

Historical-geographical, political-pedagogical and epistemological panorama of antiracist education in Ladino Amefrica

Panorama histórico-geográfico, político-pedagógico e epistemológico da educação antirracista na América Ladina

Panorama histórico-geográfico, político-pedagógico y epistemológico de la educación antirracista en América Ladina

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ABSTRACT

Anti-racist education (EAR) is a cosmopolitical project to move us forward on ethical and democratic issues that ensure the right to be and to live of black and indigenous people. The objective is to present, for 20 countries of *Ladino Amefrica*, a historical-geographical, political-pedagogical and epistemological panorama of the EAR. With a qualitative approach and an exploratory, descriptive and explanatory nature, we analyzed documents and institutions. Through the thinking of different intellectuals, we discussed the situation of the EAR in *Ladino Amefrica*. We found that, in a broad way, despite advances, countries lack theoretical, political-pedagogical and epistemological directions to enforce public policies that mitigate the disarticulation of racism and the promotion of racial equity in basic education. The concepts of race and ethnicity need to be deepened in the school and academic community and the situation of *quilombola* populations is particularly worrying.

Keywords: Amefricanity. Interculturality. Racism.

RESUMO

A educação antirracista (EAR) é um projeto cosmopolítico para nos fazer avançar em questões éticas e democráticas que assegurem o direito de ser e de viver de pessoas negras e indígenas. O objetivo é apresentar, para 20 países da *América Ladina*, um panorama histórico-geográfico, político-pedagógico e epistemológico da EAR. De abordagem qualitativa e natureza exploratória, descritiva e explicativa, analisamos documentos e instituições. Por meio do pensamento de diferentes intelectuais, discutimos a situação da EAR na *América Ladina*. Encontramos que, de maneira ampla, apesar dos avanços, os países carecem de direcionamentos teóricos, políticos-pedagógicos e epistemológicos para fazer valer políticas públicas que mirem a desarticulação do racismo e a promoção da equidade racial na educação básica. Os conceitos de raça e etnia precisam ser aprofundados na comunidade escolar e acadêmica, e a situação das populações quilombolas é particularmente preocupante.

Palavras-chave: Amefricanidade. Interculturalidade. Racismo.

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RESUMEN

La educación antirracista (EAR) es un proyecto cosmopolítico para avanzar en cuestiones éticas y democráticas que aseguren el derecho de ser y de vivir de personas negras e indígenas. El objetivo es presentar, para 20 países de *América Latina*, un panorama histórico-geográfico, político-pedagógico y epistemológico de la EAR. De enfoque cualitativo y naturaleza exploratoria, descriptiva y explicativa, analizamos documentos e instituciones. Por medio del pensamiento de diferentes intelectuales, discutimos la situación de la EAR en *América Latina*. Encontramos que, de manera amplia, a pesar de los avances, los países carecen de direccionamientos teóricos, políticos-pedagógicos y epistemológicos para hacer valer políticas públicas que minimicen la desarticulación del racismo y la promoción de la equidad racial en la educación básica. Los conceptos de raza y etnia necesitan ser profundizados en la comunidad escolar y académica y la situación de las poblaciones cimarronas es particularmente preocupante.

Palabras clave: Amefricanidad. Interculturalidad. Racismo.

INTRODUCTION

The colonial history of the Americas — Latin America in particular — is linked to the history of Eurocentrism and the way the many European peoples deploy racism as one of their most potent technologies of domination throughout history (Quijano, 2000). Peruvian thinker Aníbal Quijano (1928–2018) systematizes his thinking to remind us that the history of Latin America is marked by the colonality of power, linked to modern-colonial and Euro-centered capitalism which uses the idea of race as a powerful ‘bio-logical’ weapon created to naturalize processes of exclusion of people deemed inferior in relation to the European invaders, mainly Black and Indigenous people. At the crux of colonialism, the exterminationist paradigm of original peoples of the Americas, whatever the colonizing country involved may be — Portugal, Spain, England, France, Holland — was employed with the aid of the Catholic Church, which, imbued with power, was instrumental as an institution in the creation and spread of the condition of inhumanity of millions of people who lived in the lands that were invaded by the Europeans in the 15th and 16th centuries.

The same paradigm was imposed on the African peoples that were brought in slave ships, sequestered from their lands of origin, so that the whole territory currently known as the Americas is marked by Afro-Atlantic relations (Gilroy, 2012). The process of colonization in the countries of Latin America was marked by economic interests, but also, mainly, by the creation of intellectual and educational fissures that have put Black and original populations in the historic place of disadvantage within the continent in all the spheres of life experiences.

Despite legal advancements, Latin America has been the place of ethnic-racial discrimination in its several countries, in which a considerable portion of domination and subjugation of ethnicities, peoples and Indigenous and Black African cultures occurs in the field of language and epistemological disputes. Indigenous knowledge and that brought by enslaved Africans are treated, within colonality (Quijano, 2000), as pseudo-knowledge (Rosa, Alves-Brito and Pinheiro, 2020). Colonial education is a domination strategy based on the catechization of original peoples and the subtraction of Black and Indigenous bodies from the official systems of education throughout the colonial history of the Americas. For centuries, in Brazil and within the context of the other countries of the Americas, Colonial, Imperial, and Republican education was denied to the original peoples and the Black populations, mainly the *quilombola* communities (Price, 1973; 1999; Alves-Brito, 2022b). Historically, in these

territories, the Black and the Indigenous populations have risen against the colonial project, so that their social movements thematize racism and claim education as a form of late emancipation and freedom to its peoples (Gonçalves and Silva, 2000; Munduruku, 2012; Gomes, 2017). The idea that an educational project is not enough if it is not eminently antiracist is articulated within these disputes.

