

Indigenous school education: from integrationist policy to educational rights¹

Educação escolar indígena: da política integracionista aos direitos educacionais

Educación escolar indígena: de la política integracionista a los derechos educativos

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Abstract: This article aims to analyze the Brazilian legislative landscape governing indigenous school education policies, from the Federal Constitution of 1988 to the present. In addition to compiling documents resulting from centuries-old struggles by indigenous social movements for the right to quality education, the text presents a systematic overview of data concerning the current state of these schools across Brazilian territory. This bibliographic study draws on national legislation and the theories of authors such as Gagliardi (1989), Matos (1997), Lopes da Silva (1981), and Neves (2009). Ultimately, we understand that Indigenous schools' education policies are situated in a frontier of struggles for the validation of rights, as the reality still bears traces of colonial ideology, stemming from obstacles that hinder their full implementation within the educational system.

Keywords: Indigenous Education; Indigenous Peoples; Educational Policies; Indigenous School Education.

Resumen: Los escritos del presente artículo se configuran con el objetivo de analizar el panorama legislativo brasileño que rige las políticas de educación escolar indígena desde la Constitución Federal de 1988 hasta la actualidad. Además de reunir documentos resultantes de luchas seculares por parte de los movimientos sociales indigenistas por el derecho a una educación de calidad, el texto presenta la sistematización de datos referentes a la situación actual de esas escuelas en el territorio brasileño. Su carácter bibliográfico se nutre de conocimientos dispuestos por la legislación de orden nacional y por los postulados de autores como Candau (2008), Freire (1998), Gagliardi (1989), Matos (1997), Lopes da Silva (1981) y Neves (2009). Al final, comprendemos que las políticas para la educación escolar indígena se encuentran en una frontera de luchas por la validación de derechos, ya que la realidad aún refleja las huellas de una ideología colonial, derivadas de obstáculos que dificultan su plena efectividad en las estructuras del sistema educativo.

Palabras clave: Educación Indígena; Pueblos Indígenas; Políticas Educativas; Educación Escolar Indígena.

Resumo: Os escritos do presente artigo configuram-se sob o objetivo de analisar o panorama legislativo brasileiro que rege as políticas de educação escolar indígena partindo da Constituição Federal de 1988 até a atualidade. Além de reunir documentos resultantes de lutas seculares por parte

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dos movimentos sociais indigenistas pelo direito à uma educação de qualidade, o texto apresenta a sistematização de dados concernentes à atual situação dessas escolas no território brasileiro. Sua natureza bibliográfica reveste-se de saberes dispostos pela legislação de ordem nacional e pelos pressupostos de autores como Candau (2008), Freire (1998), Gagliardi (1989), Matos (1997), Lopes da Silva (1981) e Neves (2009). Ao final, compreendemos que as políticas para a educação escolar indígena se encontram em uma fronteira de lutas por validação de direitos uma vez que a realidade ainda imprime marcas da ideologia colonial, decorrentes de impasses que barram sua plena efetivação nas estruturas do sistema educacional.

Palavras-chave: Educação Indígena; Povos Indígenas; Políticas Educacionais; Educação Escolar Indígena.

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Introduction

Policies in the field of indigenous school education in Brazil have emerged in the territory of struggles after a long period of denial of rights to indigenous peoples. Until the 20th century, their communities were offered education by government systems based on an integrationist bias, designed to assimilate them into national society. Aimed at profit, the economy, the strengthening of the rising republic, the ideal for these policies was to emptying indigenous cultures and replacing them with the ways of civilization. In response, indigenous movements erupted in the 1970s, calling for the their cultures, valuing their knowledge and demarcating their lands to better protect them to better protect them. In addition, with a view to neutralizing the barriers imposed by the dominant dominant groups, the demands also focused on the quality of the school education based on the needs of the communities and the autonomous development of their members.

In this climate of social tensions and conflicts, this article aims to analyze the Brazilian legislative panorama built up to govern indigenous school education policies, from the 1988 Federal Constitution to the current period. To this end, the research, defined here as bibliographical, was carried out by investigating sources available in government repositories, revisiting documents from different periods. The results will be presented in two sections of the text, namely: a) the first section highlights the documents of a national nature, by which decrees and laws were instituted in the field of indigenous school education, presented here in accordance with the timeline of the events that took place; b) the second, in turn, highlights the current reality of Brazilian indigenous schools, proposing, through the data obtained, a reflective relationship between the theory that governs indigenous education policies and their practice in the daily life of these schools.

