

FROM THE STREETS TO THE CURRICULA: SOCIAL AND LEGAL PRECURSORS OF LAWS 10,639/03 AND 11,645/08

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ABSTRACT: The objective of this article is to investigate the social and legal paths of the Brazilian federal laws nº 10.639/03 and nº 11.645/08 - which made mandatory the teaching of content related to Afro-Brazilian and Indigenous Brazilian History and Culture in all basic education - based on the premise that policies of this nature are aligned with a process of decolonization of the educational system. To this end, we comparatively reviewed the discourses and actions of black and indigenous militancy in the field of education in order to understand the motivations and events that preceded the enactment of both laws. Our conclusions point out that, despite the particularities of the demands of each militancy - as seen in the efforts of the indigenous movement to disentangle itself from the education offered by the official school system, while the black population, on the contrary, fought to have equal access to this same system - both measures result, to a greater or lesser extent, from denunciations and questionings about the colonial matrix and/or legacy that historically marks Brazilian curricula and schools.

Keywords: Law 10.639/03; Law 11.645/08; Black Movement; Indigenous Movement; Multiculturalism.

DAS RUAS PARA OS CURRÍCULOS: PRECURSORES SOCIAIS E JURÍDICOS DAS LEIS 10.639/03 E 11.645/08

RESUMO: O objetivo deste artigo é investigar os percursos sociais e jurídicos das leis federais brasileiras nº 10.639/03 e nº 11.645/08 – que tornaram obrigatório o ensino de conteúdos referentes à História e à Cultura afro-brasileira e indígena brasileira em toda a educação básica –, com base na premissa de que políticas dessa natureza alinham-se a um processo de descolonização do sistema educacional. Para tanto, revisamos, comparativamente, discursos e ações da militância negra e indígena no campo da educação, de modo a compreender as motivações e os eventos que antecederam a promulgação de ambas as leis. Nossas conclusões apontam que, a despeito das particularidades das demandas de cada militância – haja vista os esforços do movimento indígena para se desvencilhar da educação ofertada pelo sistema oficial de ensino, enquanto que a população negra, ao contrário, lutava para ter acesso igualitário a esse mesmo sistema –, as duas medidas resultam, em maior ou menor grau, de denúncias e de questionamentos acerca da matriz e/ou do legado colonial que marca, historicamente, os currículos e as escolas brasileiras.

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Palavras-chave: Lei 10.639/03; Lei 11.645/08; Movimento Negro; Movimento Indígena; Multiculturalismo.

DE LAS CALLES A LOS CURRÍCULOS: PRECURSORES SOCIALES Y JURÍDICOS DE LAS LEYES 10.639/03 Y 11.645/08

RESÚMEN: El objetivo de este artículo es investigar los caminos sociales y legales de las leyes federales brasileñas n° 10.639/03 y n° 11.645/08 - que hicieron obligatoria la enseñanza de contenidos relacionados con la Historia y la Cultura Afrobrasileña e Indígena Brasileña en toda la educación básica -, partiendo de la premisa de que tales políticas están alineadas con un proceso de descolonización del sistema educativo. Hemos revisado comparativamente los discursos y acciones de la militancia negra e indígena en el campo de la educación para comprender las motivaciones y los eventos que precedieron a la promulgación de ambas leyes. Nuestras conclusiones señalan que, a pesar de las particularidades de las demandas de cada militancia – ya que el movimiento indígena se esforzaba por deshacerse de la educación ofrecida por el sistema educativo oficial, mientras que la población negra, por otro lado, luchaba por tener un acceso igualitario a este sistema –, las dos medidas resultan, en mayor o menor medida, de las denuncias y cuestionamientos sobre la matriz y/o el legado colonial que marca históricamente los planes de estudio y las escuelas brasileñas.

Palabras clave: Ley 10.639/03; Ley 11.645/08; Movimiento Negro; Movimiento Indígena; Multiculturalismo.

INTRODUCTION

Brazilian federal law n° 10.639/2003 altered the Law of Directives and Bases of National Education (LDBEN) of basic education, namely law n° 9.394/1996, by making teaching about Afro-Brazilian History and Culture compulsory. Updated years later by law 11.645/2008, the measure now also includes content on the History and Culture of Brazil's indigenous peoples. In practice, the new legislation forces a revision of the school repertoire (in terms of curricula, textbooks, etc.), since it determines that blacks and indigenous people are addressed as subjects of discourse and producers of art and knowledge, and not only as characters in Eurocentric narratives.

In line with Pereira (2011), in his analysis of the role of the black movement regarding the first law, we question, at first, the idea that laws of this nature appear "suddenly, from top to bottom", as a mere "imposition of the government on teachers" (PEREIRA, 2011, p. 25). On the contrary, they reflect a set of historical struggles of civil society, evidencing the contribution of social movements in the field of knowledge, as well as the leading roles they have taken in the history of education in the country. From this point of view, it is correct to state that the claim and recognition of cultural plurality in schools, an ideology often called "multiculturalism", "did not emerge as a movement in the field of education", but "invaded" the educational sphere "because minorities, not in numbers, but in power and influence, had long claimed the fulfillment of the principles of equality and equity, relative to the constitutions of all democratic countries" (GONÇALVES & SILVA, 2003, p. 111).

Establishing some proximity, therefore, with the content of historical reviews such as the one already developed by Pereira (2011), this article aims to investigate the social and legal paths of both laws, in order to understand the events, actions, and discourses that enabled these achievements in the legal sphere. The choice to give attention to both indigenous and black militancy is due to the fact that we consider productive the verification of possible discrepancies and/or similarities in these processes, since this study is based on the premise that, despite any specificities, laws such as 10.639/2003 and 11.645/2008 have in common the questioning and confrontation of the colonial matrix and/or legacy that historically underlies the Brazilian curricula and schools.

In the light of the theoretical contributions of Post-Colonial Studies, we admit that the geographical and political independence achieved by former colonies is not necessarily synonymous with cultural and symbolic independence (HALL, 2003). This is because territorial domination is also sustained by ideological domination, that is, by the imposition of values and worldviews, which leaves a legacy as difficult or more difficult to face. In the case of Brazil, in particular, it would be hasty to associate September 7th, 1822 to an independence of ways of thinking as well, especially when taking into account that the history of Brazilian education is the history of an educational system created by and for an economic elite, composed, initially, by the European settlers and their descendants.

Thus, we note an educational trajectory that ends up demanding a pedagogical look aligned with what Gomes (2017), inspired by the theories of Boaventura de Sousa Santos, calls "pedagogy of absences and emergences," that is, a look that recognizes, on the one hand, the "production of non-existence" of certain knowledges in the school sphere - specifically, the knowledges of non-hegemonic and counter-hegemonic groups - and that, on the other hand, establishes a non-conformism in the face of such gaps, as well as expectations that these gaps be overcome through the opening to a field of concrete possibilities of new knowledges (p. 40-43). Thus, our premise that Brazilian education is, even today, situated in a post-colonial context - "post-colonial" not being a specific time frame of overcoming European domination, but, on the contrary, a context in which the effects of colonial domination persist, to a greater or lesser extent - foresees, precisely, a scenario of constant tensions between the presence of colonial legacies and the confrontation and denial of this legacy, in which multicultural laws assume a relevant role, especially in the school sphere.