It is a consensus that the formal systems of education in Latin America have functioned as mechanisms of control and maintenance of privileges focused on an idea of national project whose most valuable currency is the whitening of the population. The systems of whiteness (Bento, 2022) are dynamic in maintaining privileges, although it is also true that, in later years, the countries of Latin America have made efforts in the sense of improving its educational systems with the aim of impacting the historical and structural social, economic, ethnic-racial, and gender inequalities that pervade the region.

Despite all the advancements in many Latin-American countries, particularly in Brazil, since the acknowledgment of Black and Indigenous populations as political subjects of law through the Federal Constitution of Brazil of 1988, the approval and implementation of Law n. 10,639 of 2003 (Brasil, 2003), and Law n. 11,645 of 2008 (Brasil, 2008), which alter the National Educational Bases and Guidelines Law (LDB: Brasil, 1996) to include mandatory studies of African, African-Brazilian, and Indigenous histories and cultures throughout basic education; the promulgation of National Curriculum Guidelines for the Education of Ethnic-Racial Relations (ERER; Brasil, 2004); and the approval of the National Curriculum Guidelines for Quilombola (DCNEEQ: Brasil, 2012b) and Indigenous (DCNEEI: Brasil, 2012a) School Education, there are few comparative studies about the ERER in Brazil and about the EAR in other countries (Meinerz and Fernández-Ramírez, 2018). In this work, we aim to present a panorama of the educational processes at work in Latin-American countries that aim to display the philosophies, epistemologies, and ontologies of Black and Indigenous peoples, focusing on the historic-geographical, political-pedagogical, and epistemological questions of what we name as EAR. In addition, we interpret our results based on the theoretical and methodological presuppositions of Black and Indigenous social movements in Brazil (Gonçalves and Silva, 2000; Munduruku, 2012; Gomes, 2017) and the thought of intellectuals who reflect mainly on education in Latin America with the Program of ERER that was approved in Brazil almost 20 years ago.

In this sense, the thought of the Brazilian feminist philosopher and anthropologist Lélia Gonzalez (1935–1994), deploying the idea of *Ladino Amefrica* and *Amefricanity* (Gonzalez, 2020), is very original for the discussion that we present in this article. In the same direction, the idea of confluences and counter-colonization brought into play by the *quilombola* thinker Nêgo Bispo (Santos, 2015) offers important contributions. Aware of the impossibility of summing up the thought of Lélia Gonzalez (2020) in a political-cultural category such as *Amefricanity*, we understand that this category is fundamental to help us discussing the programs aimed at the EAR in countries of the *Ladino Amefrica* and, from the comparative points of view, not only taking into consideration the role of Brazil within the region, but better understanding its place within this debate. We aim to broaden the discussion to understand not only the confluences (Santos, 2015), similarities and specificities of each country, but, above all, the differences and discrepancies that mark the struggles for collective rights conquered by the Black and Indigenous groups in *Ladino Amefrica*, mainly when the educational framework is considered and the counter-colonizer processes (Santos, 2015) are needed. These basic concepts will be broadened throughout the article.

The basic research uses a qualitative approach, with exploratory, explicative, and descriptive systems based on historical, documentary, and bibliographical sources. The article is divided into four parts: this introduction, in which the fundamental points of the work are presented; the corpus of the research, as well as the theoretical and methodological pathways adopted; the results and discussion; and finally, the concluding remarks.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

As explained by Gonzalez (2020), the phrase *Ladino Amefrica* was not conceived of by her. Based on the idea of African America by Betty Milan, a Brazilian writer and psychoanalyst, M. D. Magno (2008), also a Brazilian psychoanalyst, proposed the term *Ladino Amefrica* to account for specific linguistic issues, understanding Brazil as a creolized country, from the linguistic contributions of African peoples and the country's myth of origin, which is more linked to the *ladina*, the rascal's wife and the wet nurse. Both these discussions are broadened by Lélia Gonzalez (2020) in coordination with the presuppositions of Brazilian-type racism (Munanga, 2019) to, then, offer the political-cultural category of *Amefricanity*. In her article, Lélia Gonzalez (2020) presents to us, in an original form, another reading key to think about the construction of the Brazilian society from the contribution of African peoples sequestered from their countries of origin and of the original peoples who made up the existential mosaic of the so-called Americas before the invasions. The interpretation of Latin America as *Ladino Amefrica* complexifies our ethnic-racial perspective of the Americas, mainly the legend of racial democracy (Munanga, 2019), in all Latin America by drawing on the idea of racism based on phenotype (Wade, 1997; Hooker, 2006). Racism in Brazil is 'mark' or appearance-based, and we argue that this is the rule and not the exception in the cultural complex named Latin America, which differentiates it, for instance, from racism as practiced in the so-called Anglo-Saxon America, which is based on origin (blood mark). No wonder the phrase *Ladino Amefrica* is a cultural concept that characterizes the region of the globe in which, through violent processes of colonization, the Romanic languages dominate. In this formulation, *Amefricanity*, as an educational proposition to reflect upon ethnic-racial relations, leads us to think about how thousands of other languages (philosophies, epistemologies, and ontologies), those that are native and those brought by Africans, which make up the cultural structure of *Amefrica*, were and are erased and weakened in their perspectives of mobilization of resistance and existence in the educational processes. The *Ladino Amefrica* of Lélia Gonzalez (2020) offers us new readings in valuing Black identities and African, Afro-American and Amerindian cultural roots in the artificial Latin America. Lélia emphasizes the need for acknowledging, valuing, and amplifying the voices, memories, and consciousness of places and spaces that embody these cultural matrices. To her, the colonial language spoken in Brazil and in other places of *Ladino Amefrica* was substantially marked by the ineffaceable linguistic contributions of original and Black peoples who make up our cultural matrixes. *Amefricanity*, therefore, as a political-cultural category, allows us to understand the stories, the geographies, and the political, educational, and epistemological propositions of the countries that form *Ladino Amefrica*.