The analysis of these relationships was based on the assumptions of indigenous and non-indigenous authors such as Candau (2008), Freire (1993), Gagliardi (1989), Matos (1997), Lopes da Silva (1981) and Neves (2009), as well as the countless documents used to establish parameters for the quality proposed in the legislation. Of course, we understand that policies for indigenous education are the result of these peoples facing up to the economic pressures that, in other times, tried to decimate the cultures of their ethnic groups. Although they have translated into recent advances in the promotion of quality school education, the reality of these schools reveals that the challenges faced in other periods of history still occupy space in today's school territory.

The legislative panorama of Brazilian Indigenous School Education

The public education project envisioned for indigenous peoples during the governmental periods that followed the educational system set up by the Jesuit missionaries maintained the perspective of strengthening the rising nation-state. For centuries, the central idea prevailed of intellectually training the ruling elites while continuing the process of civilization, the emptying of indigenous culture and the use of these peoples as labour for the “evolution” of society. “There are indigenous testimonies in various states of Brazil that confirm the historical role of the school as a devourer of cultural difference” (Brasil, MEC, 2007). From this period until the middle of the 20th century, school education policies aimed at indigenous communities maintained the integrationist ideological basis, forcing the civilization of traditional groups into national society, as recognized in the document that governs the national guidelines for the operation of indigenous schools:

The idea of integration took hold in Brazilian indigenous policy from the colonial period until the late 1980s. The integrationist policy began by recognizing the diversity of indigenous societies that existed in the country, but pointed to the end of this diversity as the point of arrival. All ethnic differentiation would be annulled by incorporating the Indians into national society. By becoming Brazilians, they would have to abandon their own identity (Brasil, 1999, p. 4).

Once integrated, the indigenous people would be unaware of their rights and would stand by and watch economic exploitation deliberately take possession of their territories. The first signs of change in indigenous educational policies came with the Statute of the Indian (1973) in its articles 48 and 49, in which the document incorporates “adaptations” into the indigenous education system and determines that, in this context, literacy should also take

place in the native language, in addition to Portuguese. However, the assimilationist principles were not excluded from the Statute. Article 50 of the document states that: “The education of the Indian will be oriented towards national integration through a process of gradual understanding of the general problems and values of national society, as well as the utilization of their individual aptitudes” (Brasil, 1973, p. 17). In other words, the predominant idea was that indigenous people should be in the custody of a state agency until they were gradually integrated into national civil society. Thus supporting the idea of erasing the cultural identity of these groups, as Gagliardi (1989) points out.

During the same decade (the 1970s), indigenist organizations erupted in a period of political tensions and conflicts as a form of discontent against the authoritarian repression of the government repression. Thus, the social movements of associations, groups, support committees and the engagement of indigenous leaders acted as a barrier against the economic interests of the state intervention policy and initiated important discussions for indigenous communities (Matos, 1997). Among the agendas was the demand for a differentiated school education.

The school has taken on different facets throughout history in a movement that goes from the imposition of educational models on indigenous peoples, through domination, denial of identities, integration and cultural homogenization, to educational models demanded by the Indians, within paradigms of cultural pluralism and respect and appreciation of ethnic identities (Brasil, 1999, p. 4).

In this climate of clashes, the Federal Constitution of 1988 inaugurated a bureaucratic ordering of indigenous policies through registers that formalized the recognition of the identity of Brazilian indigenous peoples, as well as the exercise of the defence of their constitutional rights. As a result, in addition to the fight for the demarcation of their lands, other issues added to the discussions contributed to weakening the integrationist policies imposed on indigenous communities, while the ethnic groups gained ground in the autonomy of the socialization and education process of these peoples (Brasil, 1998; Neves, 2009).

The table 1 shows the documents published from the 1980s to the current year by national public bodies, the content of which deals in some way with school education for Brazilian indigenous communities. It is important to read them from the perspective of understanding them as part of a series of other centuries-old battles for rights that had hitherto been ignored. Conquests that, belatedly, reached traditional communities.

Table 1 - Indigenous School Education in Brazilian legislation (1988 - 2024).