In the following sections, we review the dual role of the indigenous and black movements in the accusation of "absences" and the demand for "emergencies" in the field of education. Afterwards, as a comparison of the two frameworks, we resort to Nancy Fraser's subsidies on the specificities of the policies to fight social injustices, in order to reflect on the convergent and divergent points of the actions orchestrated by the two groups.

FROM THE STREETS TO THE CURRICULA

Social and legal precursors of law 10.639/2003

Law 10. 639, of January 9, 2003, originated in Bill (PL) 259/1999, authored by Esther Grossi (PT/RS) and Ben-hur Ferreira (PT/MS), whose basic text cites Congressman Humberto Costa (PT/PE) as its initial proposer, and highlights, among other aspects the need to "demystify eurocentrism" and the fact that "the dominant society" discriminates and undermines blacks "in relation to the so-called UNIVERSAL KNOWLEDGE" ("Bill (PL) 259/1999" apud DA CONCEIÇÃO, 2011, p. 108-110). However, although this Bill officially assumes the position of legal predecessor of the 2003 law, it should be noted that it is the last, but not the only Bill associated with the theme. It is now known that many other parliamentarians, besides Costa, presented similar proposals during the 1980s and 1990s. The exclusive mention of the congressman is due, in this case, to the fact that the justification of PL 259/1999 is based, almost entirely, on the text that founded both the PL 948/93, presented by Costa to the State Assembly of Pernambuco, and the PL 859/95, submitted by him, in a second moment, to the House of Representatives, both aimed at making mandatory the subjects of Afro-Brazilian History and Culture (PL 948/93 and PL 859/95 apud DA CONCEIÇÃO, 2011, p. 91-94 and pp. 104-106 [see "Appendix B" and "Appendix F"]).

From historiographical reviews such as those conducted by Da Conceição (2011), it is known today that a significant number of related propositions that preceded the 2003 law are added to the aforementioned actions: PL 678/88, by Paulo Paim (PT/RS), focusing on the subjects of "General History of Africa and History of the Negro in Brazil," throughout the public and private networks; Senate PL 18/95, by Benedita da Silva (PT/RJ), focused on the claim of "History and Culture of Africa" in basic and higher education; and Senate PL 75/97, by Abdias do Nascimento (PDT/RJ), which refers to a project of "compensatory actions" (PL 1332/1983) presented by him in the House of Representatives in 1983 and shelved in 1989, without having reached a final vote for approval or rejection². The text of the initial 1983 proposal, available on the project's author official website³, suggests educational measures very close to what became the regulatory guidelines of law 10.639/2003, such as the need to review teaching materials and encourage universities to address the issue⁴.

Similar actions can also be found at a regional level, since, still in the 1980s, there was, for example, the implementation of courses on Afro-Brazilian and African cultures in Salvador (BA) and the implementation of a municipal project on black culture in the city of Rio de Janeiro (PINTO, 1987). We can see, therefore, that, whether at the municipal, state or federal level, the struggle for the inclusion of themes related to black culture and the African continent in Brazilian basic education has been going on for a long time in the legislative sphere. We are interested in briefly discussing some cases that show the role played by the demands and discourses coming from the streets in this process of decolonization of education in Brazil.

² Accounts of the "backstage" of the submission of these and other bills that preceded law 10.639/03 can be found in Alberti & Pereira (2007, pp. 427-439).

³ Available at <http://www.abdias.com.br/atuacao_parlamentar/deputado_lei.htm>. Accessed on <19/11/2018>.

⁴ It was not possible to locate, in their entirety, the texts on which the Senate Bill 75/97 was based, so we considered it productive to pay attention to the previous Bill with the same content submitted to the House of Representatives in 1983.

Like the different moments and objectives that marked the actions of the Black movement in the 20th century, the formal and informal measures related to the struggle for the education of the Black population also reveal their specificities over time. Thus, the concern with altering school curricula, perceived in the legal documents mentioned above, is not the first decolonial concern of the group in the field of education, since, before postulating the need for decolonization of school contents, it was necessary to act in favor of decolonization of school gates and walls, which even after abolition maintained the function of barring the entry of African descendants.

It is not by chance that the Black Press, for example, due to its protagonism in what is understood as the first stage of the Brazilian black movement in the 20th century - namely, the 1920s and 1930s (PEREIRA, 2008) - discussed and denounced, with certain recurrence, the educational problems faced by the black population at the time. The excerpts compiled by Balsalobre (2009) are illustrative in this sense, which, among other aspects (especially linguistic), focus on the analysis of the instructive character of the Paulista periodicals (periodicals from the area of São Paulo). In them, mentions of the illiteracy of blacks were relatively frequent (see, for example, *The Pin*. Year I, number 3. September 1918. apud BALSALOBRE, 2009, p. 21) and the need for union to combat this problem (see, for example, *The Dawn Bugle*. Year I, number 6. July 1928. apud BALSALOBRE, 2009, p. 25), as well as the role to be played by black families in this context. Here is one example:

Education

Education corresponds to a set of principles of social order, in which politeness, kindness, civility reign. (...)

Thus, mothers should know how to direct their children: teach them the path of Good and Justice: give them salutary examples and, we are sure, tomorrow you will have the colored man, the new generation you need!

The example of the parents is the greatest force affecting the spirit of the child. (*The Dawn Bugle*. Year I, number 5. June 1928. apud BALSALOBRE, 2009, p. 27).

We consider relevant this excerpt from the newspaper *The Dawn Bugle* as it synthesizes an important aspect of the militancy for black education in the early twentieth century: it is a moment in which the issue of exclusion from the official education system is understood as something to be solved, above all, by blacks, and not yet by the State, either by the accentuated marginalization suffered by the group, or by the impossibility of approaching the public powers in that period. In this sense,

There is almost no reference [in the beginning of the 20th century] as to education as a duty of the State and a right of the families. The entities invert the issue. Education appears as an obligation of the family. Criticism of the government's disregard for the education of blacks appears in the same proportion as racial protest hardens, that is, it becomes radicalized. (GONÇALVES & SILVA, 2000, p. 143).

Thus, the tone taken by the Black Press, as illustrated in the excerpt from *The Bugle*, shows that "the abandonment to which the black population was relegated motivated the black movements, at the beginning of the century, to take upon themselves the task of educating and schooling their children, their youth and, in general, the adults" (GONÇALVES & SILVA, 2000, pp. 142-143), a hypothesis reinforced by several instances of popular/informal education observed in the meantime. Among them, the school institutions of the black organizations stand out, since "through the black newspapers of the time, there is important information regarding the existence of schools maintained exclusively by the black entities, without any subsidy from the State" (GONÇALVES & SILVA, 2000, p. 141). In the 1920s and 1930s, it is possible to mention, for example, the leadership of the schools of the Palmares Civic Center and the Brazilian Black Front in the city of São Paulo (SP); in the 1940s, in the city of Rio de Janeiro (RJ), the popular education activities of the Teatro Experimental do Negro (free translation: Experimental Black Theater – EBT, from the Brazilian Portuguese abbreviation TEN), founded by

Abdias Nascimento in 1944 and located in the premises of the National Student Union (NSU)⁵. From investigations in the area (see ROMÃO [2005] and DOMINGUES [2008]), it is known that these entities offered several disciplines (arts, English, history, etc.) and consistent literacy courses.