Lélia Gonzalez (2020) wisely questions the exclusive usage of the term Afro-American for Black people in the United States, denouncing American imperialism in a politically well-placed scholarly work and, more importantly, taking *Amefrica* back to those to whom it rightly belongs. Lélia Gonzalez (2020) imbues her work with the force of Black awareness — a touchstone of the movements that formed her thinking, as Pan-Africanism, Blackness, and Afrocentricity (Nascimento, 2019). This is how she defines the category of *Amefricanity*, beyond the Brazilian case, taking into consideration the demands of interdisciplinarity.

Also, to reflect about the EAR within the diverse and complex context of the 20 countries that make up the category *Amefricanity* discussed in this article, we activate the concept of confluence proposed by Antônio Nêgo Bispo, a *quilombola* scholar who brings us crucial questions to discuss counter-colonial dynamics. We articulate the notion of confluence as "the law that governs the relationship between the elements of nature and teaches us that not everything that comes together mixes, that is, nothing is equal" (Santos, 2015, p. 89). The idea of Nêgo Bispo about confluence is linked to sharing, in opposition to exchange. For him, the meaning of exchange is commodity, an object for the other, but sharing is linked, for instance, to affection. Nêgo Bispo ascertains that

not everything that comes together mixes, and the opposite is also true: not everything that mixes comes together. This notion is fundamental to think about how the processes of ethnic-racial mixing in *Ladino Amefrica* open many possibilities of public policies aimed at broadening the rights of Black and Indigenous people. On its turn, counter-colonization is a poetic and political form that Nêgo Bispo uses to counter colonization based on his *quilombola* experience.

The expression of the EREER that interests us theoretically in this article is directly linked to the idea that the educational processes should happen, above all, in relations. We argue that, within the ambit of *Ladino Amefrica*, the relations between White, Black, and Indigenous people still have to be problematized in terms of history, politics, and epistemology so that we can understand that the concept of race is indeed a European construction of the 16th century adopted throughout the later centuries as an artifice for the classification and hierarchization of persons (Munanga, 2019). After the horror of eugenic ideas in the 19th and 20th centuries — based on the pseudoscience of scientific racism —, the concept of race became problematized and was abandoned in its strict usage. The Genome project of the 20th century shows how untrue the distinction between races is from the biological point of view, defended by the eugenic projects. It is in this sense that the concept of ethnicity is preferred, mainly in anthropology — the European science which arose in the 20th century to study ‘the other’, the non-European, and which is the groundwork for strengthening and questioning the effects and the causes of scientific racism (Munanga, 2019; Alves-Brito, 2022b). Even if the idea of race has become part of history associated with phenotypic traits and that of ethnicity, to cultural traits, race and ethnicity are social constructions that need to be problematized and understood in *Ladino Amefrica* within anti-racist educational processes.

In this study, the National Curricular Guidelines to the Education of Ethnic-Racial Relations — DCNERER (Brasil, 2004) are theoretically activated to remind us that the White race is the one which operates privileges within *Ladino Amefrica* and which has put itself in a place of superiority. White people need to racialize themselves. More than that: the ethnic-racial relations show us the life conditions of Black and Indigenous people in *Amefrica*, depicting its heterogeneous and diversified specter, embodied in the political-cultural category of *Amefricanity*. There is no way, therefore, not to take into consideration, in these relations, the social, economic, cultural, and political realities manifested by the phenotype that gain power as they become mediators of complex realities that end up in the concepts of identity and territory, of bodies-territories-thoughts. The EREER only makes sense from the thought of Black and Indigenous scholars reactivated in the strength of social movements, understanding them as educators (Munduruku, 2012; Gomes, 2017).

METHODOLOGICAL PATHWAYS

CORPUS

This is a basic and qualitative research with exploratory, explicative, and descriptive goals. Each phase was performed according to the methodological pathways exposed in Mattar and Ramos (2021).

The corpus of this research is composed of documentary, historical, and bibliographical sources that account for, in ethnic-racial terms and its EAR projects, countries that we here name *Amefrican*. We recognize the ethnic-racial variety of these countries, with their different peoples — be they Indigenous, Black (including Brown), European (Spanish, English, Italian, Portuguese, French, among others), Asiatic, and Mestizo, among other denominations which will be highlighted throughout the text — and also their linguistic variations, since there are at least 1,061 spoken languages (Ethnologue, [202-]) in *Amefrica* — English, Spanish, Portuguese, and French, the colonial languages, being the most widely spoken.

For the concept of Mestizo, widely used in the text, it is worth noticing that, as Munanga (2019, p. 21) explains:

Miscegenation, from the populationist point of view, is a universal phenomenon from which populations or groups of populations can only escape during limited periods. It is understood as an exchange or a flow of genes of variable intensity and duration among more or less biologically varied populations. And population is here understood as a series of individuals who habitually breed among themselves, a biologically and not a priori defined group. The phenomenon of miscegenation, analyzed from the populationist point of view, seems to me to have less ideological implications than the raciologist approach.