YEAR	DOCUMENT
1988	Constitution of the Federative Republic of Brazil - BRASIL. Constituição (1988). Constitution of the Federative Republic of Brazil. Brasília, DF: Senado Federal, 1988.
1991	Decree No. 26, of February 4, 1991 - Provides for indigenous education in Brazil. Brazil. Decree No. 26, of February 4, 1991. Provides for Indigenous Education in Brazil. Federal Official Gazette. Brasília, DF, 1991. Available at: https://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/decreto/1990-1994/d0026.htm . Accessed on 27 Apr. 2024.
1994	Guidelines for the National Policy on Indigenous School Education. Brazil. Guidelines for the National School Education Policy. Indigenous School Education Committee. Brasília: MEC/ SEF/DPEF, 1994. Available at: http://portal.mec.gov.br/cne/arquivos/pdf/Ind%C3%82%C2%A1gena.pdf . Accessed on April 27, 2024
1996	Law No. 9.394, of December 20, 1996 - Establishes the National Education Guidelines and Bases Law. Brazil. Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação Nacional. Brasília, 1996. Available at: https://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/leis/L9394.htm . Accessed on 27 Apr. 2024.
1998	Brazil. National Curriculum Framework for Indigenous Schools. Ministry of Education and Sport. Department of Basic Education. Brasília: MEC/SEF, 1998. Available at: https://acervo.socioambiental.org/sites/default/files/documents/F3L00004.pdf Accessed on 27 Apr. 2024
1999	CNE/CEB Resolution No. 3, of November 10, 1999 - Establishes National Guidelines for the operation of indigenous schools and makes other provisions. Available at: http://portal.mec.gov.br/cne/arquivos/pdf/rceb03_99.pdf . Accessed on 27 Apr. 2024
2001	Law No. 10.172 of January 9, 2001 establishes the National Education Plan. Available at: https://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/leis/leis_2001/110172.htm . Accessed on 27 Apr. 2024.
2002	Guidelines for the initial training of indigenous teachers. Available at http://portal.mec.gov.br/seb/arquivos/pdf/Livro.pdf . Accessed on 27 Apr. 2024
2002	Law No. 10.558, of November 13, 2002. Creates the Diversity Program at the University, and makes other provisions. Available at: https://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/leis/2002/L10558.htm . Accessed on 27 Apr. 2024.
2003	Resolution CD/FNDE No. 45, of October 31, 2003 - Establishes criteria for the transfer of financial resources to the PNAE account provided for in Provisional Measure No. 2.178-36, of August 24, 2001 for the attendance of students in Early Childhood Education and Elementary Education enrolled in indigenous education schools. Available at: https://www.gov.br/fnde/pt-br/acao-a-informacao/legislacao/resolucoes/2003/resolucao-cd-fnde-no-45-de-31-de-outubro-de-2003 . Accessed on 29 Apr. 2024.
2003	Regulation of the Diversity Program at the University - Decree nº 4.876, of 12.11.2003. Available at: https://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/decreto/2003/d4876.htm . Accessed on April 29, 2024.

2004	Presidential Decree 5.051, of April 19, 2004. Brazil. Decree No. 5.051 of April 19, 2004. Promulgates Convention No. 169 of the International Labor Organization - ILO on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples. Brasília, 2004. Available at: http://portal.mec.gov.br/sesu/arquivos/pdf/decreto5051.pdf . Accessed on 29 Apr. 2024.
2005	University for All Program - PROUNI - Law no. 11.096, of 13.01.2005. Available at: https://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_ato20042006/2005/lei/L11096.htm . Accessed on April 29, 2024.
2007	BRASIL. Professional and Technological Education integrated with Indigenous School Education. PROEJA. National Program for the Integration of Professional Education with Basic Education in the Youth and Adult Education modality. Brasília, September 2007. Available at: http://portal.mec.gov.br/setec/arquivos/pdf2/proeja_indigena.pdf . Accessed on: April 29, 2024.
2008	United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. United Nations. United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Rio de Janeiro: United Nations, 2008. Available at: https://www.camara.leg.br/Internet/comissao/index/perm/cdh/Tratados_e_Convencoes/Indios/declaracao_universal_direitos_povos_indigenas.htm . Accessed on: 29 Apr. 2024.
2008	Law No. 11.645, of March 10, 2008 - includes the theme “Afro-Brazilian and Indigenous History and Culture” in the official school curriculum. Available at: https://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_ato2007-2010/2008/lei/111645.htm . Accessed on 29 Apr. 2024
2009	Brazil. Final document of the First Conference on Indigenous School Education. Luziânia, GO, 2009. Available at: https://www.ipea.gov.br/participacao/images/pdfs/conferencias/Educacao_Escolar_Indigena/texto_base_1_conferencia_educacao_escolar_indigena.pdf . Accessed on: 30 Apr. 2024
2009	Decree No. 6.861, of 27 May 2009 - Provides for Indigenous School Education, defines its organization in ethno-educational territories, and makes other provisions. Available at: https://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_ato2007-2010/2009/decreto/d6861.htm . Accessed on: 29 Apr. 2024.
2012	CNE/CEB Opinion No. 13, of May 10, 2012 - Establishes National Curriculum Guidelines for Indigenous School Education. Available at: http://portal.mec.gov.br/index.php?option=com_docman&view=download&alias=10806-pceb013-12-pdf&Itemid=30192 . Accessed on: 29 Apr. 2024.
2012	Resolution No. 5, of June 22, 2012 - Defines National Curriculum Guidelines for Indigenous School Education in Basic Education. Available at: http://portal.mec.gov.br/index.php?option=com_docman&view=download&alias=11074-rceb005-12-pdf&category_slug=junho-2012-pdf&Itemid=30192 . Accessed on: 29 Apr. 2024
2013	Ordinance No. 1.061, of October 30, 2013 - Institutes the Indigenous Knowledge at School Action. Available at: http://portal.mec.gov.br/index.php?option=com_docman&view=download&alias=16385-portaria-1061&category_slug=setembro-2014-pdf&Itemid=30192 . Accessed on: 30 Apr. 2024
2013	Ordinance No. 1.062, of October 30, 2013 - Institutes the National Program for Ethnoeducational Territories - PNTEE. Available at : http://portal.mec.gov.br/index.php?option=com_docman&view=download&alias=16385-portaria-1061&category_slug=setembro-2014-pdf&Itemid=30192 . Accessed on: 30 Apr. 2024

