PRODUCTION ON INDIGENOUS SCHOOL EDUCATION IN THESES AND DISSERTATIONS IN BRAZIL

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Abstract

In the search of a broader view on indigenous school education as an educational policy, this article presents the results of the first stage of a doctoral research based on a bibliographic review with a qualitative approach. The results show that a range of subthemes have been investigated in indigenous school education, and highlights include studies on its underlying principles, legal aspects of indigenous school implementation, indigenous early childhood education, and the relationship with curriculum components.

INDIGENOUS SCHOOL EDUCATION • INDIGENOUS EDUCATION • INDIGENOUS PRINCIPLES • TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGES

A PRODUÇÃO SOBRE EDUCAÇÃO ESCOLAR INDÍGENA EM TESES E DISSERTAÇÕES NO BRASIL

Resumo

Na busca por um olhar mais panorâmico sobre a educação escolar indígena como política educacional, este artigo apresenta os resultados da primeira etapa da pesquisa de doutorado, pautados na pesquisa bibliográfica, de abordagem qualitativa. Os resultados demonstram que há uma diversidade de subtemáticas sendo investigadas na educação escolar indígena e que os destaques envolvem os estudos sobre os princípios que a alicerçam, aspectos legais de implantação da escola indígena, a educação infantil indígena e a relação com os componentes curriculares.

EDUCAÇÃO ESCOLAR INDÍGENA • EDUCAÇÃO INDÍGENA • PRINCÍPIOS INDÍGENAS • SABERES TRADICIONAIS

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LA PRODUCCIÓN SOBRE EDUCACIÓN ESCOLAR INDÍGENA EN TESIS Y DISERTACIONES EN BRASIL

Resumen

En la búsqueda de una mirada más panorámica sobre investigaciones sobre la educación escolar indígena como política educativa, este artículo presenta los resultados de una investigación doctoral, basada en una investigación bibliográfica, con enfoque cualitativo. Los resultados demuestran que hay una diversidad de subtemas siendo investigados en la educación escolar indígena y que los más destacados involucran estudios sobre los principios que la sustentan, los aspectos legales de la implementación de las escuelas indígenas, la educación infantil indígena y la relación con los componentes curriculares.

EDUCACIÓN ESCOLAR INDÍGENA • EDUCACIÓN INDÍGENA • PRINCIPIOS INDÍGENAS • CONOCIMIENTOS TRADICIONALES

PRODUCTION DE THÈSES ET DE MÉMOIRES SUR L'ÉDUCATION SCOLAIRE DES PEUPLES INDIGENES AU BRÉSIL

Résumé

Pour avoir une vision plus panoramique d'études rélatifs à l'éducation scolaire des peuples indigènes en tant que politique éducative, cet article présente les résultats d'un doctorat d'approche qualitative appuyée sur une étude bibliographique. Ceux-ci montrent qu'une variété de sous-thèmes sont abordés dans le cadre de l'éducation scolaire des peuples indigènes dont les points forts sont les études sur les principes qui la sous-tendent, les aspects juridiques de la mise en place de ces écoles, l'éducation indigene de la petite enfance et la relation avec les composantes curriculaires.

ÉDUCATION SCOLAIRE INDIGENE • ÉDUCATION INDIGENE • PRINCIPES INDIGENES • SAVOIRS TRADICIONELLES

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THE INDIGENIST POLICIES CURRENTLY IN PLACE, WHILE REPRESENTING CONQUESTS, ARE also the result of many losses, from indigenous peoples' decimation to the denial of their culture and extinction of several of these peoples. By denying the existence of indigenous people in the country, viewed as groups undergoing civilization and integration, the state imposed that specific policies for these peoples were unnecessary, as they would soon be extinguished. This aspect is present in Darcy Ribeiro's book (1962) where he deals in detail with the process of extinction of indigenous peoples in the first twenty years of the republican period.

Resistance and struggle are key parts of the history of indigenous peoples. Increasingly prominent in the political scene and mobilized, indigenous peoples have a common defense: Ensuring their existence as culturally different peoples. This implies policies that serve them as peoples of different cultures, respect their own education and health processes, and recognize their right to territory (Luciano Baniwa, 2019).