Throughout the text, words such as Mulatto, Cafuzo, and Mestizo are used in order to respect the dynamics of each of them in their cultural and political contexts. In Brazil, we know that the word Mulatto has a negative character and, historically, the Black social movements have rejected it; alternatively, the word *negro* (Black and Brown people) received a positive value, understood as the affirmation of Black identities. In *Ladino Amefrica*, there are many simplifications for complex situations regarding racial self-definition. In general, there is a continuum of racial categories created by people to define themselves, always attempting to avoid the Black/Negro category. Miscegenation appears as an even more complex process, in which a variety of terms that stand for a position between Black and White are usually activated.

PROCEDURES

In terms of basic research, we seek to contribute with the knowledge about the EAR panorama in *Amefrica*. The research sources treated as documentary are the websites of the Ministry of Education or the corresponding body of each country, as well as documents synthesizing the *Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe* (CEPAL, 2020; 2021), in addition to other bibliographical/documentary sources cited in the text. For that, an exhaustive search was performed in each of the sites, seeking for words as “indigenous,” “afro,” “African,” “afro-name-of-country,” bilingual intercultural education and varieties in the Spanish language. In this research, the following countries were included: Argentina (2023), Bolívia (2023), Brasil (2023), Chile (2023), Colômbia (2023), Costa Rica, Cuba (2023), El Salvador (2023), Equador (2023), Guatemala (2023), Haiti (2023), Honduras (2023), México (2023), Nicaragua (2023), Panamá (2023), Paraguai (2023), Peru (2023), República Dominicana (2023), Uruguai (2023) and Venezuela (2023). However, we recognize that sometimes issues linked to education of Indigenous and Black persons or those of African descent in many countries cross other governmental institutions. For reasons of breadth of scope, we have decided to focus our investigation on the Ministries of Education, which are understood as the main organs responsible for the elaboration and execution of public educational policies.

Beginning the process of information search, we soon perceived that, within the context of the countries where Spanish is the official language (and their institutions), the words that better characterize what in Brazil we call EAR are *etnoeducación* (ethno-education, specifically in Colombia and Ecuador) and/or *educación intercultural bilingüe* (bilingual intercultural education), so that they were used in all the cultural contexts analyzed in this article. In addition, we sought for data in demographic censuses, articles, and dissertations about *Amefrica*. The sources are given throughout the text.

In relation to the objectives and levels of interpretation of the research, it is characterized as exploratory, descriptive, and explicative, since the general patterns of EAR policies of each country are identified to comparatively situate Brazil within the debate. Understanding the dynamics, the

advances, and the gaps in each country in the efforts for promoting the EAR in *Amefrica* is our goal, and we do that by focusing, through the documents analyzed, on the dynamics of social movements in each country. The complete documents of each political unit were accessed throughout the months of July to September of 2023. In each website, searches were conducted via the descriptors cited. In each of the documents, we looked for laws, legislation, educational guidelines and other information about teachers, the production of educational material as well as curriculum guidelines focused on the EAR (*etnoeducación*).

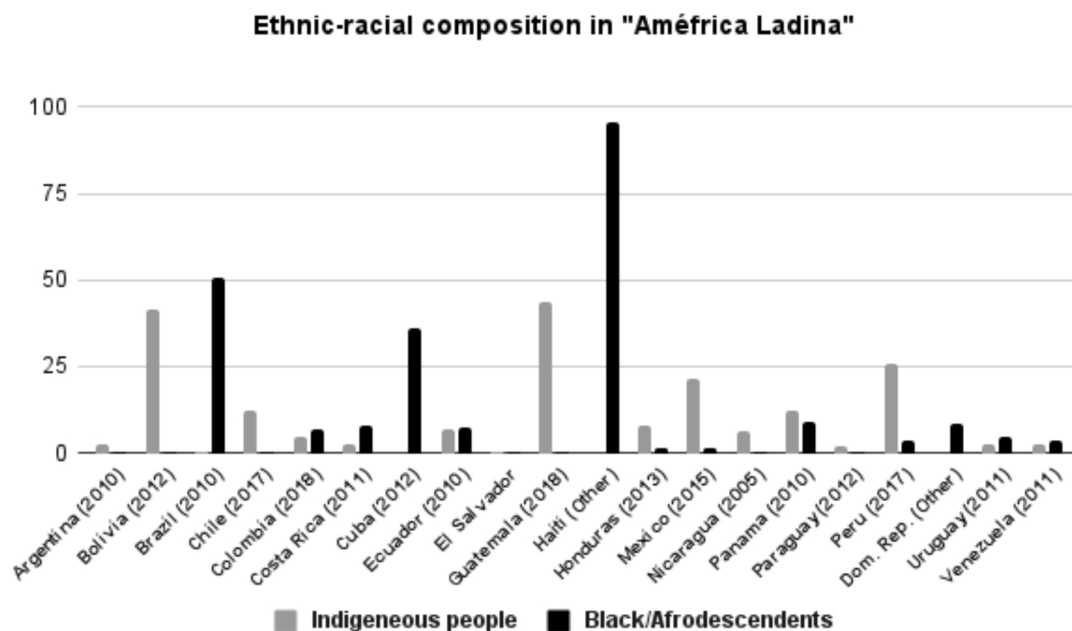
RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Based on the fundamental research objectives and questions previously established, the results will be discussed on three analytical axes around the EAR in *Ladino Amefrica*: historical-geographical questions, political-educational questions, and epistemological questions.

AXIS 1: HISTORICAL-GEOGRAPHICAL QUESTIONS: THE ETHNIC-RACIAL COMPOSITION OF LADINO AMEFERICA

Based on the compilation of sources, the first important result of this axis is summarized in Figure 1.