2014	Opinion No. 6/2014 of April 2, 2014 defines the National Curriculum Guidelines for the Training of Indigenous Teachers. Available at: http://portal.mec.gov.br/index.php?option=com_docman&view=download&alias=15619-pcp006-14&Itemid=30192 . Accessed on: 30 Apr. 2024
2014	Law No. 13.005 of June 25, 2014 - Decrees the National Education Plan (PNE). Available at: https://www.planalto.gov.br/CCIVIL_03/_Ato20112014/2014/Lei/L13005.htm Accessed on: 30 Apr. 2024.
2015	Resolution No. 1 of January 7, 2015 - Institutes National Curricular Guidelines for the Training of Indigenous Teachers in Higher Education and Secondary Education Courses. Available at: https://normativasconselhos.mec.gov.br/normativa/pdf/CNE_RES_CNECPN12015.pdf Accessed on: 30 Apr. 2024.
2017	CNE/CP Resolution No. 2, of December 22, 2017 - Establishes and guides the implementation of the Common National Curriculum Base, to be mandatorily respected throughout the stages and respective modalities within the scope of Basic Education. Available at: https://normativasconselhos.mec.gov.br/normativa/view/CNE_RES_CNECPN22017.pdf?query=curriculo . Accessed on: 30 Apr. 2024.
2018	Resolution No. 4, of December 17, 2018 - Institutes the National Common Curriculum Base in the High School Stage (BNCC-EM). available at: http://portal.mec.gov.br/index.php?option=com_docman&view=download&alias=104101-rcp004-18&category_slug=dezembro-2018-pdf&Itemid=30192 . Accessed on April 30, 2024.
2023	Ordinance No. 995, of May 23, 2023 - Institutes the National Commission for Indigenous School Education - CNEEI. Available at: Portaria_n_286_de_23_de_maiode_2023HabilitaoPNLD2023OBJETO2.pdf (www.gov.br) Acesso em: 30 abr. 2024.
2024	Ordinance No. 28, of April 12, 2024 - Establishes the National Commission for the Evaluation and Support for the Production of Indigenous Didactic and Literary Material (Capema), which will be coordinated by the Secretariat for Continuing Education, Youth and Adult Literacy, Diversity and Inclusion (Secadi). Available at: https://www.in.gov.br/en/web/dou/-/portaria-n-28-de-12-de-abril-de-2024-553928347 . Accessed on July 31, 2024.

Source: Prepared by the authors (2024).