According to Gonçalves & Silva (2000), these popular and independent schooling actions continue to assume an important social role until the 1970s and 1980s, when there is a significant expansion of the so-called "community education" among these organizations, as well as an intensification of the discourses that question the conventional schools, especially regarding the teaching of history. About this demand in particular, Pereira (2011) recalls, for example, the 1978 "Charter of Principles" of the Unified Black Movement (UBM), written soon after the creation of the entity, a document in which it claims "among other things, the reassessment of the role of blacks in Brazilian history and the appreciation of black culture" (PEREIRA, 2011, p. 26)⁶.

In a pioneering literature review on the history of black education, Pinto (1987, p. 30) points to the so-called "Interethnic Pedagogy" of 1978 as the initiative with the "greatest reach" and "concrete results" in this area. Formulated by the Department of Social Sciences of the Afro-Brazilian Cultural Center (BA) in conjunction with the Federal University of Bahia (UFBA), through research coordinated by sociologists Roberto Santos and Manoel de Almeida Cruz, its goal was to "rescue Afro-Brazilian values through formal education" (PINTO, 1987, p. 30). According to the author, this measure had a direct influence on the curricular changes that occurred in 1985 in the state of Bahia, which incorporated, in an experimental way, the subject "African Studies" in the 1st and 2nd grade courses.

Still in this period, it is also noted that the black movement did not wait for the creation and approval of law 10.639/2003 to renew the teaching materials, since the production of independent textbooks was, at the time, "a recurring practice in black organizations from north to south of Brazil" (PEREIRA, 2011, p. 42). An example is an action that occurred in the state of Maranhão through the militant Maria Raimunda Araujo (Mundinha), president of the Black Culture Center of Maranhão (CCN), who produced, in partnership with other Maranhão militants, primers that were even published in other states, such as Minas Gerais (PEREIRA, 2011, p. 40). In interviews included in the CPDOC/FGV collection, Mundinha and Magno Cruz, who was also president of CCN, clarify that, initially, the distribution and presentation of the material were agreed directly with the schools, being subject to the good will of the principals; however, in a second moment, around 1982, CCN managed to sign an agreement with the Secretariat of Education, aiming both to expand and facilitate the contact with schools, and to engage teachers in the project (PEREIRA, 2011, pp. 40-41). One can see, therefore, in this occurrence, an important gesture of approximation between militancy and the State, which coincides with the time frame of the parliamentary actions we listed at the beginning of this article.

With the air of renewal that characterized the search for redemocratization of the country at the end of the 1980s, there emerged moves on the part of public power signaling a certain possibility of joint action with black militancy. Considering that the denunciation of the "dominant school ideology" (GONÇALVES; SILVA, 2000, p. 155) - which was targeted at different instances of teaching-learning (school materials, curricula, teacher training, etc.) (ibidem) - had been gradually assuming a prominent place in the struggles of the black movement for an effective democratization of education, at the end of the century agendas such as the question of racism present in textbooks of the official educational networks gained strength. It was then that the opening to debate with public organizations allowed, for instance, a direct and unprecedented contact of black institutions with those responsible for the National Textbook Program (NTP), supervised, at the time, by the Foundation of Assistance to Students (FAS),

⁵ Added to these cases are institutions based outside the capital cities, such as the schools of the Clube Recreativo 28 de Setembro (free translation: 28 of September Recreational Club), in Jundiá-SP, and the Civic Center José do Patrocínio, in São Carlos-SP (DOMINGUES, 2008, p. 530).

⁶ Letter available at <<https://movimentonegrounificadoba.files.wordpress.com/2013/10/carta-de-prince3adpios-do-movimento-negro-unificado.doc>>. Accessed on <12/12/2018>.

an event that occurred on the occasion of the "Seminar on Education and Discrimination against Blacks", held in 1987 in Belo Horizonte (MG). In the presentation of the Seminar proceedings, compiled in the book *Education and Discrimination against Blacks* (1988), an "opening of pedagogical thought to social processes and movements" is announced and the importance of considering, in the context of public policy formulation, "the political practice of black movements, the possible contributions of the latter to educational practice, as well as the recognition of partnerships at the level of social movements [...]" (MELO & COELHO, 1988, p. 9) is reinforced.

It is interesting to note that, in contrast to the focus of action in other periods of the Black movement, the discussion on Black education was, on the occasion of the Seminar, located among the debates on citizenship and rights, and that, therefore, it was understood as a problem of responsibility of the State, and not of the Afro descendant population, as evidenced by one of the passages of the closing conference:

Blacks are also consumers of textbooks, and it should not be forgotten that, although the purchase of these books is made via the state, the black population is an important consumer and constitutes a significant portion of the taxpayers in society. In this sense, the black movements believe they have the right to demand a product that does not discriminate against them, above all when it is purchased with public funds. (GONÇALVES, 1988, p. 122).

This event is an important example of the different meetings motivated by the socio-historical context of 1988, the centennial of the abolition of slavery and the approval of the Federal Constitution. If the attention given to textbooks in the late 1980s attests to a concern with decolonizing basic education, the emergence of discussions about the need for affirmative action, in general, and about the importance of racial quotas, in particular, points to the same attitude toward the problems identified in access to universities. In general terms, the shift in perspective toward higher education that marks the struggles of the 1990s can also be read as the fruit of a set of new informal educational actions orchestrated by the black movement, in the sense that many entities acted to "bring young blacks to universities through the creation of the first 'pre-entrance exams for blacks and the needy', which, unlike NGOs, are based on voluntary work performed by teachers and coordinators of their centers" (PEREIRA, 2013, p. 315).

Safeguarding the unquestionable relevance of the struggles undertaken from then on, we consider that the details of this period are beyond the scope of the brief historiographical review proposed by us⁷. Although law 10.639/2003 brings implications to teacher education, thus affecting the undergraduate courses of many universities, we understand that it is, in relation to the social sphere, the discourses and actions inscribed in the period from 1920 to 1980, as they were more strongly centered in basic education, which more directly founded the content of the curricular alteration conquered in 2003 by the black movement.

Therefore, recognizing the limits of this article, and as announced in the introduction, the following section is dedicated to reviewing the trajectory of the indigenous movement in the field of knowledge and its respective role in the approval of the 2008 law, aiming to weave comparisons between the two frameworks.

Social and legal precursors of Law No. 11.645/2008

The first contact of indigenous peoples with school education occurred in the colonial period, through Christian religious missions from Portugal. Aiming "to annihilate their cultures and

⁷ For more information about the demand and achievement of quotas for blacks in universities, see the testimonials compiled in the chapter "Current Debates", of the book *Histories of the Black Movement in Brazil: testimonials to CPDOC* (ALBERTI & PEREIRA, 2007, pp. 394-427).

incorporate indigenous labor to national society" (FERREIRA, 2001, p. 72), the missions were based on catechesis and the mandatory teaching of Portuguese, to the detriment of the maintenance of native cultures and languages. Concerning this point, it is quite relevant to establish, a priori, the distinction between "education" and "schooling", recalled by Fontan (2017): indigenous education, "transmitted by each indigenous people, through traditional education" (p. 64), is "prior to and irreplaceable" to indigenous schooling, which was initially imposed by the colonizers and religious, in the 16th century, and later demanded and reformulated by the indigenous movement itself, in the 20th century (p. 67).