Figure 1 – Ethnic-racial composition of the countries analyzed (percentage). There are no data for the Indigenous groups in Cuba, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic. In the abscissa axis (countries), the year of the census consulted for each country is also indicated.



Source: CEPAL (2020; 2021).

Figure 1 shows that *Ladino Amefrica* is characterized, in terms of ethnic-racial composition, as a region markedly formed by Black people of African and Indigenous ascent, strengthening the category of *Amefricanity* as an ethnographic system of reference discussed by Gonzalez (2020). The Black population stands out in countries such as Brazil, Cuba, Haiti, whereas in Bolivia, Guatemala, Peru, and Mexico, the Indigenous composition of the population is highlighted. Recent surveys estimate the existence of at least 305 indigenous peoples in Brazil, 102 in Colombia, 78 in Mexico, nine peoples in both Costa Rica and in Panama, three in El Salvador, and two in Uruguay (CEPAL, 2021). The Constitution of Bolivia (Oliveira, 2022) acknowledges 37 official languages besides Spanish.

The documents analyzed show little to no census information about *quilombola* populations. In Brazil, these populations were included in the census for the first time in 2022 (IBGE, 2022), estimating the existence of 1.3 million of *quilombola* persons. The document known as *Transforming our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development* (Nações Unidas, 2015) — which accounts for the world's agreement for life on Earth — directly refers to Indigenous peoples, but the *quilombolas* are not mentioned. Another important piece of data that stands out is that miscegenation is a deep trait of *Ladino Amefrica*. According to the *CIA World Factbook* (Cia, [2023]), the population is largely Mestizo in Paraguay (95%), Mexico, Honduras, and El Salvador (90% each), Panama (70%), Nicaragua (69%), Ecuador (65%), Guatemala (59.4%), and Venezuela (68%).

It could be synthesized that, although each country ascribes its own meaning to miscegenation, the categories of White, Indigenous, and Black are present. Lélia Gonzalez (2020), in defining the category of *Amefricanity*, emphasized that it included whole lines of ascent, not only that of Africans that were brought as part of colonialism, but mainly that of the peoples who resided in *Amefrica* before the arrival of the European invaders. In each of the countries of marked Black and Indigenous presence, the language includes the contributions of native and African peoples' speech, which Gonzalez (2020) terms, in Brazil, "*Pretuguês*," combining the words "*preto*" (black) and "*português*" (Portuguese). In addition, the miscegenation found in *Amefrica* through different methodologies (self-declaration or genetic traits) reinforces the need for deepening Nêgo Bispo's category of confluence to think that, like water and oil, the struggles of Black and Indigenous peoples within the ambit of the colonial project and that of coloniality come together, but do not mix. They converge in specificities and potentialize struggles. Miscegenation in *Amefrica* needs to be a significant part of the historical-geographical and political processes of the EAR, mainly if one understands the actual meaning of the words race and ethnicity in the colonial past and the historical present. The analysis of these language processes is fundamental, since we cannot continue to confuse the terms race and ethnicity, erasing the former in favor of the latter, which has been a common practice in school and academic systems that refuse to discuss the concepts of race and racism (Rosa, Alves-Brito and Pinheiro, 2020; Alves-Brito, 2021). Gonzalez (2020, p. 137) proposed that:

It is politically far more democratic, as well as culturally more realistic and logically more coherent, to identify ourselves from the category of *Amefricanity* and define ourselves as *Amefricans*: from Cuba, from Haiti, from Brazil, from the Dominican Republic, from the United States, and all other countries in the continent.

To the British anthropologist Peter Wade (1997) — whose work offers significant insights into the discussion of ethnic-racial relations in Latin America —, "Blacks and indigenous people have both been characterised as Others, located in the liminal spaces of the nation, but they have fitted in different ways into what I call the structures of alterity" (Wade, 1997, p. 36). To Hooker (2006), a Nicaraguan scholar established in the United States, the Latin-American national ideologies are based on a process of mixture in which the Indigenous peoples have certain places in the symbolic universe of the nation. In this view, these peoples have offered ancestral contributions to the New World, even if they are currently considered as marginal and traditional peoples. We thus argue, in this first axis, that the meaning of race and ethnicity needs to be, from the point of view of a differentiated education in *Amefrica*, deepened in its historical, geographical, and political meanings. Except for Brazil, Colombia, and, to a lesser degree, Ecuador, the documents of many countries studied in this article are silent about ethnic-racial constructions. The categories of race and ethnicity need to be operated with courage and political-scientific rigor in the EAR programs of *Ladino Amefrica*, understood as social and cultural constructions limited in time and space. This is a marked difference of the ERER (Brasil, 2004) if compared to other propositions in *Ladino Amefrica*.

AXIS 2: POLITICAL-EDUCATIONAL QUESTIONS OF ANTIRACIST EDUCATION IN LADINO AMEFERICA

The analysis of the documents (Brasil, 2003; 2004; 2008; 2012a; 2012b; CEPAL, 2020; 2021), articles, legislations, resolutions, conventions and educational data gathered in the websites of the Ministries of Education of the countries studied allows affirming that, from the political-educational point of view, many challenges remain to the enforcement of robust projects in differentiated ethnic-racial education in *Ladino Amefrica*.

In relation to the political-institutional procedures to discuss the promotion of an EAR project in the countries of *Ladino Amefrica*, a crucial result from the documental work is that all the countries, except for Costa Rica (website offline), present specialized Ministries to organize their educational programs. With rare exceptions, these organs are named Ministries of Education.