The school experience was added to the educational processes of Brazilian indigenous societies from the 16th century onwards. However, it was only in the 20th century that the founding frameworks of their policy began to take into account the complex cultural diversity that marks the specific ways of life of their respective groups. This consideration brings the educational system face to face with the debate on multiculturalism. In a conceptual approach, Paulo Freire (1993) situates multiculturalism in the area of the rights of each social group to be different, declining the fear of expressing or manifesting their culture on the basis of the freedom they have won and the rights they are guaranteed. Candau (2008), in line with Freire's assumptions, believes that multiculturalism escapes from hegemonic privileges and begins to consider the problems of social groups discriminated against, especially for ethnic reasons, in

the constant production of knowledge. In order to break with the policy of universalizing schooling, in which everyone is integrated into the school system, but without questioning the monocultural and homogenizing nature of its dynamics. In this sense, the education system for indigenous groups has gradually come to be thought of as an instrument for reaffirming ethnic identity, so as to encourage an encounter with traditional epistemology through the multicultural dynamics internalized in school teaching and learning processes. As a result, in the right to be different, systematized educational experiences were challenged to incorporate a sense of unity for diversity, since the struggle for difference is the principle for multiculturalism, as Freire (1993) points out.

According to the proposal in Table 1, the Federal Constitution (1988) breaks with the tradition of the poor relationship between the state and indigenous societies by abandoning the autocratic bias that sought to incorporate them into the national community, and not only innovates in guaranteeing citizenship, but also recognizes differentiated identity with Article 231 of Chapter VIII:

Art. 231 - Indians are recognized for their social organization, customs, languages, beliefs and traditions, as well as their original rights over the lands they traditionally occupy, and the Union is responsible for demarcating, protecting and ensuring respect for all their assets (Brazil, CF, 1988).

In addition to cultural recognition and territorial conquests, indigenous school education has also gained strength through the constitutional stance of Article 210 of the respective Magna Carta:

Art. 210 - Minimum content shall be established for primary education, in order to ensure a common basic education and respect for national and regional cultural and artistic values.

§ Paragraph 2 - Regular primary education shall be taught in Portuguese, with indigenous communities also guaranteed the use of their mother tongues and their own learning processes (Brazil, CF, 1988).

In this context, the 1988 Constitution opened the way for educational policies in the context of the villages to take shape in the national legislative landscape, based on the common educational needs and cultural principles of the communities. The document triggered the publication of subsequent texts aimed at regulating the right to school education in the light of the numerous specific situations of their peoples. In 1991, Decree 26/1991 transferred to the Ministry of Education (MEC) the task of conducting school education processes in indigenous societies, previously assigned to the National Foundation for Indigenous Peoples (FUNAI). Ministerial Ordinance 559/91 therefore changes the concept of school education

offered to indigenous communities, since education loses its integrationist character, supported by the Indian Statute, and takes on the perspective of recognizing sociocultural and linguistic diversity, as well as the right to maintain it.

In 1994, the Guidelines for the National Policy on Indigenous School Education (PNEEI) were published by the MEC, which then launched the National Curriculum Framework for Indigenous Schools (RCNEI), with the aim of collaborating in the development of specific pedagogical projects for indigenous schools. The guidelines state that teaching in these institutions must comply with the principles of specificity, difference, interculturality and bilingualism. The latter two were incorporated into the constitutional prerogatives through Law No. 9.394/96, specific to the educational sphere, the National Education Guidelines and Bases Law (LDB). Article 78 of Chapter VIII stipulates that the “bilingual” and “intercultural” aspects should be part of the provision of school education for indigenous peoples:

Art. 78: The Federal Education System, with the collaboration of federal agencies that promote culture and assist indigenous peoples, will develop integrated teaching and research programs to offer bilingual and intercultural school education to indigenous peoples, with the following objectives:

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

II - To guarantee Indians, their communities and peoples access to information, technical and scientific knowledge from national society and other indigenous and non-indigenous societies (Brazil, LDB, 1996).

That is, the heterogeneous cultural system surrounding traditional societies begins to be respected with regard to the production of systematized knowledge to be fostered in their respective schools. When dealing with interculturality in the article presented previously, the school education in question confronts the homogeneous perspective and enables cultural interaction between different social groups, therefore contributing to the process of reconstruction of these to the detriment of their interethnic relations. According to Candau: “cultures are not pure” (2008, p. 22). For the author, there is a historical process of hybridization that mobilizes the dynamics of different social groups. In other words, at the border of the peculiarities built within each group, as reinforced by multiculturalism, the groups dialogue with each other to overcome power asymmetries and build a common project. Thus, the relevance of interculturality in the development of indigenous school education is the adaptation of the education system to the cultural particularities of its peoples, as well as the needs for

dialogue with non-indigenous schools. Consequently, the possibility of making these institutions community spaces increases so that indigenous people remain indigenous with their languages, cultures and traditions while obtaining quality critical and autonomous training. The axis of this understanding is not the overlap of one culture over another, but it is the relationship between both that defines their intercultural consistency (Freire, 1993).

