaje painting in the Tora Grande Ritual involves a symbolic reading process that is related to the cultural context, to belonging to a naming system, which also marks the cultural identity of these people. These are highly complex representations that are linked to the ancestral knowledge of the Apinaje people and their forms of social organization.

Final considerations:

This study, aiming to describe the Tora Grande Ritual practiced by the Apinaje indigenous people (Macro Jê) and point out some contributions of this ritual, based on Law No. 11,645/2008, for a pedagogical practice in the indigenous school based on dialogue inter-epistemic, enabled the understanding that indigenous knowledge was silenced by modern science, which, through asymmetrical power relations, focused attention on epistemological Eurocentrism. From this, it is arised the possibility and the need to focus attention on the epistemic perspectives of subalternized populations, since they show their strength in the respectful way of relating to nature and the world in many aspects.

Such information brings attention to the need to turn our gaze to the knowledge produced by indigenous peoples, transmitted by cultural practices and

codes, which still need to be understood in order to overcome the perception of the indigenous as a mere “object of study”²⁰ of the academy, and start to see them as people who have their baggage of secular knowledge, their own ways of educating, techniques and technologies for the study of medicinal plants, architecture, arts and literature, among others, configuring epistemologies that need to be recognized as much as scientific knowledge.

It concerns complex knowledge, the result of observation and experimentation in the local environment, associated with practices, cosmogonies and beliefs that are related to living beings and the environment, which are translated into epistemologies. In this sense, we can say “there are many more regimes of knowledge and culture than our vain metropolitan imagination supposes to have” (CARNEIRO DA CUNHA, 2009). In this direction, Law No. 11,645/2008 allows us in non-indigenous schools to adopt other methodologies and pedagogical practices guided by inter-epistemic dialogue, which can be done, for example, from the presentation and study of an indigenous ritual, in this case the Tora Grande Ritual practiced by the Apinaje people. And a way to enter the universe of these indigenous people is through the study of the relationships they make with nature, with the supernatural world and the knowledge of their survival strategies.

The data brought in this study show that some economic ventures in the Northern Region of Tocantins had negative impacts on the relationship of the Apinaje with the environment, reflecting on the Tora Grande Ritual with regard to the foods shared in this ritual. Such knowledge is very important to be approached in the classroom, because they provide opportunities and allow the discussion of the historical relationship of respect of indigenous peoples with the environment and their own protection mechanisms, since they also monitor and help to protect their territories. Data such as the narrative to which the Pàrkapê ritual is linked and about the various domains with which the Apinaje interact, as well as the musicalization process and the forms that are linked to the process of transmission of these songs, provide the basis for justifying the existence of the ritual Pàrkapê and the potency of knowledge that constitutes it.

The Apinaje indigenous graphism that make up the paintings in the Tora Grande Ritual is also a very rich collection, both historical and pictographic, of art and ornamentation of the indigenous body, which provide us with information full of meanings about the culture of these people. If taken to the classrooms through images, or in the bodies of the Apinaje themselves, to be studied, it

²⁰ The idea is to break the hierarchy between researchers and “researched”.

helps to deconstruct the idea that indigenous peoples does not have a script, an argument used for to place them in a position of cultural inferiority, consequence of the dissemination of prejudices, sustained, in many situations, by the Eurocentered epistemic perspectives.

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THE POST-COLONIAL AND DECOLONIAL RAINBOW IN MYTHOLOGICAL NARRATIVES ABOUT OXUMARÊ, THE SERPENT ORIXÁ²¹

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Josebel Akel Fares

Arrobobô!

Come, the Orixá has already arrived

Come meet his ballet

that the snake snaked

In the dance of Oxumarê

(Gloria Bomfim, 2018)²²

The mythology of the Orixás plays an important role in the educational formation of the children and pais-de-santo²³ in the Umbanda and Candomblé terreiros.²⁴ These myth-narratives portray how the Orixás, African deities that existed in the physical or etheric plane according to the nature of the myth, had their passage in life or in the celestial plane. Their stories tell about their deeds, plots, characteristics, misadventures and rise as Orixás.

These mythologies include narratives about the orixá Oxumarê, orixá serpent, lord of rain and metamorphosis, of the rainbow, of fortune and fertility, frequently worshiped in Candomblé, in Brazil. These deities were brought to this country by the Yoruba peoples, known as Nagôs, from the African continent, specifically from Benin and Nigeria.

²¹ Work presented to the Graduate Program in Education at the University of the State of Pará (UEPA) as an Evaluation of the subject of Epistemology in Education.

²² Verses from the song “Canto para Oxumarê” by Gloria Bonfim, track No. 09 from the album Chão de Terreiro, released on December 12th, 2018.

²³ In Afro-brazilian religions such as Umbanda, Candomblé and Quimbanda, pai-de-santo is the name given to the male priest, (mãe-de-santo, if referring to a woman) of these religions. The direct translation is “father of the saint” or “mãe de santo” if referring to women.

²⁴ Terreiro is the name given to the space where the rituals, meetings and celebrations of afro-brazilian religions occur.

The orixás discovered Brazilian lands due to the human trafficking destined for slavery in the colonial period, which had its origins in the beginning of the 16th century and lasted until the 19th century, when on May 13, 1888, the abolition of slavery was proclaimed with the enactment of Lei Áurea, by Princess Isabel. It was during this period that, in Brazil, the Yoruba people spread their culture, their faith and their ancestral knowledge throughout this territory as a form of resistance to European rule and as a way to connect with the millenary spirituality linked to nature and all its manifestations.

Then, the African faith gained different forms of expression in different regions of Brazil and as a result of this plurality, its manifestations gained different names, such as Candomblé, worshiped in the state of Bahia; in the state of Maranhão there is the practice of Tambor-de-mina Nagô;²⁵ in Pernambuco there is the practice of Xangô; and in the state of Rio Grande do Sul, the Batuque.

Umbanda, another manifestation of Afro religiosity in Brazil, was born in the state of Rio de Janeiro in the early 20th century, from the union of the foundations of Candomblé with the spiritism of Allan Kardec, of French origin, with the saints of the Catholic religion and elements of indigenous cultures and traditional peoples socially marginalized. Thus, umbanda was quickly spread throughout the national territory and only after the 60s did Bahian Candomblé spread throughout Brazil.

From this perspective, the narratives about the orixá Oxumaré are part of a complex system of knowledge and resistance that has been present since the slavery period. These are narratives that tell about a male deity of intense wealth, beauty and sensuality, an orixá that transforms into a serpent, sometimes portrayed with a zoomorphic appearance, with a male torso and snake body where the lower limbs should be. Other narratives tell about orixá as an irresistible youth to those who observe him, because of his beauty and opulence, and men and women try to possess the reserved and restrained Oxumarê.

Furthermore, for some African ethnicities, the rainbow serpent is portrayed, according to Wilkinson (2002), as another deity known by the name of Aido-Hwedo, created to serve Nana Buluku, the Benin god of creation. He had dual personality: in the part that rules his cold coloration, he was a woman, and in the part that dominates his warm coloration, he was a man. In this regard, we seek to reflect on how these narratives about Oxumarê are related to postcolonial criticism and decolonial thought. Therefore, we identify the characteristics of postcolonial criticism and decolonial thought as theories; we check the

²⁵ Tambor de mina is the name given to an Afro-Brazilian religious tradition.

knowledge that is conveyed through the narratives about Oxumarê; and we seek to understand the importance of the narratives about this orixá as a source of resistance. Thus, in the following pages, we travel the sinuous paths of the serpent orixá in the Rainbow, which shelters in its horizon the knowledge of this orixá and the means of resistance that are evoked in his narratives under the notion of post-colonial criticism and the feeling of restlessness of decolonial thought.

Thus, this study consists of an introduction entitled “Arrobobô!”, a greeting to this specific orixá, and is divided into three parts. In the first part, entitled “The Rainbow Routes”, we present the methodology and procedures used in the composition of this study. In the second part, we expose the theoretical foundation, which we called “Angorô” for this section, where the characteristics of postcolonial criticism and decolonial thought as theoretical tendencies are discussed, as well as the knowledge that is conveyed through the narratives about Oxumarê, and the importance of narratives about this orixá as a source of resistance. In the third part, entitled “Serpent Orixá”, we analyze and discuss the data obtained with this research, where we seek to dialogue the contours that portray the relationships observed between the narratives about the orixá Oxumarê with post-colonial criticism and decolonial thought, in the non-place of myth-narratives about African deities. In the conclusion entitled “Arrobobô Oxumarê!”, the same opening greeting that is the title of the introduction to this study serves as a closing greeting for the patron orixá of this research.

The Rainbow Routes

This study is characterized as a bibliographical research, whose approach method is dialectical and qualitative. This bibliographic research gave us the opportunity to “explore new areas where problems did not crystallize enough”, allowing us, paraphrasing the author, to establish a “parallel reinforcement in the analysis of our research and manipulation of information” (LAKATOS; MARCONI, 2003, p. 183), as it helped us to examine a topic under a new approach, reaching other conclusions about the topic addressed. Therefore, the dialectical approach method was necessary, based on Lakatos and Marconi (2003. p.106), because, in this way, it was possible to enter “the world of phenomena through their reciprocal action, the contradiction inherent to the phenomenon and of the dialectical change that takes place in nature and society”. Thus, the research results were used as a basis for the considerations of the studied object.

The qualitative approach in this study works with the universe of meanings, motives, aspirations, beliefs, values and attitudes, which corresponds to a

deeper space of relationships, processes and phenomena that cannot be reduced to the operationalization of variables (MINAYO, 2001).

In the first stage, a documentary research was carried out on postcolonial criticism and decolonial thought as a theoretical tendency. Then, there was a non-exhaustive literature review on the narratives about the orixá Oxumarê, and a brief survey of bibliographic data, considering authors who discuss this subject. During the readings, it was possible to let impressions and orientations about the decolonial thought associated with the narratives of this orixá flow in particular. These impressions led us to understand how the narratives about Oxumarê express resistance.

Angorô - Theoretical Framework

Postcolonial critique and decolonial thought advocate that the various fields of human production, such as social relations, culture and literature, were profoundly affected by European imperial domination. And it seeks, in a critical way, to unveil the effects disseminated by this domination in various fields. However, for Mignolo (2017), the goal of decolonial options “is not to dominate, but to clarify, when thinking and acting, that global futures can no longer be thought of as a global future in which a single option is available; after all, when only one option is available, “option” completely loses its meaning”. (MIGNOLO, 2017, p. 18).

The specialized literature has shown that few studies in Brazil are interested in discussing the contributions of the so-called postcolonial and decolonial studies. This theoretical approach is fundamental, since coloniality remains alive in learning manuals, in the criteria for academic work, in culture, in common sense, in the self-image of peoples, in the aspirations of subjects, and in so many other aspects of our modern experience. Finally, we breathe coloniality in modernity on a daily basis (MALDONADO-TORRES, 2007, p. 131).

In this sense, the literature produced by African peoples brought to Brazil at the time of Portuguese colonization is based on the experience and observation of representative themes of the African cultural imagination, and it can be inserted in the so-called postcolonial literatures. Thomas Bonnici (2012, p. 19-20) defines these literature as

the entire literary production of peoples colonized by European powers between the 15th and 21st centuries. Therefore, literatures in Spanish in Latin American and Caribbean countries; in Portuguese in Brazil, Angola, Cape Verde and Mozambique; in English in Australia, New Zealand, Canada, India, Malta,

Gibraltar, Pacific and Caribbean Islands, Nigeria, Kenya, South Africa; in French in Algeria, Tunisia and several countries in Africa, they are postcolonial literatures.

This theoretical orientation seeks to understand the strong concerns that involve sociopolitical, cultural, religious and ideological issues; the legitimation of being; community relations (essential for the legitimacy of these literatures); the linguistic-cultural context and supranationality, as well as the poetics and literary subjectivity of those nations in the world.

Along the colonization process, people of African origin experienced the impossibility of writing and exposing their way of being and living in their own language, with oral memory serving as the only way to “keep” part of history. This resulted in the silencing of their epistemologies in the name of civilization, Christian faith and reductionist science, universalizing Western hegemonic power and knowledge, which was also applied to literary manifestations.

It is not only about the violence engendered by the genocide of African populations in Brazil, but also about what Boaventura Sousa Santos (2008) called epistemicide, by not allowing the culture of colonized peoples, their knowledge, ways of life and coexistence with nature to emerge. From this perspective, postcolonial critique questions the discursive production of those who speak from a discursive in-between place that challenges narrow notions of language, nation and history, and the decolonial thought draws attention to the fact that it is necessary to recognize and cherish other cultures and knowledge, beyond the canons of Western civilization, which can reveal other modes of existence and understanding of the world, even if they are silenced.

The literature produced by these peoples is based on the experience and observation of themes that represent the African cultural imagination, and this can be inserted in the so-called postcolonial literatures. Postcolonial and decolonial thought thinking help us to reflect on the historical social disaggregation and marginalization experienced by those who were brought to Brazil for slavery, through human trafficking, during the period of colonization of this territory by Europeans. According to the decolonial perspective, it is about perceiving the marks of coloniality or what Mignolo (2005) called “colonial wound”.

This wound reveals a background in the relationships in society, resulting from the coloniality of knowledge and being, interfering in the subjectivity of peoples. Even though this also happens in the different spheres of society, the school, as an educational environment, has contributed to the devaluation of this original culture and the overvaluation of urban culture, it is a matter of not valuing erased or denied cultural identities, which happens through the monocultural

treatment of curricular structures, thus reinforcing the importance of these studies in the Brazilian educational context, that is, knowledge does not develop in an interrelation and dialogic process. (PALADINO; CZARNY, 2012).

The way that interpreters of myth-narratives about orixás read, describe and express their feelings can be studied from their oral narratives. In this regard, cultural codes and devices will be richer and will provide more information about the culture in question, where meanings are negotiated and updated in the very act of its production. Unlike what happens in written narratives, the interpreter provides an interaction, a dialogue and an exchange of experiences that are, in this shared “here and now”, showing their own culture in emergence (BAUMAN, 1977).

Ferreira Netto (2008) observes that the oral tradition can also be a very rich source for reconstructing the past, because through oral narratives, stories and culture can be perpetuated. It is in this sense that, for Barthes (2011, p. 19), “the narrative is present at all times, in all places, in all societies; the narrative begins with the history of humanity”. Le Goff (1996, p. 424) also observes that “the first domain in which the collective memory of peoples without writing is crystallized is the one that gives an apparently historical foundation to the existence of ethnic groups or families, that is, of origin myths”.

Therefore, the decolonial thought, according to Mota Neto (2016), is based on a feeling of dissatisfaction with the wounds caused by the colonial situation, as this thinking seeks to overcome the gaps historically marked in the societies of peoples “from below”. Resistance is sought against the oppressions caused by modernity/coloniality on subaltern groups, such as indigenous peoples, black peoples, LGBTQs, women, people living on the outskirts of large cities and the countryside, among others.

This resistance arises from the social plane and walks through human existence, through the relations between the oppressed subjects, through the economic, epistemological and educational conditions. It is, therefore, an incessant search for the autonomy of being, thinking, power, existing and feeling and that are in constant conflict with the colonialism on these same planes, a place that builds the environment for the emergence of decolonial thought, the denial to the denial.

In this sense, the conception of decolonial thought is portrayed by Mota Neto (2016. p. 44) as

anti-colonial, non-Eurocentric, anti-racist, anti-patriarchal, anti-capitalist, in its due developments, and assumes a critical confrontation against any and all forms of exclusion that have its origins in the colonial situation and its historical

consequences. From denial to denial, different proposals for the reinvention of social existence, thought, education, culture, science, philosophy have emerged, in its positive face.

Based on these considerations, it is correct to state that decolonial thought aims to bring to light social pathologies that mask a salvationist discourse conveyed by modernity and its indolences. It is fundamental for a decolonial perspective to be dissatisfied and reject any and all epistemicide proposed by monocultures, for lazy reasons and hideous thinking.

Therefore, this non-place, where marginalized subjects and knowledge are inserted, is the starting point from which the decolonial thought will emerge, giving rise to the self-liberation of these others, to an ecology of their knowledge, existence, affectivity and diverse forms of being within a world-system that constantly seeks its invisibility, suppression and definitive disappearance.

Still on decolonial theory, Walsh (2009) understands that such a perspective must assume a sense of provocation when taking a critical look at the world and its colonialism of being, knowing, feeling, power and cosmogony. These colonialities are expressed from the moment when the Other, as an oppressed and colonized subject, is seen as irrational, inferior, less capable and invisible in the face of a totalitarian and indolently colonizing society.

For the author, such forms of coloniality still persist due to the dehumanization of society through the capitalist-indolent-monocultural logic of modernity. Thus, the coloniality of power is still a way that the elite, the whitened-white (European) society uses to erase the racial and social differences of indigenous and black people, from the perspective of an identity that is harmful to the society responsible for the colonization, thus creating a “racialized hierarchy”.

Furthermore, cosmogonic coloniality is very much intertwined with indigenous peoples and of African origin. For Walsh (2009), the cosmogonic or mother-nature coloniality is still not much considered within postcolonial studies, and

is related to the vital-magical-spiritual force of the existence of Afro-descendant and indigenous communities, each with its own historical particularities. It is the one that fixes the Cartesian binary difference between man/nature, categorizing as non-modern, “primitive” and “pagan” the spiritual and sacred relationships that connect the worlds above and below, with the Earth and with ancestors as beings alive. (WALSH, 2009. p. 15).

In this way, the cosmogonic coloniality intends to keep all the cosmovisions of the original and Afro-diasporic peoples in non-places of the modern society, as well as their knowledge, faith and ways of seeing, feeling and being in the universe. It is a problem that is located in the ontological existential plane of humanity, deeply fused to the dehumanization of these other subjects, which has to do with the destruction of their cultural legacy, humanity, philosophy and their relationship with the other.

This mark is present in the minds of the colonized modern subject due to the colonizing plan of the European since the 16th century, when, through intense and inhuman violence, the first inhabitant peoples of Brazilian lands and the diasporic peoples of the African continent were subjected to the stay in a place of non-existence, becoming a reflection of a domination destined for the growth of European invasion and colonization in the new continent, creating an intense and marked colonial difference.

Serpent Orixá

The process of colonization of Brazilian territory is marked by irreparable violence against indigenous peoples and those originating from the African continent, peoples who were enslaved and colonized by Europeans in the 16th century and whose cultures were denied, prohibited, and their manifestations subject to repression by torture.

In this context, African culture, specifically religiosity, suffered from the Christian persecution of the colonizer. Their deities, the orixás, were – and still are – demonized from a colonial perspective, since such deities are beyond the divine being par excellence, that is, their characteristics, qualities and functions are linked to humanity, since the greatest part of the orixás had their passage through Earth, as believed by the African religiosity.

As a means of resisting the prohibitions of their “pagan” cults, elements of the Catholic religion – such as the saints of the Holy Mother Church – were implemented in the rites of devotion to the orixás through religious syncretism. Oyá Iansã became Santa Bárbara, Omolu became São Lázaro, Iemanjá won the sweet face of the Immaculate Conception, and Oxalá that of the beloved Christ, since it was not possible to worship the first image of the orixás, since they were prohibited by the colonial rulers of the Portuguese lands from beyond the sea.

In this perspective, we can say that today African religiosity still remains in a constant process of resistance and resignification, which characterizes colonizing modernity and the religious face of intolerance, increasingly present

at the heart of Brazilian society. By enlisting some historical-structural “knots”, articulated through colonial and imperial difference, Mignolo (2017) highlights that there was “a spiritual/religious hierarchy that privileged Christian spiritualities over non-Christian/non-Western spiritualities was institutionalized in the globalization of the Christian Church (Catholic and later Protestant)” (MIGNOLO, 2017, p. 10). However, the faith in the orixás remains strong, even with the real attacks on the existence of their practices, even though their *terreiros*, houses and shacks are depredated, set on fire and marked by a part of society that acts with abuses and intolerance. Considering this, we can say that the knowledge conveyed to the narratives of the orixás are marks of resistance, and in them the “sons of saints seek strength to face and resist the daily violence through their spiritual guides.

In this direction, a specific narrative portrays this resistance and restlessness, which are fundamental to postcolonial and decolonial studies. Reginaldo Prandi (2001), in his book *Mitologia dos Orixás*, in the midst of a rich mytho-narrative content about these African cult deities, brings a passage in which “Oxumarê transforms into a snake to escape Xangô”. In this narrative, the author portrays Oxumarê as follows:

Oxumarê was a handsome and envied boy. His clothes were all the colors of the rainbow and his gold and bronze jewelry sparkled from afar. Everyone wanted to get close to Oxumarê, women and men wanted to seduce him and marry him. But Oxumarê was also very restrained and lonely. He preferred to walk alone through the vault of heaven, where everyone used to see him on rainy days. Once, Xangô saw Oxumarê pass by with all the colors of his costume and all the sparkles of his metals. Xangô knew Oxumarê’s reputation of not letting anyone get close to him. He then set a trap to capture the Rainbow. He invited Oxumarê for an audience in his palace and, when Oxumarê entered the throne hall, Xangô’s soldiers closed the doors and windows, imprisoning Oxumarê along with Xangô. Oxumarê got desperate and tried to run away, but all the exits were locked from the outside. Xangô tried to take Oxumarê in his arms and Oxumarê escaped, running from one side to the other. Not able to get rid of it, Oxumarê asked Olorum for help and Olorum heard his plea. When Xangô immobilized Oxumarê, Oxumarê was transformed into a snake, which Xangô dropped in disgust and fear. The snake glided across the floor in quick, sinuous movements. There was a small gap between the door and the floor of the living room and that was where the snake escaped, that was where Oxumarê escaped. That was how Oxumarê got rid of Xangô’s harassment. When Oxumarê and Xangô were made orixás, Oxumarê was in charge of

bringing water from the Earth to Xangô's palace in Orum, but Xangô could never get close to Oxumarê. [111] (PRANDI, 2001. p. 226-227).

In this narrative about Oxumarê, we notice several elements that mark the resistance of this orixá against the physical domain of Xangô, an orixá who applies justice to his children. According to this mythology, both deities inhabited the Earth as mortals and had carnal desires and repulsions like any man. The issue of gender, such as homoeroticism, for example, was not treated as a taboo, or with prejudice, since desire or affection transcended physical matter or the nature of the body. Part of the receptivity to the homo-affective group within the African religiosity takes place through this idea of spirituality, since the human being is endowed with potentialities and defects. Then, it is not up to religion to guide the subject, since some of its deities do not have them, but rather the orientation to respect and compassion that they preach so much in their cults.

Considering these relationships, Mignolo (2017) observes that

[...] geopolitics and body-politics (understood as the biographical configuration of gender, religion, class, ethnicity and language) of the configuration of knowledge and epistemic desires were hidden, and the emphasis was placed on the mind being related to God and reason. This is how the enunciation of Western epistemology was configured, and so was the structure of the enunciation that supported the colonial matrix. Therefore, decolonial thought and action focus on enunciation, engaging in epistemic disobedience and disengaging from the colonial matrix to enable decolonial options – a vision of life and society that requires decolonial subjects, decolonial knowledge and decolonial institutions. (MIGNOLO, 2017, p. 6).

Therefore, the coloniality of being is not noticed in this myth as an ideological repressive system, but it can be seen through the indolent action that Xangô exerts through physical force, when he tries to abusively take Oxumarê's body because of his sexual desire for this orixá. This narrative represents the historical confrontations and resistances of the oppressed subject, throughout these more than 500 years of colonization of his being and knowledge.

Oxumarê, the man/serpent orixá, still appears in another passage about one of his feats, it is the narrative that describes how "Euá is hidden by her brother Oxumarê". Prandi (2001) says that

Euá was also Nanã's daughter. Euá is the horizon, the meeting of heaven and earth. It is the meeting of the sky and the sea. Eua was beautiful and bright, but she was lonely and so quiet. Nanã, worried about her daughter and asked Orunmilá to find her a love, to arrange a marriage for Euá. But Euá wanted to live alone, dedicated to her task of making the night fall on the horizon, killing the sun with the magic that she keeps in the *adô* calabash. Nanã, however, insisted on finding a marriage to her daughter. Euá then asked her brother Oxumarê for help. The Rainbow hid Euá in the place where her body arch ends. She hid behind the horizon and Nanã could never reach her again. So the two brothers lived together, forever unattainable on the horizon, where heaven meets Earth. Where she makes the night with her *adô*. [119] (PRANDI, 2001. p. 238-239).

With regard to the cosmogonic colonialism present in these narratives, Oxumarê and Euá live in this unattainable non-place of existence, where feeling, being and living are threatened by the dominant force of the other. It would be wrong to think that in African culture these relations of domination do not exist, since they are people intensely marked by colonial wounds. Such marks of the relations of domination of the oppressed subject by the oppressor subject, as well as the resistances in these processes, are deeply rooted in sociocultural and historical issues, since the relations of disputes over territories and resources are also part of the history of African origin peoples.

It is in the function of breaking these dominant paradigms that Oxumarê comes sinuous, colorful and sliding towards his sons and daughters, supported by his knowledge and achievements, as a way to show that the rupture of domination strategies is necessary to confront the violence imposed through the dehumanization of the subject and social monocultures. It is, therefore, in the creation of its own pedagogy, created by the oppressed himself and for his social group, that this other subject will find, from his family horizon, his (re) humanization.

Arobbô Oxumarê

In this study that highlighted the importance of narratives about Oxumarê as a source of resistance, here evidenced in the light of postcolonial criticism and decolonial theory, we found that in these narratives it is possible to show signs of resistance against colonialism, as they express strategies of protection of being, feeling and living against the various forms of oppression.

This can be observed when Oxumarê is enchanted, and also becomes stronger, leaving its multicolored trail like the curve of the Rainbow, signaling the possibility of further reading of the adventures and misadventures of the African diaspora peoples.

Thus, along the discussion promoted by the study above, the narratives studied are means of resistance to a vast system of colonial roots, which show and evidence the non-place of the oppressed subject within an indolent and controlling system of the body and the existence of African diaspora peoples. As evidenced by Mignolo (2017), “hidden behind the rhetoric of modernity, economic practices dispensed with human lives, and knowledge justified racism and the inferiority of human lives, which were naturally considered expendable. (MIGNOLO, 2017, p. 5). These are narratives that have been kept over centuries of external violence and domination, which have been maintained and strengthened through orality as a way of (re)inventing and (re)humanizing themselves within a world system that forces invisibility and the existence of the oppressed.

We saw that the narratives about Oxumarê, the serpent orixá and Rainbow, are a source of other knowledge and resistance intertwined between their multicolored scales, a symbol of renewal, (re)humanization and (re)signification. Through the narratives, we learned with Oxumarê to resist the means of control of being, knowing, feeling, living and believing in contact with the human being’s relationship with nature. Then, as if these narratives were told amidst the storms of modernity, the knowledge conveyed by them brings the light of the Rainbow at the end of this storm, bringing hope of a new time in which thinking with the other is part of a new construction of the world.

Therefore, we can say that the narratives about the orixás, not only Oxumarê, are sources of inspiration for artists and researchers who, when studying such narratives, promote the dialogue with academic knowledge, not to establish a hierarchy between them, but to show their educational, communicative potential and the underlying social values, historically denied and suppressed by a monocultural and indolent thinking. These are narratives that create soul bonds and insert an intense source into the other’s sensibility that spurts dissatisfaction with the historical violence of colonization.