In the context of the coercive phase of indigenous schooling, marked by strong physical and symbolic violence, we see an education driven by the precepts of cultural domination seen as favorable to the desired territorial domination. Although it is correct to point out that, in general, the colonial Jesuit education focused on the catechization of Indians began to lose strength already in the 17th century - due both to the gradual decrease in Amerindian populations and the growing interest directed to the education of the children of the settlers (FERREIRA JR, 2010, p. 26) -, and also, despite the fact that the official extinction of Jesuit education in the country occurred in the following century, through the charter of June 28, 1759, as a result of Pombal reforms, it is known that the influence of the ideology of assimilation and acculturation of religious organizations persists strongly until the nineteenth century and with some intensity even in the first half of the twentieth century. At the end of the colonial period, for example, despite the existence of successful cases of indigenous resistance, there are reports that in Salesian schools established in villages in the state of Amazonas "children were separated from their families and, fundamentally, they invested in the professional training of Indians, as a way to produce cheap labor for the surrounding non-Indian population" (FERREIRA, 2001, p. 73). According to D'Angelis (2012, p. 22), there are many records of the installation of boarding schools in Indian villages during and after the Brazilian Empire (1822-1889), which prohibited the use of native languages, and "some [boarding schools] remained until almost the 1980s".

It was only in the 20th century that, amidst much controversy and many vested interests, the first signs of state action in favor of indigenous assistance appeared, marked by the creation of the Indian Protection Service (IPS) in 1910, and its subsequent replacement/restoration through the National Indian Foundation (Brazilian Portuguese abbreviation: FUNAI) in 1967 (FERREIRA, 2001, pp. 74-75). Although religious teaching lost some space in the schools for indigenous children disseminated by the SPI, "these schools were no different from the rural schools in the country," since they maintained the imposition of reading and writing in Portuguese (D'ANGELIS, 2012, p. 22), as well as the focus on training for work - agricultural work for boys; domestic work for girls (FERREIRA, 2001, p. 75).

Another caveat is pertinent with regard to the apparently positive recognition of bilingualism and the teaching of native languages in the "Statute of the Indian" (1973), supported in this period by Funai. D'Angelis (2012, p. 23) clarifies that, in practice, "Funai effectively embodied and represented, at all levels, the indigenist policy of the military governments," so that the partnership with American researchers from the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), for example, culminated in the offer of a bilingual education "of transition," guided by the devaluation of the indigenous language, "which is assigned only the role of a bridge to lead to the introduction and mastery of the national language" (ibidem). This action is in line with the ideals of the Constitutions prior to 1988 (i.e., 1934, 1946, and 1967), which, as Fontan explains

referred to the 'incorporation of forest dwellers into the national community'. In other words, [according to these documents] there was no attempt to protect the existing difference, but to despise it before the so-called civilized and evolved culture. [...] [And] the desired integration would occur with teaching and education, which would provide means for the gradual incorporation of the Indians to the 'national society'" (FONTAN, 2017, p. 78).

In the mid-1970s, in the midst of a history of negative influences of the Church and the State in the educational paths of the native peoples, the articulation of the Indians, encouraged by non-

governmental organizations favorable to the cause, led to the emergence of the indigenous movement as we know it today. Ironically, an entity linked to the progressive sector of the Catholic Church, the Indigenous Missionary Council (Brazilian Portuguese abbreviation: CIMI), is considered fundamental in this process. Indigenous researcher and writer Daniel Munduruku (2012, p. 45) explains that until that moment "each community or each people sought to defend only their interests, not realizing that other peoples and communities lived in similar situations," hence the importance of assemblies such as the one sponsored by CIMI in 1974 in the state of Mato Grosso, in which, in an unprecedented way, indigenous leaders gathered (p. 41). Also, according to Munduruku, meetings of this type "were the main sources of the creation of a pan-Indian consciousness in which the leaders began to have a macroregional attitude with regard to the demands of other Brazilian indigenous peoples," given that these meetings provided conditions for the transformation of local demands of each village into common agendas for all indigenous peoples (MUNDURUKU, 2012, p. 52).

In this period of major events, the "National Meeting on Indigenous Education," held in 1979 and organized by the Education Subcommittee of the Pro-Indian Commission of São Paulo (SP), illustrates the content of the actions of the indigenous movement that preceded the achievement of official policies in the field of school education for Indians. Bringing together teachers, anthropologists, linguists and other professionals who, along with members of the indigenous communities, were active, at the time, in indigenous schools in different states of the country, the event promoted an important exchange of reports and perspectives. In line with the segmentary character described by Daniel Munduruku, the experiences shared on the occasion were described as still "quite isolated, resulting more from the enthusiasm and intuition of one person than institutional, programmed projects. Thus, that moment of the meeting and [the resulting book] were opportunities to analyze, broaden, and deepen them, bringing them out of isolation" (CAPACLA, 1995, p. 57).

Similar to the schools maintained by the black movement in the 20th century, the indigenous initiatives that characterize this phase of Indian schooling also functioned, to a greater or lesser extent, parallel to the official education networks, supported above all by non-governmental organizations. Not without reason, events like the one mentioned above, which brought together representatives of schools from north to south of the country, contributed to the subsequent political translation of indigenous agendas into the field of education, since these exchanges made it possible both to identify the specificities of education for different ethnic groups and to compile common agendas (for details on the 1979 Meeting, see DA SILVA, 1979 and CAPACLA, 1995).

Thus, once (re)united and, therefore, more organized, the indigenous movement began to demand from the State, from the end of the 1970s, the exercise of citizenship by the original peoples, with the right to land as its greatest banner, due to the central role of the forest in the maintenance of their cultures. Taking as a reference the educational experiences conducted until then by the militancy itself, access to a differentiated school education was claimed in the sphere of education, one that would guarantee the preservation of their cultures and that would definitively break with the integrationist logic. Immersed in a sociopolitical context of the union of several social groups in favor of the end of the military dictatorship and, consequently, in favor of the re-democratization of the country, the indigenous peoples began to reiterate the need for a "differentiated," "specific," "intercultural," and "bilingual" education, in the molds of the education model that would be officially recognized by the 1988 Constitution (BRASIL-MEC/CNE, 1999, p. 9). Thus, at the end of the 20th century, a paradigm shift was observed in relation to schooling, insofar as "the idea that schooling could be something 'in favor' of the Indians: an instrument of access to information and knowledge vital for their survival and for their self-determination" (DA SILVA, 2001, p. 31). School education gains for these peoples a sense of complementary education, with a strong political bias, since, already in the National Meeting of 1979, the indigenous movements recognized, for example, the "urgent need [of mastering the Portuguese language] in contact situations" (CAPACLA, 1995, pp. 58-59). Thus, "even with all the challenges posed to

indigenous peoples when they decide to institute a school, this institution is considered important when it is at the service of political and identity struggles" (BONIN, 2015, p. 2).