From a careful analysis of each webpage of these Ministries, it becomes evident that, as in the case of Brazil, the official educational organs of each country give access to information that allows sketching a general picture of the specific situation for African and Indigenous questions. It is noteworthy that, from the data analyzed, all the countries studied have instituted and implemented a set of measures and actions that aim to correct injustices, eliminate discrimination, and promote social inclusion and citizenship for all in the educational system; however, as already indicated in this text, these processes demand detailed analyses. We will focus on some of these aspects.

The historical-analytical processes of the sources point that, politically, the Indigenous peoples and their rights have been systematically acknowledged in the texts of the Political and Federal Constitutions, or both, of many of the countries analyzed. Only three countries (Chile, Costa Rica, and Uruguay) do not constitutionally acknowledge their original peoples. Countries such as Colombia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Panama, and Peru acknowledge these populations only as those that need protection. Other three countries acknowledge some limited rights — Argentina (education, identity, territory), Brazil (territory), and Paraguay (identity, organization, territory, and participation). Finally, five countries (Bolivia, Ecuador, Mexico, Nicaragua, and Venezuela) acknowledge original peoples in a more integrated manner as collective subjects of law. No information is available about the situation in Cuba, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic (see CEPAL, 2020; 2021 for more details).

Many Latin American countries, such as Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Dominican Republic, and Venezuela, have been making important alterations throughout their recent histories in their Political Constitutions to include collective rights for Black and Indigenous persons. In the last years of the 1980's, Guatemala (1985), Nicaragua (1987), and Brazil (1988) made reformations with a multicultural focus, acknowledging languages, territories, and cultures. Another important political step was the approval, in 1989 (OAS, 1989), of Convention 169 of the International Labour Organization (ILO) about the rights of the Indigenous and Tribal peoples, acknowledging collective rights and becoming one of the most strategical legal ways of overcoming discriminatory practices that have affected Black and Indigenous populations and their ways of being and existing in the world. As part of this development, in the following years, countries such as Colombia (1991), Paraguay and Mexico (1992), Peru (1993), Argentina and Bolivia (1994), Ecuador (1996 and 1998), and Venezuela (1999) made reformations that took on pluricultural directions, given that linguistic studies had been primarily focused on the development of Indigenous populations and restricted to them. In 2006, in the case of Bolivia, and in 2008, in the case of Ecuador, we had a third moment of reformations that was characterized by plurinationality and interculturality. Up to that moment, the agenda of the Indigenous social movements in *Amefrica* had been impressive from the political-educational point of view. The population of African descent in Colombia and in Ecuador also started to claim for an EAR that discussed Black issues. In Brazil, since the 1930s, the Black social movement has had an

educational agenda (Gonçalves and Silva, 2000; Gomes, 2017), understanding education as a major step forward in the country's emancipatory processes.

In addition, from the point of view of differentiated education, we perceive that almost all the countries have, as part of the Convention 169, at least ensured projects of bilingual Indigenous education in their recent history. Another internationally important milestone was the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples of the United Nations in 1994, as well as the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1965) and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948).

The issues pertaining to ethnic-racial/color discrimination are included in the Magna Cartas of at least 13 countries in Latin America. Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, and Mexico explicitly acknowledge in their texts Black people of African ascent, whereas Bolivia, Ecuador, and Mexico acknowledge them as peoples of (differentially) African ascent. Almost all countries have laws against racial discrimination, typifying it as a crime (CEPAL, 2020; 2021). Cuba, for instance, approved in 2019 a new constitutional text that repudiates any manifestation of racism or discrimination. Other countries such as Costa Rica and Mexico established the multiethnic character of the country, in the first case, and the acknowledgment of Black communities of African ascent, in the second. Chile has also recently taken steps in the legal acknowledgment of peoples of African ascent. Guatemala presented, seven years ago, a law project for the acknowledgement of the Creole people of African ascent and El Salvador has also made advancements in the discussion of a specific agenda focused on the population of African ascent (CEPAL, 2020; 2021).

A specific education for Black and Indigenous peoples appears in 11 of the 14 countries that constitutionally acknowledge original peoples as subjects of law, except for El Salvador, Honduras, and Brazil. The projects of bilingual intercultural education are present in at least 17 of the 20 countries studied in this article. However, it is noteworthy that these educational processes are highly biased toward Indigenous questions.

Particularly in Brazil, the issues are still very slightly put in the synthesizing documents of *Ladino Amefrica* (CEPAL, 2020; 2021). Contrarily to other *Amefrican* countries, the intercultural perspective (López, 2009; Candau and Russo, 2010; López, Morales and Chiri, 2022) identified as the main focus of approach to educational public policies did not prosper in the country. In addition, we argue in this subsection about the importance of development, in each country studied, of the physical, structural, didactic, educational, intellectual, and psychological issues for the effectuation of policies aimed at the EAR. Since *Amefrica* is predominantly Black, Indigenous, and Mestizo, EAR has an even more fundamental role in promoting the re-education of relations among White and non-White people, which is the basis of the DCNEER approved in Brazil in 2004.

In addition, in most countries — except for Brazil, Colombia, and Ecuador —, the EAR programs are restricted to the application of systems of production of bilingual studies or to a discussion on interculturality that also needs to be further studied (López, 2009; López, Morales and Chiri, 2022). Chile and Panama also offer very thorough information about their specific educational projects aimed at Indigenous interculturality. However, it is noteworthy that even if in many countries we can find teacher training programs or the production of specific didactic materials, the absence of programs dealing in depth with political, educational, and epistemological issues that are part of more robust programs such as, for instance, that which has been developed in Brazil as part of the EREER policies, are absent.