Thus, after the promulgation of the current Federal Constitution (CF) in 1988 (Constituição da República Federativa do Brasil, 1988), indigenous schools are progressively claimed as a space for building a differentiated education that values the culture, language, and knowledge of each indigenous people, based on interculturality understood as a dialogue between different forms of knowledge. This has required changes in the policies for organizing and implementing indigenous schools, from designing their curricula to creating their pedagogical political plans, and specially defining the profile of the schools' teaching and management teams, with the aim of organizing pedagogical work based on principles developed by the indigenous movement and grounded in the specific aspirations of each culture and community, as indicated by current legislation.

It is urgent to conduct this debate and the necessary deliberations, given the relevance for scientific construction and the possibility that studies influence the construction of indigenous schools' curricula, the training of their teachers, the design of didactic materials, their pedagogical practices and, in general, the management of such spaces. It is necessary to rethink this intercultural movement in the construction of rights, since, as Meliá (1999) points out, the effect is not always aligned with the interests of indigenous peoples.

The language with indigenous words may not be indigenous; the adaptation of curricula and contents may be reduced to folklore clichés and obviousness; teachers can be co-opted by the state and institutions, leading to more destructive effects, precisely because it seems that indigenous peoples' demands have been met. (Meliá, 1999, p. 14, own translation).

While the almost unanimous discourse of researchers, indigenists, and leaders defend the long-awaited autonomy of indigenous schools, Luciano Baniwa (2019) notes that autonomy for the organization of these schools is a contested political field, involving the management of political activities and not just compliance with legislation. This context of creating indigenous schools, based on what the indigenous peoples have been aiming for and on specific policies since 1988, has led to an increase in research on indigenous school education as a modality of basic education.

As a result of the first stage of a doctoral research developed in the Graduate Program in Education at the Universidade Federal de São Carlos (UFSCar), this article presents the mapping of national theses and dissertations on indigenous school education, in order to understand what has been produced in the field of education on the subject. The data were collected from the Banco de Teses e Dissertações [Theses and Dissertations Databank] of Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior [Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel's] (Capes).

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The productions about indigenous school education in basic education developed between 1996 and 2020 were mapped. This time frame is justified considering the year of enactment of the Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação Nacional [National Education Guidelines and Framework Law] – Lei n. 9.394, 1996 – and by the purpose of obtaining the full data from the search platform, since the research began in the second half of 2021, and not all data for that year would be available.

It is worth noting that for research prior to 2013, other methods of data retrieval were used, as these studies were recorded before the Sucupira platform was launched. Thus, the studies dating from 1996 to 2012 were searched on Capes' Open Data Portal,[1] whose spreadsheets gather summarized information about theses and dissertations consolidated from the Coleta Capes module for the period from 1987 to 2012. From 2013 onward – the year when research began to be entered into the Sucupira platform, abstracts were read directly in the Capes catalog by accessing the link to each study under "details."

In the search process, three descriptors were listed for the field of education: (1) Educação Escolar Indígena; (2) Escola Indígena; and (3) Educação Indígena. In total, 376 studies were found with the descriptor Educação Indígena, 324 with the descriptor Educação Escolar Indígena, and 152 with the descriptor Escola Indígena – and in these three listings some studies appeared under two or all three descriptors.

As an exclusion criterion, research developed without direct relation to indigenous school education was removed. Research that dealt directly with themes involving indigenous education but not directly related to basic education, such as health, social movements, and higher education, was excluded from the research list. The searches identified 361 papers, including 277 dissertations and 84 theses.

The procedure after identifying the research involved reading the abstracts, which led to the creation of a database organized in a spreadsheet using Microsoft Excel. The database, with 13 columns, records the following information: Title, author, ethnic profile of the author, year of defense, format of the research (thesis or dissertation), theme, theme group, objective, location of the institution (where the research was defended), place of conduct of the research (for empirical data), methodology (research type and data collection instrument), and theoretical and main results.