The narratives about Oxumarê, narrated by his saint-children, or by the *pais* and *mães de santo* of Umbanda or Candomblé *terreiros*, grant the participation of these subjects in a given reality marked by resistance to European and elitist standards of culture, expression and faith. Such narratives, marked by the color of the guides, the colors of the orixá and the sinuosity of the rhythmic

dances to the sound of the drums, also invite us to fight the indolent reasons that act on the subjects placed on the margins of society. When we dialogue and share this knowledge, a counter-hegemonic movement is produced and we confront the discourses that reduce these narratives about the deities of cults of African origin to mere pagan folklorized practices.

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EDUCATION AND INDIGENOUS INTELLECTUALS

Uislei Uillem Costa Rodrigues

Introduction

This work comes from specific studies on the materialization of indigenous thought in the academic productions of these subjects. It is a summarized text of a research on this theme, presented in the Graduate Program in Education at UFPA, in the form of a dissertation, entitled “What have you come to do in the classroom? Brazilian indigenous intellectuals and education”. In this study, we analyzed the main themes dealt with by these intellectuals in the field of graduate studies, in Doctoral courses in Education.

For this research, we chose to analyze academic productions in the form of doctoral dissertations, presented by indigenous subjects in graduate programs in Education at national universities and who, preferably, acted or still act as educators and who have a notorious recognition for their engagement with indigenous agendas. Based on the criteria, we listed four important intellectual names who have used their standpoint of speech to embrace the struggle for indigenous people and their concerns.

To survey these productions, we resorted to navigators in order to locate and list the names of indigenous intellectuals. In this search, we realized that many of the indigenous subjects when introducing themselves, obviously, use their name and their ethnicity, sometimes, there is no common reference with the name legally registered, for example, Gersem José dos Santos Luciano is Gersem Baniwa. The fact that the legal name, in some cases, has no correlation with the name used by the indigenous intellectual, we believe that this generated some limitations to the dissertation construction and, consequently, to this work.

We understand that when it comes to academic productions by indigenous intellectuals, there is little interest in studying, researching and analyzing this textual genre, when compared to literary texts or educational material by indigenous authorship. However, by saying this, it does not mean that there is an absence of studies and initiatives with this goal.

The theses analyzed are the following: “The Karipuna Education of Amapá in the context of differentiated School Education in the village of Espírito Santo” by Edson Kayapó (BRITO, 2012); “Audiovisual at Terena Lutuma Dias School: Differentiated Indigenous Education and the media” by Naine Terena (JESUS,

2014); “Education for the management and domestication of the world between the ideal and the real: the dilemmas of indigenous school education in Alto Rio Negro” by Gersem Baniwa (LUCIANO, 2011); and “The educational character of the Brazilian indigenous movement (1970-1990)” by Daniel Munduruku (MUNDURUKU, 2012). The last one was already read in book form.

When we analyze indigenous academic production, we realize that those who managed to access and remain in higher education elaborate debates that are not correlated with the understanding of the phenomenon of indigenous intellectuality, since they have been dedicated to debating more urgent issues for their peoples.

Another important aspect is that the entry to higher education has contributed to the growth of academic production of indigenous authorship. These academic productions, however, are still not much visible and studied when compared with other textual genres produced by the indigenous people. According to Paladino (2016), academic production by indigenous authorship, unlike literary production and the production of textbooks, is not much studied as a textual genre.

In this construct, we intend to expose the authorial productions that have educational phenomena as their central theme. In addition, the academic productions briefly analyzed here come from doctoral courses at Brazilian universities, which is why it presents another different aspect, given the lack of research of this type. The analyzed theses are not concentrated in graduate programs in a single area, although they predominantly belong to the large area of Human Sciences, such as the Education and Anthropology programs.

When carrying out the analysis of the theses, the following aspects were considered: a) the way the text is structured; b) the motivations indicated by the authors for attending graduate studies; c) the developed approaches and themes; d) the expressed conceptions; e) identity; f) criticism of stereotypes about indigenous identities; g) ancestral memory (cultural and individual). We believe that by describing and reflecting on these items, we can identify the way each author expresses their thoughts, marks their indigenous identity, and go forward with their debate.

Rodrigues (2019) points out in a detailed way, the aspects related to the structure of the theses, but we anticipate and indicate that they follow the standard model in universities and do not present any innovation regarding the format of the textual genre.

The concepts present in these productions and that guide the debate are: indigenous education, educational processes for and of indigenous peoples,

appropriation and resistance, interculturality, indigenous/traditional knowledge and territorialization. The theses analyzed in this work present concepts predominantly about indigenous education, schooling for and of indigenous people, structural, didactic and pedagogical aspects of (for) indigenous school, indigenous identity and subalternity/resistance.

Education and Indigenous Thought

For indigenous populations, the search for access to graduate studies is directly related to the forms of struggle they try to take over. Above all, they want to debate stereotypes, idealizations and the conditions of subordination that are imposed on indigenous subjects. Then, we show the motivations of each author to carry out their study.

Daniel Munduruku presents himself as an activist for indigenous culture in Brazil. Inevitably, this is reflected in his academic and literary output and his production claims a non-Eurocentric look at the culture of different indigenous populations. In his thesis, the central motivation comes from the need that he feels to reveal the importance of the Brazilian indigenous movement for the insurgency of the country's ethnic populations.

Edson Kayapó, on the other hand, seeks his reconnection with the peoples and with an indigenous identity and, for this very reason, his work is motivated by this matter. His production does not analyze the indigenous population from which he originates – the Kayapó, but, he develops his studies among the Karipuna, a people with whom he had a closer relation since his childhood. In view of the contact he has with the Karipuna population of Amapá, he debates in his thesis the repercussions that differentiated indigenous school education caused on the people.

Gersem Baniwa points out, right in the introduction, his presentation and his motivations. If at first, higher education would serve to articulate the wishes of its people with national entities, later, with graduate studies, at a second moment, it served to confront colonial forms of subordination. His thesis is a study in defense of schooling for indigenous peoples and through access to school and university, he believed that it was possible to face subordination and inferiority.

Naine Terena presents the motivation to promote the appreciation of indigenous knowledge with a view to breaking the stereotypical and idealizing ideas and thoughts of the Terena people. The author's intention is to demonstrate how the Terena population has built a mechanism for disclosing, archiving and promoting their culture through audiovisual resources, which end up entering in the school.

The analysis of the motivations for writing their theses allows us to affirm that, although each author has their own desires, there is a common point between them: the defense of indigenous populations, as well as the dissemination, protection and insurgency of these same populations.

Daniel Munduruku, for example, although he debates the Brazilian indigenous movement, proposes to reveal the educational character circumscribed in this movement. Then, he exposes how within indigenous movements it is possible to educate oneself to fight for ethnic demands.

In turn, Edson Kayapó, despite emphasizing the repercussions of integrationist policies, more specifically in school education for the Karipuna of Amapá, describes not only the transformation of the social organization, but also the appropriation of these people for an education model that is more aligned with their yearnings.

Gersem Baniwa is, perhaps, one of the indigenous intellectuals who most make evident in his thesis the relations of his study with the theme of “education”. The author shows how education and schooling contribute to resistance and coping practices. He also considers that, although education is a “white colonization tool”, it can be appropriated by indigenous communities to overcome subordination.

Naine Terena, on the other hand, when talking about the insertion of audiovisual media in the Limão Verde village, a community of her ethnic origin, reveals the ways in which the Terena have appropriated them. It relies on the educational process as a factor in stimulating the use of these media. Therefore, she describes the process of contact with media tools and how they were introduced in the classroom of the school where she carried out her field research.

The explanation on the themes and the relation with Education allow us to infer that the theses, even those published in book form, converge their debates at some point to explain how education or schooling can influence and promote the view on indigenous issues, whether to safeguard an ancestral memory or to value indigenous culture or even to encourage and build forms of retaliation against abuse or subordination inflicted on indigenous populations.

In summary, we can state that the theses presented in Rodrigues (2019) debate themes related to indigenous identity, indigenous thinking about indigenous school education, as well as its repercussions, conceptions and phenomena of indigenous school education and traditional indigenous education. These works also highlight the challenges and limitations of indigenous school education and address other issues that concern the objects analyzed by them.

When they point out issues about indigenous identity, it is common for intellectuals to use their own experience as a starting point. Indigenous intellectuals reveal that although the colonizing process imposed contact with various institutions and integrationist projects on indigenous peoples, it was expected that this would directly impact the perception of these peoples about themselves, so that they would deny or forget their own identity and become “Brazilians citizens”. But indigenous intellectuals, like Daniel Munduruku (2012), indicate that it had a different result than expected.

According to Munduruku (2012), being an indigenous has always been a hindrance to the country’s development. This, obviously, comes from the distorted perception of these populations and the thought that the presence of these peoples was the reason for the development stagnation. It is important to highlight that the term “Indigenous” was being reappropriated as a form of struggle and cultural resistance. For Munduruku, this new conception of valuing what it is to be an indigenous emerges with the indigenous movement.

In Rodrigues (2019) there are several reports of indigenous people who only found and recognized their indigenous identity in contact with non-indigenous societies, pointing out the discriminatory processes experienced due to their identity. Furthermore, the discourses of indigenous intellectuals present in Rodrigues (2019) show that in many moments the indigenous identity is put to the test and even when denied, it does not result in a less unequal look at the subject.

The discourse of indigenous intellectuals demonstrates that assuming an indigenous identity has its complexities, however, not assuming this identity, or rather, not using it as a “presentation letter”, also incurs disqualifications, because, although the subject can dominate all of the tools, knowledge and mechanisms of the non-indigenous world, its phenotypic appearance and cultural traits, place it as an indigenous subject who wants to “look like” the non-indigenous man.

This indigenous person with a “displaced” or “transfigured” identity, according to Gersem Baniwa, is called a “generic indigenous”, as a subject “without a place, whose indigenous origin, inscribed in his body, but not in his culture, became a negative and pejorative sign to the world of whites, in which he was always a subaltern” (LUCIANO, 2011, p. 246). This designation serves, above all, to make indigenous speech illegitimate and disqualify the standpoint of speech.

The intertwining of subjectivities in the construction and updating of social and collective memory takes place through contact between different peoples as they experience situations that allow them to see similarities and differences

between their ethnic groups. However, this strengthens an ethnic identity that, for Munduruku (2012), does not need to be assumed, but made visible. This visibility, for the Munduruku intellectual, was allowed within the Indigenous Movement, when the indigenous leaders discovered their pan-indigenous identity, reappropriated the “indigenous” term and saw themselves as subjects of rights. Likewise, Gersem Baniwa believes that the contact with other subjectivities allowed indigenous peoples to reconstruct their own ways of conceiving themselves in the world.

Gersem Baniwa defends, in his thesis, that even though moving between two worlds does not make it impossible for the indigenous to have an indigenous identity:

Traditional cultures and identities will continue to provide meaning and spiritual basis to this cosmic journey, but the well-being and happiness of individuals and groups in post-reckoning times are entrusted to the possibility of accessing and appropriating techniques and technologies of the modern world (LUCIANO, 2011, p. 339).

Thus, according to Baniwa, the indigenous person, when desiring well-being, will not be denying their culture or traditional identity, that is, their indigenous identity. They will also incorporate alternative ways that are consistent with the chronological time in which this individual will find himself. Then, the incorporation of cultural aspects of the non-indigenous society in the indigenous life is configured as a way of maintenance and survival of its people.

It is also interesting to note that in Munduruku (2012), Luciano (2011), Brito (2012) and Jesus (2014), when they ponder or debate about indigenous identity, they emphasize how Western institutions have an important contribution in the elaboration of an awareness of indigenous identity. For the most part, the emphasis is given to school institutions that believe that school and the university, although they do not effectively recognize and respect the indigenous presence, enable the indigenous people who were educated by them to develop, based on the knowledge they received appropriate, a strategy of struggle and resistance for the maintenance and survival of their peoples.

We believe that regarding the indigenous identity, the authors are unanimous in declaring that because of their identity they suffered discrimination and, in some cases, were conditioned to deny it. In the theses, we also found that many indigenous people, faced with intense interethnic contact, assimilated habits and aspects of other cultures and currently wish to fit in a “modern style of life”.

Obviously, the theses analyzed in Rodrigues (2019) show divergences in terms of contributions to the formation of indigenous identity. Thus, there are theses that consider the contact with non-indigenous entities and institutions as important for the strengthening of indigenous identities and, for the most part, they point to the school as the main institution that contributes to the struggle and insurgency of indigenous peoples. In turn, there are also intellectuals who believe that the formation and strengthening of indigenous identity takes place among indigenous peers, thus generating a feeling of indigenous brotherhood.

By exposing *indigenous thought about school education and its repercussions*, Rodrigues (2019) identified in the theses which he analyzed that the Brazilian indigenous intellectuals listed have a clear understanding of the many motivations that encourage indigenous populations to seek the domination of non-indigenous elements. We found that they present a similar and convergent discourse on the importance of mastering the codes, which were once imposed, for the consolidation and strengthening of the struggle of the Brazilian indigenous populations.

In this sense, Naine Terena believes that “when mastering technologies, indigenous and non-indigenous place themselves on an equal footing in different social contexts, whether in education, politics, or social demands” (JESUS, 2014, p. 125). Likewise, regarding the appropriation of non-indigenous tools, Gersem Baniwa emphasizes that “Indigenous peoples understand that this is the only way they will be able to resume managing the world, a mission they have received since mythical times, but which they have lost in part during the process of colonial domination” (LUCIANO, 2011, p. 41).

Then, by appropriating non-indigenous codes, elements and entities, such as schools, indigenous populations wish to write other ways of relating and moving between worlds. In turn, for this to happen satisfactorily, indigenous peoples must believe in the entities that offer services to their communities.

However, defending the rights of indigenous peoples requires “preparation” from these leaders and, in some cases, some educational background. Therefore, in the analyzed theses, we observe that, with the exception of Edson Kayapó, other intellectuals explicitly emphasize that the access to school education enables training and, consequently, greater awareness of the contexts in which their peoples are inserted.

In her thesis, Naine Terena believes that awareness and perception of herself and her culture are achieved through educational improvement, as well as the dedication to schooling allows the elaboration of strategies to fight against forms of oppression and subordination. Likewise, the educational

training of indigenous peoples is an indispensable condition for the formation of new indigenous leaders in different social environments, which is why Daniel Munduruku (2012, p. 148) declares that “we need to prepare Indians to be politicians and professionals of all levels, so that they can lead their peoples who have been persecuted, violated, offended and discriminated for more than five hundred years”.

Indigenous intellectuals point out in their theses, according to Rodrigues (2019), that – if the school education previously offered to indigenous peoples served to civilize, integrate and remove these populations from their primitiveness –, nowadays, the indigenous discourse attributes another function to the school. The new role of the school transfigures this environment and creates new paradigms and paradoxes. Daniel Munduruku also believes that better educated indigenous people are more likely to represent their ethnic peoples with quality. In this way, qualification/education is a way of confronting, disseminating and promoting indigenous peoples and culture.

For Gersem Baniwa, according to Rodrigues (2019), schooling has an important impact on indigenous life and is an opportunity for the appropriation of non-indigenous codes, which will collaborate in the development of strategies of maintenance, appreciation, socialization, recognition and representation. In addition, it will allow indigenous people to master ethnic and modern/non-indigenous knowledge. It is also interesting to highlight that the discourses collected in the theses and presented by Rodrigues (2019) still converge to the social status of schooling among indigenous people.

According to Daniel Munduruku (2012, p. 99), “the perspective that the indigenous himself could one day command his destiny, that he could go on defining himself with autonomy, and that this autonomy would come accompanied in an elaborate and specific way of being” was possible thanks to the conceptions about education that these populations have. However, this perspective seems to be constantly denied to the indigenous peoples of Brazil. Historically, even the bodies destined to attend and deal with indigenous issues seem to consider that these populations do not have the capacity to manage their own paths, thus, keeping them in constant tutelage.

Although the emphasis given by indigenous intellectuals to the schooling of their peoples is notorious, Gersem Baniwa clearly expresses the contributions of this institution by reiterating that the “school is perceived as an instrument to help to build the future and not to recover the past, although the tradition and identity continue as indispensable references for these projects for the future, and should therefore be valued and perpetuated” (LUCIANO, 2011, p. 189).

For Gersem Baniwa, when it comes to the desirable school, among the indigenous people there is no predilection for a school model. Obviously, if the school is bilingual/multilingual, specific, differentiated and intercultural, it is better for the people, however, the indigenous people want to know and learn how to use the knowledge of the white man in order to build strategies to be able to interact and survive the onslaught of the globalized world. This is the reason why they show great interest in the school, as they believe that through this it will be possible to develop ways of relating to the non-indigenous world.

It cannot be denied that the school institution is something desirable among the indigenous people, however, even today, this institution is reluctant and hostile to the indigenous presence and the cosmology inherent to it, however, even in the face of educational systems that they oppress and undermine indigenous subjects, they recognize that school education at any level has important contributions and has long-term repercussions in alternative ways of strengthening and as a strategy for the struggle of these peoples.

Among the contributions or repercussions of schooling for indigenous peoples, we can list that, although they do not explicitly bring the results of this access to school institutions, the theses allow us to infer that, thanks to the school, there is a formation of a group of educated indigenous people or even of a “schooled indigenous elite”.

This recognition given to schooling for the process of indigenous intellectuality is notorious, because in the understanding presented, schooling will make indigenous populations more capable of assuming different positions in society. In this sense, Naine Terena, when interviewing teachers to identify the reasons for the teaching activity, obtained answers that converged to the importance of school education as a necessary element for indigenous people to be able to “take on jobs outside the villages, maintaining their indigenous identities” (JESUS, 2014, p. 93).

According to Rodrigues (2019), in Edson Kayapó’s thesis, schooling is placed as a resource for obtaining knowledge that, through the intellectual articulation of each indigenous subject, will be redefined to face and maintain identity and culture.

Among the intellectual indigenous authors analyzed by Rodrigues (2019), an explicit conception of one of the repercussions of the indigenous schooling process was identified in Gersem Baniwa: indigenous intellectuality. In addition, Baniwa recognizes himself as an intellectual, by placing himself in this standpoint of speech, which allows us to assume that, based on the example of his schooling experience and political inclination, it is possible to build an indigenous

intellectuality through school education processes. However, we are clear that the process of indigenous intellectuality is not only due to schooling, however, “indigenous peoples wanted the school to help them in political and intellectual empowerment to counteract the process of violence and domination that they were experiencing” (LUCIANO, 2011, p. 148).

Given what has been exposed, Rodrigues (2019) shows that indigenous intellectuals observe that the school is an important tool for confronting coloniality, and thanks to it, indigenous populations can develop strategies for maintaining and (re)valuing their cultures, without necessarily having to “erase” their identity marks. They also claim that the process of school education, which can be added to other educational processes, allows the construction of an intellectuality that focuses on greater awareness of itself and its community.

The schooling of indigenous peoples is a central theme of the discourses present in the theses, therefore, as a discursive development, they mention issues related to the school and indigenous school education. Thus, it is not uncommon to notice the debate about phenomena and conceptions about indigenous school education.

With regard to phenomena and conceptions about school education and about the indigenous school, the theses deal with questions about the repercussions of schooling, school education for indigenous people, structural, didactic and pedagogical aspects of the indigenous school, as well as issues and concepts of education indigenous school. When approaching Indigenous School Education, our intellectuals present a similar discourse and evoke identity aspects.

In Rodrigues (2019) it is made clear that all indigenous intellectuals analyzed by him expose some conception of Indigenous School Education. In summary, these authors build this concept based on what they consider important to maintain, which is why it is recurrent in this regard to highlight the ethnic aspects of identity. Culture should also be the main focus of indigenous school education, as well as indigenous school education helping the indigenous to move between the indigenous and non-indigenous world.

According to Rodrigues (2019), the theses of Brazilian indigenous intellectuals in education consider the school as a place for appropriating knowledge that enables a redefinition and constitution of their own knowledge, ethnic strengthening, valuing the culture of peoples and, above all, providing opportunities for contact of indigenous peoples with other peoples, in an attempt to develop a dialogue and a less unequal participation.

The theses of indigenous intellectuals, analyzed in Rodrigues (2019), also point out criticisms of the school education offered to indigenous people. Each

intellectual ponders different aspects, but those that portray the same dissatisfaction with the school models offered to the indigenous people.

For Gersem Baniwa, according to Rodrigues (2019), those responsible for an indigenous school education are the indigenous peoples themselves who must constantly build a school based on indigenous pedagogies and on their project for society. This intellectual considers that in the environment of school practice there is a slow and gradual institutional and procedural change, towards the construction of an alternative school model, defined as a community school, managed by the indigenous community. This school, however, wants to be differentiated, specific, intercultural and bilingual.

For Rodrigues (2019), when it comes to indigenous school education, the academic productions analyzed are not limited to debating only conceptual issues of indigenous education, because, when doing so, intellectuals invariably appeal to structural, didactic and pedagogical aspects of indigenous school in Brazil. Among the issues addressed, there is dissatisfaction with the curricula adapted from rural schools that do not actually meet the demands of the people. There is also the gradual participation and collaboration of indigenous peoples in the construction of extra-class school learning and the educational training given to indigenous people who do not collaborate to put them on an equal footing with non-indigenous people. It is for these reasons that Rodrigues (2019) states that the precariousness of indigenous school education results from this difficult task of trying to emphasize the “good indigenous” or the “good citizen”, and it results in the lack of quality in carrying out both. In this sense, many intellectuals recognize that the current indigenous school cannot fulfill the functions it proposes to do.

Another aspect explored in Rodrigues (2019) is *the challenges and limitations of Indigenous School Education* from the indigenous perspective. By proposing this look, the tensions, limits and challenges of this education in communities are presented. Among these aspects, we can mention the lack of autonomy to build their own institutional models as a limiting factor for the effective implementation of indigenous school education. Other existing obstacles to prevent it from occurring, in order to satisfy the interests of these ethnic populations, are the formatting of the school model, the initial and continuing education of their peoples, and the lack of resources and teaching materials.

According to Gersem Baniwa (LUCIANO, 2011), the achievement of indigenous autonomy will only take place when they have elaborated their own perspective of self-government, which should articulate tradition and modernity, without, however, one prevailing over the other, but both in balance. Baniwa

denounces that, unfortunately, an indigenous political agenda has not yet been drafted because the indigenous movement does not enjoy the same prestige and legitimacy as indigenism movements which, in turn, monopolizes and influences the government, the university and the society.

In addition to the lack of autonomy to manage entities such as schools, there is also, from the perspective of indigenous intellectuals, the precariousness of the initial and continuing education of indigenous populations, as well as the absence of financial and material resources that prevents the existence of a school education indigenous.

In turn, another point highlighted by indigenous intellectuals is the homogenization of curricular content adopted by the indigenous school, which affects the lack of knowledge, as well as teaching materials to adapt to the reality of indigenous people. To Naine Terena,

This homogenization, when analyzing teachers' reports, has failed to consider the identity and belonging of indigenous individuals in relation to their own reality, which also interferes with the performance of indigenous teachers in the classroom. (JESUS, 2014, p. 91).

From the perspective of Edson Kayapó, another impasse found in Indigenous School Education is the neglect of the development of teaching materials, which inflicts learning limitations. This indigenous intellectual believes that there is no real interest in developing specific teaching materials for people from indigenous communities.

The intellectual Baniwa, when discussing university education, states that although indigenous youth have access to this type of education nowadays, it does not mean that they will contribute to the indigenous movement, as in some cases, there is an insecurity about the ways of acting that they may have. According to the intellectual, this is due to the low quality of school education resulting from this "dual function" that the school/university tries to exercise (teaching "indigenous" and non-indigenous content). For this reason, the author explains that indigenous university students, due to their training, do not believe that through it they can contribute to their communities.

This lack of recognition and legitimacy of educated indigenous peoples affects the quantitative exponent of indigenous professionals who do not take on important jobs within indigenous entities and organizations, in many cases with the support of indigenous people themselves. It is interesting to point out that the support of indigenous people to filling opportunities, in indigenous entities

and organizations, by non-indigenous people is a result of this insistent depreciation of the indigenous subject who, even educated and professionally qualified, has to face the distrust of society and their peers. Furthermore, we also understand that “acceptance” by non-indigenous people in these entities and organizations is a strategy to maintain the fight for rights. The non-indigenous are considered legitimate individuals who “systematize” the conquest of rights considered to be an emergency, so by using the indigenist as the “spokesman”, indigenous peoples are elaborating a paradoxical act of insurgency and accentuating the contradiction of the system of domination itself.

The theses of Brazilian indigenous intellectuals that were analyzed by Rodrigues (2019) emphasize, in general terms, as the main challenges to be overcome for the construction of an Indigenous School Education that is desirable for indigenous peoples: a) the lack of autonomy given to indigenous peoples to manage their projects and the institutions that support them; b) the lack of preparation of teaching materials and initial or continuing training; c) the incipient resource made available for Indigenous School Education; d) the absence of unity and consensus among the indigenous people about the school education that they want; e) the homogeneity with which matters pertaining to indigenous school education are dealt with; f) the persistent devaluation and lack of intellectual recognition of indigenous peoples by national society.

Thus, when indigenous intellectuals address the main obstacles to the non-accomplishment of the indigenous school, it is recurrent to make approximations between school education and indigenous education itself, which we will call “Traditional Education”. About this education, there are numerous reports and conceptions about what this would actually be. We will use the nomenclature “Indigenous Traditional Education”, in order to differentiate it from indigenous school education. However, we recognize that other terms such as “Indigenous Education” or “Non-school education” could also be used, but we emphasize that in the body of this text these nomenclatures will be used unrestrictedly with similar meanings, because in the theses of indigenous intellectuals these terms converge to the type of everyday education we are referring to, and also because some texts analyzed also present their own terminological alternative for the phenomenon of education that takes place in everyday life.

According to Rodrigues (2019) in the theses, indigenous intellectuals, when dialoguing about the importance of school education for their people, make reference to their own conceptions of traditional education, establishing comparisons between them. The author found that most of the Brazilian

indigenous intellectuals analyzed, with the exception of Gersem Baniwa, present some conception of traditional education, in addition to characterizing it in the daily lives of the peoples mentioned in the works.

Naine Terena's concept of Indigenous Traditional Education, roughly speaking, is an education that considers the perception of spaces and interactions with the elements that are in it. Therefore, body language is also part of this education of the senses. As for Edson Kayapó (Brito, 2012), this education is participatory, communitarian and solidary, in which the youngest learn from the older ones. The latter being the "guides" of the actions of the present and the past. In turn, Daniel Munduruku (2012, p. 47) claims that this type of education is possible thanks to a collective memory that "is passed from generation to generation through the fragments that make it up and that are "sticked" together by a conception of education that necessarily involves social learning".

Although Gersem Baniwa does not expressly present a conception of indigenous education, we can infer, according to the discourse on indigenous school education, that this is received in everyday relations, is complementary and serves as a basis for the resignification of traditions in intercultural contact. We emphasize that in Rodrigues (2019) not only conceptions of (traditional) indigenous education are highlighted, but also phenomena resulting from this type of education, such as ways of life, specific cultural practices of each people and the implications of education for each people.

For Edson Kayapó, indigenous (traditional) education allows the indigenous subject to demarcate his place, whether through the way of expressing himself and relating to the world. Therefore, it is through this education that the indigenous subject establishes the boundaries of his ethnic belonging, which materializes itself in different ways in the behavior of this subject.

For Daniel Munduruku, in turn, education is seen as an integral and cyclical process that comes from an education of the senses. It is an education acquired through the body, making it clear that the senses will fill in the "absences" of matter (body). However, conditions must be "provided" for this to occur, so he makes a brief dissociation between educating the body and educating the mind, but placing them in a complementary condition. These types of education enable indigenous subjects to feel a certain "fullness" about their own existence, which in this process gains new meanings and meanings.