In 2001, with the promulgation of the National Education Plan (PNE), indigenous school education had a chapter presented in the session dedicated to Indigenous Education – treated in the document as a teaching modality for basic education. In addition to highlighting the universalization of educational programs for students enrolled in primary education, it ensures the autonomy of indigenous schools in terms of pedagogical and financial aspects.

Other issues resulting from indigenous struggles in favor of educational quality for their societies were addressed in specific documents of national legislation. These include programs for access to Higher Education, training of indigenous teachers in Higher Education courses, as well as the mandatory nature of Indigenous History and Culture in the official curriculum of the education network. In addition to these, the publication of guidelines that guide Indigenous School Education at its respective levels and modalities also stands out: Early Childhood Education, Elementary Education, Secondary Education, Youth and Adult Education (EJA), Special Education, in conjunction with educational policies Specialized educational service (AEE), and Professional and Technological Education. In art. 3 of chapter II, the objectives of indigenous school education are established:

Art. 3 The objectives of Indigenous School Education are to provide indigenous people, their communities and peoples with:
I - The recovery of their historical memories; the reaffirmation of their ethnic identities; the valorization of their languages and sciences;
II - Access to information, technical, scientific and cultural knowledge of national society and other indigenous and non-indigenous societies. (Brazil, DCNEEI, 2012, p.3).

The most recent documents include the creation of the National Commission for Indigenous School Education (CNEEI), which was set up in 2023 to advise the MEC on the formulation of public policies for Indigenous School Education. In addition to this, the National Commission for the Evaluation and Support for the Production of Indigenous Didactic and Literary Material (Capema) was set up in 2024. It was created to advise the MEC

on the formulation and monitoring of educational policies related to the literacy of indigenous students, as well as the training of teachers and managers who work in these indigenous schools and the production, evaluation, editing, publication and distribution of indigenous teaching and literary materials.

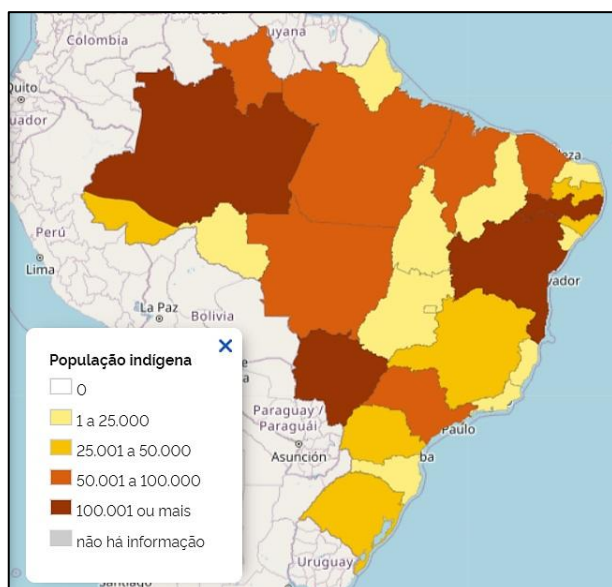
In short, we believe that the legislative panorama developed over the course of five decades includes the right to a differentiated education as the fruit of struggles fought over centuries. It is therefore necessary to reflect on how late its progress has been, especially considering the underlying oppression of the “anti-indigenous” educational policies installed in indigenous lands to legitimize subservience to the colonizing society. For almost half a century, schools in this context acted as institutions alien to the communities, equipping them with the ideology of the dominant classes, convincing the indigenous that they knew nothing (Lopes da Silva, 1981). As a result, we realize that only a few years have passed since the beginning of the progress made in the field of school education established by the legal channels for traditional peoples. In other words, the current generations of the remaining communities are enjoying the results of the struggles faced by their ancestors over centuries.

Indigenous school education, in this sense, was not given, it was won by their social movements through intense struggles for recognition and appreciation of their communities' heritage. The right to land, the right to cultural practices, the right to be indigenous all culminate in the right to a differentiated education. It is therefore necessary to think about the role that schools in these territories play as a mechanism for guaranteeing the right to a quality and respectful education to promote social and cultural diversity.

The question of indigenous schools in Brazil

According to the 2022 census published by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), there is a contingent of 1,694,836 indigenous people who represent 0.83% of the Brazilian population, as shown in Figure 1. According to the Census, these groups live among 305 self-declared ethnic groups, speaking 274 different indigenous languages and present in the five Brazilian regions, whether in urban or rural areas.

Figure 1 - Indigenous Population in Brazil



Source: IBGE (2022).