After surveying all the productions and organizing the data, inspired by the content analysis proposed by Bardin (1977), we cataloged the themes investigated based on our analysis of the goals of the investigations presented in the abstracts, and then grouped them based on the proximity between the researched themes.

Overview of the mapping of research on indigenous school education

The data from our mapping provides an overview of the studies, from study location, researchers' ethnicity, and the methodology used, to the research scopes considered. The number of works developed reveals a significant increase in interest in indigenous school education.

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This production is linked to the historical process experienced by indigenous peoples. With much struggle and resistance, the return of democracy fostered the recognition of different indigenous peoples and different ethnic groups. The right to traditionally occupied land, the use of the mother tongue, and their own learning processes have become legal conditions supported by the 1988 Constitution.

The right to their own learning processes was supported by the National Education Guidelines and Framework Law (Lei n. 9.394, 1996), and in addition to this legislation, other specific policies that regulated and guided differentiated, specific, intercultural, and bilingual/multilingual education were progressively built. This new paradigm has raised new concerns about the construction of the indigenous school aligned with the principles defended by indigenous peoples, and how these schools have been implemented in the villages.

The new school also involved different ways of organizing pedagogical work, teacher training, and the construction of a curriculum that met the schools' specificities and daily life. Along with the construction of the indigenous school legally recognized as differentiated, the movement of investigations around indigenous school education gained greater visibility in higher education institutions (HEI), as an object of research in several fields beyond education.

Thus, from the 1990s onward, reflections on indigenous school education have gained space as a theme and study question. Dissertations such as those by Darlene Taukane (1996), Clélia Neri Côrtes (1996), and Iara Tatiana Bonin (1999) are among the 11 productions of the 1990s. These studies investigated the relationship between school education and the cultural traditions of particular peoples, as well as the relationship between school and community, curriculum, and teacher education.

A new level of reflection on the indigenous school began as an object of study, but significant growth only occurred after 2010. We infer that this is because the increase in specific policies for indigenous school education and the recognition of the ethnic groups of other peoples that occurred after 2000 stimulated research on indigenous school education as a modality of education and, mainly, as a political strategy of ethnic reaffirmation.

Under the legal framework, the National Curriculum Guidelines for Indigenous School Education in Basic Education (DCNEEI), of 2012 (Resolução n. 5, 2012), and the National Curriculum Guidelines for Indigenous Teacher Education (DCNFPI), of 2015 (Resolução CNE/CP n. 1, 2015), are examples of policies that contributed to the research effort after 2010. From 1996 to 2010, 94 studies were produced, while from 2010 to 2020, 267 were produced, a growth of approximately 185%, considering the two periods.

By observing all the research that was found, we note that the investigations were carried out in 73 higher education institutions. As shown in Figure 1, the region with the highest number of institutions where research was based was the Southeast (26), followed by the South (17).

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Figure 1
*Number of HEI by regions that developed research on indigenous school education*
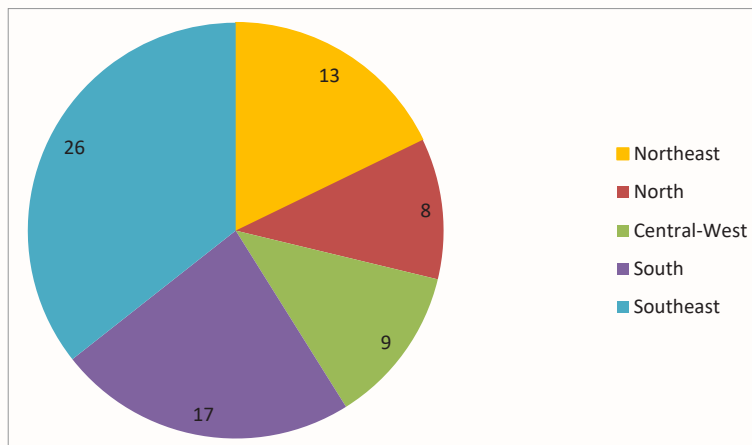
Source: Authors' elaboration with data from the research.

Regarding the number of studies by region, as shown in Figure 2, the organization of data identified the following figures: Southeast region, 112 studies; Central-West, 92; South, 73; Northeast, 43; and North, 41. This shows that the Southeast region has the largest number of institutions where investigations are based and also the largest number of completed studies.