Similar to other intellectuals, Gersem Baniwa, when describing the phenomena inherent to indigenous education, presents the collective, community and collaborative character: "among indigenous peoples, people are highly valued, as each has its function and social position. This does not mean that they

are societies of individualism; on the contrary, people are only individualized as a function of collectivity” (LUCIANO, 2011, p. 221). Also according to Baniwa, “another characteristic of indigenous educational processes is the holistic and organic vision that guides such processes. Unlike school pedagogy, indigenous education does not separate theory from practice. There are two inseparable ways of facing reality” (LUCIANO, 2011, p, 225).

Final considerations

The elaboration of an indigenous intellectual thought goes through some kind of educational process. In the case of subjects who had their productions analyzed, the construction of intellectual thought went through schooling processes. These intellectuals appealed to school so that they could, together with their peoples, overcome the relation of dependence with the non-indigenous, so that they could manage their agendas themselves.

Thus, the school or university, when appropriated by indigenous subjects, is transformed into a tool for struggle. In fact, access to school institutions enables the domain of non-indigenous codes that are so necessary in the “epistemic battle”, as well as enabling the intellectual legitimization of indigenous discourses in defense of their peers and territories.

In the life trajectory of indigenous intellectuals, we could identify that they all claim and defend their ethnic origins. Therefore, we consider that these intellectuals express this indigenous identity in their academic and literary writings. After all, for the affirmation of the standpoint of speech, it is common for these subjects to evoke this identity, so that they achieve greater speech legitimacy.

Regarding the analyzed theses, we found similarities in terms of structure and content, even recognizing that theoretical and methodological elements diverge. Academic productions present thematic approaches that allow the identification of the indigenous perspective on them.

As for the structure of the theses, there are no disparities between them, but we point out that they follow the same pattern as any other thesis. This, for us, restricts the presentation and debates of indigenous knowledge that are conditioned to Western exposure. However, we understand that the university is not prepared to receive these people who have alternative ways of teaching and learning and, therefore, cannot conceive another way of intellectual construction and expression.

In these theses, indigenous identities are valued and placed as part of a culture that has its own and alternative way of conceiving the world and that, as a result, reflects this perspective in the way they interpret it in the spaces they circulate.

In authorial academic production, there are common traits not only on the structural level, but also on the discursive level. Structurally, they have many similarities, as they find a pattern of knowledge production. Likewise, the discourse is homogeneous, as it is intended to explain the indigenous perspective to non-indigenous people. However, even though it is a common point, the discourse of valorization and insurgency presented in these works is interesting.

As for the indigenous identity, the theses express in a similar way that being an indigenous person involved discrimination, subordination and questioning of their intellectual and epistemological capacity. This form of racism had its greatest occurrence in educational spaces where intellectuals attended.

Upon the indigenous thought in Indigenous School Education and its repercussions, for intellectuals, indigenous school education has its paradoxes, since at the same time that it presents itself as an element of colonization, it is a place for the elaboration of strategies to fight back and to consolidate the indigenous culture and knowledge. Thus, school education is configured as an element of social ascension and of safeguarding their traditions, cultures, and knowledge in the face of intercultural contact.

The theses also demonstrate that the indigenous school education desired by indigenous peoples is one in which there is an intertwining between non-indigenous and indigenous knowledge, and has the quality so that they can be effectively able to collaborate with their ethnic groups.

The theses state that the lack of autonomy in the management of school education is a limitation, as it becomes impossible for the school to be appropriated for the elaboration of a specific pedagogical project that is compatible with the demands presented by the indigenous people. In addition, there is also the lack of resources applied in the indigenous school, which, given the material and structural precariousness, makes teaching work unfeasible, and the precariousness of initial and continuing education that prevents the indigenous people from developing their own methods and techniques, thus as a specific educational model which, in turn, results in the lack of appropriate teaching materials to teach about the culture, history and language of indigenous peoples.

Thus, the theses also point out the devaluation and lack of recognition that indigenous intellectuals face as a challenge to overcome, because, although they may have training at different levels, they still have to deal with the distrust of both their people and those who are not indigenous as well.

As for the education of the indigenous tradition, our intellectuals elaborate their conceptions and present phenomena corresponding to it. The reports collected in the theses thus indicate that, broadly speaking, education from

tradition is that one received in everyday practices, which is based on tradition. It is also that education which does not depend on the school to happen and, therefore, occurs in all spaces, which, consequently, makes it a holistic and integral education, as well as considering and respecting the environment (mother nature).

Although we have discussed the main converging aspects between the analyzed theses, the productions of our indigenous intellectuals have particularities that enrich the debate and raise new understandings of the various phenomena outlined by them. But this aspect has not been explored here because we intend to present the convergence of thought, but we indicate that it is equally important to understand how each intellectual embraces the indigenous struggle.

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A STUDY ON BILINGUAL AND DIFFERENTIATED INDIGENOUS SCHOOL EDUCATION IN THE AMAZON CONTEXT²⁶

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Introduction

Indigenous School Education in Brazil has historically experienced a teaching process based on the catechization and assimilation of peoples, which took place through colonizing practices. However, for a long time in this country, this reality was ignored and these peoples “were kept” silenced and were made invisible from social and educational policies. The repercussion of this violence against indigenous peoples was the formation of a racist and prejudiced society in many aspects, which was materialized for years in learning manuals, in the criteria for academic work, in culture and in the common sense.

The school for indigenous people has always aimed to integrate indigenous populations into the surrounding society, ignoring their cultures and languages and has always been serving the logic of the capitalist system. In the Amazon region, this was accentuated since the 1970s and stimulated by development projects. In relation to Indigenous School Education developed in this context, many issues still need to be investigated. From this perspective, the objective of this work is to present a brief study of Indigenous School Education in the Brazilian Amazon, with an emphasis on bilingual and differentiated EEI, based on studies produced in the areas of Education and Linguistics, available in the virtual libraries of universities graduate programs located in this region.

This is a qualitative research with a bibliographic survey, anchored in the theoretical approaches of authors such as Ferreira (2001), Lopes da Silva (2001), Maher (2006), Amaral (2011), Candau (2005) and Walsh (2008), among others, who discuss the indigenous issue related to school education in a critical intercultural perspective. Therefore, the study was structured in two analytical categories: the heterogeneity of learning in the Amazon context; and the organization of the teaching of bilingual and differentiated education. And it is organized

²⁶ This study was done as a final paper of the Specialization Course in Management and Organization of School Work at the Federal University of Tocantins (UFT), Campus of Tocantinópolis.

into three sections, in addition to the introduction and conclusion: in the first section we carry out a debate on bilingual and differentiated Indigenous School Education; in the second section, we approach indigenous peoples and the heterogeneity of learning in the Amazon context; and in the third section, we discuss the relation and tensions in the educational process and educational practices of indigenous teachers in the Amazon, based on the works investigated.

The debate on bilingual and differentiated indigenous school education

Considering the need to understand the bilingual and differentiated Indigenous School Education in the Amazon context, the analysis of the investigative field is essential, since studies in this area of knowledge have shown that the implementation of public policies and the current model of Indigenous School Education need to go through a deep revision, as the school in the indigenous context turned out to be seen as a space for struggles and demands. According to Ferreira (2001), this is a reflection of the fact that this education in Brazil has historically gone through four distinct phases, characterized by different paths and political-ideological guidelines.

The first phase will coincide with the colonization process, a period in which school education was under the domain of Catholic missionaries, especially the Jesuits. At this stage, school education was just an instrument of catechesis, of turning the indigenous into christians, which was approached aiming to be “pacified” so that they could become pieces of slave labor to help to build the colonial project of the Portuguese crown. During this period, the offer of school education programs to indigenous populations was guided by the catechization, civilization and forced integration of indigenous people into national society. Ferreira (2001) observes that “until the expulsion of the missionaries from the Society of Jesus in 1759, the Jesuits used school education, among other things, to impose mandatory teaching in Portuguese as a way of promoting the assimilation of indigenous into a Christian civilization” (FERREIRA, 2001, p. 72).

The second phase is marked by the creation of the Indigenous Protection Service (SPI) in 1910, and will extend to the education policy of the National Indigenous Foundation (Funai), in conjunction with the *Summer Institute of Linguistics* (SIL) and other religious missions. Then, the Brazilian State began to implement an indigenous policy of “integration” into the national society, since the indigenous were seen as backward and uncivilized. At this stage, “The education which the ‘national society’ thinks for the indigenous people, does not differ structurally, neither in its functioning, nor in its ideological assumptions, from

missionary education. And it contains failures of the same type” (MELIÁ, 1979, p. 36). Ferreira (2001, p. 75) explains that the SPI’s indigenous policy for Indigenous School Education made it “relieved the burden” of religious education, placing greater emphasis on teaching agricultural and domestic work, through the so-called “agricultura clubs”, aiming to integrate the indigenous population into the national society.

The third phase begins at the end of the 1960s and 1970s of the 20th century and is characterized by the extinction of the SPI and the creation of FUNAI, in 1967, in addition to the creation of several non-governmental bodies to support indigenous causes, with highlight to organizations such as the Indigenous Missionary Council (CIMI), the Native Amazon Operation (OPAN), the Indigenous Work Center (CTI), the Pro-Indigenous Commission, the indigenous movement, among others. With the Indigenous Statute of 1973, literacy in the native language in indigenous schools became mandatory. The great partner of Funai’s educational projects was still SIL, which transformed official bilingualism into a strategy of cultural domination and mischaracterization, maintaining the same civilizing goals pursued by the Jesuits.

The fourth and last phase will be outlined by the indigenous peoples themselves, in the 1980s, based on their proposed initiatives, as they started to demand the definition and self-management of educational processes in their territories. This phase is strengthened by the indigenous movement, constituted in the struggles in defense of their rights. Some mobilizations start to draw attention, mainly to their specific ways of living and thinking, their languages and cultures, their own means of reproduction, re-elaboration and transmission of knowledge (LOPES DA SILVA, 2001, p. 10).

Some international documents related to the indigenous issue are important because they have helped us and helped to enforce the struggles of indigenous peoples. Among them we highlight that in September 2007, at the United Nations (UN), the countries approved the Universal Declaration of Rights of the Indian people. This document is presented as a form of recognition of indigenous peoples as pre-existing nations to republican national states, which guarantees the necessary legitimacy to demand from each government the realization of their rights. In Latin America, a Declaration is particularly important because the region is the home of 10% of the world’s indigenous contingent.

Another important international document for indigenous peoples is a Convention on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries, or Convention 1697 (1989 / ILO), which revises Convention 1078 (1957 / ILO), and the right of indigenous peoples to live and to develop as different peoples, in

compliance with their own standards. The Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples of the Organization of American States (OAS) establishes rules and norms to be adopted by the states which are members of the Organization of American States (OAS) for the elaboration of indigenous policies and the limits of the actions of governments that reach these populations.

In Brazil, the movements and claims also gained strength and legitimacy at the legislative level, starting to be legally established by the 1988 Constitution. After this, paths are opened for the officialization of “differentiated indigenous schools” and for the formulation of public policies that respond to their educational needs and rights. The so-called intercultural, bilingual and/or multilingual and community school education²⁷ is highlighted, guided by the self-determination of indigenous peoples. Some rights are guaranteed in the Federal Constitution of 1988 in the following terms:

Article 5 - All are equal before the law, without distinction of any nature, therefore Brazilians and foreigners residing in the country are guaranteed the inviolability of the right to life, liberty, equality, security and property, in the following terms : [...]

Art. 206. Teaching will be provided based on the following principles:

I - equality of conditions for access and permanence in school; [...]

Art. 231. The indigenous are recognized for their social organization, customs, languages, beliefs and traditions, and the original rights over the lands they traditionally occupy, and it is up to the Union to demarcate, protect and ensure respect for all their assets (BRASIL, 1988).

Such constitutional principles are also stated in the Guidelines and Bases of National Education (LDBEN), Law No. 9394/96, in its article 32, paragraph 3, in accordance with article 210 of our Federal Constitution, and allow this teaching to be offered in their mother tongues: “§ 3 - Regular Elementary Education will be taught in Portuguese, with indigenous communities having guaranteed the use

²⁷ The school and its professionals must be allies of the community and through dialogue and community participation, defining the management model and school calendar, which must comply with the ritual and productive activities of the group, and themes and contents of the teaching-learning process (BRASIL, 2007, p. 21).

of their mother tongues and their own learning processes” (BRASIL, 1996). The same LDBEN recommends that indigenous schools prepare their own Political Pedagogical Projects (PPP) and include in it their particularities and specificities.

In the field of accountability for Indigenous School Education, the LDBEN, in its articles 78 and 79, establishes that the Union, in collaboration with states and municipalities, guarantee the provision of bilingual and intercultural school education to indigenous populations, and provides for their participation, with technical and financial support from the Union, in conducting its teaching process:

Art. 78. The Union Education System, with the collaboration of federal agencies for the promotion of culture and assistance to the indigenous people, will develop integrated teaching and research programs to offer bilingual and intercultural school education to indigenous peoples, with the following goals:

I - provide the indigenous, their communities and peoples, with the recovery of their historical memories; the reaffirmation of their ethnic identities; the appreciation of their languages and sciences;

II - guarantee to the indigenous, their communities and peoples, access to information, technical and scientific knowledge of the national society and other indigenous and non-indigenous societies.

Art. 79. The Union shall technically and financially support education systems in providing intercultural education to indigenous communities, developing integrated teaching and research programs.

§ 1 The programs will be planned with audiences from indigenous communities.

§ 2 The programs referred to in this article, included in the National Education Plans, will have the following objectives:

I - strengthen the sociocultural practices and the mother tongue of each indigenous community;

II - maintain training programs for specialized personnel, aimed at school education in indigenous communities;

III - develop specific curricula and programs, including cultural content corresponding to the respective communities (BRASIL, 1996, emphasis added).

The National Education Council (CNE/CEB), through Decision No. 14/1999;²⁸ CEB Resolution No. 3/1999;²⁹ the National Education Plans, Law No. 10.172/2001 and Law No. 13.005/2014, affirmed the same provisions with the definition of guidelines and specific goals for the indigenous school, such as the administrative recognition of the indigenous school category in the system of teaching; the emphasis on training indigenous teachers and the production of specific teaching materials; recognition of specific programs and curricula; and the adaptation of the school project to the indigenous reality.

Moved by the principles of difference and specificity, in 1998 the Ministry of Education (MEC) published the National Curriculum Reference for the Indigenous School (RCNEI). Aligned with the National Curriculum Parameters (PCN), although it is a document with additional subsidies, the RCNEI becomes a necessary reference for elementary and high schools across the country, as it helps in the preparation of curriculum proposals aimed exclusively at indigenous people. The continuous demands and indigenous protagonism gain strength and trigger Law No. 11,645, of March 10, 2008, which for the first time makes teaching of indigenous history and culture mandatory in schools in Brazil, which has been ignored for centuries.

Such references for pedagogical practices in indigenous schools follow the Emancipatory Paradigm³⁰ (MAHER, 2006), from which a new educational model is developed, the Cultural and Linguistic Enrichment Model, whose objective is the strengthening of native languages and the promotion of their cultures. In most cases, the Portuguese language is learned as a second language, configuring additive bilingualism,³¹ imposed by the force of contact with the non-indigenous. This issue points to the need for studies of asymmetric

²⁸ These are the National Curriculum Guidelines for Indigenous School Education.

²⁹ It is a document of great importance, because in addition to setting national guidelines for the functioning of indigenous schools, it also supports intercultural and bilingual education.

³⁰ Basically based on interculturality and bilingualism, the Emancipatory Paradigm among indigenous peoples was only conquered about twenty years ago, based on the achievements of the political movement of indigenous peoples (MAHER, 2006).

³¹ Learning a second language, without losing the first, in this case the indigenous language, is the most important factor in the description of the bilingual person (GROSJEAN, 1982).

power relations that permeate intercultural relations in the indigenous school (CZARNY, 2012).

Amaral (2011, p. 14) observes that in education, the different bilingual realities have several challenges, given the need for knowledge about how the “bilingual acquisition process and educational practices appropriate to second language teaching” work. The author also observes that “the bilingual was seen as the individual who had native control of two languages”, but, after more detailed research on the subject, he rewrites and says that “the bilingual becomes someone who uses more than one language to achieve communicative goals in different sociolinguistic contexts”. Issues such as these require the expansion of the concept of bilingual education, which has been done since the last two decades of the 20th century, and hence is difficult to define.

First, it is necessary to identify what characterizes a person as bilingual. Grosjean (1982) estimates that about half of the world’s population is bilingual, that is, it is not an exceptional phenomenon. It is, in fact, a natural phenomenon, as it involves psychological, linguistic and social issues. In turn, Monserrat (1994, p. 12) emphasizes that bilingual indigenous education should be aimed at opening up possibilities, strengthening and improving indigenous peoples’ mother tongues, as an “efficient instrument for affirming socio-economic-cultural identity in front of the majority society”.

With regard to academic production on Indigenous School Education, Grupioni (2003, p. 199) observed that during the 1990s of the 20th century, especially in the second half of that decade, the number of works was significantly increased in the academic world. However, we observe the need for more specific studies on this matter, such as in the Amazon scenario, in the sense that they can point out clues about the problems experienced by indigenous populations in this context, especially those related to education.

The specificity of the debate about Indigenous School Education in the Brazilian Amazon and the lack of specific references on this issue led us to form a corpus built of 10 dissertations and 08 theses, making a total of 18 works, defended in the period from 2015 to 2020, and compiled from searches³² in the virtual libraries of graduate programs³³ in Education and Linguistics located in the Brazilian Amazon, as shown in the table below:

³² Searches were performed using the following descriptors: Indigenous School Education, Indigenous Education.

³³ graduate programs in Education and Linguistics in the Brazilian Amazon from the following universities were accessed: Federal University of Pará/UFGPA, Federal University of Ama-

Table 01: Overall comparative productions - (2015 – 2020)

GRADUATE AREAS	MASTER DISSERTATIONS	DOCTORAL THESES	COMPARATIVE TOTAL
EDUCATION	02	05	07
LINGUISTICS	08	03	11
GENERAL TOTAL (2015 - 2020) TEN YEARS	10	08	18

Source: The author, Gomes (2021).

For better views of the information and themes addressed in these studies, the data were organized in the table below:

Table 02: Doctoral Theses Master and Dissertation - (2015 – 2020)

Doctoral Theses					
01	Federal University of Pará/UFPA	Graduate Program in Education	“Itinerant School”: an experience of training indigenous teachers in the state of Pará, Brazil	MARRA, Maria Lúcia Martins Pedrosa	2015
02	Federal University of Amazonas/UFAM	Graduate Program in Education	Teacher identity and Macuxi teacher education: from negative imagination to contemporary identity affirmation	SANTOS, Jonildo Viana dos	2015
03	Federal University of Tocantins/UFT	Graduate Program in Linguistics	Apinajé School Education: Oral Tradition, Interculturality and Bilingualism	ZAPAROLI, Widenbergue Gomes	2016

zonas/UFAM, Federal University of Tocantins/UFT, Federal University of Roraima/UFRR, and Federal University of Acre/UFAC. Some institutions did not have published works with these themes in their virtual libraries, such as the case of Federal University of Amapá/UNIFAP.

Doctoral Theses					
04	Federal University of Pará/UFPA	Graduate Program in Education	In addition to the village and school in decolonial study of Portuguese language acquisition by Wai-wai indigenous people from Aldeia Mapuera, Brazilian Amazon.	CÂNCIO, Raimundo Nonato de Pádua	2017
05	Federal University of Pará/UFPA	Graduate Program in Education	Xene Ma'e Imopinimawa: the educational experience of the Parakanã Program and its contributions to the affirmation of the Parakanã culture, territory and language.	EMÍDIO-SILVA, Claudio.	2017
06	Federal University of Amazonas/UFAM	Graduate Program in Linguistics	The sociolinguistic situation and Portuguese language teaching in the Munduruku indigenous context in the Middle/High Tapajós Region – State of Pará	FIGUEIRA, Regina Maria Cruz	2017
07	Federal University of Amazonas/UFAM	Graduate Program in Linguistics	The teaching of the Portuguese language as second language at the Almirante Tamandaré Indigenous State School: public policies under the Ticuna perspective in the Umariçu II Community	ROCHA, Suely da Silva	2019
08	Federal University of Pará/UFPA	Graduate Program in Education	Education and cultures of the Tembé people: social representations and identity implications	MARTINS DA SILVA, Glauber Ranieri	2020

Master Dissertation					
01	Universidade Federal do Tocantins/UFT	Graduate Program in Linguistics: Araguaína Linguistics and Literature Studies	Traditional Krahô knowledge and indigenous school education: a possible dialogue at the Indigenous School April 19	MACEDO, Aurinete Silva.	2015
02	Federal University of Amazonas/UFAM	Graduate Program in Education	Tikuna Cultural Center: Pedagogical Practices and Ethnic Identity in the Urban Context	ARAÚJO, Jucinôra Venâncio de Souza	2015
03	Federal University of Amazonas/UFAM	Graduate Program in Education	The Playing of the Sateré-Mawé Indigenous Child: link between socialization and cultural formation	Itemar de Medeiros Pinheiro	2016
04	Federal University of Amazonas/UFAM	Graduate Program in Linguistics	Speaking of the “caboco” from Pará: a study on the lexicon in the municipalities of santarém, oriximiná and juruti (low Amazon - PA)	BARROS, Carolina Pinheiro	2017
05	Federal University of Roraima/UFRR	Graduate Program in Linguistics	Identity constructions: the indigenous student in the non-indigenous school	SOUSA, Wellen Crystinne de Araújo	2018
06	Federal University of Acre/UFAC	Graduate Program in Linguistics	Bilingualism and identity: a look at the Noke Koï/Katukina School	CAMPELO, Andrea Almeida	2018
07	Federal University of Acre/UFAC	Graduate Program in Linguistics	Dissonant Voices: Politics, School and Cultural Practices in a Puyanáwa Community	DAMASCENO, Anselmo de Jesus	2018
08	Federal University of Acre/UFAC	Graduate Program in Linguistics	History and culture of indigenous peoples: approach and school practice from Law 11.645/08 in Rio Branco/case study cap	ALMEIDA, Iara da Silva Castro	2018

Master Dissertation					
09	Federal University of Acre/ UFAC	Graduate Program in Linguistics	Teaching and learning at the Tamãkãyã Indigenous State School: a look at the tensions between the mother tongue (Noke Vana) and the Portuguese language	CRUZ, João Batista Nogueira	2018
10	Federal University of Acre/ UFAC	Graduate Program in Linguistics	Identity and intercultural practices at the Apurinã Indigenous School in the village of Camicuã-Boca, Acre	OLIVEIRA, Valdirene Nascimento da Silva	2018

Source: The author, Gomes (2021).

Indigenous peoples and the heterogeneity of learning in the Amazon context

According to data from the National Indian Foundation (Funai), just over 380,000 indigenous people live in Brazil today. About 180 indigenous peoples live in the Brazilian Amazon alone, totaling a population of approximately 208,000 individuals. These indigenous peoples still share these same spaces with 357 remnant communities of quilombolas and thousands of communities of rubber tappers, riverside dwellers or babaçueiros. The Amazon Region concentrates 59.43% of Brazilian indigenous people living in indigenous lands and only 16.09% of indigenous people living in cities (HECK; LOEBENS; CARVALHO, 2005, p. 241).

Of the 1,492 languages spoken in South America recorded by Loukotka (1968), around 718, that is, almost half, were spoken in the territory that constitutes the current Brazilian Amazon. Indigenous peoples from the *Tupi* trunk were dominant on the Atlantic coast of Pará, Maranhão and the lower Amazon basin, especially along its right bank; the *Aruak* dominated the upper Amazon basin and the region of the lower Rio Negro and the Uatumã, Jatapu and Urubu rivers; the *Karib* were centered in the northernmost part, in the Guianas. The Tupí-Guaraní family, with more than thirty languages, is one of the largest in South America and has most of its peoples in the Amazon. Regarding this family, Rodrigues (1986) observes that:

The Tupi-Guarani family stands out among other language families in South America for the remarkable territorial extension over which their languages are distributed. In the 16th century, languages of this family were found being spoken throughout practically the entire length of the eastern coast of Brazil and in the basin of the Paraná River. Today its languages are spoken in Maranhão, Pará, Amapá, Amazonas, Mato Grosso, Mato Grosso do Sul, Goiás, São Paulo, Paraná, Santa Catarina, Rio Grande do Sul, Rio de Janeiro and Espírito Santo, as well as, outside Brazil, in French Guiana, Venezuela, Colombia, Peru, Bolivia, Paraguay and Argentina. (RODRIGUES, 1986, p. 32).

Today, around 250 indigenous languages are spoken in the Amazon Region, with around 150 only in Brazilian territory. It is estimated that in the Brazilian Amazon alone, the number of languages and peoples would have been around 700 immediately before the arrival of the Portuguese (RODRIGUES, 2001). However, the languages that still exist show considerable diversity, characterizing the Amazon as one of the regions of greatest linguistic differentiation in the world, with more than 50 language families.

However, even though the lands traditionally occupied by indigenous people have been recognized by the Federal Constitution of 1988 as being in permanent possession to them, this population has historically faced a series of threats³⁴ to their territories and to their own lives, which configure, among others, in the execution of government and private projects, construction of hydroelectric power plants, waterways, power transmission lines, military projects, which tend not to respect the limits of indigenous lands, understanding them as obstacles to what they call “development”.

The most recent threat to indigenous lands in the Amazon comes from the expansion of agribusiness, especially soy monoculture. In Mato Grosso, this culture is older; in the south of Amazonas, in the region of Lábria, the most recent plantations are already consolidated and, in the lands of Roraima, farmers already have feasibility studies ready and intend to start planting. The consequences of the expansion of agribusiness in the Amazon region are related to environmental degradation and the threat to territories already conquered or

³⁴ Indigenous lands in the Legal Amazon “are extremely vulnerable, constantly invaded by loggers, miners, fishmongers, rice farmers, farmers, squatters, biopirates and other adventurers in search of easy profit” (HECK; LOEBENS; CARVALHO, 2005, p. 246-247).

still claimed by traditional populations, including indigenous peoples. (HECK; LOEBENS; CARVALHO, 2005, p. 247).

Indigenous peoples living in this region have a historical relationship of respect and preservation of natural resources in them, this can be seen in the fact that more than 98% of indigenous lands are located in the Amazon, and these have contributed, due to the way of life of indigenous peoples, for the environmental conservation of the Amazon by valuing the standing forest and its biodiversity. With regard to the process of demarcation of indigenous lands, According to Heck, Loebens and Carvalho (2005),

Of the 499 indigenous lands existing in the Amazon, 46.3% completed the demarcation procedure with registration at the Federal Heritage Department and at the Real Estate Registry Offices of the municipalities where they are located. 33.56% of the total land, or one hundred of them, did not even have their limits declared through an Ordinance of the Minister of Justice. On the other hand, the number of lands without measures, that is, which are accounted for by indigenous peoples and by indigenist entities, but which are not on the official list of the National Foundation for Indigenous People (Funai), is lower in the Amazon (1%) than the general average for the country (27.23%). (HECK; LOEBENS; CARVALHO, 2005, p. 243).

Issues like these have presented themselves as great challenges, which are related to interests in the expansion of profits and the increase in the balance of trade, which seeks to be guaranteed through the insistent execution of large projects in this region. This policy is materialized through the infeasibility of these lands and the attempts at settlement and appropriation by non-indigenous people. The Calha Norte project, for example, "is designed in this perspective – occupying and developing border areas, through barracks, as settlements" (HECK; LOEBENS; CARVALHO, 2005, p. 248). In Brazil, this logic of the capitalist system in the Amazon Region was accentuated from the 1970s onwards and stimulated by developmental projects, characterized as "national integration projects", under the argument of development, materialized by the construction of roads, hydroelectric power plants, among others.