In order to meet such purposes, indigenous schools, as opposed to conventional schools, start to assume several particularities, always guided by the intention of dialogue with traditional, non-schooling indigenous education⁸, which is often anchored in the community transmission of ancestral knowledge, in oral narratives and also in the sum of the education of body, mind and spirit (MUNDURUKU, 2012). Marked by the adoption of bilingual or multilingualism and by the prescription of indigenous teachers, as well as by the possibility of curricular and structural flexibility according to the needs of each ethnic group, indigenous school education is formalized based on principles such as interculturality and collectivity, but without thereby denying the responsibility of the State with respect to the guarantee of this right (BRASIL-MEC/CNE, 1999, pp. 31-36).

To get an idea of how the construction of differentiated schools worked in practical terms, it is worth reading the account of the experience of Gersem dos Santos Luciano, known as Gersem Baniwa, an important indigenous intellectual and teacher involved in the cause of education, who acted directly in the shaping of indigenous schools in the municipality of São Gabriel da Cachoeira (AM), at the end of the 1990s:

As soon as I finished my Bachelor's Degree at the Federal University of Amazonas (UFAM), I served 3 years as Secretary of Education in the municipality of São Gabriel da Cachoeira (AM), between 1997 and 1999. I was very young, understood little and knew little about the environment of governmental politics. [...] *It was a great learning experience and also a great challenge to transform the rural schools, as they were called, the schools implanted in the villages, with a colonial curriculum, integrationist and persecuting the indigenous knowledge and cultures, into self-managed indigenous schools, with intercultural and bilingual curricula.* For this we initially had to elaborate and approve the entire legal and normative educational framework of the municipality, to then begin the curricular, pedagogical, and management changes of the indigenous schools.

The four years in the Secretariat of Education were fundamental for the subsequent commitments. We totally changed the political guidelines of the municipality, which was an ordinary municipality, with laws following national guidelines and policies, without any differentiation for the indigenous people, who represent 90% of the population of the municipality. *During the four years I was the head of the municipality's Secretariat of Education, we managed to change the entire legal framework to enable the construction of differentiated schools. Schools that would no longer forbid languages and would value indigenous knowledge. We started to discuss specific didactic material in indigenous languages, at a time when, even in academia, this theme was little discussed.* Few people were dedicated to these themes and there was no literature: our mission was a kind of adventure. (Our highlights) (LUCIANO, 2012, p. 128).

It is possible to infer from these excerpts that the Brazilian indigenous struggles for a differentiated education symbolize a struggle for the decolonization of the very concept of school, a confrontation with the projects and educational models of colonial matrix historically in force in the country. And, for this reason, "to deny school education for the fact that it is substantially imbricated in a dominant ideology, [would break] with the possibility of molding it to be compatible with respect for the peculiar way of life and culture of indigenous peoples" (FONTAN, 2017, p. 66).

In this context, the strategies involving resistance to linguistic domination, from which indigenous literature ultimately results, are very relevant. Naturally, numerous reflections (by Indians and non-Indians) have been and still are on the issue of literacy and the need for writing for Indigenous peoples, given their oral tradition. As already mentioned, the demand for proficiency (oral and written)

⁸ In the words of the indigenous educator Gersem Baniwa, in traditional indigenous education "one learns how to live well, to be a good hunter, a good fisherman, a good husband, a good wife, a good son (...) to farm, plant, make flour, canoe, basketry, take care of one's health, to bless, cure illnesses, get to know medicinal plants, learn about the geography of the forests, the rivers, the cacuri (tapping to trap fish that move up or down the river), etc. The specific knowledge, like that of the shamans, is at the service and reach of everyone. [...]" (Baniwa apud FONTAN, 2017, p. 64).

in the Portuguese language is strongly based on the social and political use of Portuguese in situations of contact with non-Indians, but it is also necessary to mention that Portuguese is considered important for the dissemination of indigenous cultures as well:

Knowledge of the Portuguese language allows indigenous populations to learn about the functioning of the surrounding society, and also allows them to have access to a variety of information and technologies. The production of indigenous texts in Portuguese also contributes, in the opposite direction, so that the surrounding society - and humanity as a whole - gets to know the indigenous societies better and, by doing so, enriches itself culturally. The texts produced in Portuguese, or translated into it, in indigenous schools and communities, have been a privileged form of dissemination of traditional knowledge and ethnic affirmation. These materials provide important data about the different indigenous cultures and their traditions, allowing that, through them, the cultural diversity in the country becomes more evident and can be more respected. (BRASIL-MEC/SEF/DPEF, 1998, p. 121).

With the gradual legal recognition of differentiated schools, many ethnic groups began to correlate indigenous writing with the preservation and dissemination of their cultures, also considering the possibility of disseminating their values and knowledge beyond the limits of their territories. However, unlike what we observed in the positions of the 20th century black movement, this stance in favor of valuing indigenous cultures among non-indigenous people does not seem to become so substantial as to give rise to an effective and organized interest in modifying the curricula of conventional schools. This is because, as the history of the education of these peoples shows us, the specificity of the symbolic violence suffered by them culminated in the indispensable struggle for the marking of difference, and not equality, in education, which explains the demand for an indigenous school, and not for access to or modification of the official education system, as well as provides subsidies for understanding some details of the context of the approval of law 11.645/2008.

Presented soon after the promulgation of law 10.639/2003, the bill that gave rise to the change that occurred in 2008 (PL 433/2003), authored by Deputy Mariângela Duarte (PT/SP), had in its justification the statement that "the law [10.639] was criticized [...] by the indigenous community, which was not contemplated with the provision of courses for students to learn about the indigenous reality of the country" (BRASIL-DCD, 2003, p. 13940). Besides emphasizing the importance of indigenous culture in Brazil, the document announces itself as a "manifestation of indigenous peoples of the State of Acre", without specifying, however, which ethnic groups would be linked to the claim. It is, after all, a text with certain explanatory gaps about the agents and social facts involved in the action. Alone, it does not clarify, with precision, the paths that led to the present proposal.

In order to obtain more details about the origins of the project and the actions of the indigenous movement in the face of the formal request for modification of the 2003 law, Nobre (2017) resorts to a documentary research in the periodical **Porantim**, published by CIMI since 1978. In the period from 2003 to 2008, when most of the discussions on the modification of law 10.639/03 were taking place in the Federal Congress, the researcher did not find any critical or significant publication on the theme. On the contrary, it is verified that the magazine limited itself to publishing only the original text of law 11.645 at the time of its approval, without delving into the subject. Thus, it is possible to interpret that "the editors of the newspaper had little or even no knowledge about the progress of this project, even more so if we consider that the conquests resulting from the mobilization of indigenous or indigenist organizations are usually quite celebrated in the periodical, which did not happen with the Law in question. In the following issues, the subject is no longer mentioned" (NOBRE, 2017, p. 40).