Figure 2
Representation of research on indigenous school education by regions
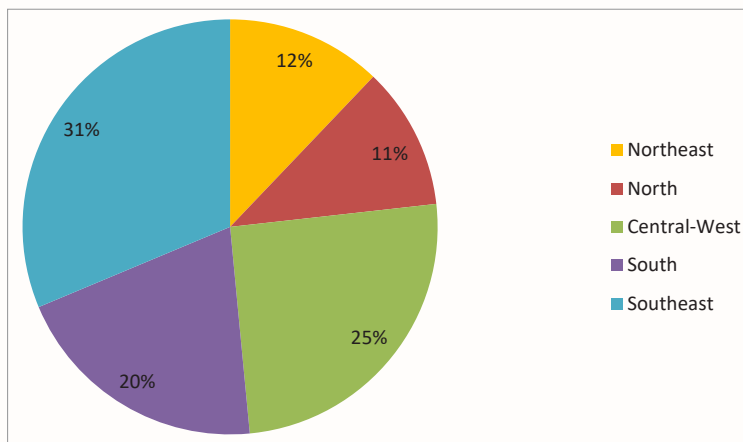
Source: Authors' elaboration with data from the research.

In the listing of productions by HEI, the institutions that produced the most research on indigenous school education in the field of education were identified. The Universidade Católica Dom Bosco (UCDB), located in Mato Grosso do Sul, stands out with 33 dissertations and 9 theses, followed by the Universidade Federal de Mato Grosso (UFMT) in Mato Grosso, with 24 dissertations. In its Graduate Program in Education, the UCDB has a line of research titled "Cultural Diversity and Indigenous Education,"[2] in which cultural diversity is studied as an epistemological dimension, with regard to the reality of the indigenous communities from the state with the second-largest number of indigenous people, as well as the Afro-descendant communities and other realities marked by plurality, popular education, and social movements.

2 https://site.ucdb.br/cursos/4/mestrado-e-doutorado/32/mestrado-e-doutorado-em-educacao/13167/doutorado-em-educacao/13192/disciplinas/13195/

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Methodologically, most of the research, 308 studies out of a total of 361, used a combination of instruments for data collection. One example is Rezende's (2007) investigation on the Tuyuka people, which conducted a literature review and interviews with students, teachers, and parents, as well as Neves's (2005, p. 7, own translation) study, which used documentary analysis and participant observation to understand the "role of didactic resources in didactics textbooks in the daily life of an indigenous school."

More specifically, the most mentioned methodologies were: literature review (75), ethnography (63), and documentary research (142). As for data collection strategies, 51 studies had narrative characteristics, 106 conducted interviews, 30 used observations, and 6 did not specify the instrument used in the abstract. Other methodological references included oral sources, sensitive listening, dialogue, talk circles, testimonials, and photographs.

Regarding the origin of researchers, we sought to understand how many were indigenous. To learn this important aspect, we organized the ethnic profile data by gathering information from the abstracts, researchers' personal data on the Lattes platform, and the papers' presentation/introduction.

When the information was not found in the abstract or Lattes curriculum, we read the work's introduction. We classified authors as 'indigenous' if they self-identified and mentioned their people; 'non-indigenous' if they did not or used expressions like *my contact with indigenous peoples,*" "*when I was introduced to indigenous peoples,*" or "*the first time I had contact with indigenous peoples,*" indicating that they were not from any indigenous group; and "no information" for works without relevant information or the possibility of inference. There were also cases of "research not located," where no information was found either in the abstracts or by reading the full introductions in the Capes catalog, in the Biblioteca Digital de Teses e Dissertações (BDTD), or in the virtual repository of libraries of the respective universities.

As can be seen in Table 1, the results of this search show that, of the 361 selected studies, only 57 researchers self-identified as indigenous.

Table 1

Information about researchers researching indigenous school education

Information	Quantity
Non-indigenous	202
Indigenous	57
No information	66
Research not located	36

Source: Authors' elaboration with data from the research.