In this historical perspective, there are at least four great moments in the construction of the EAR in *Ladino Amefrica*: Indigenous bilingual education of the 1960s–1970s; ethno-education in Colombia and Ecuador, also in the 1970's; intercultural education of the 1990's up to now in its different forms (functional, critical, and transformational), as reviewed in detail by López (2009) and López, Morales and Chiri (2022); and, finally, EREER in Brazil, which, since 2003, has brought important milestones to discuss Black and Indigenous questions in the country, which in turn, as we argue, are instrumental

to understand *Amefricanity* and the anti-racist educational confluences in *Ladino Amefrica*. In Table 1, we present the main characteristics of the four EAR projects highlighted throughout this article and, in Table 2, the basic principles of multiculturalism, interculturality and the ERER.

Table 1 – Basic definitions about the main antiracist education projects identified in *Ladino Amefrica* in the 20th and 21st centuries.

Bilingual Intercultural System	Ethnoeducation	Interculturality	ERER
Educational modality: official way established by the State to ensure the study of the language and culture of a certain people (López, 2009).	Educational modality: education for ethnic groups, offered to groups or communities composing nationality and possessing culture, language, traditions, and jurisdictions of their own.	Educational policy: intercultural education for Indigenous and non-Indigenous persons within the ambit of the systems (López, 2009).	Educational policy: education of ethnic-racial relations for the teaching of Afro-Brazilian and African history and culture (Brasil, 2004).
Focus: Indigenous peoples	Focus: Afro-descendants and Indigenous (Colombia, also adopted by Ecuador).	Focus: Indigenous peoples, partly Afro-descendants.	Focus: Black and Indigenous persons.
Destination: the peoples themselves.	Destination: Black <i>quilombola</i> people.	Destination: all.	Destination: all.

Source: Elaborated by the author, 2023.

Present in all countries is the impossibility of assessing, through the information offered by the Ministry and the documents investigated in this article, what in practice is being implemented and followed in each country. We know that, in the case of Brazil, for instance, after 20 years of Law n. 10.639/2003 and 15 years of Law n. 11.645/2008, there are many barriers for their effectuation, despite all the efforts and advancements (which need to be acknowledged) after the implementation of these two associated laws and curricular guidelines (Alves-Brito, 2022b).

Politically and educationally, in general, the countries of *Ladino Amefrica* were perceived to put greater emphasis on the differentiated educational processes of Indigenous populations rather than Black populations. The literature shows discussions — we suggest that the readers follow the vast and deep discussion by Wade (1997), Hooker (2006) and the references cited there — about these differentiations, with assorted and controversial explanations, which include numeric variations of the different population in the countries (Black *versus* Indigenous); the social and political organization of Black and Indigenous social movements (with the hypothesis that the Indigenous groups are politically more organized); urban context (Black) *versus* rural context (Indigenous), which favors the Indigenous demands for rural territory inhabited by most of them; different strategies in political action of Black and Indigenous people in the sense that Blacks would aim for equality whereas Indigenous people aim for the right to cultural difference; institutionalization of the Indigenous peoples according to country of origin, which did not happen with Black peoples; in addition, obviously, to issues of differentiation of race and ethnicity, in which Indigenous peoples would be understood in their cultural (ethnicity) issues and Black peoples associated to phenotypic (race) issues only. Thus, there would be a phantom in the articulation of the words race/racism

within the sciences and common sense. The process of conceptual differentiation between race and ethnicity would hinder the vindicatory movements of organized Black groups with governmental political forces within their countries.

Table 2 – Basilarly concepts of the main antiracist education perspectives operated in *Ladino Amefrica* in the 20th and 21st centuries.

Perspectives on Education and Main References		
Multiculturalism ¹		
Origin in Canada and Europe. It articulates the concept of ethnicity. Interest in socially diverse groups. Right to difference. Tolerance. Idea of minority (neoliberal). Multiculturality: tolerance, harmonic coexistences, without conflict.		López (2009); López, Morales and Chiri (2022).
Interculturality		
Origin in relations between cultural differences and inequalities. Complexity. Several ways of being defined. Current tendency in the countries of <i>Ladino Amefrica</i> , except Brazil. Relation between the cultures that are in conflict.		López (2009); Candau and Russo (2010); López, Morales and Chiri (2022).
Functional interculturality	For the sake of governability, political conditions without questioning asymmetric relations of power.	
Critical interculturality	Evidencing the memory of people excluded, visibility of conflicts, reflection about the premises of dialog and focus on the critical formation of people through interculturality.	Fornet-Betancourt (2000); Tubino (2005); Walsh (2008).
Transformative interculturality	Renunciation of critique and advancements to ever more intercultural devices, acknowledging the coloniality of being, knowledge and power.	López (2009); López, Morales and Chiri (2022).
Pluriculturalism		
Situations of migrations. With multiculturalism, viewed, however, from Latin America, in a decolonial perspective.		López, Morales and Chiri (2022).
ERER		
It explicitly puts the ethnic and racial question, highlighting the condition of the Black population—the majority in the country. It acknowledges the cultural plurality and explicitly refers to asymmetric relations of power through racism. It criticizes reality and directs public policies for the disarticulation of racism and coloniality of being, knowledge, and power. It proposes a project that has in relatedness its greatest potency. Political and historical awareness of diversity, strengthening of identities and rights, educational actions for fighting racism, obligatory antiracist teaching.		Brasil (2004).

Source: Elaborated by the author, 2023.

¹ According to López, Morales and Chiri (2022), multiculturalism and interculturalism are associated with normative governmental policies. Multiculturalism and interculturalism, on their turn, are associated with political categories, the former being more descriptive, and the latter, projective and prospective.