The advance of these "new" fronts (military, extractive and adventurers) brought with it a series of problems, such as new diseases to the indigenous groups contacted, causing significant population losses, especially in the first half of the 20th century. It is in this context that health and education assistance

policies began to be implemented by the governments of Brazil and bordering countries, under the argument that it was necessary to reverse this situation. However, it is important to notice that until 2005 a large part of Brazilian schools still did not work with the principles of specific and differentiated Indigenous School Education. Public policies for Indigenous School Education for the Amazon Region, as well as for the entire country, were guided by assimilationist³⁵ ideas and economic interests, as seen in the previous section.

Regarding the Indigenous School Education in the Amazon context, the need to introduce the Portuguese language, as a second language, in indigenous lands, is also accompanied by the need to decipher the non-indigenous world, the larger context in which indigenous peoples live. In an interview with TV Escola, Frachetto (2004) draws attention to a very pertinent question in this regard:

What we should actually know is what the school represents for each people, for each indigenous society. We will discover, in this way, that there are many and diverse representations about the indigenous school. But if we want to stay in a general, simplistic consideration, school means entering the surrounding society, the dominant society, the non-indigenous society, or the white society, as we want to call it. The entrance to the acquisition of knowledge, to the acquisition of instruments for analyzing this other world, the world around us outside the villages, the indigenous areas. Or sometimes, even within villages, within indigenous areas. And that it's a world that needs to be deciphered, in order to be appropriate, so that we can respond to it in an adequate way. When I say adequate, I mean from a less asymmetrical, less hierarchical, less subordinate and superordinate relationship, or of superior and inferior, in a possibly more balanced, more egalitarian relationship. For indigenous peoples, today, school is seen as a space and time to acquire the necessary knowledge about the white world, and the necessary instruments to deal with it. (FRACHETTO, 2004, in an interview with the program *Salto para o Futuro* aired on TV Escola).

It is clear that for indigenous peoples, school does not have the same meaning as for non-indigenous people, as it becomes a possibility for acquiring other knowledge and also for acquiring instruments that can help them to

³⁵ It is an ideological perspective whose proposal is to “integrate” indigenous peoples into the national society under a homogeneous orientation, with the objective of “erasing” differences, since it is known that Brazilian society is complex and plural.

socialize with this other world. There is, therefore, an urgent need to reflect on the knowledge developed in indigenous schools in the Amazon Region, on language acquisition, cultural confrontations not only experienced in classrooms, but also in different social spaces. Concerns like these need to be increasingly in evidence so that we can question, mainly, the invisibility of indigenous culture in our educational institutions in the Brazilian Amazon. Above all, it is important to question the organization of school work and the curriculum, in addition to the matters on “what to teach”.

The 2014 data, released by MEC/Inep, show that there were 216,766 indigenous students in Brazil; 2,972 indigenous schools, an average of 73 students per school. There were about 16,384 teachers in total, among which 90% were indigenous. Considering FUNDEB resources and FNDE programs, each indigenous student meant an average investment, over a year, of approximately R\$5,000.00 (five thousand reais). The data showed that the North (63%) and Northeast (19%) regions gather most of the indigenous schools in Brazil; and that in this country, with regard to the infrastructure of schools, 21% did not have their own building, 39% did not have electricity, 49% did not have a sewage system and 48% did not have a cesspool. This reality draws attention to the great challenge of maintaining and conducting Indigenous School Education in this country.

Regarding the heterogeneity of learning in the Amazon context, our first category of study, the studies developed in this context with indigenous peoples, such as Almeida (2018), whose objective was to “analyze the approach and presentation of the contents of history and culture of indigenous peoples, to verify if there is basic/critical clarification on these contents by the teachers, through the presented curriculum”, draw attention to the fact that

In the history of Brazil and the Amazon, the construction of historicity can be observed based on the reports of the first colonizers, narratives that were constructed from the perspective of travelers. That is, the one who arrives and has his own convictions and ideologies and starts to narrate what he sees. In this case, the indigenous person is always the figure told and described from the perspective of the other, be it traveler, missionary, scientist or researcher at different times in history [...]. (ALMEIDA, 2018, p. 99).

The author highlights the challenge, in this context, of deconstructing the idea of the indigenous person as a subject without history and voice, whose narratives are always told from the travelers’ reports and perspectives. This issue of

colonizing discourse that makes the other invisible and sees him as inferior is also observed in the work of Araújo (2015, p. 14-15), who aimed to “understand and analyze to what extent the pedagogical practices developed in a indigenous cultural center contribute to the affirmation or resignification of the ethnic identity of Tikuna students, especially in the schools where they are inserted”.

The same author comments that schools have not made possible “an education that values Amazonian cultures in daily curricular practices, there are palliative actions devoid of critical sense to question social inequalities and the dominant cultural imposition [...]” (ARAÚJO, 2015, p. 93). He emphasizes that, for a long time, the indigenous people were “treated in textbooks in a generic way”, a discriminatory process that “disguised for a long time the perception of the diversity of Brazilian indigenous cultures, ethnicities, customs and languages in their ethnic and cultural identities” (ARAÚJO, 2015, p. 38-39).

This issue of the challenge of deconstructing in schools the idea that national cultures present a unified identity is also addressed in the work of Macedo (2015, p. 9), who aimed to “verify how the dialogue between traditional Krahô knowledge and school knowledge takes place, and also to know how the interaction between the indigenous community and the school institution and the impasses imbricated in this process takes place”. The author comments that the promotion of intercultural dialogue is a challenge, “because the idea of hierarchization of cultures and a strong belief in the possibility of cultural homogenization still prevails [...]” (MACEDO, 2015, p. 40). This is a problem, pointed out in the works studied, which draws attention to the challenge of putting into practice an Indigenous School Education from the perspective of the heterogeneity of learning in the Amazon context.

In this direction, Cruz (2018, p. 24), by “understanding the practices of teaching the Portuguese language with the Noke Koi (Katukina) people, aiming to investigate the development of indigenous school education, the achievements, challenges and difficulties, in elementary school from the 5th to the 6th grade”, he says that “the teaching carried out by non-indigenous teachers presupposes training in each area of knowledge so that they can prepare students with the knowledge of the Western world [...]” (CRUZ, 2018, p. 41). The school, through education, has been an important ideological control mechanism by the State to offer “adequate” knowledge to those considered “lacking knowledge and culture”.

In many cases, it is still based on these assumptions that the school, through its regulatory agencies and its curricula, defines what teachers should teach and what students should learn. In this sense, it puts at risk the heterogeneity of learning, which is fundamental in the specificity of the Amazon context, as its

peoples are heterogeneous, multicultural and multilingual (ALMEIDA, 2018), because since the first Europeans “arrived in the Amazon region they found highly populated indigenous communities, with great linguistic, cultural and religious diversity” (CAMPELO, 2018, p. 26).

The need to develop an Indigenous School Education in the Amazon from the perspective of the heterogeneity of learning is fundamentally due to the heterogeneity of this context. Barros (2017) noted that there was a “Portugalization of the Amazon” because a “process that corrupted not only indigenous languages, but also an entire cultural mosaic, built and lived over time, was further modified due to the mixture of other people with the Amazon people” (BARROS, 2017, p. 11).

We can say that this is a region characterized as an urban place, but it also has a strong rural territoriality, inhabited by traditional peoples, such as rubber tappers, riverside dwellers, indigenous people, chestnut trees workers, among others, who fight for the preservation and the right to their lands, in addition of a series of problems caused by development policies. With regard to schools in rural environments, in many cases their functioning is subject to the influence of regional peculiarities, among others, such as the flow of water with its high and lows; the longest time children travel to schools, as many live in distant places. In such situations, the teacher is the main agent, who is responsible for contextualizing the knowledge that sometimes arrives in textbooks, in a context in which the resources of modern technology have not yet reached some regions.

If these peculiarities are not observed, it is almost impossible for there to be a guarantee of quality education for the indigenous peoples of the Brazilian Amazon, so that this education is less standardizing, when thinking about their differences and particularities. The impact of policies to standardize cultural differences can be seen, in many aspects, in textbooks, programs and educational policies aimed at these peoples. In contrast, in the search for ways of intervention through the articulation between the epistemological and political fields, there are alternatives that help us to think, deepen and nourish the discussion on intercultural education in a critical perspective to this reality. In this sense, Beltrão (2018) highlights that

It is urgent to understand that the new behavior that is being built, guided by a critical interculturality, with a decolonial nature, goes beyond the academic field and the simple recognition of differences between them and us or between us and them. To change, we have to question the causes of the asymmetry that is established in the face of social conditions, therefore, it is forbidden to

demand that indigenous peoples fit into westernizing modernity – this should be the maxim of interculturality. It does not serve us or them, we have to pursue a path that is unique to the Amazon, as it is our locus, territory of life and affection (BELTRÃO, 2018, p. 276).

Candau (2016, p. 26) also invites us to problematize school knowledge and recognize the different knowledge produced by different sociocultural groups. This recognition is fundamental for the construction of school curricula that include references from the most different sociocultural universes. Such a relationship can occur through conflicts or through mutual enrichment, considering the relevance of this confluence of tensions, where the encouragement of dialogue is necessary for the construction of education in a critical intercultural perspective. In this process, the school has a main role, since it is an institution that has the challenge of fighting inequalities and injustices, which should start by fighting hegemonic, anti-dialogical practices that aim at subjects standardizing.

Critical intercultural education proposes the recognition, appreciation and respect for the diversity of subjects and cultures, the dialogical and solidary relationship between subjects and between knowledge as fundamental precepts for the construction of a more democratic, plural, human society, and that articulate equality policies with identity policies (CANDAU, 2016). Critical interculturality has as its starting point the problem of power, racialization and difference, seen as colonial and not simply cultural (OLIVEIRA, 2016, p. 62). We understand that in this way it is possible for the school to develop an education that fights social inequalities and differences between populations, that develops its activities in order to strengthen the use and practice of both indigenous languages and the national language; and with this, it can strengthen the plural spaces for the production and circulation of knowledge.

Relations and tensions in the training process and educational practices of indigenous teachers in the Amazon

The implementation of a specific, differentiated, intercultural and bilingual/multilingual Indigenous School Education (BRASIL, 1996) has proved to be a great challenge for the Ministry of Education (MEC), especially regarding its operationalization, even if these aspects are supported by Brazilian legislation to indigenous peoples. According to Candau and Russo (2011, p. 61), the term “interculturality emerged in Latin America, in the context of education, and, more

specifically, as a reference to indigenous school education”, which can be considered as the root of intercultural thought on our continent.

Interculturality, from the perspective of Fleuri (2003), starts from the recognition of the existence of subjects with different cultures and who are willing to dialogue, and this dialogue must respect the identities of the interlocutors involved and enable conditions for their denied experiences and histories to have visibility and earn materiality. However, we can say that there is no consensus on how this interculturality should be practiced in village schools. Cohn (2005, p. 490), for example, argues that “interculturality must be carried out based on an enormous multiplicity of cultures and knowledge”, in the perspective of facing the conflicts caused by the asymmetry of power between sociocultural groups. Secchi and Mendonça (2009, p. 74) corroborate by stating that “themes of everyday school life taken as commonplace in monocultural curricula are complex when treated in multidisciplinary and intercultural contexts”.

Candau (2005, p. 32), when indicating that “interculturality guides processes that are based on the recognition of the right to difference and the fight against all forms of discrimination and social inequality”, draws attention to the conflicts experienced by populations that historically claim for respect for their differences, both in education and in society, in the sense of thinking about adequate strategies to face them. In this sense, interculturality, as a social process marked by difference, enables the recognition of these conflicts, with the intention of stimulating more democratic relations and exchanges between peoples, not just promoting peaceful coexistence between them in the same territory. It is based on these theoretical guidelines that we begin to discuss, in the scenario of Indigenous School Education in the Brazilian Amazon, the *organization of bilingual and differentiated education*, as the second category of this study.

Walsh (2008, p. 145) highlights that when analyzing the intercultural aspects, it requires us to assess how the legislation emphasizes the logics, rationalities and sociocultural ways of living historically under a denied and subordinated condition. The author argues that it is necessary to escape the intercultural discourse used in political power relations of a neoliberal nature, as, for her, it is a political strategy that is functional to the modern world system, aiming to “include” those who were excluded in the logic of the globalized world, but with market interests. Contrary to this logic, the promotion of education from an intercultural perspective presupposes the recognition of the “other” and the mobilization of dialogue between different peoples, in the sense of favoring the construction of a common education project, but guided by the dialectical integration of differences. For Candau (2005), this is a complex issue, which requires

problematizing different elements of the way in which educational and social practices are conceived today.

From this perspective, the academic production compiled in this study on Indigenous School Education in the Brazilian Amazon highlighted some issues that help to characterize the relationships and tensions experienced in the educational process and in educational practices experienced in this context, with emphasis on the organization of teaching bilingual and differentiated education. It is important to observe that the perspective of interculturality in Brazil is still a complex and challenging issue, as it is about the (re)construction of a critical-other thinking, a critical thinking that moves away from ideas based on the Eurocentric legacy, “thus returning to the dominant geopolitics of knowledge that has had its global north center” (WALSH, 2005, p. 25).

As noted, Indigenous School Education historically presented itself as an ethnocentric work, as it disregarded and denied the languages and knowledge of the indigenous peoples of this country. There was, and in many cases still is, an assimilationist education project based on the superiority of Western knowledge over indigenous knowledge. Bilingual education was adopted as just a strategy for learning Portuguese and the values of the dominant society, aiming to promote cultural homogenization.

Grosjean (2008) considers all subjects who use two or more languages (or dialects) on a daily basis to be bilingual. A child who interacts with his parents in one language and with his friends in another is bilingual; the scientist who reads and writes articles in a second language but rarely speaks it, either. The author concludes that, despite all the diversity that exists among these people, they all lead their lives with more than one language. Bilingual education is one that occurs simultaneously in two languages, one being the mother tongue and the other a second language.

D’Angelis (2001) proposes three models of bilingual education: there is *transitional bilingualism*, in which the minority language is used until it is replaced by the majority language; there is *maintenance or resistance bilingualism*, in which the minority language is encouraged and used throughout the school education process; and *immersion bilingualism*, in which total contact with the majority language affects the disuse of the minority language. Nobre (2005) emphasizes that bilingualism of resistance, in which the minority language is strengthened, is very important because it allows the school to work with strategies to enhance and expand the skills of the speaker in both languages. Bilingual education is considered a foundation of the indigenous intercultural education project.

When studying the pedagogical practices developed among the Tikuna indigenous people, Araújo (2015) points to the need that “indigenous school education, due to its specificities, raises an interdisciplinary, intercultural and bilingual pedagogical praxis”. For her, if we understand that a school is specific, “it encourages its curricular contents to be built around its own culture”, that is, bilingual and intercultural. Therefore, this “presupposes a pedagogical practice of dialogue not only between the mother tongue and the socially imposed one, but also a dialogue between indigenous knowledge and the knowledge of the surrounding society” (ARAÚJO, 2015, p. 42).

When studying the dialogue between traditional Krahô knowledge and school knowledge in the Amazon context, Macedo (2015) draws attention to the following question:

[...] the bilingual situation of the Manoel Alves village is evident as a result of the constant contact of this community with the surrounding society. All speakers in that village, with the exception of children under ten years old, in addition to their mother tongue, use the Portuguese language relatively easily and in different contexts. At Escola 19 de Abril, in the aforementioned village, students live daily with their mother tongue and Portuguese in different situations, using the second language, especially when communicating with non-indigenous teachers. (MACEDO, 2015, p. 39).

However, this context is still less complex than that observed by Cândia (2017), when studying the acquisition of the Portuguese language among the Wai-Wai and the meanings assumed by the acquisition of it by the Wai-wai indigenous people of Aldeia Mapuera, in the Brazilian Amazon. The author found that “teachers circulate through various indigenous territories, most of the time without having any knowledge about the cultures, [...] which poses several challenges and generates problems for indigenous populations” (CÂNCIO, 2017, p. 92). On the issue of languages spoken in that indigenous context, he highlights that

During our stay in Mapuera we could see that the most recurrent language, including at school, is the Waiwai language. We also noted that the vast majority of them are bilingual or multilingual. The Portuguese language is far from being considered the second most spoken language in other social spaces. Further research on this issue, perhaps, would reveal that in Mapuera there are more English speakers (and other indigenous languages) than Portuguese speakers, due to their relationship with Guyana (CÂNCIO, 2017, p. 148).

The reality portrayed by the author shows a very complex scenario, which is not attended to in its complexity. According to the author, “the lack of implementation of public policies aimed at the continuity of the studies of indigenous youth, which presents an increasingly growing demand” is silenced by the State (CÂNCIO, 2017, p. 91). According to him, “the situation of initial contact between the two languages has caused them serious problems. Often, the lack of these adaptations in the Wai-Wai’s speech is understood as a “mistake” (CÂNCIO, 2017, p. 146). Marra (2015), when analyzing the training of indigenous teachers developed by the Itinerant School in Pará, especially among the Tembé Tenetehar people, noted that in this state “there are practically no investigations on teacher training courses in the context of Indigenous School Education, and of the researches carried out on indigenous peoples, few are focused on this specificity” (MARRA, 2015, p. 21).

In turn, in the same Amazon scenario, in his study on the constitution of social representations of Tembé teachers from São Pedro Village, in the Alto Rio Guamá Indigenous Land, Martins da Silva (2020) draws attention to the fact that

Tembé language does not have a place in the school: it is not in the prescribed curriculum and, although it is a major goal to be achieved by the curriculum reformulation (2019), it will still face normative issues and referring to the hiring of teachers and the lack of teaching material. Furthermore, it is worth noting that the teaching of an ancestral language where the first language is the language of the colonizer is an enormous challenge both for those who intend to teach and for those who need to learn” (MARTINS DA SILVA, 2020, p. 182).

What happened to the Tembé language can happen to any other language of the indigenous peoples of the Amazon, if indigenous schools do not use strategies to value indigenous languages to expand the skills of speakers of them, such as in bilingualism of resistance. When investigating the Tembé teachers, the author found that there is a consensus among the interviewed teachers that their main challenges are the loss of their mother tongue and ancestral knowledge as a result of contact with the non-indigenous (MARTINS DA SILVA, 2020, p. 164).

With regard to bilingual education, Zaparoli (2016), studying the process of a specific, differentiated, intercultural and bilingual nature of Apinajé Indigenous School Education, an indigenous people from the north of the state of Tocantins (Macro-Jê), developed at the Mãtyk Indigenous School, found that “texts written in the Mother Tongue do not correspond to what was said and/or narrated by the Apinayé indigenous people” (ZAPAROLI, 2016, p. 124). In his observations,

the author emphasizes that the Apinayé indigenous school experiences conflicts in the daily lives of teachers, both indigenous and non-indigenous, “especially in the exercise of a monolingual, monocultural curriculum, decontextualized from the reality of learners” (ZAPAROLI, 2016, p. 189). This issue is corroborated by Araújo (2015) when he says that “The daily life of the indigenous school does not fit the reference standards of formal schools, hence the historically widespread discrimination that “indigenous people have no education” (ARAÚJO, 2015, p. 63).

Such issues related to the multiple indigenous realities of the Brazilian Amazon and the pedagogical practices developed among the indigenous people show that, in most of the studies investigated, there is a certain pressure for the homogenization of the “standards” of life, in order to meet the standards based on logic consumption (MARTINS DA SILVA, 2020, p. 156). However, it is necessary to understand, as Damasceno (2018) pointed out, that the “cultures and identities of non-indigenous peoples are in a permanent state of change [...] as contact with other cultures/peoples adds new information that transforms the current moment of the indigenous people, creating new marks for the future” (DAMASCENO, 2018, p. 54).

On the issue of the historical challenges experienced by the indigenous peoples of the Amazon, especially those related to the claim of respect for their differences, Damasceno (2018)³⁶ observes that among the Puyanáwa, the indigenous and differentiated school began to be “built from the year 2000, with the intention to provoke a meeting of the Puyanáwa population with its culture, language and tradition, practically forgotten by the elders and unknown by the younger ones” (DAMASCENO, 2018, p. 38). He comments that the Puyanáwa try to show society “that they are in their place, that they belong to that space and that they are a culturally differentiated people, trying to seek the affirmation of their identity by recognizing what distinguishes them from the other, as identity is marked by difference” (DAMASCENO, 2018, p. 57).

In this sense, it claims the principle of interculturality, since “the school proposes a game of encounters between representations and meanings - about life, about the world, about everything”, and this is related to acceptance, to different views and ways to be and to live, “making this abundance of positions a wealth to be shared and celebrated in meetings, in such a

³⁶ The Puyanáwa are an indigenous group that inhabits the extreme west of the Brazilian state of Acre.

way as to establish an ethic of tolerance and acceptance of the difference” (DAMASCENO, 2018, p. 38).

Macedo (2015), when verifying how the dialogue between traditional Krahô knowledge and school knowledge takes place, argues that the indigenous school should be differentiated, but not only “because it presents different aspects of the non-indigenous school, but because it is a school designed in the specificities of the community and created to achieve the objectives of this people, in this case, the indigenous people” (MACEDO, 2015, p. 31-32). The author points to the need to pay attention to the claims of indigenous populations in the Amazon with regard to respect for their differences, which requires that the training of teachers to work in indigenous lands be based on “specific training of these teachers in the mother tongue, Portuguese language and in the teaching of languages”, being necessary “the use of linguistic instruments that should be incorporated into teacher education (fundamental notions of phonetics and phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, linguistics textual and sociolinguistics)” (CAMPELO, 2018, p. 53).

As we can see, the encouragement and respect between subjects of different ethnic identities in the Brazilian Amazon has been presented in a challenging way, through asymmetrical power relations. This can be seen in the study by Martins da Silva (2020), when he draws attention to the fact that the curriculum does not contemplate the indigenous reality, since the school in São Pedro Village “is organized based on a non-indigenous concept and in this sense the curriculum does not include the Tembê language. The absence of this language also implies the absence of meanings between society and nature, in the ways of life” (MARTINS DA SILVA, 2020, p. 180).

Marra (2015) also denounces, in her study, that “several indigenous teachers of the Mëbêngôkre ethnic group, whose mother tongue is that of their people, commented that they did not understand well the content of the classes in the Training Course by the Itinerant School”. The author says that the classes were “taught in Portuguese, as the teachers had no experience in teaching a second language to indigenous populations” (MARRA, 2015, p. 191-192).

Considering these issues, we come to infer that our indigenous schools in the Brazilian Amazon are still unable to engage and articulate in their teaching projects issues related to the valuation of indigenous languages, identities, belonging and territories, which are fundamental for the defense of practices that help to reconstruct their experiences, histories and voices, marked by the conflicts waged by the agents of capitalist power in the region. In contrast, interculturality, according to Walsh (2001, p. 10-11), appears as a possibility, a “space for negotiation and translation where social, economic and political

inequalities, relations and conflicts of power in society are not kept hidden, but recognized and confronted". It is about putting social and political issues into practice in an awareness movement and process that create opportunities for inclusion, so that teaching practices that present themselves as monocultural, conventional, as mere operational issues, without critical analysis, as alienating teaching and decontextualized from social reality, are overcome.

Conclusion:

In this text, which main objective was to present a brief study of Indigenous School Education in the Brazilian Amazon, with an emphasis on bilingual and differentiated ECE, based on studies available in the virtual libraries of graduate programs at universities located in this region, we could see that it is almost a consensus that public policies for Indigenous School Education for the Amazon Region, as well as for the entire country, were and still are guided by assimilationist ideas and economic interests. In addition, this population faces the challenge of having the idea that national cultures have a unified identity deconstructed in their school. In many cases, it is based on these assumptions that school curricula are regulated, and that teachers are instructed to teach.

Therefore, the heterogeneity of learning is put at risk, which is fundamental in the specificity of the Amazon context, since its peoples are heterogeneous, multicultural and multilingual. If these peculiarities are not observed, it is almost impossible to guarantee quality education for the indigenous peoples of the Brazilian Amazon, so that this education would be less monoculture and standardizing. With regard to our first category of study, which is the heterogeneity of learning in the Amazon context, studies carried out in this context with indigenous peoples show that this situation is common and the analyzes are presented as complaints.

The impact of this policy of standardizing differences in the Brazilian Amazon can be seen, in many aspects, in textbooks, programs and educational policies aimed at these peoples. In contrast, in the search for forms of intervention through the articulation between the epistemological and political fields, there are alternatives that help us to think, deepen and nourish the discussion on intercultural education in a critical perspective to this reality. Critical intercultural education is addressed in this study as a possibility of recognition, appreciation and respect for the diversity of subjects and cultures, through a dialogic and solidary relationship between the subjects and between the knowledge developed.

The academic production compiled in this study also helped to highlight some issues that help to characterize the relationships and tensions experienced in the training process and in educational practices in this context, with emphasis on the organization of teaching in bilingual and differentiated education. It is clear in the works discussed that for indigenous peoples, school does not have the same meaning as for non-indigenous peoples, since it becomes a possibility of acquiring other knowledge and acquiring instruments that can help them to socialize with this other world.

“Bilingual” teaching is adopted in schools only as a strategy for learning Portuguese and the values of the dominant society, in the direction of cultural homogenization. This issue points to a need to work in indigenous schools on strategies for valuing indigenous languages to expand the skills of speakers of these languages, based on bilingualism of resistance, to expand the skills of speakers. If strategies for valuing their knowledge are not applied, the indigenous peoples of the Amazon will be subject, even if they are resistant, to the conflicts undertaken by the agents of capitalist power in the region.

In general, it was evident in the works investigated that schools are still not able to engage and articulate in their teaching projects issues related to the appreciation of indigenous languages, identities, belonging and territories, which are fundamental for the defense of practices that help them to reconstruct their experiences, stories and voices. But we know that this requires that training for teachers to work in this context also be specific, both in the mother tongue and in Portuguese, for the teaching of languages. It also suggests that curricular contents must be built around the culture itself, bilingual and intercultural. This presupposes a dialogical pedagogical practice between indigenous knowledge and the knowledge of the surrounding society.

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ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST CELEBRATION – PEDAGOGICAL, CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS SECTIONS

Eliseu Riscaroli

Introduction

This work is an excerpt from Maria Eurides de Freitas Souza's undergraduate thesis on the celebration in honor of St. John the Baptist, in an attempt to understand how this cultural and religious manifestation in Ribeirão Grande Pedro Bento village, municipality of Tocantinópolis (TO), interferes, educates and promotes the rescue of the memory of party-goers, more specifically the relation between the sacred and the profane among those who follow this local event. It also aims to understand its pedagogical character and the organization of the event, as well as all the preparation rituals and the reports of the residents, highlighting the specificities and importance of this manifestation for the local community.

The study has characteristics of ethnography, as it presents the community and describes the ritual of celebration during its nine days. The objective is to analyze and understand the history of the celebration, from the cultural and religious memory, identifying and characterizing its specificities, as well as verifying how it has been presented to locals, new generations and visitors, in the way they experience and understand the performance of this ritual. To this end, some residents were interviewed, in addition to the registration and impression of the author who lives in the community, as well as a collection of selected photos of the places.

The research methodology consists of a qualitative ethnographic approach, through interviews with residents of the local community, as a memory rescue, as well as "in loco" observations during the 2019 celebration. Bibliographic references that support the analysis and understanding of this phenomenon are supported in: Saraiva (2007); Geertz (2008); Chirardello and Spisso (2008); Andrade (2011); Queiroz (2009); Berger (2004), Libaneo (2001); Durkheim (1997) and Pollak (1992); Rocha (2011); Bosi (2003) and Brandão (1978).