Each indigenous ethnic group corresponds to a society that inhabits its own territories, speaks its own languages and is constituted through specific social organizations in the set of beliefs and traditions that make up their identities as inherited from their ancestors. Their ways of community life include teaching and learning processes, the transmission of which is based on collective orality and the knowledge of each group (Brazil, 1999).

In this context, there are 3,597 institutions offering indigenous school education through basic education networks. Of these, 3,541 are located in their territories, according to data released by the MEC and the Anísio Teixeira National Institute for Educational Studies and Research (Inep). These are schools whose educational projects must be based on community education itself, in the light of the principles of specificity, bilingualism, community organization and interculturality at all levels and modalities (Brazil, 2012). In such a way that they recognize and adapt their systems to indigenous forms of knowledge production, as guided by the Guidelines for the National Policy on Indigenous School Education:

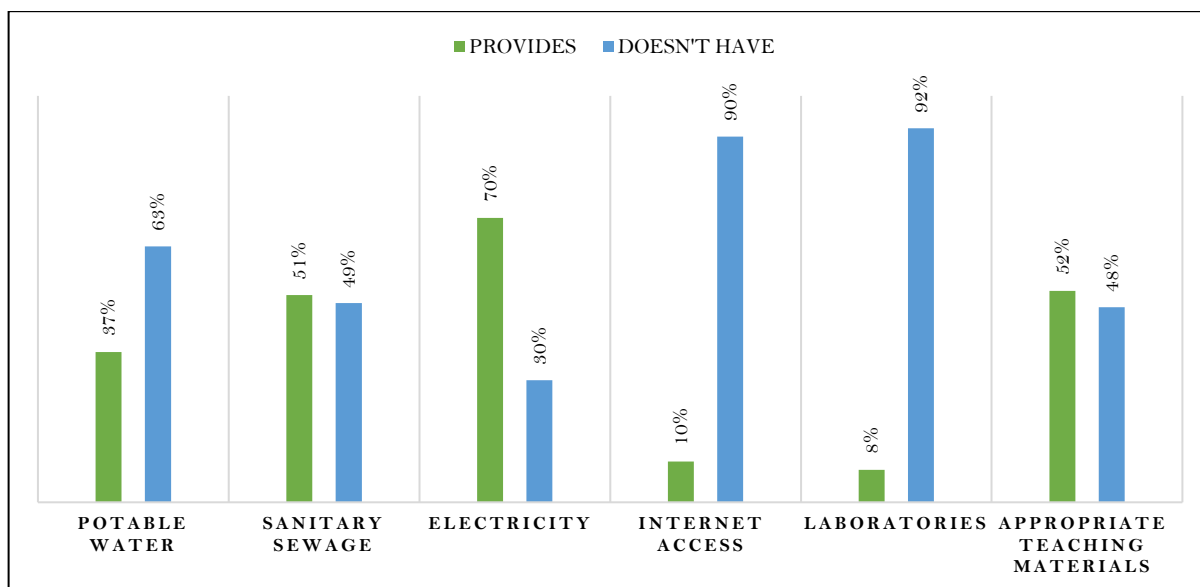
The main aim of education is to transmit knowledge that enables students to understand the world in which they live, to appropriate information, to study, to think, to reflect, and to direct their actions according to the needs that have historically been placed on them. The indigenous school must be organized in such a way as to facilitate the achievement of this objective. The physical spaces (school building, library, laboratory, etc.), as well as the furniture and its layout, must be conducive to school work and in accordance with the standards set by the community (Brasil, MEC, 1994, p. 20).

Although the interpretation of legislative theory advocates quality in the organization of indigenous schools, in practice, however, the reality can be different. This happens when the educational policies designed to promote quality schooling in the context in question run into deadlocks when it comes to putting into practice what the national legislation proclaims. Despite being part of a specific category due to their social and pedagogical peculiarities, less than half of all indigenous schools in Brazil are duly regulated by the education systems. The regulatory measure is supported by the guidelines established in Parecer CEB 14/99 and Resolution 03 of 1999 of the National Education Council, which, in its 1st article, resolves:

Art. 1 Establishing, within the scope of basic education, the structure and functioning of Indigenous Schools, recognizing them as schools with their own norms and legal system, and establishing curricular guidelines for intercultural and bilingual education, with a view to fully valuing the cultures of indigenous peoples and affirming and maintaining their ethnic diversity (Brazil, CNE, 1999).

The main barrier compromising the quality of education offered by the respective indigenous institutions is the ineffectiveness of the regulations. Without this, the schools are unable to receive the funding provided for in the opinion itself, compromising part of the maintenance of the physical structures and, consequently, the quality of the teaching offered. In figures, the reality raises significant concerns, as the following graph shows.