In line with the hypothesis that "Law 11.645/08 was more an initiative of the parliamentarians that were sensitive to the theme than of indigenous or indigenist organizations" (p. 40), a statement by the activist and indigenous educator Gersem Baniwa (or Gersem dos Santos Luciano) stands out again:

The school is the privileged and strategic institution and place to reduce or eliminate intolerance, prejudice, discrimination and racism among people and peoples. The Law 11.645 is, therefore, an excellent opportunity and possibility for this. Now, we have some challenges. *Although it is an important instrument, we were not prepared for it because it came a little early, from the point of view of mental construction, of the imaginary. It came more as a possibility. "We" who? Both us indigenous people and the non-indigenous society. This was a struggle made use of by the black movement, by the Afro-descendant articulation, and we conquered this very important right.* (Our highlight) (LUCIANO, 2012, pp. 141-142 apud NOBRE, 2017, p. 40).

In Nobre's (2017, p. 40) reading, "by this speech it is understood that there was little indigenous participation in the construction of the Law, and even a feeling of surprise at its publication".

Far from belittling the role played by indigenous militancy in the political field, such data and arguments provide evidence of the differences between the paths taken by the 2003 law and the 2008 law in terms of the engagement of the black and indigenous movements in each of these processes. While it is common to find, for example, documents and reports that celebrate law 10.639 as an achievement of the black movement, considering the evident participation of black parliamentarians and activists in its bureaucratic and legal process, there has not been, so far, an equivalent identification of social actors from the indigenous movement in relation to the approval of law 11.645.

Other statements by Gersem Baniwa that we located corroborate this perception. When discussing, for example, the lack of didactic material as a probable obstacle to the implementation of the 2008 law, he illustrates that, in fact, indigenous people, as well as researchers, turned almost exclusively to the production of materials that specifically served indigenous schools, and not students in general:

One notices an interesting and increasing movement on the one hand, of indigenous and non-indigenous researchers, authors, artists and teachers in the production of books and teaching materials for teaching support or even student support in universities, and on the other hand, a growing interest from the publishing market. This is very good, because they represent rare possibilities and opportunities that need to be valued, enhanced, and properly utilized. The problem is that indigenous or even non-indigenous people interested in the issue are still few and face gigantic difficulties to dedicate themselves to this work. There is no line of public funding for this, which is a shame, because this weakens and puts the future of the Law in jeopardy. In addition, among the few indigenous authors, researchers, and teachers, there is no accumulated experience in the production of books and didactic materials aimed at this public in non-indigenous schools. All existing experience in the field of indigenous literary production is focused on the production of didactic material for the literacy of indigenous children through the famous "bilingual primers. Books and didactic materials have never been produced beyond this, for the final grades of elementary school and high school, much less for the beginners of undergraduate courses, of course, with very rare exceptions. (LUCIANO, 2016, p. 21).

Statements such as those of this important indigenous educator and researcher lead us to realize, then, some contrasts between the actions of indigenous and black people with regard to the demands that underlie the laws studied by us. While the former had to join efforts to ensure the functioning of the differentiated schools, the militants of the latter group, as mentioned above, dedicated themselves, especially after the 1980s, to the production of alternative materials for conventional schools, without being restricted to the production of content for schools founded and run by black organizations. This fact is especially interesting when considered in light of Gersem Baniwa's account of the role of teaching materials in the context of law enforcement, in which he points out the lack of clarity/consensus, on the part of the indigenous people themselves, about which contents should be the basis for the application of law 11.645/2008 in non-indigenous schools:

We have big challenges: first, we don't have educational teaching materials! And it seems to me that it is difficult to produce didactic material to meet this normative orientation, due to its very

complexity. You see, we are talking about information, about knowledge about Indians, for non-Indians. So, the first challenge is how the indigenous peoples are going to appropriate this tool to spread their knowledge, their values, their cultures and traditions. *I still don't see the indigenous movement mobilized for this. This is the main difficulty. The first question is: "What do the indigenous peoples want the non-Indians to know about them?"*. This is already a huge problem, because we will have many difficulties for the Indians themselves to define this, given the great diversity of peoples, local realities and historical contexts. It is the Indians who must define what they want and how they want to be known by the national society. "What kind of knowledge do they want to disseminate?" To the indigenous peoples, much of their knowledge is not of interest for white people to know, because it is not even internally in the public domain, as is the knowledge of the shamans. We will have many difficulties in classifying which knowledge can be brought to the knowledge of non-Indians. (Our highlight) (LUCIANO, 2012, p. 142).

Here is an important contrast in the paths of laws 10.639/03 and 11.645/08: although the teaching materials produced by the black movement have not been directly used or appropriated by the law of 2003, it is noted in the official documents that guide its implementation (BRASIL-MEC/SECAD, 2006; BRASIL-MEC/SECADI, 2013; BRASIL-MEC/SEPPPIR, 2008; BRASIL-MEC/SEPPPIR, 2004) a certain dialogue with the contents historically remembered by black militancy through independent primers and manuals. Characters and historical moments of black culture that were once the basis for independent actions in the field of knowledge echo today in the formal measures adopted by the State after law 10.639/2003. On the other hand, the statement of the Baniwa about an indigenous mobilization that was not very expressive with respect to the indication and definition of the contents to be taught to non-Indians, added to the data and events listed in this study, indicates, on the other hand, that the difference in the trajectory of the two movements possibly has implications in the very implementation of the laws. These are, therefore, two laws with a multicultural and decolonial approach, but marked by the particularities of each context of struggle.

In the article "Education, literature and human rights: indigenous views of law 11.645/08" (2011), the researcher Graça Graúna develops a rich work by applying a questionnaire about the 2008 law to indigenous people of different ethnicities "with the aim of emphasizing the indigenous view on the subject" (GRAÚNA, 2011, p. 231). Composed of two questions, "1. What are the challenges and perspectives for teaching indigenous history and culture?" and "2. In what ways are indigenous history and culture referred to in the textbook today?" (GRAÚNA, 2011, p. 239), the survey that underlies the interviews was answered by dozens of indigenous people, and twelve sets of responses are made available in the article at hand.

In the speeches of the indigenous peoples interviewed, it is possible to note common points regarding what they identify as the challenges to be faced by the 2008 law, such as: the ignorance of the cultural and ethnic diversity of indigenous peoples and the respective stereotypes expressed in textbooks; the hegemony of non-indigenous narratives and visions, especially with regard to the history of these peoples, in particular, and the history of Brazil, in general; the persistence of the image of the indigenous person stuck to the past, especially the colonial period, instead of the figure of the contemporary indigenous person. Although among the respective solutions suggested by the interviewees is the insistent defense of materials produced by the indigenous peoples themselves, it is recognized that, when it comes to teaching the History and Culture of indigenous peoples in non-indigenous schools, there are specific obstacles to be overcome, as explained, respectively, by Juvenal Teodoro Payayá, of the Payayá people, and Nádia Akau, of the Tupinambá people of Olivença (Ilhéus-BA):

First, it is to know at whose service is law 11.645. In summary: it is known that there are not enough Indian teachers prepared to work with such subjects, nor to produce the necessary didactic material, [and who transmit] the vision of the people who have not yet had this opportunity to tell it. The law is left to be used with the understanding of the other. Now, this already exists in a smaller size. This is the challenge: to be able to tell our own story with the feeling of one who has lived, who wishes to truly continue to live the heritage of a singular

ancestry; to be aware that changes are relative, that what is said to be useful is useful for a few, and that changes do not always need to happen. (Payayá apud GRAÚNA, 2011, p. 245).