The religious popular culture

According to Geertz's view (2008, p. 09), popular culture is configured in the essence of human beings, which guarantees their existence, that is, it is

through the cultural elements of a particular group that their attitudes and actions make sense. In other words, culture is the main existential factor of the human condition. In this sense, Geertz (2008, p. 140) states that “religions with their dramatizations help people to find encouragement and motivation, answers and hopes in the face of situations of suffering, insecurity, losses, passions, afflictions and sorrows that are part of everyday life”. Thus, understanding festivities as a form of religious manifestation in a space means understanding, above all, the need to keep a certain group of people motivated in the face of the local circumstances that they experience.

In this sense, although there are still such manifestations, it is clear that, over time, popular celebrations are losing their strength, as the people who guaranteed their existence and strength are already very old. Other ones have already passed away and the younger ones have no interest in it, while there are only a few who are interested in continuing with the traditions, consisting in a decrease of intensity in the events. Therefore, if there is no policy for the promotion/conservation of intangible cultural heritage, its oblivion and abandonment is just a matter of time.

Ghirardello and Spisso (2008) highlight that the actions of a people, as well as the aspects that keep a feeling of identity, are part of what is called “cultural heritage”. However, it is possible to understand that the celebration is part of the local identity of former residents, as it is something that represents part of their culture. This tradition for them is an immaterial good: it is knowledge acquired in the midst of the community in which they live, through the practice of certain actions, such as religious festivities.

Indeed, religious manifestations are understood as something that strengthens the relation within/between communities, since the celebration is also a time of sharing, dialogue and exchange of experiences between age groups and communities, because during its realization, local residents, visitors and people from neighboring communities are present.

Given the above, it is worth emphasizing the importance of preserving the memory of a people, for the construction of its History, because, as stated by Ghirardello and Spisso (2008):

Each individual is part of a whole - of society and the environment in which they live - and builds, with others, the history of this society, bequeathing to future generations, through the products created and interventions in the environment, records capable of providing understanding of human history for future generations. (GHIRARDELLO; SPISSO, 2008, p. 15).

Given the above statement, the authors show that preservation is the way in which human beings manage to keep alive the traditions left by their ancestors and present, in a qualitative way, a record of how religious manifestations took place before and how they happen today, in an attempt to rescue and preserve the local culture.

Therefore, it is important to remember that History and its objects are the means by which it is still possible to understand the past, however, many important facts are lost, as there are no records that preserve them. Furthermore, there is a certain lack of interest, by the young people, in strengthening and rescuing the local culture. Several factors can be listed about this fact, such as: advent of technology; exacerbation of individuality, which strengthens the subjective bias; disbelief in religious rituals; growth of neo-Pentecostal sects with a 'prosperity theology' character; between others. Possibly the older residents are leaving and taking with them much of this constructed history. There are few who managed to pass the teachings on to future generations (children or grandchildren).

With regard to religious celebrations, it is understood that these are cultural manifestations that mobilize the community as a factor of social integration, spreading traditions, values, beliefs, strengthening the feeling of belonging of each individual to the group that shares the same religious convictions.

Thus, Andrade (2011) clarifies that, for the historian, studying cultural manifestations becomes a difficult task, since, over time, all peoples, civilizations, or even social groups, expressed themselves culturally. In the various fields of science, whether human, social, arts or even biological, the study of culture becomes a preponderant factor for understanding the most diverse aspects of the human being. This is due to the fact that man cannot be understood without understanding his way of life, his cultural practices and manifestations of the most varied dimensions.

For Andrade (2011),

The theme of popular religiosity is justified by the fact that historians increasingly revolve around the theme of culture as a constructor of social history. [...] For History, the understanding of social facts is important because it is not possible to understand the past without considering the cultural and social factors that determined it. [...] (ANDRADE, 2011, p. 2).

The author also shows that popular culture comprises the most diverse dimensions of society. One of these dimensions is understood through the study of religiosity, because, according to the author, religiosity is different

from religion, since religion is what concerns the institution and religiosity, the people's practice of faith.

In this sense, popular religiosity, defined as a gathering of beliefs, as well as ritual practices and narratives arising in communities, whose sources, despite not being accepted by secular church leaders, who consider them erroneous, are tolerated by them. In this way, it can be said that it is, without a doubt, a way of expression of the culture of a people, in which, from their practices, they manifest in their daily experiences, specific moments to each people and each group. It is in popular religiosity that we make visible the moments of revolt, danger, peace, domination, fraternity, all through the symbolism present in the rituals. The Bible itself, according to Silva and Siqueira (2009), is the result of this popular religiosity, considering that before the institutionalization of religion, the Hebrew people wrote their history based on beliefs. So also the daily life of religious experiences, such as rituals, ceremonies, festivals, devotions, represent the life of the people and not just religious theory.

According to Queiroz (2009), the pedagogical dimension of religion occurs when we understand it in a cultural way, taking it as part of a people. In other words, religion is something that refers to local identity. Through religion, it is possible to see how a certain community is. The same happens with the relations between religion and education: both exert influence on people's lives. It is Christian pedagogy responding to the secularized world, as man builds himself in an educational act, however, religion is also something that makes man more "human". In this way, education and religion significantly influence people's lives. By pedagogizing theology, the subject feels closer to the divine, as part of it.

It is possible to perceive the influence of religion, in a pedagogical way, in people's lives, since many believe in what they hear and seek, through religion: a better life, something that they cannot be inserted in, regardless of which religion be. Thus, people who practice a religion, many times, end up following its theoretical precepts, always learning something new. However, as education shapes everyone as a person, it also helps to create a type of character. So it is believed that religion has this ability, to transform someone, depending on their faith, and the necessity that this person seeks to fulfil. In this perspective, Silva and Siqueira (2009) affirm that religion teaches values, school education transmits knowledge to us, and home education provides us wisdom.

Queiroz (2009) also emphasizes that it is possible to see that human beings are endowed with freedom and all the faculties that allow them to attribute, assimilate and experience the values they incorporate throughout their existence, which means that being human is to be free to make choices, just

as to be free to acquire knowledge. In turn, Berger (2004) highlights that, like other mammals, man is in a world that precedes his appearance, but the difference between these and other mammals is that this world is not simply given, prefabricated for him; man needs to make a world for himself. This occurs through the process of human construction, according to their needs, that is, the “Human” subject depends on society. The author also states that pedagogy deals with educational processes, however, it has a much broader meaning, much more globalizing, because it is a field of knowledge about the educational issue. Likewise, religions, each with their own guidelines, adopt their own ways of teaching.

Líbâneo (2001), on the subject, emphasizes that it is necessary to remember that this educational action is a broader process, as pedagogy involves the historical context linked to human formation. In this perspective, it is necessary to think of a way to teach values in an attempt, not to extol one religion or another, but in order to strengthen and value the various cultural and religious manifestations, in other words, to think of religiosity as a formative process of human consciousness.

Then, it can be considered another common point with religion: humanizing each subject in the social-historical process, as religion means introducing him to all dimensions of life. Humanizing formation takes place through dialogue simultaneously during the sharing, which takes place after each meeting, aiming at the greatest objective, the strengthening of faith.

The Ribeirão Grande village

The Ribeirão Grande I village (popularly called Ribeirão Grande Pedro Bento) is located north of the seat of the municipality of Tocantinópolis, on the margins of Highway TO-126, which connects Tocantinópolis to the municipality of Maurilândia do Tocantins, with the limits of the Buritirana Village (West), Ribeirão Grande II (East), Jardineira (South) and Aldeia Mariazinha (North). It is located approximately 10 km from the city, with a diverse population, the majority of whom are of black and multiracial. The village has a stream (Ribeirão Grande Pedro Bento) which has its source in the Apinajé indigenous area and flows into the Tocantins River. In addition to the stream that cuts through the village, almost all farms have a dam and those that do not have water have it coming from the local artesian well.

Around 1915, the Ribeirão Grande village began to be inhabited with the arrival of some families from the neighboring state of Maranhão and others

from the urban zone of the municipality of Tocantinópolis. The first families that arrived in these lands were the families of Francisco Barroso da Silva and José Fernandes da Silva.

The origin of the name of the village is due to the stream that cuts it with water, in abundance and which, previously, was deeper and provided fish of various species. However, over the years, the excess of deforestation of its banks and siltation, mainly because of the number of farms that started to exist on its banks and consequently the raising of cattle with many even using it as a drinking fountain, caused some changes to the stream. It is noteworthy, in turn, that the villagers have always lived in a peaceful way, whose survival came from the cultivation of rice, beans, cassava, broad beans, corn, pumpkin, fruits such as oranges, bananas, among others, and the breaking of babassu coconut.

Around 1988, the settlement of the village popularly known as “vila pequi” began, due to the numerous pequi trees in the area (the village is located in Ribeirão Grande), with the arrival of the first residents, who are Mrs. Ernestina, Domingos Preto, Raimundo Mala and Mrs. Olindina. Right after, Dona Maria do Carmo’s family arrived.

The local culture of the Ribeirão Grande village was initially built through mythological stories and legends, such as the tale that, on a night with a full moon, a man appeared who transformed himself into an unknown, supernatural being, whose essence, were souls of dead people and people who turned into animals, always as a form of punishment for those who committed something morally wrong, such as adultery and incest. About these situations, the older residents told that there were strange families, in which the father had sexual relations with the daughter, and this was a very serious sin. Then, for this reason, this man, on the night of the full moon, was seen wandering in the streets in an animal form.

They said he was a werewolf, because, despite having some wolfish traits, he also had human characteristics such as the fact that he walked on a bipedal foot. Others claimed to have seen souls on certain stretches of the road. According to reports by Dona Izabel (now deceased), the souls were always coming towards her from the front, and then she understood that they were not turning around because every soul had a huge hole in its back. Sometimes, I heard comments in the city, as soon as I arrived in 2003, that it was ‘common’ for mothers to rent the girls to outsiders as a way to get some money.

The village’s traditional dances have a religious origin, among them, the *Quadrilha* or St. John’s, danced in June; *Roda de São Gonçalo* (this is a religious event that has no date to take place, as it was usually done as a form of payment

of promise); Divino Espírito Santo (between the months of May and June); Santos Reis (on January 6th). The costumes used in the presentations are simple and the popular-sertanejo music, thus, to accompany the exhibitions, viola, guitar, tambourine and rattle are usually used (which were played by community residents, such as Mr. Cipriano, Nonato, Raimundo, José Adão and Mrs. Noêmia)³⁷. According to Ambrósio (1988. p. 26), “dance is, in the celebratio, a form of worship in which the body expresses the deepest feeling, present in the face of the divine, especially as a felt power and not understood in its entirety”.

The traditional celebration of these people is the celebration of St. John the Baptist, which has been taking place since 1985, when Father César Lellis brought the image of the saint, placing it in a small church, thus beginning the commemorations and tributes to the Saint, which took place, all the years, between the 15th and 24th of June, when the Saint is honored.

The predominant activity in the village is subsistence agriculture, producing rice, corn, beans, cassava, flour, vegetables, fruits. There are few cattle raising, a fact that requires a greater amount of land, in addition to swine and poultry. In the village there are still women who break the babassu coconut and produce its derivatives – charcoal, oil, cofo baskets; although this activity has increasingly fallen into disuse, either because it yields little and requires a lot of work, or because younger people are taking care of other resources for survival. The municipality has no industries, except TOBASA, a company that benefits from the babassu coconut, transforming it into products such as oil, protein trot, activated charcoal, energy biomass and flour, as described on its website.

The celebration, the characters and the rules

According to reports from community residents, the first religious manifestations originated around 1971. During this period, as there was no church in the community, liturgy masses were celebrated in the house of a man named Sebastião, who invited the parish priest to celebrate them, always on the second Sunday of each month. However, in an informal conversation with another resident (Mrs. Dinorá), she reported that the religious celebrations already took place, before, in a farm near the village. According to this resident, there was a celebration in honor of the saints there.

In addition, also in informal conversation, Dona Dimelcídes and her friend Cícera reported that, over the years, a shed was built in which masses were

³⁷ From all of these mentioned names, only Mrs. Noemia and José Adão are still alive.

celebrated, so that, during one of these masses, the priest questioned whether the community did not have a patron. Explaining later at a meeting that the community needed one and, if residents wanted, they could choose. And so it happened, they chose St. John the Baptist as the community's patron.

If, here, in the sacred space, women are highlighted for giving voice to the liturgy, in other times the situation was not so beneficial to them, as the authors tell us in *Malleus Maleficarum*, from 1486. However, in the Catholic hierarchy, women are still left out of decision-making roles, but this is an issue for another time.

Also according to the narrators, the saint was placed on top of a tree trunk, as conditions were precarious and there was no adequate altar to receive him. In 1985, the residents built the community's first church, a small straw church near Sebastião's house. There, the first celebration took place in three nights. Reported as a very festive event, there was great community participation.

Dona Dimelcides also reports that there was, at the time, a very large group of young people. She explained that the young people always participated in the celebration, as they started a religious tradition that continues today, the "lifting the maypole" with the flag of St. John the Baptist, who is the patron of the community, chosen by the first residents together with Father Cesar Lellis. According to a report by one of the villagers, she believes that they chose São João as their patron, due to its history. Some still believe that this choice has to do with baptism in the river, since in the early days of the community it was done in the river, as it was with Jesus by John the Baptist, according to texts in the Gospels.

Although, in different contexts and cultures, reportings have been a way of transmitting/perpetuating knowledge, stories, learning, as noted by Munduruku in the quote below:

One of the most pleasant memories I have from my childhood is my grandfather teaching me to read. But not to read the words in the books, but the signs of nature, signs that are present in the forest and that you need to know in order to survive in it. My grandfather would lie down on the grass and start teaching us the alphabet of nature: he would point up and tell us what the flight of birds wanted to tell us (MUNDURUKU apud KAMER, 2017, p. 1).

Over the years, this tradition has grown; the maypole gained a "captain" and an "ensign of the flag". Captain and ensign can be husband and wife, but that is not the rule. The flagpole is the captain's obligation and the woman offers the flag to be raised on the pole. This has never changed and is not an isolated

activity for the couple; there is a collective for both, whether relatives and friends who help in the making of the elements. According to reports, during the raising of the pole, the faithful people sang religious songs.

The celebration became one of the religious manifestations with greater prestige by the inhabitants of the village. With the construction of the new church, in 1991, by Father Mariano Sobrinho and Mr. João Pereira dos Santos, the festivities became longer, reaching 10 nights, according to one of the interviewees, always with a large audience of people. By transferring the celebration to the new church, it gained an extra attraction: on the last night, which is on June 24th, after the celebration of the mass and an auction, the community started to gather in a food sharing. This moment is the so-called “sharing table”, when the participants of the event, in particular the local community, take various dishes/food (homemade, various types of cakes, snacks, sweet potatoes, popcorn, oranges, watermelons, sugarcane, juices, soft drinks, broths, hot dogs, chicken, among others) to share and everything is organized on a table forming a “banquet”.

This celebration refers to what the Enlightenment philosopher Rousseau said about the existence of theater in the city. Not that he was totally against it, but the Genevan affirmed that: “it is in the open air, under the sky, that you must gather and surrender yourselves to the sweet feeling of your happiness. In the theater, actors take the place of parties, usurp the place of the people, reducing them to the role of spectator” (ROUSSEAU apud PAIVA, 1973, p. 157).

Today, some of these manifestations no longer exist. Thus, it can be said that the interest in religious issues and local culture has passed a test of probation. Despite this, the celebration is still an influence in the lives of the residents, because, from conversations, some young residents report that the celebration is something attractive in the community, as it is the only form of distraction, so it is seen as a moment of fun by the residents. The lack of cultural equipment has been a constant in small towns, invariably, it comes down to a football (soccer) pitch field or a futsal court. On the other hand, there is a violent process of masochizing certain manifestations in the form of a cultural industry, which soon bores the public and it ends up creating new expectations.

In this sense, it is important to highlight the relation between sacred and profane presented by Durkheim (1997), who reports two hypotheses that can characterize them. Thus, according to the same author,

The profane would consist of everything we can know through the senses. It is the natural world of daily life [...]. In contrast, the sacred encompasses everything that exists beyond the world of natural and everyday life that we

experience with our senses. As such, the sacred inspires a sense of respect because it is considered unknown and beyond limited human resources to perceive and understand. Religion is mainly organized around the sacred elements of human life and creates the conditions for a collective attempt to build a bridge between the sacred and the profane (DURKHEIM, 1997, p. 196).

In this way, the sacred can be identified in the figure of the mass, the religious part, in which spirituality is present. In contrast, the profane happens through the process of raising the maypole, dances, competitions, that is, what was called the “social part”.

I really enjoyed the celebration period, because it was ten very festive days in the village. Everyone was really involved, there was a quadrilha dance, and there was the traditional race of the last day. It was a meeting time in which we spent hours talking after mass; the mass part was also very good. We had a group that prepared all the programming, the songs, the readings, everything was done by us. And we did it with a lot of excitement. I miss all of this, because today, a lot is left behind, leaving us only with good memories (POLIANA - Student).

The celebrations, in honor of St. John, take place from June 15th to June 24th. However, the closure of a celebration always moves towards the preparations for the following year’s festivities, considering that at this moment the captain of the maypole appears, which often took place as an offering, that is, the payment of promises. But, in general, there are no criteria for the choice: someone from the community who is interested in hosting the party, offering a meal and drinks for the journey, which consists of carrying the maypole to the church, presents himself as interested in being the captain and has a one-year break to prepare financially.

In order to host the party, he needs to stock up on creations and crops of basic foodstuffs for dinner preparation (pigs, chickens, cattle, rice plantations, beans, fava beans, pumpkin, fruits) in order to serve enough food to both the men who carried the mast and the women who helped prepare the dinner, and the community in general, which is present, at the time of raising the maypole, in its prestige. Another way to guarantee dinner is the sale of some products to buy other groceries and beverages (pasta, oil, juice, soda and cachaça).

Thus, after the indication of the captain of the maypole, a month before the start of the festivities, he, together with his family or friends, forming a small

group, enter the forest that surrounds the village in search of a wood, preferably tall and plump, which will serve as a stem for the flag of the community's patron. This is the moment only for choosing and removing the maypole. This small group does this process so that the wood is drier and lighter to be carried. After cutting the maypole, the group leaves it in place so that, a month later, the ritual can take place, carrying it to the front of the patron's church.

When June finally arrives, so long awaited by the community, preparations for the celebration begin. In relation to the church, there is the division of tasks (ornament, cleaning, liturgy); organization in general, both of the space and of the activities for the smooth running of the celebration. There was an indication of a screamer for the auction (usually a gentleman in the community who had the task of animating the auction. With his very strong voice, he needed the joy of the audience, who were looking forward to this moment); there was an indication of who would set off the fireworks at the exact time of the anthem in honor of the patron saint, and even who would collect the offerings, which are tasks to be carried out by the group of young people in the community.

Table 01 - Characterization of activities

Day	Activity	Task Executer	Local
1st day	- Maypole search;	Captain	Woods
	- Dinner preparation;	Ensigns	Home
	- Flag placement;	Captains and ensigns	Church
	- lifting of the maypole;	Captain and the community	Church
	- Dinner;	Community	Church
	- Holy Rosary praying;	Ensigns	Home
	- Mess;	Church Minister	Church
	- Auction.	Priest Auction Host	Yard
2nd to 9th day	- Holy Rosary praying;	Church Minister	Church
	- Mess;	Priest	Yard
	- Auction.	Auction Host	Yard
	- parents and godparents preparation.	Church Minister	

10th day	Church Organization;	Comunidade	Church Home of communities' families. Road Church yard
	Preparation of the sharing table food.	Mulheres	
	Great bonfire preparation;	Homens	
	Races;		
	Procession;	Comunidade	
	Mess;	Ministro da palavra	
	Baptisms;	Padre	
	Bonfire blessing;	Padre	
	Auction;		
	Mesa da partilha;	Moradores da comunidade	
Quadrilha.	Visitantes		
	Jovens		

Source: Souza and Riscaroli (2020).

During the novena, there is a great movement in the community. In the house of the captain of the maypole, a dinner is prepared to be served after the raising of the maypole, which is done in front of the church of St. John the Baptist. However, the dinner is prepared and served in the house of the captain. In church, young people take care of the ornamentation; the church yard is illuminated and decorated with little flags (made by the community, initially with old newspapers and magazines, later using TNT material), as well as balloons, flower arrangements, straws, bamboo (removed in the surroundings community) and other artificial materials.

Although each year there is a different captain, often quite a layman, this process has always involved someone who knows the whole process in depth. This assiduous participant in the festivities, in general, is an elderly person, or more experienced, who has the role to guide the process. There was a resident (already deceased) who always helped the captain during the process, especially in male actions (removal and raising of the maypole, organization of the auction and preparation of the great bonfire). And the others always accompanied him, like a director, a teacher. Regarding the women's tasks, the current representative of the Catholic Church in the community has always been the reference. In addition to them, some elderly people from the community also helped in this part of guiding and organizing all actions.

Pedagogical aspect via orality

The direction of the celebration always went beyond two leaders, Ednalva and Francisco de Assis (the most recent). Some older people participated: Teodora, Manoel, Cícera, Dimelcides, Dinorá, Console, Raimundo Dilson, Pedro Bento, Manoel Bento, José Benevides, Dijé, Romão, José Adão and the late Luizinha, Maria Moreira, Raimundo Bento, Floriano, Cipriano, Cobel, Lucinda, Manoel Fogo, José da Lina, Izabel, Zeca Brandão, Nonato and Leonésio, among others who grew up in the community and were always present at these celebrations. Several have already died, which diminishes the strength of the party each year. As for the organization, most of it is done by the young people, which involves the decoration of the space, the organization of the church, liturgy, songs choice. Food is prepared by a mixed group in terms of age. But the leader is still the elderly women who guide the choice of dishes and preparation of food, always with plenty. They also help in the distribution of dishes already made.

From 3 pm onwards (depending on the distance that the tree was cut), the men of the community, led by the captain of the maypole, gather in the church to fetch the maypole in the forest, which is in the vicinity of the community, taking about 2-3 hours of trajectory. The men take fireworks and a few bottles of drinks (cachaça or some spirits), because, according to them, it is to make the trajectory more festive. The lack of drink discourages the porters, making the trip quicker and more uninteresting, both for the person carrying it and for the public that receives it, considering that the trajectory is a moment surrounded by games, sometimes dangerous, but which provokes interest and the participation of local residents, and even visitors, since it is really fun.

At around 5 pm, when the community, led by the ensign, begins to hear the fireworks closer to the church, it heads towards them to meet the maypole and, thus, also around 5 pm, everyone arrives at the church and the preparation for the lifting of the maypole begins. The flag with the image of Saint John the Baptist is tied to the top of the pole and then the men (many already drunk) start to climb the pole, which is placed in a hole and raised using a kind of giant scissors, crossing of two pieces of wood, which are placed in the hole together with the maypole, which is also tied with a rope, due to the weight and height that make it difficult to keep it upright.

He is pulled by the men who are there with great care, so that an accident does not occur and it does not fall on the people who are there. In addition, they need to find the right position, that is, the flag has to face the church. Meanwhile, the community sings songs of praise to the saint. The removal of

the rope that was tied in the middle of the trunk is also a moment of uproar and shouting, considering that it cannot be tied there, and someone must climb the maypole, usually without the aid of other equipment, so that it is only body and the trunk, up to the height of the tied rope, so that the person can untie it. At the raising of the maypole and the flag, those present sing religious songs, including:

Song for the lifting of the maypole

(Sung on the first night of celebration at the time of raising the mast)

My lord Saint John, get off the altar, come see your maypole that is going to rise!

Hurray! Hurray! Come see your maypole that will rise!

hold the maypole don't let it fall

It's from St. John,

It's who will help!

Hurray! Hurray! Come see your maypole that will rise!

(When the maypole is raised, you sing)

Hurray! Hurray! Come see your maypole that's already raised!

Blessing to start the prayer of the rosary

(This blessing was introduced to the community by Mr. Leonésio, deceased. He was a devotee of St. Luzia, protector of the eyes. Mr. Leonésio used to pray in his house and always started with this blessing).

Come pray the rosary

That I came to help pray

I'm a pilgrim from afar, I can't stay long!

My virgin, our lady the one at the altar

she is the one who helps us

Shortly thereafter, everyone is invited to participate in the dinner offered to the community by the captain and the ensign, who is usually the captain's wife, mother or sister. The dinner is held in gratitude to the community for their contribution to the lifting of the maypole process, as well as for the warm welcome of the other members of the community. With the lifting of the pole and the flag, together with dinner, the festivities begin. A hallmark of local community celebrations is that they always begin or end with a party for those present, and the party of St. John the Baptist would be no different. According to Ambrósio

(1988. p. 27), “the eating moment marks the “times” of the Festival; before or after breakfast, lunch, dessert, they are time references for the participants and attendees of the various celebrations”.

After this time of dinner, which takes place at the house of the captain of the maypole, everyone goes to their homes, re-establishes themselves and at 7:00 pm they go to the opening mass of the celebrations, which has the participation of the local community and neighborhood. The Mass, or liturgy, is also surrounded by rituals: the prayer of the rosary is always performed, before the beginning of the celebration, and at the time of mass; the collection of offerings is always done by two children, usually from the community. At the end of the celebration there was a specific moment, called “delivery of the branches”, considering that during the 10 nights of celebrations, each night has its specific *noiteiros*,³⁸ chosen to serve a particular night of celebration. On these nights there are offerings of jewelry, products to be auctioned, usually cakes, sweets, flour, eggs, olive oil, fruits, vegetables, animals, among other local products and some bought in the city’s markets.

During the mass, at the time of the delivery of the branches, as a kind of thanks for the participation of those present and indicating to the community which will be the evenings for the following night, the guests, under the chant sung throughout the church, go to the altar and there they are given flowers and branches which, on a path from the altar to the church door, where the guests of the following night wait, hand them the flowers and branches. These, in turn, make the opposite path, from the church door to the altar and return the flowers and branches, so that the ritual is repeated the following night, confirming their presence.

Table 02 - Sacred and profane

Day	Sacred side of celebration	Profane side of celebration
June 24th	Alvorada Novena Luminous procession Mess Bonfire blessing Baptisms	Maypole search Dinner preparation Auction Races Quadrilha dance

Source: Souza and Riscaroli (2020).

³⁸ *Noiteiros* are people, families or companies responsible for conducting the party, on a given day, as well as offering the auction’s jewels - cakes, roasted chicken or suckling pig, gifts from stores or live animals.

On June 24th, at nightfall, at exactly 6 pm, there is a procession in honor of the Patron Saint. It is a short procession, conducted by the village people, on the outskirts of the church. For this activity, they place the saint in an object made of wood, called andor, basically a wooden box with four arms, in which the men of the community (among them the captain of the maypole) carry the patron saint, taking turns in every four to carry the litter. The rest of the community and visitors follow them with candles in their hands and chanting the rosary and other religious songs. Upon returning to the church, they place the candles on the cross (a cross made of wood) that is in front of the church, while the patron saint is placed on a makeshift altar in the church yard and remains there throughout the celebration of the night. Another traditional song of the celebration is the blessing of São João.