Graph 1 - Infrastructure in Brazilian indigenous schools



Source: Prepared by the author based on data from the Basic Education Census (INEP, 2022)

The information in the graph is based on 3,541 schools located in Brazil's indigenous territory. Of these, 63% operate without drinking water, while 49% don't have a sewage system, 30% don't have electricity, 10% have internet access and only 8% have some kind of laboratory (science/computer) on their premises. In addition, around half (48%) do not have adequate teaching materials for working with indigenous or bilingual languages, although 74% say that their classes are taught in indigenous languages.

With regard to this last category, let's look at the guidelines for the National Policy for Indigenous School Education:

The development of didactic-pedagogical material must take into account two distinct levels: the first is the production of literacy material for classrooms. Indian teachers must be prepared for the construction of this material; the second level concerns the crucial need for Indian teachers to accompany the production of literature, ethno-knowledge, grammar and dictionary material. It will be up to technicians and professionals in pedagogy, linguistics and other areas of formal systematized knowledge to contribute to the political project of building and systematizing indigenous knowledge (Brasil, MEC, 1999. p. 20-21).

In addition to the quality compromised by the availability of adequate teaching materials, specific training for indigenous teachers, with a focus on professional training to work in these schools, is also part of the set of challenges that permeate indigenous school education. Although it has jurisprudential backing in Article 6 of Resolution 3 of 1999/CNE, compliance is seen as one of the main challenges. According to Gersem Baniwa (2022), the greatest need lies in the provision of Primary School II, in which there is a lack of indigenous teachers with higher education training to take care of students from 6th to 9th grade. Hence the need to invest in teacher training through intercultural degrees.

That said, we understand that the figures presented highlight the problems that jeopardize the implementation of educational policies in indigenous schools, as prescribed by the laws of the national system. This reflection takes us back to the remote reality of the 16th century, in which traditional communities were subjected to an educational system implemented by privileged groups in society, whose practices undermined the educational principles of their cultures. In this sense, it is important to question whether the educational project proposed during the nefarious period of colonization has, in fact, been overcome. The translation of reality still bears the marks of the dominant ideology in the actions that coordinate the structures of the indigenous school education system, since its current configurations repeat the centuries-old problems left in the same wake. These tend to cause bottlenecks that make it difficult for indigenous students to complete basic education.

In this sense, policies for indigenous school education find themselves on a frontier of struggles for validation of rights, survival and appreciation of the cultural heritage of their peoples. Without forgetting the innovations that began in the 1970s, culminating in the clashes waged by indigenous social movements. These continue to clash over issues that threaten not only the right to a differentiated education, but also the freedom to manage one's own destiny, to live in a balance between defense and preservation. This makes clear the need to authenticate a paradigm of school education capable of breaking the hegemony of non-indigenous schools.

Conclusions

In view of the results obtained through the investigations into the Brazilian legislative landscape governing indigenous school education policies, starting with the 1988 Federal Constitution and continuing to the present day, here are some considerations resulting from the analyses. At the outset, it is important to understand the implementation of these policies through the prism of the social struggles fomented by all the representatives of the indigenous movement in the search for improvements in different aspects of their social organizations. Through the struggles waged by their associations, the engagement of their leaders and the collective participation of allies in solidarity with the cause, the school education developed since the 1988 Federal Constitution has brought results that have altered their relations with the state. In this way, a path is opened up that opens up the prospect of establishing a teaching project based on affirming their identities, recognizing their traditional knowledge and valuing their own ways of teaching and learning.

Furthermore, when we analyze the current situation of the institutions responsible for providing school education in this environment, we notice that the theoretical legislative discourse is not in line with practice. The legitimate failure to comply with the educational policies proposed by the constitutional prerogatives not only reflects the disregard for the structural aspects of the schools, but also compromises the educational quality at key points in their pedagogical reality. This occurs when indigenous schools do not have adequate teaching materials for bilingual work, when they do not allow the full use of laboratories for practical scientific teaching and, above all, when they do not allow teaching to be supported by initial or continuing training appropriate to the objectives of the villages.

Although we recognize the progress made with regard to educational guidelines for the schooling of indigenous peoples, the writings that govern the legislative landscape of

indigenous school education become vain if they do not correspond to the needs of their communities. In particular, when they do not validate the right to a school education associated with ancestral knowledge, their worldviews and their community-based, differentiated, intercultural and bilingual proposal.

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