Today the indigenous schools already have the largest collection of specific materials of the various cultures at the national and state level referring to Bahia. But this material still does not meet the non-indigenous schools that are being required by law to implement the teaching of these cultures [...]. (Akau apud GRAÚNA, 2011, p. 249).

The accounts present in the two excerpts corroborate, to some extent, part of the observations we made regarding the degree of participation of the indigenous movement in the processes of enactment and implementation of the law 11,645/08, compared to the engagement of the black movement under the 2003 law, deserving attention the aspect reinforced by Payayá about the impossibility of indigenous people, especially indigenous educators, to bear the responsibility of producing the necessary material for the effective teaching of the contents determined by the new legislation, a function that, in fact, should not be attributed to them. That being said, it is relevant to note that, as shown by the issue of school materials that historically serve the conventional model of teaching, the particularities of the agendas of each movement have led blacks to dedicate themselves more intensively than natives to the modification and expansion of the official curricula.

At this point, it is important to emphasize that, despite these differences between the paths of indigenous and black militancy, it is undeniable that "Law 11.645/08 was not a gift granted to an inert group, since their history of struggles and mobilizations gave them the visibility that made it possible for their demands to be addressed, even though the initiative came from a non-indigenous group. In this sense, the Law is also an achievement of their mobilization" (NOBRE, 2017, p. 42-43). Proof of this is, for example, in the description that Grupioni (1995) makes of the content of meetings and manifestations of indigenous teachers in the late 1980s and early 1990s, which reveals concern with the imaginary that sustains the teaching of indigenous culture in conventional schools, showing that the Indians did not remain oblivious to the theme:

In the meetings of indigenous teachers, which have been taking place throughout the national territory, these, in addition to discussing the situation of their schools, have also spoken out on this issue. In the final document of the I State Meeting of Indigenous Education in Mato Grosso, held in May of 1989, the indigenous teachers of that state registered as one of their conclusions that "*the surrounding society must be educated to abolish the historic discrimination that is constantly manifested in its relations with indigenous peoples*". The indigenous teachers of Rondônia, also gathered on the occasion of their 1st Meeting in 1990, in the document they sent to the Senators of the Republic, requested their collaboration "so that the Indians and their cultures are respected in non-indigenous schools and in textbooks. In the "Declaration of Principles of the Indigenous Peoples of the Amazonas, Roraima and Acre", written in July 1991 by the indigenous teachers and reaffirmed in October 1994, it is stated as a principle that "*in schools for non-Indians, the history and culture of the Brazilian indigenous peoples will be correctly treated and conveyed, in order to end prejudice and racism*". (Our highlights) (GRUPIONI, 1995, p. 483).

In consonance with this excerpt, we found in the book *Atas indigenistas* (1988), organized by Ana Gita de Oliveira and Olympio Trindade Serra, a document presented by UNI - Union of Indigenous Nations of Brazil to the House of Representatives in 1984, on the occasion of the Symposium "Indians and the State", a text in which non-indigenous education is also discussed. In item VI.2 of the Education field, it is requested that "when the educational policy of the State is formulated, both a specific policy of indigenous education and the [sic] appreciation given to the Indian in non-indigenous education should be considered" ("Symposium 'Indians and the State'" apud DE OLIVEIRA & SERRA, 1988, p. 72). Finally, and again based on the experience of Gerssem Baniwa, we see that, at present, law 11.645/2008 is also seen as a possibility for the unfolding of actions initiated with the indigenous communities themselves, giving rise to a movement of continuity in the work of militancy, without necessarily establishing a rigid distinction in the fronts of the struggle:

The curious thing about this story is that what I am doing at the promptings of Law 11.645, in speaking, disseminating and teaching about indigenous histories and cultures to Indians at the time I was doing this to Indian relatives who, by the repressive force of centuries of colonization, had abandoned their main traditions and were in the final stages of abandoning their identities, languages and their own ways of life. Thus, my effort was to speak about the importance of our cultures, traditions, languages, and ways of life, while having to deconstruct the repressive colonial discourse and practice that had been in place until then. (LUCIANO, 2016, p. 16).

We thus deduce that, although the educational initiatives of the indigenous movement have intended to supply, preponderantly, the educational demands internal to the movement, the indigenous people did not remain inert before the effects of colonization in traditional schools. As we have seen, it is possible to admit, on the one hand, that the 2008 law has emerged as "a struggle taken advantage of by the black movement" (LUCIANO, 2012, pp. 141-142 apud NOBRE, 2017, p. 40), or even as a side effect (and not for this reason of less importance) of the historical struggles for differentiated, intercultural, and bilingual indigenous school education. But, on the other hand, the "educational character of the indigenous movement" is undeniable, in the sense that its mobilizations went in a double direction: "the formation of cadres for its continuity and the formation of the Brazilian society for the existence of the different Brazilian indigenous peoples" (MUNDURUKU, 2012, p. 50). 50); consequently, "the greatest contribution that the Indigenous Movement offered to Brazilian society was to reveal - and, therefore, denounce - the existence of cultural and linguistic diversity" (p. 222), which prepared fertile ground for several achievements, such as the law 11.645/2008 itself.

In summary, these details indicate that the particularities of the struggle approaches of the indigenous movement and the black movement end up demanding equally specific readings of the contexts of the approval of laws 10.639/2003 and 11.645/2008 and, consequently, of the meanings of the struggles for social justice, even if the confrontation of the colonial-based project that founded Brazilian education is an evident link between the two groups.

Next, we conclude our comparative framework by articulating it with reflections on the ways in which it is possible to interpret the different struggles and policies to combat social injustices.

Decolonizing education: demands for redistribution and recognition

According to Nancy Fraser (2006), there are two fundamental ways to understand social injustices: economic injustices or cultural injustices. In the first case, "economic injustices", there are occurrences of labor exploitation, economic marginalization, and/or material deprivation (Fraser, 2006, p. 232); in the second case, concerning "cultural or symbolic injustices", there is the constitution of "social patterns of representation, interpretation, and communication" that are responsible for the "domination", "disrespect", and/or "concealment" of certain cultures (Fraser, 2006, p. 232). In response to them, various forms of combat are consolidated, with emphasis, respectively, on "struggles for [economic] redistribution" and "struggles for [cultural] recognition" (FRASER, 2006, p. 232). In this sense, it is correct to admit a correlation between "politics of redistribution" and the struggle for (economic) equality, on the one hand, and between "politics of recognition" and the imperative of the right to difference (cultural), on the other.