Blessing of St. John the Baptist

Blessed, praise him. Saint John on that altar
We all say that Saint John is alive in glory! (2x)

He was born in Bethlehem, baptized in the Jordan River
And the father having his son for the name of John! (2x)

For the name he bears, called Zechariah
He is Jesus' cousin and Mary's nephew! (2x)

Where does Saint John come from? Very early in the morning,
I come from being baptized and also from being a godfather! (2x)
I offer this blessing, to the lord of that cross
In the intention of John the Baptist, forever. Amen Jesus! (2x)

The celebration of the mass, on this last night of festivities, takes place in the church yard, whose intention is to gather more people and have the whole set that makes up the party gathered: Patron Saint, celebration of mass, large bonfire, sharing table, auction in the figure of the jewels brought by the night people, typical food stalls, a mast with the image of St. John the Baptist and the audience that, this night, as well as the first, is quite large. At the event, the baptisms of children in the community are highlighted, during the celebration of the mass. It is interesting to point out that children in the community were always baptized on this date, regardless of the period they were born. The Baptism ritual was generally only celebrated on the 24th of June.

Table 03 - The biases of the celebration

Activity	Sacred bias	Profane bias	Pedagogical bias
Alvorada	Exaltation to the patron saint with praises of grace for the birth of St. John the Baptist.	Music and beating of the drums.	Recognition of culture through songs created by the community members themselves.
Maypole cutting	Preparation for the arrival of the announcer of Christ.	Drinks, fireworks and music.	Practice of popular culture that highlights the act as a form of identity for a people.
Lifting of the maypole	Worship that recalls the announcement of the birth of John the Baptist. Isabel promised Maria that she would hoist a pole to let her cousin know that John was born.	Drinks, fireworks and dinner are offered to the men and women involved in the lifting.	The knowledge of popular practices as a people's cultural rite: choosing and cutting the tree and decorating it.
Bonfire	Devotional practice as a way of praising and remembering the birth of St. John the Baptist. It recalls the aspect of purification.	Songs and dances of Quadrilha around the bonfire. The games of stepping on the coals, "passing over the fire" and roasting sweet potatoes.	The teaching of cultural practice with an emphasis on symbolic aspects.
Baptism	Worship as a form of exaltation of the divine in the alliance through baptism.	The lunch is offered to the godparents and relatives of each baptized child.	Teaching of religious practice and collective sharing of food. Education of the child in the precepts of religion.
Eucharist	Sacramental ritual that recalls the death and resurrection of Christ.	Food offering as a symbolic form of sharing.	Teaching of the religious cultural practice of the Christian faith under the precepts of Catholic doctrine.
Novena	Practice of Catholic devotion through the prayer of the rosary and veneration of the saint.	The traditional praises sung during the novena, and the fireworks that are put on while the community sings the hymn in honor of Saint John the Baptist.	Sequential practice of organizing a ritual that highlights the act as something symbolic of the local culture.

Source: Souza and Riscaroli (2020).

The ritual of walking around the fire chanting sayings, creating and strengthening bonds has also, little by little, ceased to exist. Now, without the seriousness of before, when many children and young people, and even some adults, still perform the act, often the next day, it is as if they had just played a game, without any importance, not strengthening any tie. With each passing year, guests are failing to contribute with their jewelry/gifts/offers, and even with their presence, they are weakening the party, discouraging auctions and celebrations.

The sharing table, despite still being a strong point of the celebration, no longer has the abundance of before, as there were countless types of cakes and juices, among others. The famous handing over of the branches during the celebration was recently exchanged, about four years ago, for a painting with the image of St. John the Baptist. In general, several changes have occurred, however, the reduction in the participation of the community and visitors has made the celebration increasingly discredited.

Today, what remains are the nostalgic memories, which need to be rescued, considering that the culture of a people represents its identity, and the local memory is what makes traditions alive. About memory, we can mention Pollak (1992, p. 204), when he says that

It is the constituent element of the sense of identity, both individual and collective, insofar as it is also an extremely important factor in the sense of continuity and coherence of a person or a group in its reconstruction of itself. Recovering the community's history through memory is the guiding thread for the continuity of this history. Collective memory is able to exist in a group thanks to "[...] articulated continuity, which takes place in the living consciousness of the group in interaction with the surrounding society (POLLAK, 1992, p. 204).

Based on this author's statement, a way to maintain the continuity of this cultural religious manifestation in the Ribeirão Grande Pedro Bento village is through memory, promoting a rescue to it, so that there is a continuity of history.

In this sense, Brandão (1978) highlights that rituals, religious celebrations, in most cases, are presented as a way for society to show the weight of its order and also its contradictions. The author states that

What should be considered as a point of analysis in most folk celebrations as well as festivities that worship the saints is that the reading of their rituals, the

way in which the people are organized, by worshiping their patrons, makes it possible to rediscover the signs of its own identity (BRANDÃO, 1978, p. 10).

In this direction, Rocha (2011), in his work *A pedagogia da tradição: as dimensões do ensinar e do aprender no cotidiano das comunidades afro-brasileiras* (The pedagogy of tradition: the dimensions of teaching and learning in the daily life of Afro-Brazilian communities), comments that it is possible to think of the pedagogy of tradition as the one through which it is transmitted, from generation by generation, through orality, a set of values, facts, legends, rites, uses, customs and techniques based on tradition, which are transformed and updated, in a dynamic process of interaction and strengthened as cultural heritage, since

Learning is a cultural process that involves much more than the individual's intellectual dimension; one learns what touches the heart, the body, the spirit, the reasoning. In this way, the act of learning is a non-linear, complex, multi-faceted, dynamic process, which has no end and is unique for each being who experiences it. [...] The process of teaching and learning in/from tradition is organized around orality, tradition and the pleasure of doing it in everyday experiences. Faith, ancestry, sacred, historicity, orality, communitarianism, hierarchy, ritual, tradition, joy and devotion are part of the pedagogy that is configured in these spaces (ROCHA, 2011, p. 39-40).

Finally, the celebration of St. John the Baptist fulfills a pedagogical and cultural function in the community, despite the adversities it has been going through over time. Reciting prayers, chants, organizing the party, square dance, baptism course, preparing the maypole, participating in the celebration and sharing the table, are moments of popular learning without a specific notebook, but with a memory like a spinning wheel, whose thread will weave memories, sewing, tying; and sometimes the line is lost, to find it later. But this memory is a constitutive part of the person, and according to Bosi (1994),

There is a moment when the mature man ceases to be an active member of society; he ceases to be a propellant of the present life of his group: in this moment of social old age, however, he has his own function, that of remembering. That of being the memory of the family, the group, the institution, society. (BOSI, 1994, p. 63).

In any case, the elderly have an important role in this pedagogical process of tradition, which involves telling, recounting practices and experiences, especially those related to daily life in the spread of recipes, prayers, songs, myths and stories that populate the imaginary of the group. Also according to the author Bosi (1994), oral memory, far from the unilateral visors towards which certain institutions tend, makes us observe in many ways and even contradictory ones.

Pedagogically, the celebration teaches through orality, in the course of learning how to choose wood, repeating the blessings, which involves a certain know-how. Culturally, it strengthens in the imagination a relation between the time of celebration and gratitude. And from a religious perspective, an intimate relation is sewn between the devotee, his faith and the saint.

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A DISCUSSION ON TEACHING INDIGENOUS HISTORY AND EPISTEMOLOGIES FROM INTERCULTURAL AND DECOLONIAL PERSPECTIVES

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Introduction

Since the arrival of Portuguese colonizers in Brazilian territory, many stereotypes have been produced to represent indigenous peoples. This tradition of representing them as inferior and culturally backward also helps to cover up and/or exclusion of their contributions in the formation of what is commonly called Brazilian national identity. As noted by Freire (2000), this is a series of mistakes that have been perpetrated since the first contact with indigenous populations, which will have a negative impact on the distorted image that non-indigenous people has of them, starting with the idea that they are a single unified people, creating this way the generic identity of the “índio”.

The practical effects of this reductionist and prejudiced perception contribute to the suppression in Brazil of knowledge about the 305 different indigenous peoples and their 274 languages (IBGE, 2010) in elementary schools and universities inside the hegemonic theoretical matrices which, with their abstract universalism, make that local experiences and stories are seized like those of those people who were defeated, disregarding the resistance and tensions in the process of colonization. This draws our attention to the methods in which knowledge is produced. Further investigation is needed and problematize the discourses produced in didactic materials, which gives support to educators formation over the decades in Brazil.

This begin said, it's noteworthy that the representation that each Brazilian still has of the indigenous is the one gathered from the didactic material and information transmitted in the classroom. (FREIRE, 2002). This fact has led to the need for revision of many concepts produced by the sciences, which turned out not to serve faithfully the complexity and dynamics cultures of the native peoples, who already were here long before the arrival of the colonizers. Seen in these terms, due to the way in which this knowledge was treated, the education that is conveyed from them remains a reproducer of homogenizing and silencing

perspectives of traditional knowledge. As Oliveira (2015) clearly pointed out, traditional history, with a positivist nature, “took the narratives produced by Europeans in the 16th and 17th centuries – about the indigenous people and the practices of conquest/colonization of America – as reliable and unquestionable historical sources [...] bearers of absolute truths about the events” (OLIVEIRA, 2015, p. 61).

Therefore, it is necessary to analyze these labels that still insist on inhabiting the social imaginary, as it's well known the power that Education influences social groups from childhood to adulthood. Thus, school subjects play an important role in the society's cultural formation and must be instruments that guarantee a honest representation of the peoples who already inhabited Brazil and continue to be part of the national identity composition, through the various local customs they provide.

From this perspective, a debate on the teaching of indigenous history and epistemologies, focusing on intercultural perspective and in decolonial thinking, the aim of this study with a qualitative approach, which was carried out through bibliographical research and interviews with high school history teachers from a school in Imperatriz-MA, is to reflect on the representations about indigenous peoples in didactic materials and in the lecture of history teachers, to understand how they can contribute to oppose or accentuating ignorance, intolerance and prejudice against indigenous populations.

The text is organized into two sections, in addition to the introduction and conclusion. In the first, we discussed indigenous peoples and Brazilian legislation, and established a dialogue between Indigenous School Education and Interculturality. In the second, we focus on the teaching of History, from a possible interrelationship with indigenous epistemologies, making an approach with the intercultural and decolonial perspectives.

Legislation, Indigenous School Education and Interculturality

Undoubtedly, the Federal Constitution of 1988 represented a milestone in the progress and recognition of the rights of indigenous people in Brazil, as their historical and social value began to be recognized, although there is a need to advance in the realization of these rights, which, nowadays, are confronted in many aspects, mainly because they continue to be victimized by violence and historical processes of ethnocide and genocide, silenced for those who are not interested in listening, consequences of actions and public policies aligned with capital, which encourage the development of economic enterprises and state and private development projects within indigenous

territories. Grupioni (2005) recalls that the Magna Carta recognizes indigenous “original rights over the lands they traditionally occupy” (BRASIL, 1988), indicating this occupation not only in terms of housing, but including the productive process, environmental preservation and physical and cultural reproduction of these peoples (GRUPIONI, 2005).

There have been several struggles and movements throughout Brazil’s history for these rights to be recognized by the State. One issue that deserves to be highlighted is that the Federal Constitution of 1988 severed with the tutelary logic that non-indigenous held over indigenous peoples. This allowed these peoples, individually or through their organizations, to go to court to defend their own rights and interests. This question also embraces the sciences, since many studies produced about the indigenous people ended up disseminating mistaken ideas and concepts about these populations, not faithfully reproducing the complex dynamics of their cultures. With the arrival of the new Constitution, there was, in a way, a “disruption” with the historical integrationist vision, which triggered numerous indigenous policies under the argument of protecting and promoting the rights of indigenous peoples in Brazil.

In the 1970’s, several indigenous movements emerged in Brazil, that, along with other rights earned in the last 30 years, were responsible for the main achievements provided by the 1988 constitutional text. According to Luciano (2006), the strengthening and consolidation of the organized indigenous movement constitutes the most important current strategy of indigenous resistance to the process of state domination. As an example, the construction of the Belo Monte power plant clearly portrays the struggle of these peoples against the environmental impact that affects city residents, indigenous people and farmers in the middle Xingu region, in Pará. According to Palmquist (2013),

There were more than a dozen occupations of the Belo Monte construction sites by indigenous peoples, traditional communities and social movements in the Transamazônica region between 2011 and 2014. In this active process of resistance, under heavy repression by the National Security Force, those affected were able to oppose the Indigenous and environmental policy of the State the strength of indigenous and popular policy but, even though the political pressure on the government was intense during times of occupation, the gears of the enterprise were concealed by internal political and economic pressures to the government machine itself, by force that contractors historically exercise over Brazilian state planning (PALMQUIST, 2013, p. 19).

As we can see, the struggles did not end in the colonization process. On the contrary, they intensified from the beginning of the 21st century, when the world was already interconnected by a single type of economy (capitalism) and distinguished by a diversity of political theories and customs (QUIJANO, 2017). In other ways, social movements and indigenous organizations continued to actively resist the large enterprises that threaten their existence. “Coloniality”, a concept introduced by Peruvian sociologist Anibal Quijano in the late 1980s and early 1990s, characterizes and supports exposing the continuity of colonial forms of domination after the end of colonial administrations. Puerto Rican philosopher Nelson Madonaldo-Torres observes that coloniality results from what we call modern colonialism, since “it keeps itself alive in school material, in standards for academic work, in culture, in common sense” (MALDONADO -TORRES, 2007, p. 131). That is why it is said that modernity is a “myth” that hides coloniality.

In this sense, the fight against big business in the North and Northeast regions, which operates under the argument of “developing the region”, has one of its focuses on the land issue, which mobilizes, among others, the resistance of the Landless Workers’ Movement (Movimento dos Sem Terra-MST) and indigenous populations. With regard to the struggles of the indigenous populations of Maranhão, we cite the example of the construction of the Carajás Railroad (Estrada de Ferro Carajás-EFC), which was initiated in 1982 and finalized in 1985, whose railway structure is about 892 kilometers long, covering 27 municipalities, of those four are in Pará and 23 in Maranhão, including Santa Inês, where the Januária village is located.

The construction of the EFC was a subproject of the Grande Carajás Project (PGC). Andrade (2015, p. 8) comments that the implementation of the PGC is “the result of the imposition of the Brazilian State in the Amazon, as a consequence of the economic influences of transnational companies, financing banks, state companies”, which did not take indigenous peoples into account and the traditional populations of the region, as the objective was the economic exploitation of mineral resources present in Carajás, under the argument of economic development in the Legal Amazon, which covers the states of Pará, Maranhão and Tocantins.

The construction of the railway not only affected urban populations, but also agrarian populations, especially those involved in land conflicts, associated to the violent occupation of land that confronts indigenous peoples, landless farmers and agents of capitalism in the countryside (SAMPAIO; JULIANELLI; PENNA, 2002). Several studies have indicated that the Brazilian government’s indifference to indigenous populations, forcing the World Bank, one of the main funders of the

Grande Carajás Project, to condition the project's continuity to actions that guarantee basic conditions for the survival of indigenous peoples (VERDE, 2009). There are complaints that the licensing of the project was carried out in a fractured manner, without consulting the communities or studying the environmental impacts.

In addition to these historical confrontations involving agrarian issues faced by native peoples, which also contribute to enhance the distorted view of them, the indigenous movement, according to Luciano (2006), constitutes a set of strategies and actions that they develop in defense of their collective rights and interests. Among these rights, we highlight those that can be noticed into difficulties faced to value their cultural expressions, as it fathoms the social imagination that the Brazilian national identity is monocultural, that is, represented by the European standard of society, which makes difficult the access of these indigenous peoples to the full exercise of their citizenship. Such a distorted view of culture mitigates the richness and values found in indigenous cultures, seen as subcultures, indicating the possibility of "improvement" by policies implemented by non-indigenous (dominant) culture.

In line with these issues, in January 2003 Law No. 10.639/2003 apply in the territory, an achievement coming from the black movement, which longed for the mandatory inclusion of the theme "Afro-History and Culture in the official curriculum of educational networks. Brazilian" (BRASIL, 2003). But the indigenous theme was subsumed in this debate, gaining strength only in March 2008, when Law No. 11,645 was enacted, changing Law No. 9,394/1996, Law of Guidelines and Bases of National Education (LDBN), modified by Law No. 10.639/2003, including in the official curriculum of the education network, both in public and private primary and secondary schools, the mandatory theme "Afro-Brazilian and Indigenous History and Culture".

The need to guarantee the right and due space to the original peoples of Brazilian society was noticed, a situation that brought their historical invisibility, resulting from the coloniality's knowledge, which fueled a certain contempt for indigenous populations, as evidenced by Arruda (2001):

In Brazil, the lack of knowledge or contempt for the role of cultural diversity in stimulating and enriching social dynamics and, above all, the ethnocentric refusal of the contemporaneity of societies with different cultural orientations, has sedimented an almost always negative view of indigenous societies. Prevailing then an ideological posture, the Indians do not count for our future, as they are considered an archaic, albeit stubborn, excrescence of pre-Brazilianess (ARRUDA, 2001, p. 43).

We also found bases for these negative ideas about indigenous peoples when verifying the history of Indigenous School Education (IES) in Brazil, marked, according to Ferreira (2001), by four phases: the first begins in Colonia Brazil, when the schooling of natives was under the exclusivity of Jesuit missionaries. One of the educational models that initially guided the indigenous assimilation work was the assimilationist model of submergence, illustrated by Jesuit and Salesian practices (MAHER, 2006, p. 19-23). The second phase is marked by the creation of the Indian Protection Service (SPI) in 1910, and will extend to Funai's education policy and its articulation with the Sumer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) and other religious missions. The objective was solely to integrate the indigenous people into the national society (FERREIRA, 2001, p. 75).

The third phase is marked by the emergence of non-governmental indigenous organizations and the formation of the indigenous movement in the late 1960s and 1970s, a period that corresponds to the Military Dictatorship. The military regime, when implementing the National Integration Plan (PIN), conceived by Castelo Branco's government that intended on expanding Brazil's internal boundaries, provoked persecution, criminalization, imprisonment and torture of indigenous leaders who fought for their territories. At this stage, the formation of "alternative projects" for school education takes place and the participation of non-governmental organizations in education meetings for indigenous peoples takes place.

In the fourth and last phase, we can see an initiative of the indigenous peoples themselves, from the 1980s, managing the educational processes by their own. Now they decide to define and regulate the schooling processes between them, strengthening the indigenous movement through assemblies and meetings that begin in the same decade stands out.

The education, even though not presented in this perspective, is now seen by them as a right for all and a duty of the State and the family, with education being taught based on principles such as equal conditions for access and permanence in school, freedom to learn, teach, research and spread thought, pluralism of ideas and pedagogical conceptions, free public education, quality standards, among others (BRASIL, 1988).

Other normative instruments are then strengthened by the indigenous movements. Among the main ones, related to education, we mention the LDBN (Law 9,394/1996), which established specific guidelines for the provision of school education for indigenous peoples. In its article 32, § 3, it "ensures indigenous communities the use of their native language and their own learning processes" (BRASIL, 1996). The National Curriculum Framework for Indigenous Schools (RCNEI), which configures the typological profile of Indigenous Schools, provides subsidies

for the preparation of pedagogical projects for indigenous schools. The National Curriculum Guidelines for Indigenous School Education, Opinion No. 14/99 of the Basic Chamber of the National Council of Education/CBCNE, presents the foundation of the EEI, sets its structure and functioning, highlighting the proposition of the “indigenous school” category, the competences that need to be offered in the EEI, the formation of the indigenous teacher, the school curriculum and its flexibility.

Although these documents have a concern for an education that respects differences, there are many criticisms and suggestions that supports the understanding of the relationships between different cultures in educational practice, the guidelines that support the programs, didactic materials, and others sources assume that the history, culture and knowledge of indigenous peoples are approached as objects of study, as a matter to be learned like any other. Candau (2013) draws attention to the growing incorporation of these ideas, along with the concept of interculturality in the official discourse of States and international organizations, which links them to the neoliberal logic, not questioning the current sociopolitical model, serving only as “strategy to promote social cohesion, assimilating socio-cultural groups subordinated to the hegemonic culture” (CANDAU, 2013, p. 151).

On the contrary, from a critical perspective, the intercultural strategy, as evidenced by Fleuri (1999, p. 280), “consists above all in promoting the relationship between people, as members of historical societies, culturally characterized in a very varied way, in which they are active subjects”. This new critical thinking, according to Walsh (2005), is considered a “critical border positioning”, which for her “means making visible other logics and ways of thinking, different from the dominant Eurocentric logic” (CANDAU; OLIVEIRA, 2010, p. 25).

In this direction, interculturality presents itself as an alternative for educational action with indigenous peoples, as it guides not only participation, but also the leading role of these populations in the elaboration and execution of proposals for distinctive education. It is, above all, about “questioning the differences and disparities built throughout history between different sociocultural, ethnic-racial, gender, sexual orientation groups, among others” (CANDAU, 2013, p. 152), that is, the historically disregarded groups that claim for their rights, dignity and respect.

Teaching History and Indigenous Epistemologies: intercultural and decolonial perspectives

Even though the current legislation makes the inclusion of these themes in basic education mandatory, this has not guaranteed in Brazilian schools that contents of literature, arts and history, among others, address Afro-Brazilian

and indigenous history and culture. Fontenele and Cavalcante (2020), when investigating the applicability of this Law 11,645/2008, regarding the mandatory teaching of Afro-Brazilian and Indigenous History and Culture, in the exercise of high school History teachers, found that even though there are issues raised regarding changes in the teaching of history in the literature consulted, there is a certain lack of studies on the effects of this legislation and what this has been causing “on the chalk-covered floor of classrooms”. According to them, “Evaluations of teaching method in the face of the transformations imposed by Law 11,645/2008 are still scarce, especially at the level of public schools in the Northeast region”.

For the authors, the requirement of contents associated to this Law does not guarantee its applicability in the teaching of History, given the gaps identified in the course of initial and continuing education of teachers. And they argue that:

These laws are important in the process of leading blacks and indigenous peoples, traditionally marginalized social sectors, to the suitable recognition of their contribution to the construction of Brazil, as well as becoming instruments to fight racism and discrimination in schools. The second law, as it is more recent and extensive, contemplates both ethnic groups, so important for the historical, social, economic and cultural shaping of Brazil. (FONTENELLE; CAVALCANTE, 2020, p. 3).

Still on the teaching of History, Fonseca (2003, p. 29) observes that “Exploring this territory, contesting it and transforming it implies facing an obvious topic for us historians: the organic relationship between education, memory and teaching of History”. For the same author, “The study of history is key to understand movement and diversity, enabling comparisons between groups and societies in different times and spaces” (FONSECA, 2003, p. 40). In this sense, for Bergamaschi (2010), Law 11,645/2008 encourages “inter-cultural dialogue”, as it allows the encounters of cultures, identities, beliefs, symbols and ideologies to be revisited, but in an environment of equality, beyond prejudice and instinctive stereotypes against the black and indigenous population.

Regarding the teaching of History in Brazil, Fonseca (2003, p. 33) comments that from the 60s and 70s onwards, a critical and radical thought of opposition and delegitimization of historical knowledge worked in schools began to develop in Brazil. According to the author,

Influenced by the “reproduction” theorist, critical educational thinking begins to delegitimize official history curricula. The school is now seen as an apparatus for reproducing the values and ideas of the ruling class, and the teaching of history as a mere vehicle for the memory of the winner (FONSECA, 2003, p. 33).

Oliveira (2015) also agrees that in recent decades, the teaching of history in schools, in view of traditional historiography, “was oblivious to both the transformations in the status of sources and historical knowledge itself, as well as the new perspectives introduced in the field of indigenous history” (OLIVEIRA, 2015, p. 61). And it affirms the need to “denaturalize historical discourses loaded with stereotyped and negative representations about the indigenous past in America” (OLIVEIRA, 2015, p. 61), since colonial narratives still operated in this direction.

In this same perspective, Fontenele and Cavalcante (2020, p. 43) emphasize that “History is the object of a construction whose place is not homogeneous and empty time, but a time saturated with now”, hence the need to “stop exclusionary practices and reassign, by the teaching, the importance that black and indigenous peoples really have on the History of Brazil” (FONTENELLE; CAVALCANTE, 2003, p. 17). Forquin (1993) understands that the school needs to constitute a field of conflicting expectations and perspectives in order to establish what is or is not important as content, in which at the same time there is access to scientific-academic knowledge, but also to promote the appreciation of non-hegemonic traditional knowledge.

It is because of this exclusion of non-hegemonic traditional knowledge that Santos (2009) understands that modern Western thought is an abysmal thought, once it deals with reality divided “into two distinct universes: on this side of the line and on the other side of the line. The division is such that the other side of the line disappears as a reality, it becomes non-existent” (SANTOS, 2009, p. 71), which meant that all “minorities” were “erased” by the Western hegemonic cultural system. From this perspective, a discussion is started which concerns not only the presentation of cultural elements to the “other”, but above all to the interaction with the “other”, with the one perceived as different.

Despite the advances achieved so far, in general, the teaching of History insists on reducing the immense diversity of indigenous peoples to the term “índio”, thus denying that “indigenous societies share a set of characteristics that differentiate them from our society and other societies. But indigenous societies are extremely diverse among themselves” (GRUPIONI, 2004, p. 489). Currently, Brazilian indigenous peoples share the importance of maintaining, accepting and promoting the denomination of índio or indigenous, as an identity that unites,

articulates, makes visible and strengthens all original peoples in the current Brazilian territory (LUCIANO, 2006). Even though all these peoples are not equal, the name “indian” or “Indigenous” has proved to be an important link for these peoples in the struggle for common rights.

According to Luciano (2006, p. 33), “the indian of today is an indian who is proud of being native, of being original, of being the bearer of his own civilization and of belonging to a particular ancestry”. The political link of indigenous peoples serves to unify different indigenous ethnicities in the search for the realization of the rights and interests common to these peoples, such as: right to health, education, free and independent territory, citizenship, among others - always taking into account their needs specific and differentiated. Unfortunately, the contact of these peoples with non-indigenous Brazilian society led to several changes in their customs and ways of living, but many particularities, such as rituals, codes, language, remain preserved and reveal the differences that constitute Brazilian indigenous ethnic groups. In this sense, it is of fundamental importance that History teachers make use, in their teaching practices, of contents that value the memory of different ethnic groups in society, which can contribute to the enrichment of new experiences for our students.

However, as stated by Fontenele and Cavalcante (2020), a History teaching-learning process aimed at the interaction of different cultural matrices, as a way of strengthening interethnic relations, requires:

- a) educational policies and pedagogical strategies favoring the integration of different sectors of education, with emphasis on the adoption of Pedagogical Political Projects that reflect the school’s commitment to these demands;
- b) questioning of ethnic relations based on prejudices that disqualify blacks, indigenous peoples and mestizos;
- c) valorization and dissemination of individual and collective resistance processes;
- d) understanding of the values and struggles through sensitization to the suffering of these groups and their offspring – results of slavery, exclusion and prejudice to which they were historically subjected;
- e) creation of conditions so that blacks, indigenous peoples and mestizos can increasingly attend school systems and not be subjected to rejection or exclusion;
- f) guarantee of the rights to see the historical and cultural contributions of their ancestors registered and addressed in an equitable manner (FONTENELLE; CAVALCANTE, 2003, p. 18).

However, from the point of view of marginalized groups, Santos (1997) considers that the school and the school curriculum of minorities must contain

“their hegemonic knowledge to recover and enable the autonomous development of non-hegemonic knowledge, generated by the practices of oppressed social groups and socially discriminated groups” (SANTOS, 1997, p. 228).