Of the 57 indigenous researchers in the field of education, only 6 are PhD students; the other 51 are master's students.

These data demonstrate the small presence of indigenous researchers. Regarding their ethnicity, 28 peoples were represented, namely:

- 1 researcher from these peoples: Bakairi, Balatiponé-Umutina, Baré, Kadiwéu and Terena, Kaimbé, Kayapó, Apurinã, Paiter-Suruí, Pankará from Pernambuco, Paresi, Potiguara, Tupinambá from Olivença, Tupinikim, Tuxá, Tuyuka, Bororo and Chiquitano, Nhandéva and Kaiowá, Terena and Xavante;

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- 2 researchers from these peoples: Guarani, Mura, Sateré-Mawé, Tukano, Wapichana, Xavante;
- 3 researchers from the Guarani Nhandéva people;
- 5 researchers from the Guarani Kaiowá people;
- 9 Researchers from the Terena people;
- 10 researchers from the Kaingang people.

It is worth noting that researchers' self-identification as indigenous before 2010 is much lower than that for the subsequent decade. From 1996 to 2010, only 10 researchers self-identified as indigenous; from 2010 to 2020, 47 did so.

We infer that a possible explanation for this is the increased visibility and achievements of the indigenous movement, as well as the growth of dedicated policies for the recognition of these peoples. As pointed out by Manoel Fernandes Moura, a spiritual leader of the Tukano people, in an interview with Daniel Munduruku (2012, p. 150, own translation):

> . . . in 1987 and until the date of promulgation of the 1988 Constitution, Funai had recorded only 180 ethnic groups. After the promulgation, 50 more ethnicities appeared. . . . many say that their grandfather was an Indian and they no longer are, rejecting their ancestors.

It was found that while some texts had no actual self-identification by the researcher, the text allows inferences, as exemplified in the excerpt below from the research by Rogério Ferreira (2005), *Educação escolar indígena e etnomatemática: a pluralidade de um encontro na tragédia pós-moderna* [Indigenous and ethnomathematical school education: The plurality of a meeting in post-modern tragedy]:

> My descendancy from the Guató people, through a paternal great-grandmother who lived on the banks of the Paraguay River in southern Pantanal of Mato Grosso, has always kept indigenous matters close to the heart and foundations of my family history; despite the typical urban life of the current generation of descendants. The personal interest that has long ruled my being in the context of indigenous diversity is grounded in this and substantially constitutes the primary source of motivation for these writings that aspire to be a thesis. (Ferreira, 2005, p. 9, own translation).

Or the research by Gérson Alves da Silva Júnior (2008), who writes in his dissertation introduction:

> For a long time, it was clear to me that those who preceded me were an "uneducated people from the woods," as my grandparents put it. My grandmother used to talk of how her ancestors were "caught by dog's teeth," but for some reason, we understood that we were not indians. This notion came from the fact that we were Brazilians, baptized Christians, and that we neither lived in the woods nor spoke a strange language. . . . Well, if I was imaginary or not, I don't know. But the truth is that I was Brazilian, that is what they taught me, and being an Indian meant being a very different and distant thing. In reality, it meant being a wild creature. (Silva, 2008, pp. 11-12, own translation).

Many barriers have been crossed so that indigenous researchers could self-identify as indigenous in a country so discriminatory and prejudiced against its native peoples. In the words of Munduruku (2012, p. 211, own translation):

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Everything was arranged from the official perspective – so that indigenous peoples would cease to exist as autonomous entities. The official orchestration was such that in just a few years, Brazil became a unified nation, where its inhabitants were simply Brazilians, and ethnic diversity was suppressed. If everything went according to what the military government theorists thought, national unity would be guaranteed and Brazil would become a developed country, free from the presence of its "primitive" inhabitants.

Thus, silencing was also a form of resistance and survival, given the circumstances that they faced during historical periods of erasure of indigenous populations. Being recognized as differentiated peoples and securing policies, including affirmative actions for more indigenous people to enter higher education institutions, contribute to self-recognition as peoples.