"Despite their mutual intertwining," Fraser proposes these two categories of struggle in order to explore the political dilemmas arising precisely from the concomitant struggle against different forms of social injustice, since "the two types of struggles are in tension; one can interfere with the other, or even act against the other" (FRASER, 2006, p. 233). Let us observe, for example, as the researcher suggests, the issue of "race": while skin color "structures the capitalist division of labor," since "the contemporary racial division of wage labor is part of the historical legacy of colonialism," it also has "cultural-evaluative dimensions, which insert it into the universe of recognition" (p. 235). Therefore,

"'race' is also [...] a bivalent mode of collectivity [...], all the more so because racist and Eurocentric cultural norms are institutionalized in the state and economy, and the economic disadvantage suffered by people of color restricts their 'voice'" (p. 236).

Given that such considerations point more to the coexistence and/or intermingling of the two strands of injustice and activism, and less to the approach of isolated occurrences, the reading of the intersections between the search for "redistribution" and the search for "recognition" proves productive for the conclusion of the analysis of the facts and the discourses that preceded the laws we investigated, especially law 11.645/2008.

We have previously verified that in the context of the 20th century black movement, the idea of decolonization of the field of knowledge begins with the struggle for decolonization of access to formal school education, a claim that, if interpreted based on Fraser, would be inserted in the scope of the struggles for redistribution, since illiteracy and lack of schooling constituted the main catalyst of economic inequality experienced by blacks in the post-abolition period. On the other hand, starting in the second half of the century, the growing attention directed by black militancy to the repertoires of didactic materials and curricula in regular schools can be read as the beginning of an articulation between struggles for redistribution and struggles for recognition, since, in addition to the agenda of equal access and opportunities, blacks began to proclaim the importance of marking cultural diversity (or difference) in school institutions, in order to question and revise a set of historically Eurocentric knowledges. In other words, in addition to the efforts for the decolonization of access, there is an interest for the decolonization of content, always with the intention of making the official educational system egalitarian and democratic. From this point of view, law 10.639/2003, as a measure to repair a symbolic injustice, is linked to this second decolonization movement, corresponding, in the light of Fraser's theory, to a "politics of recognition", since it is a law that contests the cultural erasure of blacks perpetuated for centuries in Brazilian schools.

In the indigenous case, Fraser's analytical framework takes on other contours, due, above all, to the specificity of the value and meanings attributed by this group to the issue of difference in the educational sphere. It is known that the main economic injustice faced historically by native peoples is related to the expropriation of their lands. However, more than a matter of redistribution, this denial is intertwined in a very strong way with the cultural injustices suffered by indigenous people, since access to land depends on countless socio-cultural practices of indigenous communities, including education, which traditionally establishes a strong link with nature/land (as can be seen in relation to indigenous medicine, which also depends on the forest and natural resources). Therefore, this strong intersection between the struggle for redistribution and the struggle for recognition, of which the question of indigenous territories is a protagonist⁹, may explain, in our reading, the dedication of indigenous peoples to a differentiated model of education (with specific materials, pedagogical practices, and curricula) to the detriment of a greater demand for changes in the official educational system. Their schools never made sense if thought of in the molds and, most of the time, in the territories of non-Indians. If for Blacks equal access to formal schooling was a decisive factor for social integration, for Indians the problem started precisely with the idea of integration, which has always worked as a synonym of imposition and assimilation, a threat to their cultures, and not a necessary conquest for the exercise of their citizenship, as it was, in turn, for Blacks. This is, therefore, the main factor that may explain the

⁹ It is important to clarify that, due to the scope and limits of our study, we disregarded discussions on black education in rural areas, namely, *quilombola education* (*quilombola* are communities of black slaves who resisted the slavery regime that prevailed in Brazil for over 300 years and was abolished in 1888). We recognize, however, that, if analyzed from this point of view, the fight of the black movement for education is close to the indigenous struggle, since the demand for a differentiated education, vehemently dependent on land demarcation and ownership, reveals to be a common point between the actions of the indigenous and quilombola populations. Information and data on quilombola education can be obtained at <<http://portal.mec.gov.br/educacao-quilombola>> or in the chapter "The quilombola movement", in the book *Histórias do movimento negro no Brasil: depoimentos ao CPDOC* (ALBERTI & PEREIRA, 2007, pp. 310-336).

different motivations and the different degrees of involvement of the two militancy regarding the paths taken by the 2003 and 2008 laws, respectively.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

It is common for the issue of diversity in education to be thought of based on the importance of a consistent *didactic transposition* of knowledge representative of cultural plurality, that is, the didactic translation of, for example, guidelines and contents postulated by legal documents, such as the laws we have analyzed. Although this is an extremely important stage and still demands many efforts, this article calls attention to the fact that there is usually, before it, an indispensable movement of *political transposition* (see analytical framework proposed in DE SÁ, 2019, p. 56). In other words, it is noted that, before leaving the papers towards the classroom, proposals aligned with a decolonial perspective of education have as their first displacement the departure from the streets towards the legal sphere. In this sense, what we call here *political transposition*, as opposed to the already known expression "didactic transposition", dialogues with what Gomes (2017, p. 50) describes as an "effective passage from the stage of denunciation to the moment of charging state intervention and construction of public policies for racial equality" and, in the scope of this study, also for ethnic equality. Whether, however, in the stage of legal translation or in the stage of didactic translation of such diversity claims in Brazilian education, we understand that a link is evident: the confrontation of colonial heritages.

When we admit, then, the existence of a colonial legacy in Brazilian education - responsible for the Eurocentric perspective that still guides, to a greater or lesser extent, the inclusion and exclusion of contents and didactic-pedagogical practices in the school sphere -, as well as the symbolic violence and the power relations that accompany it, the struggles undertaken by the indigenous and black movements in favor of the diversification of curricula start to gain new meanings. It is observed, therefore, that their achievements are shrouded in many conflicts, since the Brazilian educational project is anchored, to some extent, in an educational model that, for centuries, treated as natural the physical and symbolic marginalization of these groups. In this context, the introduction, through legal imposition, of the teaching of indigenous and black people's histories and stories in schools comes from the longing for a democratic education, in general, and for the denaturalization of monoculturalism in Brazilian schools, specifically. Without laws such as 10.639/03 and 11.645/08, it is likely that the issue of diversity in the classroom would remain even more hostage to personal initiatives and/or informal teaching actions; with them, in turn, we have a favorable step towards a deeper questioning of the social and state structures capable of reproducing or curbing the eurocentrism historically present in Brazil.

The historical review presented in this article exposes, in summary, that although in the legal sphere and in the curricular plan, law 11.645/08, by updating law 10.639/03, has brought closer the demands of indigenous and black militancy, in the streets, however, the paths followed by these movements reveal important specificities. Among the indigenous population, we see schooling with an assimilationist bias imposed since the 16th century; among the black population, we see a contingent excluded from the official education system even after the abolition of slavery. On one side, therefore, there is the demand for difference in education, as a form of resistance to acculturation; on the other, there is the demand for an egalitarian education, as a condition for citizenship. In common, in turn, we see militancy that develop, from the beginning, informal educational actions constantly crossed by social struggles and legal demands, promoting, each one in its own way, a confrontation with the colonial matrix that sustained (and still sustains, to some extent) the educational exclusion, both physical and symbolic, of groups considered as minorities. From the streets, through distinct paths and between searches for recognition and redistribution, the same destination: the decolonization of knowledge and thought.

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