In the text “Indigenous epistemologies and anthropology: the protagonism of indigenous researchers, contemporary decolonizing challenges”, Deylane Barros Timbira, indigenous of the Pýhcop’catiji and Creepym’catij (Timbira) peoples, historian and master’s student of the Graduate Program in Social Anthropology at the Federal University of Goiás (PPGAS/UFG), draws attention to the epistemic racism and ethnocentrism of academic science, “which make it impossible to practice any modality of interculturality and interepistemic dialogue” (TIMBIRA, 2020, p. 38). The author argues that

In the context of the struggles that we indigenous peoples face today, we seek recognition of our epistemic and cultural differences, in which indigenous protagonism in academic elaborations, where indigenous peoples act as active subjects in these elaborations, becomes a form of affirmation of our epistemologies and of decolonization. (TIMBIRA, 2020, p. 39-40).

The author highlights the need for “epistemological surveillance”, so that the colonality of knowledge is not perpetuated and naturalized through disciplinary structures. In the epistemological field, given the stories of social domination and violence against indigenous peoples, Achugar (2006) draws attention to the attempts to speak of those who were and are subalternized and who were described by the colonizers’s perspective narrative. As Spivak (2010) has clearly shown, the condition of the subaltern is that he does not speak, but that others speaks in his behalf. In this way, it is legitimate that indigenous peoples “speak” and that they have recognized their places of speech, through indigenous authorship. However, as Achugar (2006) states, even though the prohibitions to counter-hegemonic epistemologies teach us to be silent, but the silence is never total, because there’s always some mumbling.

Propositions and provocations of epistemological ruptures start to gain consistency in Brazil based on the theoretical reflections defined in the book *Epistemologias do Sul*, by Santos and Menezes (2010). In this work, the authors refer to a wide and diversified theoretical universe, to question the epistemological domination, which for Santos (2010) represents “an extremely unequal relationship between knowledge that led to the suppression of many forms of knowledge typical of colonized peoples and nations, relegating many other knowledge to a space of subordination” (SANTOS, 2010, p. 13)

In this sense, indigenous epistemologies are fundamental because they contribute to ways of overcoming the hegemonic constructions of indigenous history, to the problematization of an epistemological perspective that is presented to us as absolute theoretical references, without the possibility of contradiction. In contrast, it is necessary to make people understand that different peoples, in different places, have developed and develop thoughts that constitute an epistemic diversity about life and ways of being. However, in a game of social forces in which places of hegemony were built, which legitimized and delegitimized knowledge, such as that of indigenous peoples, what is verified in relation to these peoples, not only in Brazilian society, but also in Latin America, is a pejorative and subordinate discourse, as portrayed by Achugar (2006):

Anthropophagous, barbarians, cannibals, Indians, savages, colonized, natives, indigenous, dominated, subaltern, slaves, marginalized, submerged, monsters, “people without history”, the list by which some of the “characters” of Latin history are named or qualified -American - heroes or villains, according to whoever tells the story - could go on for quite some time. Nouns and qualitatives that, while not necessarily synonymous, evoke different archives, affiliations, narratives, traditions and perspectives. (ACHUGAR, 2006, p. 30).

Seen in this terms, decoloniality, an important category of decolonial thought, developed by the modernity/coloniality group, by breaking with the monological logic of modernity, which imposed universal modern categories of thought on the countries of the world, contributes to epistemic surveillance and suspicion, as strategies for epistemological decolonization. This implies “dismantling the mechanisms of exploitation of the system, unraveling the contradictions of bourgeois thought in the matter, but also indicating the paths that allowed us to triumph over this shame of the 20th century” (ANDRADE, 1978, p. 8).

In the context of social struggles against the growing processes of economic-political exclusion, according to Fleuri (1999, p. 278), “intercultural education proposes, at the level of educational practices, the development of strategies that promote the construction of particular identities and the recognition of differences [...]”. In addition to the reductive opposition between monoculturalism and multiculturalism, the perspective of intercultural education emerges. From this perspective, the school is understood as a space for intercultural mediation. For Silva (2000), the school can become a place to create and recreate one’s own

culture and to face problems and issues arising from new situations generated by contact, either with the surrounding (non-indigenous) society, or with the different indigenous peoples.

When we discussed these possibilities with high school teachers at a school in Imperatriz, approaching teacher's formation, considering these new epistemic relationships, we soon noticed the receptivity, but also the need for further in the depth studies. Through a conversation circle, the teacher was very interested and explains that she has lately learned a lot about these issues, as can be seen in the following speech:

If you let us, we will learn from you since our schedule match. I would like to learn not as someone who is going to contribute because I put myself in the shoes of who need to learn a lot about this issue from the online classes being presented in the classroom. That's what I see. (PROF 02).

What can be seen is that the teacher understands that the school needs to be this space for dialogue between indigenous and western cultures, which makes room for the diversity. Thus, interculturality is carried out based on a multiplicity of cultures and knowledge (COHN, 2005). It is from this perspective that it is essential to know the legislation and educational reality that permeate the lives of Brazilian indigenous peoples, in order to verify the needs of each people, as well as the institution of policies aimed at the implementation of a non-indigenous school that respect and value indigenous culture.

For Souza (2012), the teaching of contents related to the history and culture of the original occupants of South America in Brazilian schools represents a compensatory measure in order to help in the unwidening of the mitigated structural position of the American-Indian peoples among the national society and to try, at the very least, to redeem the historical debts stacked by the non-indigenous society on the original peoples (SOUZA, 2012). The professor established that he understands this relationship, as he points out that

[...] we can use the correct terms. Faced with my restlessness and ignorance, I realize how many times I have made mistakes in using terms and contributions on the indigenous issue. I have to rethink my speech and rethink many things, like images. I need to rethink a lot (PROF 01).

It is clear in the professor's speech that he understands that the school also has a role in political formation, as this institution is not non-political. And

this can be seen in the way in which the State, through its selective concessions, certification policies and legal powers, influences school methods in the interests of the dominant ideology. For indigenous cultures this is a concern, since a series of mistakes were and still are legitimized, and implanted in the social imagination since school-based learning, through integrationist projects for indigenous peoples. In contrast, Souza (2012), says that schools are an instrument of social transformation, as they expand the tolerance capacity of future generations and undo old prejudices implanted in social imagination, especially of the elderly about indigenous peoples (SOUZA, 2012).

Unfortunately, many misconceptions about indigenous peoples were and still are legitimized in history books, contributing to the production and dissemination of negative representations, often still inspired by colonial narratives, as “Colonial narratives are still the main sources of research used by historians in the study of ancient and colonial America, given the rarity of written indigenous sources” (OLIVEIRA, 2015, p. 65). According to the same author,

History textbooks, used in schools in the Federal District in recent decades, reveal the presence of fragments of colonial narratives, especially chronicles from the 16th and 17th centuries, among the complementary texts and historical sources. The textbook *History of Caves to the Third Millennium* (Braick; Mota, 2002), produced for high school, presents two fragments of chronicles written about the Incas. These are narratives produced by the Spanish soldier Cieza de León and the mestizo Garcilaso de La Vega, exposed without the slightest questioning and criticism. The book *Projeto Araribá: História 7* (2007), a collective work, developed and produced by Editora Moderna, contains a piece of the narrative of Hans Staden, a German sailor and mercenary who was in Brazil between 1548 and 1555. Entitled “Encontro de Culturas”, the text reveals a generic image of the Indians as “savages” and defeated in a military confrontation with the Portuguese settlers in the Caetés region, in the captaincy of Pernambuco. (OLIVEIRA, 2015, p. 66-67).

Russo and Paladino (2018), when investigating how the indigenous topic has been inserted in city and state public schools in Rio de Janeiro, criticize educational policies with an intercultural nature in Brazil. For the authors, they only concern indigenous schools, as “the Brazilian government understands interculturality as a one-way street: it is the indigenous peoples who need to be “intercultural”, and not Brazilian society”. Therefore, what these policies bring is just a generic recommendation for good social interaction. And they warn that

the proposal of “recognition of cultural diversity, and not interculturality, is the one that has guided the country’s educational policies in recent years” (RUSSO; PALADINO, 2018, p. 242).

When analyzing the educational legislation that institutes the recognition of cultural diversity and the textbook guides prepared by the National Textbook Program (PNLD), in 2013, aimed at publishers and public school teachers, in order to understand how the Brazilian government guides the inclusion of content referring to the histories and cultures of indigenous peoples in the school curriculum and the fight against stereotyped and prejudiced views about these peoples, highlight:

we detect that the textbook guides published by the Ministério da Educação (MEC) seek to encourage this inclusion of content related to the histories and cultures of indigenous and Afro-Brazilian peoples for all areas of study [...] but, despite the fact that there is a specific baseline for this, it is possible to notice a great resistance in some specific disciplinary areas to include the indigenous topic from a more critical perspective and consistent with the demands of these peoples, as we will discuss below (RUSSO; PALADINO, 2018, p. 246).

When it comes to interculturality

It is important to emphasize the total absence of the term “interculturality”: in all guides, only the terms “cultural diversity” or “social plurality” are found. It is also worth noting that these terms are treated as vaguely as suggestions on how to include them in textbooks. The only exceptions found are the guidelines and analysis which can be found in the guides concerning the subjects of History and Geography, the only ones that have guidelines that touch directly on the contents included by the laws in 10.639 / 2003 and 11.645 / 2008, as we will see further on (RUSSIAN; PALADINO, 2018, p. 247).

In terms of the specific axes of analysis of collections aimed at teaching history in the early years of elementary school, the authors highlight the tendency to place indigenous peoples only in the colonial period and they criticize the guide about the continuance of the image of a “generic Indian”. And they point out “the fragility of these contents in textbooks is felt much more strongly among teachers who seek to use them, in the classroom, to try to put into practice the demands present in law 11.645” (RUSSIAN; PALADINO, 2018, p. 256).

This observation by the authors can also be confirmed in the speech of teacher 03, about the knowledge of indigenous peoples being addressed in high schools, when she comments: “You don’t know how much you made me very happy with this speech of yours, because it’s a lonely battle. We look for one here and another there [...]” (PROF 03). The teacher reinforces the idea of a story often based on the silence and/or denial of the other, which has a lot to do with Grupioni’s understanding (1996):

Textbooks produce the magic of making Indians appear and disappear in the history of Brazil. What seems to be more alarming in this procedure is that, by throwing Indians into the past, textbooks do not prepare students to understand the presence of Indians in the present and in the future. And this happens even though children are daily fed by the media with information about the Indians today. In this way, they are not prepared to face a multiethnic society, where the Indians, part of our present and also our future, face problems that are experienced by other parts of Brazilian society. (GRUPIONI, 1995, p. 425).

Based on the experiences discussed in this text, we can say that, despite a very broad discussion of the legislation on the mandatory teaching of Afro-Brazilian and Indigenous History and culture, many misconceptions about indigenous peoples were and still are validated in history books, contributing to the production and reproduction of negative representations about indigenous peoples. This indicates the debility of these contents in textbooks, which convey the representation of an Indian from the past, made into a legend, which has to do with the resistance of some areas to include the indigenous topic from a more critical perspective. Regarding history textbooks, attention is drawn to the presence of fragments of colonial narratives in the contents taught. However, the speeches of the interviewed subjects indicate that there is an understanding of the need to break with making it generic and implanted images of Indians in history and in public schools.

Final remarks:

The aim of this study was to contemplate the representations about indigenous peoples in textbooks and in the speeches of history teachers, to understand how they can contribute to combat or to accentuate ignorance, intolerance and prejudice against indigenous populations. From a critical approach that understands that interculturality must involve a process of knowledge construction and an intercultural education that interacts, but also promotes ruptures with

hegemonic knowledge, we confirm that only through many struggles was it possible that indigenous peoples had their culture recognized by the State, throughout the history of Brazil.

With this in mind, we can say that the struggles did not end in the colonization process, as they continued to take place with other aspects. In education, although the Brazilian government guides in legal documents the inclusion of content regarding the histories and cultures of indigenous peoples in the school curriculum and the fight against stereotyped and prejudiced views about these peoples, what can be spotted is that these policies bring generic suggestions. When it appears, the concept of interculturality in the main speech is linked to the neoliberal logic, working only as a strategy for promoting social cohesion. There are many criticisms of this perception that only suggests the understanding of the relationships between different cultures in educational exercise, that is, the guidelines that support the programs, textbooks, among others, “suggest” that the history, culture and knowledge of indigenous peoples are addressed as objects of study or subject to be learned.

Addressing the teaching of History, we can say that traditional history, with a positivist nature, contributed to the establishing of colonial narratives in teaching. In this direction, many studies produced about the indigenous people ended up spreading mistaken ideas and concepts about these populations and did not faithfully reproduce the complex dynamics of their cultures. This weakness is also perceived in subjects addressed on textbooks, which end up contributing to the rejection of the other, and this is further strengthened by gaps in the processes of initial and continuing teacher education. In this direction, we understand that indigenous epistemologies can contribute to ways of overcoming hegemonic constructions of indigenous history, to the discussion of an epistemological perspective that is presented to us as imperative theoretical references, without the possibility of contradiction.

The conversations revealed that the teachers at the school which was object of study are still influenced by a traditional historiography – which tends to homogenize and consequently mitigate the importance of indigenous peoples for the formation of Brazilian society, which unfortunately goes against the precepts of Law N. ° 11645/08. Due to the lack of adequate training, these teachers are still not prepared to share the sociocultural diversities, pluralities, interculturality and particularity that correspond to the different indigenous peoples. Thus, we believe that it is extremely important that teachers of secondary schools in Imperatriz are provided with training that values and faithfully represents the indigenous peoples, and that combats the colonial influences still present in school curriculum.

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TRADITIONAL PEOPLES AND COMMUNITIES OF SOUTHERN MARANHÃO: NOTES ON INTERCULTURALITY AND EDUCATION

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Introduction

For hundreds of years, social and environmental problems in Brazil have been occurring, making life more difficult for rural men and women. The State's lack of attention to environmental policies encourages even more resistance and struggle for appreciating the traditionality and territoriality of rural social groups. Such issues have drawn attention to the need for attitudes, social and educational policies that promote mutual respect, acceptance of difference and democratic affirmation, so that we can live in a society that respects cultural particularities as projects of existence and lives (WALSH, 2007), aiming everyone to be fully citizens.

Therefore, an intercultural dialogue is essential, but not in the sense of merely promoting "interactions between different sociocultural groups in a superficial way, without facing the issue of power relations that permeate them" (SACAVINO, 2020, p. 6). Above all, it is necessary to mobilize educational practices that promote critical education, which questions the colonialism experienced by these different peoples who have suffered the direct impacts of neoliberal thought.

From this perspective, this work aims to understand the more specific characteristics of traditional communities in the southern region of Maranhão, and to establish possible dialogues between education and interculturality, considering the experiences of these peoples and traditional communities. It is about highlighting some elements that most characterize the Babassu coconut breakers, Indigenous, Sertanejos³⁹ and Fishermen, in their cultural differences, but also in what articulates them from an intercultural dialogue in education.

For this bibliographical study, it was necessary to survey works that address specific aspects of communities in the southern region of Maranhão,

³⁹ Sertanejo are those who live in the semi-arid region of the northeast of Brazil. This region is also called sertão.

especially those that highlight its characteristics, articulated here as criticisms of hegemonic and monocultural policies and practices of knowledge construction, power distribution and social character. In this sense, the referential bases of this study include theorists such as Godelier (1984), Little (2004) and Diegues (1996), who discuss concepts of territorialization and the relationship between man and nature. Contemporary authors such as Muniz (2016), Almeida (2008) and Marques (2012), who address the characteristics of traditional peoples and communities. And Sacavino (2020, 2016), Candau and Russo (2010), and Santos and Marques (2007), who provide the basis for the articulation of these issues to education from the perspective of interculturality.

Traditional peoples and communities: reflections on legal concepts and bases

The challenges imposed by economic, land and environmental political pressures on traditional peoples and communities have drawn attention to the historical debt of the Brazilian State to this population. These issues have caused and still cause serious problems that mobilized the State to formally and legally recognize them. The Brazilian State is responsible for dialoguing with them for the elaboration and execution of social and environmental public policies, as they are among the main social groups affected by the implementation and operation of large projects and works that threaten their way of life due to the generated environmental and social impacts.

With regard to Brazilian legislation, there is a set of laws and rights guaranteed to indigenous peoples and traditional communities and quilombolas⁴⁰, especially in the Federal Constitution of 1988, under the Convention 169 of the International Labor Organization (ILO), in the National Policy of Traditional Peoples and Communities, among others. Upon the terms (traditional) “peoples” and “communities”, as first considerations, it should be pointed that the National Commission for the Sustainable Development of Traditional Communities was created in 2004, through the presidential decree of 12/27/2004, aiming to develop a public policy to accompany national monitoring and assistance policies for these communities. This decree, however, was replaced by a new presidential regulation on 07/13/2006, under a new name, and that commission started to act as the National Commission for the Sustainable Development of Traditional

⁴⁰ Quilombola is the name given to those afro-brazilian residents of quilombos, a settlement established to welcome escaped slaves in Brazil.

Peoples and Communities. In these presidential decrees the expressions (traditional) “community” and (traditional and indigenous) “people” appear to designate these social groupings.

However, in article 3, paragraph 1, of the Decree No. 6.040, of February 7th, 2007, which institutes the National Policy for the Sustainable Development of Traditional Peoples and Communities (PNPCT), it is possible to observe a more objective definition of the terms “peoples” and traditional “communities”:

I - Traditional Peoples and Communities: culturally differentiated groups that recognize themselves as such, that have their own ways of social organization, that occupy and use territories and natural resources as a condition for their cultural, social, religious, ancestral and economic reproduction, using knowledge, innovations and practices generated and transmitted by tradition (BRASIL, 2007).

When analyzing the concept of the term “people” from the political, sociological and legal point of view, Veiga and Leivas (2017) note that

In the political view, the people are that portion of society with electoral capacity (BONAVIDES, 2012, pp. 79-81), this is taken from the unique § of art. 1 of CF/1988. From a sociological perspective, the concept of people has a direct connection with the concept of nation, as here we have the idea of “[...] *human groups endowed with many affinities – linguistic, cultural, religious, ethnic etc*” (BASTOS, 1994, p. 153). About the concept of nation, Jorge Miranda follows the mind that the foundation of a nation takes place “[...] *in a common history, in attitudes and lifestyles, in ways of living in nature and in the world, in common institutions, in an idea of the future (or purpose) to fulfill*” (MIRANDA, 2002, pp. 190-191). This concept includes the doctrine that a nation is prior to the State, with several nations being able to gather in a single State, as well as a single nation spilling over onto several States (MALUF, 2009, p. 16). (VEIGA; LEIVAS, 2017, p. 2616-2617 - Emphasis added by the authors).

The authors, when disregarding the legal concept of people for the purposes of interpreting Decree No. 6.040/2007, observe that “the meaning that this word should be seen is close to the concept of nation, which overlaps with the term community there associated” (VEIGA; LEIVAS, 2017, p. 2616). In addition, they emphasize that the document in question gives equal weight to communities and peoples, “since it makes no distinction in the treatment between the

social groups encompassed there, however, it more clearly broadens the possibilities of greater coverage and inclusion of other social groups” (VEIGA; LEIVAS, 2017, p. 2620). The authors understand that “if the legal concept of people were applicable in Decree No. 6.040/2007, there would be a tendency towards the possibility of creating independent States internally in Brazil”, which for them would imply unconstitutionality, and also national instability.

The Public Prosecution of Minas Gerais (MPMG) together with the Coordination of Social Inclusion and Mobilization (CIMOS) prepared a work on the rights of traditional peoples and communities, in order to draw attention to the absence or denial of information about rights and their means of access in the country, in addition to other injustices against these groups, which define them in the following terms:

Traditional peoples and communities are culturally differentiated groups that have their own social, cultural and economic conditions, maintaining specific relationships with the territory and with the environment in which they are inserted. They also respect the principle of sustainability, seeking the survival of present generations under physical, cultural and economic aspects, as well as ensuring the same possibilities for future generations. These are peoples who occupy or claim their traditionally occupied territories, whether this occupation is permanent or temporary. The members of a traditional people or community have ways of being, doing and living that are different from those of society in general, which makes these groups recognize themselves as bearers of their own identities and rights (MINAS GERAIS, 2014, p. 12).

The principle of sustainability is highlighted in this work as a guarantee for future generations that the integrity, physical and social well-being of these populations, among other aspects, be not under threat, given the current material conditions of existence in the traditionally occupied territories.

Among traditional peoples and communities, there are some aspects to be highlighted that determine their own ways of being and living, such as territory, production and social organization. The traditional territory is an aspect that is related to the relationships of belonging that these groups historically have with the land, as essential spaces for cultural, social and economic production and reproduction. And this also has to do with symbolic dimensions, because,

The historical events or facts that keep the group’s memory alive are printed on the territory; in it are buried the ancestors and sacred sites are to be found;

it determines the way of life and the vision of man and the world; the territory is also apprehended and experienced (MINAS GERAIS, 2014, p. 12).

It is not just a matter of living or inhabiting certain social spaces, but of relating to these territories in which they formed the basis of their social and cultural organization, and it is from these spaces that they relate to the world, build experiences and develop secular knowledge. However, this population is subject to a series of territorial vulnerabilities, when, for example, large projects are installed on their traditional territories, which causes their reduction and restriction, also impacting the way and quality of life of their population.

With regard to production, this is marked by its own rhythm and logic and structured according to its own principles of autonomy and freedom, contrary to subordination to the logic of the market.

Normally, the production of traditional peoples and communities – planting, breeding, hunting, fishing, extractivism, handicraft – is associated with kinship and compadre relationships and are based on exchange and solidarity relationships between families, local groups and communities. Selling to the market is not the only end; a considerable part of the production is destined for consumption and social practices (festivals, rites, processions, *folias de reis* etc.), maintaining the unity of the group (MINAS GERAIS, 2014, p. 13-14).

These are social groups that have their own cultural expressions, knowledge inherited from ancestors, “linked to productive activities that, in addition to the technical and agronomic procedures involved, guarantee production, consumption and a specific way of relating to nature and the world” (MINAS GERAIS, 2014, p. 14). However, their productions suffer the impacts of pollution, river damming and deforestation, which have repercussions on the scarcity and dispute of natural resources necessary for their physical and cultural reproduction. Disrespect for environmental licensing rules has mobilized many lawsuits against agents of large works.

Upon the social organization, indigenous peoples and traditional communities suffer the impacts of regional economic and demographic transformations, caused by the installation and operation of large projects, such as logistical and energy infrastructure works, highways, railways, waterways, gas pipelines, hydroelectric plants and transmission lines, which also lead to internal and external conflicts and often to the deterioration of community ties. But what has prevailed is the collective interest in protecting the cultural integrity of groups in defense of their rights.

With regard to broader sociabilities, groups generally have extended or extended families, forming communities, which are

maintained or built from interrelationships with other groups in the region. Its members usually use terms to refer to the group itself (self-identification terms), and there is often a frequent existence of internal divisions or tensions or with other groups. It is not, therefore, homogeneous or closed communities (MINAS GERAIS, 2014, p. 14).

Families have a close relationship with territories, as they are built from the agglutination of various family spaces and a generally common ancestry. This has to do with strengthening local identities in their traditional territories.

However, Little (2004) states that even though the territorial issue plays an important role in the construction of social groups, it has been receiving detailed attention in recent decades. The author justifies that this may be related to the possibility of population increase and/or restrictions of natural resources, although, according to the author, this population has already lived more than

Five hundred years of wars, confrontations, extinctions, forced migrations and ethnic regrouping involving hundreds of indigenous peoples and multiple invading forces of Portuguese, Spanish, French, Dutch and, in the last two centuries, Brazilians, testify to the active resistance of indigenous peoples to the maintenance of control over their areas (LITTLE, 2004, p. 255).

Also according to Little (2004), these two sides of the process of territorialization⁴¹ resulted in the creation of distinct social groups: the construction of cultural groups resistant to their origin and groups that were formed from biological miscegenation and cultural syncretism. However, in these last expressions they can carry with them the ideas of oppression and imposition of the colonizer on the colonized, which presupposes a peaceful acceptance of the subaltern. However, it is also important to note that “Afro-Brazilian syncretism was a survival and adaptation strategy that Africans brought to the New World” (FERRETTI, 1998, p. 188). This last group, formed from biological miscegenation and cultural

⁴¹ Referring to tensions between different territorial projects, constituted in face of the reality expressed by class relations and social place. The search for possibilities to conquer new territories. Territorialization can also be seen as the capacity of social groups to organize their demands related to territories (MIRANDA, 2013).

syncretism, promoted a rise to a relevant history of new social movements and new racial ethnic categories.

Also considering different social groups, territoriality currently has the function of identifying, defending ideas, building political mechanisms and creating strength among those who share the same ways of life. Saquet (2009) problematizes the terms territorialization, deterritorialization and reterritorialization (T-D-R):

Territory also means thinking, social and even cosmic, natural, psychosocial relations, deterritorialization and territorialization, especially at the level of thought. Aspects of the economy (capital), culture (knowledge) and politics (State) dealt with at the philosophical level are also evident, which will inspire other theoretical-methodological approaches and/or linked to TDR processes and symbolic-cultural manifestations and policies implemented in everyday life (SAQUET, 2009, p. 120).

Upon natural resources, Almeida (2008) clarifies that the treaties in this regard are related both to agriculture and to extractivism and fishing, as a form of organization and mutual help. The author calls this set of inalienable rules that superimpose a physical composition of the territory as solidary ties, so that the productive activities carried out by the group can be designated. It is important to observe that this connection is not only due to the reference, belonging to the group, or belonging to the family, but mainly due to the degree of connection and empathy in situations of struggle and mobilization.

In this sense, Godelier (1984) highlights that a relevant aspect in this relationship between peoples, communities and nature is the way they see their territory, and that this connection with the territory can be understood in two ways: as a portion of nature and a certain space guaranteed to all groups; or as a guarantee of access rights to this space, with the control of the use of the resources obtained from it. For the author, the territory for peasant societies, to be conceptualized, is subject to the characterization of the type of physical environment that exists and the social relations defined in the group.

Thus, it is important to understand that traditional cultures share behaviors and experiences among group members, whose “mental models” are “used to interpret the world, socially shared symbols and meanings, in addition to their material products, typical of the commercial mode of production” (DIEGUES, 1996, p. 87). With this, we can say that traditional communities have a critical view, as their actions are loaded with senses and meanings and

through them establish new relationships with themselves and with other groups. The mode of production is also an important factor that helps to specifically define each group, and this is related to the region and the aspects of the place where these production relationships are established.

Thus, we call attention to the need to think of the concept of territory as an element of dialogue between the actions and interventions of public policies and traditional communities and peoples. This implies that indigenous peoples, quilombolas, babassu coconut breakers, rubber tappers, artisanal fishermen, pantaneiros⁴², sertanejos, riverside dwellers, geraizeiros⁴³ and caiçaras⁴⁴, among others, are heard in the struggles in defense of their territorialities for the guarantee of rights that come to recognize and value their traditional ways of life.

Traditional peoples and communities in the southern region of Maranhão

Coconut breakers

Over the decades, Maranhão was a place of great changes in the activity of collecting and breaking coconuts. These practices underwent changes in the organizational structure of the communities and families of the coconut breakers. This evolution marked and influenced the economic and mercantile interests of governmental and non-governmental bodies (RÊGO; ANDRADE, 2006). It is known that the sudden reduction in the stock of land available to peasant agriculture and extractivism has given rise, in addition to a direct confrontation with landowners and police officers, to other forms of economic, social and organizational relations of these workers. Therefore, it is worth mentioning the resistance of hundreds of peasant families who fought and are fighting, among other reasons, against the submission caused by the appropriation of land by large landowners. Considering this, it is not possible to forget that these peasants

⁴² Pantaneiros are the traditional inhabitants of Brazilian Pantanal region.