Many of these researchers have self-identified as militants, contributing to building recognition and producing knowledge. Francisca Navantino Pinto de Ângelo, of the Paresi people, for example, says: "As an indigenous representative in different institutional parts of government and a militant for school education, I have been following indigenous peoples' struggle to consolidate the rights provided for in legislation" (Ângelo, 2005, p. 20, own translation).

In this respect, it is worth noting that, for the most part, indigenous researchers who study indigenous school education are teachers in their own communities. As militants and responsible for creating the new indigenous school, they lay the foundations for dedicated policies to be created and implemented locally. Such is the case of Geraldo Veloso Ferreira (2007, p. 14, own translation), an indigenous man from the Tukano people, who says:

> Faced with the challenges of my work as an indigenous teacher and monitoring indigenous education issues in Iauretê, I found it necessary to gain a deeper understanding of education and to design curricula that address the specific needs of indigenous school education in Sao Miguel-Iauretê, by understanding the local reality.

Regarding non-indigenous people who conduct research on indigenous school education in the field of education, they generally have similar profiles: They are either indigenists working for non-governmental organizations or public servants from municipal, state, and federal bodies (education departments, school management, university faculty, etc.) who are somehow involved with indigenous school education and felt a need for research in the area. An example of this is the study by Silvia Maria de Oliveira (1999), who worked for the Indigenous Education Commission in the state of Rio Grande do Sul:

> The decision to conduct this study was linked to the work I have been involved with – to different degrees – in the last ten years. As part of the Executive Committee of the Permanent Seminar on Popular Education (SPEP), of the Foundation for Integration, Development, and Education of the State's Northwest (FIDENE, which houses, among other institutions, the Universidade Regional do Noroeste do Rio Grande do Sul – UNIJUÍ), I was called in 1989 to assist in the discussions of the Committee on Indigenous Education, coordinated by the Rio Grande do Sul State Education Department and which later became the Center for Indigenous Education (NEI/RS). (Oliveira, 1999, p. 11, own translation).

Another example of this non-indigenous profile is the research by Suelise de Paula Borges Ferreira (2006), who worked as a teacher trainer:

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At the end of 1993, I started working with the Catholic Education Association of Mato Grosso do Sul (AEC/MS) in the "Training and Qualification Program for Teachers of Grades 1-4 for the Indigenous Context". There I worked with indigenous teachers of the Terena, Kadwéu, and Guató ethnicities, which exposed me to a huge professional challenge, built by anguish from contact, leading me to reflect on my own practice. (Ferreira, 2006, p. 14, own translation).

Due to the limitations in access to all selected studies, we were not able to discover whether both the studies not located and those whose introduction lacked clear information on their authors being indigenous or not had been conducted by indigenous authors. The fact is that the search results indicate the need for more indigenous researchers investigating the school education of their peoples or relatives.

The number of indigenous researchers in the field of education when compared to non-indigenous researchers is much lower, and even more so are the numbers for the representation of researchers by indigenous peoples – only 28 peoples represented by the researchers belonging to the respective communities, of a total of 305 indigenous peoples in Brazil.

Research on indigenous school education: Investigation theme groups

In 2013, Luciano Baniwa emphasized in his book *Educação para manejo do mundo*: *Entre a escola ideal e a escola real no Alto Rio Negro* [Education for world management: Between the ideal school and the real school in Alto Rio Negro] that research on indigenous school education was key to consolidating actions and policies suited to the new political and educational context of reaffirming indigenous peoples' rights. In the period analyzed by Luciano Baniwa (2013), in addition to indigenous school education, the studies focused on contact with Brazilian society, cosmologies, kinship, rituals, corporality, and social organization.

Ten years after Luciano Baniwa's analysis (2013), research on indigenous peoples' school education extents to other objects of study. A range of topics dealing with the implementation of schools in villages, pedagogical organization, and schools' daily life and pedagogical practices.

Starting with the collected data, we classify the studies based on their research objectives by analyzing the investigated themes, which we organize by proximity into *thematic groups*. We mapped 11 groups: (1) pedagogical practices in indigenous schools; (2) structuring and challenges of indigenous schools; (3) literacy, oral culture, and written culture; (4) building argumentative historical consciousness; (5) children, childhoods, and early childhood education; (6) identity and culture; (7) cross-cutting themes; (8) special education and vocational education; (9) indigenous school education and curriculum components; (10) indigenous school education and principles; and (11) legal aspects and political organization. As shown in Table 2, the groups are formed based on the subthemes' proximity, and they vary in the number of works they contain, with "indigenous school education and principles" containing the most studies (87), followed by "legal aspects and political organization" (76 studies) and "structuring and challenges of indigenous schools" (53). The remaining eight groups together total 145 studies.

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Table 2
Classification and number of groups and subthemes

Group	Subtheme	Number of studies	Total searches of the grouping
Pedagogical practices in indigenous schools	Pedagogical practices	19	37
	Pedagogical praxis	2	
	Teaching-learning processes	5	
	Indigenous knowledge and action	2	
	Teaching	4	
	School organization	2	
	Didactic resources	3	
Structuring and challenges of indigenous schools	Curriculum (how it materializes in school day-to-day)	11	53
	Indigenous school management practices	3	
	Teacher education	33	
	Political-pedagogical plan	2	
	School dropout and failure	2	
	Large-scale evaluation	2	
Literacy, oral culture, and written culture	Literacy	5	7
	Oral speech	1	
	Written culture	1	
Building argumentative historical consciousness	Argumentative consciousness	1	3
	Historical consciousness	1	
	Scientific literacy	1	
Children, childhoods, and early childhood education	Children and childhoods	5	14
	Early childhood education	9	
Identity and culture	Culture and religion	1	32
	Culture and spirituality	1	
	Identity	19	
	Corporeality and corpography	6	
	Language revitalization and culture	3	
	Library and museums	1	
	Indigenous representation in literature	1	
Cross-cutting themes	Environmental education	4	10
	Educational technologies	4	
	Theater	1	
	Study of indigenous songs	1	
Special education and professional education	Vocational education	2	13
	Special education needs	11	

(To be continue)

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(Continuation)

Group	Subtheme	Number of studies	Total searches of the grouping
Indigenous school education and curriculum components	Physical education	7	29
	Science education	4	
	Physics teaching	1	
	Geography teaching	2	
	History teaching	3	
	Chemistry teaching	1	
	Arts teaching	2	
	Ethnomathematics	7	
	Mathematics and numeracy, and indigenous mathematics	2	
Indigenous school education and principles	Community education	15	87
	Specific education	21	
	Differentiated education	30	
	Interculturality	18	
	Bilingualism from a sociological perspective	1	
	Epistemology of indigenous school education	2	
Legal aspects and political organization	Ethnoeducational territories	3	76
	Curriculum (as an element of struggle)	6	
	Educational policies	24	
	Legislation	6	
	Political organization	9	
	Historicity of school education in indigenous communities	28	

Source: Authors' elaboration with data from the research.

Based on the understanding that indigenous school education, unlike school "for indians," has different principles and characteristics; the new school paradigm within villages is based on school as the center of the movement in the community and needs to dialogue with the particularities of each people. In this sense, the group "indigenous school education and principles," with 20 theses and 67 dissertations, stands out for covering a range of studies on the principles of indigenous school.

Understanding this involvement of indigenous education principles in the construction of this school seemed so urgent among indigenous and indigenist researchers that it stood out in research carried out as early as the 1990s, with 7 of the 11 studies mapped. In addition to the principles of community education, specific education, differentiated education, and interculturality, the subthemes in the same group include discussions on bilingualism from a sociological perspective and epistemology of indigenous school education.

As an example, Leitao's (1998, p. 218, own translation) dissertation presents the debate on bilingualism, observing that "while they emphasized the importance of mastering Portuguese through school, some mothers mentioned that Karajá writing can contributes to the continuity of their mother tongue".

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The studies dealing with the principles of indigenous school education, pedagogical work, and legal aspects are related with the good expectations of the indigenous community about the presence of schools in the villages, but also with the anguish of their leaders in an effort to train people according to their principles, without discrediting the intercultural dialogue, but exercising their rights as Brazilian citizens after specific policy has been achieved. This is something the indigenous researchers themselves desire, but which also transcends their village borders, generating interest by other researchers.