⁴³ Geraizeiro are the traditional people from the lands at the North of the State of Minas Gerais, in Brazil.

⁴⁴ Caiçara is the name given to the traditional inhabitants of the coastal region of southern and southeastern Brazil. These are multiracial people, descendents from indigenous people, europeans, and africans. They form a distinct group of people, descended from Africans, indigenous people, and Europeans.

faced economic vulnerability in this process of struggle for land. About this relationship, for Barrêto (2017),

In fact, what initially presents itself as poverty brings with it a rich process of conquests. If the current struggle is to preserve babassu and improve living conditions, in the 1980s it was for the right to remain on the land. If living conditions are still not ideal, the biggest difference today is the prospect of a better future. And they believe – and make us believe – that this future is totally possible (BERRÊTO, 2017 p. 15).

According to Amaral (2017, p. 42), Maranhão, for being “the greatest wealth of the environment in babassu”, has the largest number of babassu coconut breakers. It is important to point that babassu coconut breakers make an important contribution to the so-called “babassu region” (which includes parts of the states of Pará, Piauí and Tocantins, and especially Maranhão), in historical, economic, environmental and social aspects. The trajectory of women coconut breakers is always marked by daily struggles, forms of resistance and modes of organization that reaffirm issues of gender, race, ethnicity, and other markers that made up their ways of life. These stories are pointed out by the situations of oppression, dispossession and violence to which they were subjected, in favor of the emergence of the Interstate Movement of Babassu Coconut Breakers (MIQCB)⁴⁵ (CARVALHO; MACEDO, 2019).

Currently, MIQCB realizes the importance of the struggle for free access to babassu trees since 1991, as well as a process of transformation of consciousness in the domestic and family sphere in order to ensure the participation of this new peasant woman in the organizational and political community sphere. It is worth considering that coconut breakers present themselves as extractivists in small groups and associations and, consequently, develop discussions, establish joint actions, define similar strategies, among others.

In the countryside of Maranhão, we can find groups of coconut breakers in the cities surrounding Imperatriz, which is located in the southern region of Maranhão, also known as the Tocantina Region. We highlight the communities located around the Ciriaco Extractive Reserve, located in the municipality of

⁴⁵ MIQCB is the Interstate Movement of Babassu Coconut Breakers in Maranhão, Pará, Piauí and Tocantins, which emerged in 1991 as an organization that represents the social, political and economic interests of women coconut breakers and the communities where they live. Its objective is to promote economic, political and environmental autonomy, seeking to improve life.

Cidelândia, 70 km from Imperatriz. The traditional population is organized through the Association of Agro-extractive Workers of the Ciriaco Extractive Reserve (ATARECO). However, women coconut breakers in these communities also receive support from actions and projects developed by MIQCB.

The “babassu palm is considered by these subjects as a ‘mother’, as it generates life, a source of food and materials for the construction of houses” (AMARAL, 2017, p. 40). Such resources made the coconut breakers decide to assume their identity, which contributed to their own and collective appreciation and recognition. With that, “there was an achievement in the field of identity, because being a coconut breaker was shameful, it was a condition of the most dispossessed. With the movement, women are no longer ashamed” (CECCHIN; SILVA, 2015, p. 10).

According to Barros (2010), although coconut breakers distinguish the current schools in the communities, such as regular school, agricultural family school, technical school, among others, these still do not meet their needs, because, for them, education is related to a political dimension, “that is, education for these women aims to seek knowledge to fight for the guarantee of their rights”. For the author, “the social representation of education is linked to the social function that the individual occupies in that group and regarding to civil entities, as well as the place in production”. (BARROS, 2010, p. 3).

Indigenous

At the end of the 19th century, the southwestern territory of Maranhão, including the Serra do Gurupi and Chapada das Mesas regions, was one of the last strongholds of indigenous peoples, due to the late colonization of these areas. Currently, the region of Montes Altos, Barra do Corda and Chapada das Mesas is currently converted into a conservation unit, created by the Brazilian government under the name Chapada das Mesas National Park (PNCM), where a large number of indigenous people are concentrated, including those from the Tenetehara nations (also known as Guajajaja or Tembê), Gavião, Apinajé, Cricati, Mamecrans, Poremecrans, Xavantes, Caracatages, among others. The concentration of these indigenous peoples in the southwestern region of Maranhão was due to displacements caused by the increasingly frequent advance of colonizers to indigenous territories, which pressured them to concentrate more and more in the interior of the state (FRANKLIN, 2008).

The huge indigenous population concentrated in the *cerrado*⁴⁶ region of the south of Maranhão conserves a range of centuries-old traditions and customs, which resist the onslaught of acculturation, that is, the imposition of white culture and the subtraction of native culture directed against the indigenous population by the non-indigenous. In this direction, Marques (2012) observes that

This territory is the stage for countless landscapes arising from a historical process, the result of permanence and ruptures, fast-times like the present moment and long times that left remnants of the past in the landscape's memory, but which remains present in some points and may be future for many others, that is, a strong cultural influence coming from the Timbira Indians with the process of clearing the Maranhão sertão (MARQUES, 2012, p. 80).

The use of natural resources to reproduce the ways of life of indigenous peoples is a very valuable element from the point of view of immaterial culture, as it is expressed not only in the concrete results of inheritances, such as housing and utensils, but also as a form of resistance to the great difficulties in maintaining individual, family and collective life. Indigenous people build their homes using elements cultivated in nature. They invent and reinvent utensils to meet everyday needs, such as calabash, gourd, moringa, cacuá⁴⁷, Jatobá mortar and pestle, moenda⁴⁸, among others, demonstrating historical references to their ancestral cultures.

The vast sertão⁴⁹ of Maranhão was the preferred region of permanence for the indigenous due to its evergreen and very rich space suitable for hunting, collecting and fishing a great amount of fishes from its rivers, such as Pindaré, Mearim, Gurupi, Farinha, Alves Grande, Parnaíba and Tocantins. Carvalho (2000) pointed out that the influence of the environment can explain the "pleasant nature" of the native, who benefited from the abundance of natural food productions and fruits of their traditional agriculture, which provided more than the necessary to live in abundance and in harmony with nature.

⁴⁶ Cerrado is a Brazilian biome consisting of a vast tropical savanna ecoregion of Brazil.

⁴⁷ Cacua is a basket, often made of straw to carry small animals or food on the back of a pack animal.

⁴⁸ Moenda is an instrument used to grind. It is often used to grind sugarcane.

⁴⁹ Sertão is the semi-arid region of Brazil, in the northeast of the country.

About the relations of indigenous peoples in this region with education, Freitas (2016), when conducting research with indigenous peoples in southern Maranhão, highlighted that she was impressed by the invisibility of indigenous peoples in Maranhão's society. For the author,

The historically constructed ignorance and distance produced an extremely impoverished view of the rich cultures of the Tupy or Jê Language Peoples from Maranhão [...]. The grotesque reality of the statements about the indigenous peoples of Maranhão can be articulated with the Bhabha's (1998) conception of the theory of colonial discourse. The author states that "the stereotype is its main discursive strategy and is a form of knowledge and identification" (FREITAS, 2016, p. 197).

The author also reports that in her research in the region, she observed that indigenous chiefs and parents in southern Maranhão demanded that the government provide school education in the villages, which should serve both children and indigenous teachers, the latter intending to attend university. According to Freitas (2016), "Cacique Raimundo recently narrated what led him to make that demand, a demand launched at me like an arrow, the arrow of education, the weapon of education, the weapon of now, the fight against exclusion to knowledge" (FREITAS, 2016, p. 192).

The conversation circle⁵⁰ between indigenous managers and teachers, described by the Indigenous Missionary Council (CIMI), sought to examine the main challenges in indigenous school education and their practical implications in the context of Maranhão. Entitled "For a Decolonial and Liberating Education", the event, in short, denounced the contracts for the entry of indigenous and non-indigenous teachers in indigenous schools, a situation that has had repercussions in salary losses and other rights. Participants⁵¹ pointed out that although some indigenous teachers with great efforts have achieved higher education, a good part was left out of the classrooms of their communities. The guidelines for the ECE of Maranhão, the result of listening to the subjects involved with the ECE in the state, remain at the State

⁵⁰ Available on: <https://cimi.org.br/2021/05/livedocimi-por-uma-educacao-descolonial-e-libertadora/>

⁵¹ Among the participants were: Caw Akroá-Gamella, professor who is part of the Akroá-Gamella People's Council; Flaubert Rodrigues Sousa Guajajara, educator and teacher; Ricardo Memortumuré Canela, teacher and manager; and mediation by Rosimeire Diniz, member of Cimi Regional Maranhão.

Council of Education. Many schools remain without pedagogical projects because they lack advice from the State Department of Education of Maranhão.

Sertanejos

The *sertanejos* who were increasingly entering the southwestern *cerrado* region of Maranhão, from Pastos Bons, engaged in an intense struggle with the indigenous peoples, occupying territories that were already occupied by them. The *sertanejos* are considered traditional peoples with greater presence in the southwestern of the state of Maranhão. Its origins are linked to colonization fronts from states such as Bahia and Piauí and its economy is based on subsistence, predominantly pastoral, with a special focus on cattle production, also associated with cotton and sugar production, which result in typical foods of its region such as *cachaça*⁵² and *rapadura*⁵³ (SANTOS, 2011).

Traditionally, the northeastern *sertanejo* occupies the discontinuous edge of the agreste region, crossing the large semi-arid extensions of the *caatingas* and part of the *cerrado*. This entire area is composed of sparse vegetation, confined by the Amazon forest and by areas of natural woods and meadows. In general, the *sertanejos* “have a secular movement of expansion of human occupation of the countryside deserts. In the vastness of the countryside of Mediterranean there are several variants of ways of life that are local and functional adaptations of this expansion” (DIEGUES, 2000, p. 52).

The climatic conditions of the *sertões* covered with “poor” pastures and with extensive areas subject to periodic droughts, not only shape life, but also the very figure of the *sertanejo* man. In the area of the Chapada da Mesas National Park (PNCM), they have been active in the region for a long time and have probably arrived with the expansion of cattle ranching witnessed in recent centuries. Among the family members, men are responsible for taking the cattle to drink, building wells, carrying out, if any, agricultural irrigation work and preparing the soil for agricultural cultivation in a proper time to receive the first rains (COSTA, 2014).

Inside the Conservation Unit, the presence of loose cattle is frequent, which is kept with the native grass burning system, which causes regrowth. At every two-year cycle, this fact is repeated, being a centuries-old custom, a legacy of

⁵² *Cachaça* is a typical Brazilian drink, it is a distilled spirit made from fermented sugarcane juice.

⁵³ *Rapadura* is a typical Brazilian sweet of Canary origin, in the shape of small bricks, with similar flavor and composition to brown sugar.

the colonial form of production. Thus, it is common for cattle to be released over large portions of land, causing, in certain places, the suppression of vegetation due to intense trampling.

Although characterized by a great cultural diversity, in general, the *sertanejos* live in an area of agrarian structure with a high concentration of land for grazing. Their way of life is simple and, “Despite being ‘rustic and brutal’, their nature is good, and it is only good because their cultural and social practices do not clash with the needs of raising cattle, a key element for the economic system of the *sertão*” (SANTOS, 2011, p. 228). There is a low level of literacy and school education, their language is very characteristic and it is also possible to observe in its vocabulary the preservation of cultural elements of archaic origin.

When it comes to non-institutionalized education, Rocha and Silva (2020) point to a cultural influence maintained from generation to generation that is linked to a feeling for the place where they live. The formation of traditional knowledge is of great importance for the *sertanejos*, but they also recognize that the creation and recreation of new social contexts are positive factors in human nature.

Fishermen

Fishing communities have a traditional way of living and working with nature. They usually maintain a culture for several generations so that fishing is not just a profession but a free way of life. Fishermen and fisherwomen have characteristics that guarantee the family’s livelihood through specific techniques of the community, that is, they believe in the influence of the tides and the moon, they know the proper spots for fishing from the different signs of the waters and they have rules so that the community is always linked to the collectivity. Considering this, we can say that these traditional communities promote “the rescue of traditional knowledge to guarantee the territory, having as its main characteristic the common use of land, water and its resources” (MUNIZ, 2016, p. 38).

Fisheries workers have their social organization linked to the Secretariat of Aquaculture and Fisheries (SAP), an agency of the Federal Government. The purpose of this Secretariat is to promote and organize aquaculture and fishing activities with an ecological balance, legally ensuring the activities of fishermen and fisherwomen throughout the country. The government has enabled the sale of fish by developing public policies based on the reality of each region, in order to guarantee the generation of employment and income (BRASIL, 2020). As part of this policy, there was the creation of the Ministry of Fisheries and Aquaculture (MPA) and the Fishing and Aquaculture Harvest Plan (2012-2014),

which aims to stimulate national fish production, in addition to promoting sustainable development.

In the case of artisanal fishermen, *a priori* they can be identified by their opposition to fishermen who carry out large-scale or industrial fishing activities. In other words, it is a fishing modality that is very often carried out in small proportions, even if in a certain way there is a smaller commercial production, which can be configured as a sustainable activity (MUNIZ, 2016).

Fishing communities are found along rivers, lakes and coastlines spread throughout the Brazilian coast. They have knowledge about the strength, intensity and direction of the wind, the tides, the position and movement of fishes schooling in the water, and also involve traditional fishing and navigation techniques. Religious beliefs are also part of the dynamics permeated by the community from generation to generation, that is, artisanal fishermen absorb traditional knowledge in their daily work and pass it on to their family and friends, keeping alive their relationship of respect with the waters and the forest (PORTAL YPADÊ, 2016).

According to Silva (2104), it is possible to count in Brazil more than 1 million fishermen and fisherwomen, and the most interesting is that 99% are called artisanal fishermen. A relevant number for the construction of the identity and socio-historical formation of the group. However, it was from the 1990s that the group's organization initiatives were able to present a more consistent dialogue between traditional and technical knowledge, addressing a more active participation of fishermen in relation to decisions taken by the community. In this process, the formation of a collective identity is pointed out from the relationship between man and nature. For Muniz (2016),

It is important to consider the existence of a natural resource management system marked by the cycles of nature. [...] that does not aim only at the exploitation of these resources, but in which a set of rules and knowledge acquired by the tradition inherited from other generations is perpetuated. The interactions between man and nature promote learning permeated by conflicts, adjustments and knowledge addition (MUNIZ, 2016, p. 77).

The aforementioned author also comments that more specifically in Maranhão, rivers, lakes and small lakes allow for abundant fishing and have a wide variety of fish. Fishermen, from the perspective of a socially constituted group, work with artisanal fishing maintaining an interaction with nature, where

they produce knowledge and daily practices, whose know-how ensures that they are (re)produced for subsequent generations.

It is worth observing that fishing in the southern region of Maranhão takes place individually or in groups, and in the individual exercise the fish hook, harpoon and cast net are used; in the collective process, the use of the cast net, the *camboa*⁵⁴ and the *moponga*⁵⁵ is verified. And one “of the characteristics of the artisanal fisherman is his ability to manufacture and adapt the instruments and gadgets used to catch fish” (MUNIZ, 2016, p. 83).

Such techniques used by Maranhenses in fishing are a representation of the dynamic reality of the South region, which produces, uses the knowledge of past generations, and also gives new meaning to future generations. Then, we can say that the fishing activity in Maranhão, in addition to having a social importance for the group, assumes an economic value, given the income generation and food base of the community.

Possible dialogues between Education, Interculturality, peoples and traditional communities

Interculturality is a perspective that emerges from the concern and need for an education that respects and values cultural differences, beyond the assimilationist practices that marked the relations between indigenous peoples and colonizers. As in other Latin American countries, the origin of the intercultural perspective in Brazil appears in the context of educational policies aimed at indigenous populations (CANDAU; RUSSO, 2010).

In a society in which the characteristics of social groups are diversified, and these differences need to be understood, the educational process needs to consider the characteristics of different peoples or social groups, such as coconut breakers, indigenous people, *sertanejo* and fishermen, considering their cultural, religious, social and linguistic aspects, among other knowledge. In this sense, it is necessary to think of interculturality as a “process that implies a relationship between people from different contexts that characterize their daily life, which are based on the historicity of people and the group” (RADECK, 2009, p. 795). Thus, it is important to highlight that intercultural education, according to Candau (2013),

⁵⁴ Process in which a circle of canoes is set and fishermen cast simultaneously.

⁵⁵ It consists of a line of men in the water (at waist height) marching and pushing the fish away to the place of casting.

[...] comes from the statement of difference as wealth. It promotes systematic processes of dialogue between different subjects - individual and collective -, knowledge and practices from the perspective of affirming social, cognitive and cultural justice, as well as the construction of egalitarian relations between sociocultural groups and the democratization of society, through policies that articulate rights of equality and difference (CANDAUI, 2013, p. 1).

It is evident, therefore, that interculturality deals with the possible relationships between different social groups that relate to each other, promoting experiences and knowledge. Also according to Radeck (2009), interculturality can be considered a political and ideological process due to its characteristics that involve interests as well as powers. In this sense, interculturality can also be seen in the discourse used by the State and international agencies, linked to projects whose objectives are solely to discipline differences, without effectively combating power relations and inequalities against them.

In contrast, mobilized by social struggles, interculturality acquires a meaning linked both to the construction of social projects and to political and epistemic projects. In this way, it starts to be seen as a critical alternative in favor of greater social and cultural justice, and can contribute towards promoting necessary social transformations with social and economic justice. For Fleuri (2006),

It is the challenge of respecting differences and integrating them into a unit that does not cancel them out, but that activates the creative and vital potential of the connection between different agents and between their respective contexts. This is true, in fact, both for the discourse of ethnic and cultural, gender and generational differences, to be welcomed in school and society, as well as for the distinction and interaction between peoples, to be considered in international and planetary balances (FLEURI, 2006, p. 497).

Considering the social role of the school in this process, it is necessary for this institution to be inserted in a context that takes into account interculturality, observing the individualities of groups and their social and cultural contributions to the environment in which they are inserted. The school plays a very important role with regard to this issue, since it is responsible for receiving subjects from different groups, and also becomes responsible for developing actions that value cultural diversities. This is how "school and related learning processes produce effects resulting from a complex process of negotiations

between the social forces involved” (FLEURI, 2006, p. 504). However, Sacavino (2010) notes that

to recognize and affirm the rights of difference is not the same thing as to claim equal rights for everyone. The right to be different requires specificity without devaluation and recognition without discrimination. It is in this dialectic between equality and difference, between overcoming all inequality and, at the same time, recognizing cultural differences, that the challenges of this articulation arise (SACAVINO, 2016, p. 16).

However, according to the same author, “to advance in the construction of intercultural educational practices, it is essential to question the dominant logic in school educational processes, heir to Western modernity” (SACAVINO, 2016, p. 16). In this sense, Luciano (2012), an indigenous intellectual Baniwa, draws attention to a very important issue:

Indigenous peoples, for example, would not like to be framed by the academic logics that feed and sustain the processes of reproduction of individualistic capitalism, which has increasingly generated a society in return to the civilization of barbarism and savagery, through violence, of inhuman economic exploitation, of the empire of law of the richest and of those with political power based on the democracies of the economic and political elites. Indigenous peoples would like to share with the world, from the university, their knowledge, their community values, their cosmologies, their worldviews and their ways of living and being in the world, where the collective good life is the priority. (LUCIANO, 2012, p. 3).

It is about questioning the historical invisibility of the original and traditional peoples engendered by the agents of capitalist power, who consider them “cultural minorities”, wishing to limit their possibilities for dialogue and citizenship. For Sacavino (2020, p. 12), the processes of “oppression, exploitation and subordination, which were imposed by capitalism, by excluding social groups and practices, also left out the knowledge produced by these same groups”. In relation to these issues, Silva and Rebolo (2015, p. 180) highlight that

the current school, inserted in a society that is fastly changing and that is strongly marked by movements that fight inequalities in all senses, faces great challenges so that it can actually carry out an intercultural education and fulfill its

social role in the construction of a fairer, more equal and more solidary society (SILVA and REBOLO, 2015, p. 180).

It is evident, therefore, the need for the school to adapt to constant social changes, helping in the process of social transformation against inequalities. Above all, it is necessary to question the naturalization of the invisibility of subjects considered “others” within the classroom, of ethnic differences, among others, which would help to “promote processes of awareness and recognition of their importance and value in the social shape of our country”, which would also contribute for us to live in a more democratic and fair society (SACAVINO, 2013, p. 89).

Some social groups, such as traditional peoples and communities, including native peoples, were historically targets of concealment, inferiority, even from their trajectories of affirmation of their knowledge, cultures and identities. And it is understood that this process has an intrinsic relationship to how these peoples were allocated in the social, economic, political, cultural and pedagogical order.

With regard to this, the debate on interculturality, education and traditional peoples and communities leads us to emphasize the importance of power relations between these different groups, then making visible the struggle for the rights of ethnic minorities as a result of long conflicts and struggles in the social fields. It is a debate that is necessarily political, as Paulo Freire (1987) expressed very well, since any discussion about education is of a political nature, and any educational process is oppressive or liberating. It is precisely from this relationship

[...] that the discourse on interculturality is established, since it is in interculturality that conflicts are negotiated and that the encounters of our differences and their continuity are promoted. Thus, interculturalism embodies the heritage of the multicultural movement, especially regarding aspects of social struggles, dialogue and identity assertions (ZAPAROLI; PINHO, 2016, p. 11).

In this scenario, it is essential to highlight the forms and modes of space occupation, which also presuppose power relations, but in the sense of calling attention here to the social relations established in these spaces for centuries. The concept of territory has always been in dialogue with traditional communities and has gained greater notoriety in the scientific field with wide possibilities of definitions, unfolding into concepts ranging from social, anthropological, geographic, biological studies, among many others, which

complement each other. Upon this, it is necessary to treat the field of interculturality as possible bridges for the recognition of other social subjects, with their own ethnic marks and permanent dynamics, based on the dialogue of the territory of these peoples and their relations to the promotion of education as a right.

In Brazil, we know that the relations of indigenous peoples with the land is inseparable. The original peoples maintain their relations with the environment in a very close way that understands and works with the cycles and rhythms of nature, without the idea of separation, intensely placed by the capitalist model of life and development, which treats nature as a resource, as something separate from men, an element to be explored. And through this idea of separation, the denial of the various dimensions of life forms occurs, as Krenak (2019) reminds us when he mentions that the idea of separated humans, detached from the Earth, living a civilizational abstraction, which suppresses diversity, denies the plurality of forms of life, existence and habits is absurd.

And it is from this relation between man and nature that indigenous territories assume an important role in the dialogue with education for the reaffirmation of communities, considering their multiple relationships with the land, where the ancestral knowledge of each people is manifested, and where the “transmission” of this knowledge is given to the new generations. In this sense, the appropriation and redefinition of this knowledge by the school are necessary instruments, capable of mediating new strategies and new possibilities for dialogue between the State, peoples and traditional communities.

A question that deserves to be raised in this discussion is the incorporation of southern Maranhão into the model of capitalist property and new capital, which occurred with the advance of large enterprises in the region, expropriating rural families, coconut breakers, indigenous peoples and fishermen from their production and living territories. However, these first fronts of expansion and pioneer occupation of the land still preserved customs and symbolic and material relations that reinforced its reproduction as a peasant *modus vivendi*, with subsistence production and the sale of surpluses on the market. It is the meeting or mis-meeting, as we prefer to call it, of these distinct territorialities that encapsulates the State’s land tenure problem (SILVA, 2008).

In this aspect, the spaces territorialized by the *sertanejos* carry many elements, such as memories, traditions and biocultural knowledge of coexistence with the chapadas, the valleys, the streams and those maintained by the religion of these peoples. The *sertão*, therefore, as a space for the spiritual manifestations of the community is also constituted as a space of education, where the

teachings, values and roots of these peoples will be transmitted to the next generations and reaffirmed among the community itself. In this way, the religion, tradition and culture of the coconut breakers, the *sertanejo*, the indigenous people and the fishermen are manifested as dimensions of interculturality.

In the process of recognizing individual and collective subjects in the countryside of Maranhão, there is the social reinvention of organizations and the incorporation of agro-extractivism as a productive activity and a political tool. And there, the educational role of the Movement of Babassu Coconut breakers stands out, together with its associations and base communities, in the fight for the right to access babassu palms, in the forms of organization and commercialization of this production and other social guarantees, such as education of young people living in the countryside.

As highlighted by Mariana Nóbrega (2015),

The agro-extractivist communities in the Amazon region of Maranhão are self-determined in various ways, such as rural workers, family farmers, extractivists, fishermen, coconut breakers, and they organize themselves in different entities from different organizational instances where they fight for their rights to use their territories and for the management of natural assets, in addition to the right to undertake their economic and organizational initiatives. This does not invalidate the possibility of being conceived as peasants, as the peasant personifies both the subject of political action and the one who has a relation with the land and other natural resources, going beyond an economic relationship, extrapolating to the construction of a universe of material and immaterial relations with nature (NÓBREGA, 2015, p. 58).

In this context, the idea of separability, the rupture of education with the territory does not occur, as the territory is one of the manifestations of education, of the right to be who they are. In this way, the present multi-territorialization that sustains what we call here cultural hybridism in agro-extractive communities, brought from coconut breakers and fishermen, transforms and renews the space in a place of exchange, of new practices and new knowledge. Bhabha (1999) names these spaces of hybrid relations as bordering spaces, the so-called in between-places, where culture gains a new meaning and sense.

By analyzing the traditional peoples and communities present in this southern portion of the state of Maranhão, we verified how complex and particular are their cultural and organizational manifestations, their values and symbols,

and especially how the process of teaching and transmitting their knowledge to future generations takes place. Therefore, what most characterizes interculturality in the educational process among these peoples is the appropriation of the school institution as an important tool for guaranteeing rights and expanding the dialogue with the rest of society, which mostly ignores them, contributing to the constitution of school as a space of resistance to the Eurocentric relations of education and teaching.

Final considerations

In this study, which aimed to understand the most specific characteristics of traditional communities in the southern region of Maranhão, and to establish possible dialogues between education and interculturality, considering the experiences and experiences of these traditional peoples and communities, we found that the challenges imposed by the economic pressures, land and environmental policies to traditional peoples and communities have drawn attention to the historical debt of the Brazilian State to this population.

Indigenous peoples and traditional communities suffer the impacts of regional economic and demographic changes, caused by the installation and operation of large projects, which often generate internal and external conflicts and the deterioration of community ties. But what has prevailed is the collective interest in protecting the cultural integrity of groups in defense of their rights, as it is not just a matter of living or inhabiting certain social spaces, but of relating to these territories in which they formed the basis of their social organization and cultural, and it is from these relations that they relate to the world, build experiences and develop secular knowledge.

For a long period, there was a lethargy in relation to the implementation of public policies aimed at traditional rural peoples and communities in the state of Maranhão, and especially in the south and southwestern regions. Such neglect caused repercussions on the subordination of the countryside to the interests of urban space. Among the negligences experienced by these subjects, education in the countryside accompanied this entire process of scarcity of improvements. What happened was an importation of urban education into the rural space without any consideration to the realities experienced by the subjects involved.

Faced with these challenges, interculturality acquires a meaning linked both to the construction of social projects, as well as political and epistemic projects. In this sense, it is seen as a critical alternative in favor of greater

social and cultural justice, and can contribute to promote the necessary social transformations with justice. Therefore, we call attention to the need for these subjects to establish possible dialogues in order to build an intercultural education that perceives their differences as a potential and source of wealth. It is about highlighting some elements that most characterize the Babassu Coconut breakers, Indigenous people, *sertanejos* and fishermen in their cultural differences, but also in what articulates them from an intercultural dialogue in education.

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