It is worth noting that the political time of new paradigms, after the enactment of the 1988 Federal Constitution, fostered new research on indigenous school education. The figures in the study by Grupioni (2008) show 116 dissertations and 40 theses on indigenous education, written between 1978 and 2007; compared with today's figures, these represent significant results that seem to align with the period of changes arising from the achievements of the 1990s. This political movement seems to have contributed to academic production, where we can see a variety of themes involving policies for indigenous peoples, including specific educational policies.

However, according to Medeiros (2018), investigations are still incipient. The studies by Souza (2014) and Maroldi (2017) reveal gaps, showing that few studies address indigenous school practice today.

Something that draws our attention is the need shown by various works for better delimitation of indigenous school education. As Ferreira (2020, p. 149, own translation) points out in his thesis entitled *Ũn si ag tũ pẽ ki vẽnh kajrãnrãn fã: O papel da escola nas comunidades kaingang* (*Ũn si ag tũ pẽ ki vẽnh kajrãnrãn fã the role of school in Kaingang communities*), while we have had achievements in the right to differentiated school education, "it is important to deepen further the reflections about the school we have and the school we want". This idea is complemented by Ramos (2019) when he says that this deepening should be mainly regarding autonomy, since the system administration does not address community-specific needs.

This movement can be fostered precisely by the actions of indigenous researchers, usually committed to the struggles of their peoples. Both investigative and political efforts can mobilize this necessary process.

The organization of teachers has influenced the construction of scientific knowledge and the creation of policies as they entered universities and became researchers (Freitas, 2005, p. 7). One example of this is the important work of the Committee of Indigenous Teachers of Amazonas and Roraima (later expanded to include the state of Acre), which collaborated in establishing in 1991 the principles of differentiation, interculturality, bilingualism/plurilingualism and specificity in the Curriculum Reference for Indigenous School Education, in 1998.

Thus, it is essential for the movement that indigenous teachers are preferably from the community, as already established in the DCNEEI (Resolução n. 5, 2012, p. 4). This requires belonging to the indigenous community and a school trajectory that qualifies them for this role.

The training allows them to teach in schools, enabling dialogue between indigenous community perspectives and the policies outlined in response to the indigenous movement. However, given the difficulty in accessing undergraduate and graduate courses, few teachers obtain higher education and continue their studies, as demonstrated earlier when we compared the number of indigenous researchers with that of non-indigenous researchers.

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Final considerations

Indigenous school education, sought by indigenous people in movement and guaranteed by the current Federal Constitution (Constituição da República Federativa do Brasil, 1988), represents only the beginning of the struggle for an education based on principles defended by indigenous peoples. Studies on indigenous school education are growing compared with three decades ago, but are still nascent in relation to other research topics in the field of education.

The studies on the principles of indigenous school education presented here in the context of graduate programs in Education show the shift from a 'school for Indians' (before the 1988 CF) to indigenous schools with community, intercultural, specific, and differentiated characteristics, describing the changes in implementing the new school in villages, community participation, pedagogical work organization, and other specific changes that vary according to each people's particularities. These changes continue to confront the foundations of the old school for indians in the effort to build today's indigenous school.

As explained, the study's results show that the urgency to establish the indigenous school with principles defended by the organization of indigenous peoples stands out among the subthemes, based on the investigations into current indigenous school education, after their recognition as distinct peoples with rights by the Brazilian Constitution. It is imperative that researchers committed to the indigenous cause, from the villages, reveal the forms adopted for indigenous school education and the needs and aspirations of the communities.

Our mapping of research on indigenous school education reflects how we still have much to achieve in the institutional organization of this educational modality. And the guarantee of principles as a horizon becomes just the beginning of a long path that must be firmly established, a path that requires engaged teachers and purpose-designed pedagogical practices to realize this horizon in practice.

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Marcineia Vieira de Almeida Santos Tupinambá – data organization and analysis, literature review, writing, and final review.

Luana Costa Almeida – methodology definition, data analysis, writing, and final review.

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