In the case of Brazil, analyzing the basilar documents already listed from the category of *Amefricanity* and confluence, it is argued that the historical struggles of Black and Indigenous social movements face similar problems. And, throughout history, if it is true that many of the advancements in education that impacted the Indigenous demands are strongly linked to the historical struggles of Black social movements (Gonçalves and Silva, 2000; Gomes, 2017), the contrary is also true (Munduruku, 2012). The racial dynamics in Brazil are complex, but the evidence clearly shows that both Black and Indigenous populations are racialized (suffer the effects of racism) and have undergone very similar processes of physical and epistemological extermination, being underrepresented in positions of power.

Based on the data presented, we argue that, as part of colonial processes — mainly Portuguese and Spanish —, the countries of *Ladino Amefrica* have built throughout history processes of exclusion that hinder access to schools or permanence in it to Black and Indigenous students. In all the countries studied, even if the implications of the historical processes of injustice that hinder social, civil, cultural, and economic rights are recognized, as well as the valuing of diversity of that which distinguishes Black and Indigenous peoples of other social groups in the populations of the Americas, the concepts of race and racism are used with excessive caution or, in most cases, not mentioned at all, mainly in relation to the use of the category of race/racism. According to a reflection developed in Alves-Brito *et al.* (2022), we understand that anthropology has a crucial role in this sense throughout history, although with little depth or even distancing itself from the discussion about racial and Black issues and, in parallel, approaching the Indigenous populations with the bias of studying ‘the other’ and strengthening Indigenous ethnicity. Education through interculturality in *Ladino Amefrica* has been up to now aimed mainly at Indigenous populations. The racial discussion, both Black and Indigenous, is voided and often treated in the academic and governmental world as a racist discussion, concerning activists based on their own ideologies, not exempt from the racial-social issue.

Finally, it was perceived that the concept of differentiated school education (Brasil, 2012a; 2012b; Alves-Brito, 2022b) and of ERER, as we have articulated it in Brazil, is still fragile in the countries of *Ladino Amefrica*. Despite the challenges, Brazil has an important place in this discussion, with important theoretical, methodological, political and epistemological advancements that may set an example to sister countries in the *Amefrica*.

AXIS 3: EPISTEMOLOGICAL QUESTIONS OF THE ANTIRACIST EDUCATION IN LADINO AMEFICA

A subtle epistemological question arising from the analysis of the documents is that the concept of identity within the ambit of *Amefricanity* needs to be debated on a deeper level in educational projects aimed at Black, *quilombola*, and Indigenous populations. The issue of race and racism is not deeply addressed, the latter being understood as a perverse system of classification and hierarchization of individuals according to phenotype, and the former being its most fundamental explanation. Except for countries with significant Black populations, discussions about the effects of race and racism are weak, even though all the countries have signed important international agreements on racial discrimination.

Epistemologically, we argue that the school, not only the social movements, should break with racist ideas that intersect with the experiences of Black and Indigenous populations, since the terms race and ethnicity cross within the ideology of racism. In this sense, it is problematic that, with but few exceptions (Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador), there is no discussion in the educational materials analyzed nor in the documents found on the webpages of the Ministries of Education about the role of racism (and the social construction of race) in processes of dehumanization of Black and Indigenous persons. From the educational resolutions in each country, the weight of institutions in the maintenance of

educational processes that are limiting and excluding within the EAR should be further studied. For instance, the process of construction of Black identity in Brazil is exceedingly perverse, since all the practices linked to Black culture are systematically devalued. The philosophies, epistemologies, and ontologies of African peoples brought to Brazil through the process of slavery are not activated as would be necessary in all the ambits of the educational processes. A similar situation is found in Cuba and Colombia — countries that share characteristics with Brazil in relation to the diaspora of the Bantu, Yoruba, and Fon peoples from Africa. The same can be said about indigenous histories and cultures. Based on the void found in the websites of the Ministries of Education, we argue that institutional racism (Alves-Brito 2022a) is a concept that needs broadening in *Amefrica*. And, with it, the colonialism of power (Quijano, 2000) and the counter-colonial processes (Santos, 2015) that are dynamized in the perpetuation of racism.

The fact that the processes of education in most countries in *Amefrica* are named ethno-education is remarkable. The prefix ethno- is epistemologically problematic, since it ensures once more the multicultural bias of the study of ethnic-racial relations, often without a critical stance (López, Morales and Chiri, 2022). The premises of the ERE in Brazil do not point to the replacement of the markedly European ethnocentric focus by an African and/or Indigenous ethnocentrism, but to broadening the focus of school curricula for cultural, racial, social, and economic diversity within the country. This is a challenge for *Amefrica*, since the programs of intercultural education applied in many countries of *Ladino Amefrica* have in the multicultural ideas their main potency and epistemological axis (Walsh, 2009). We think that the perspectives of *etnoeducación* and multiculturalism, even if viewed as processes of the historical struggle of Black and Indigenous social movements for the acknowledgment of their peoples as subjects of law and for emancipation, are excessively directed, with no political and epistemological contextualization, to the racialized peoples. The programs found in the Ministries of Education need to be broadened beyond the approval of bilingual systems, the inclusion of new contents or simulated multicultural practices of critical interculturality. *Amefrica* needs to recognize its confluences (Santos, 2015) and share experiences, rethinking its ethnic-racial, social, educational, philosophical, and cosmopolitical relations. This is the deeper sense of *Amefricanity* that Lélia Gonzalez (2020) awakens in us.

Another epistemological challenge found in the dialog with the sources of the research is that, with exceptions (such as Brazil), the programs analyzed do not associate race with class, geographical origin, territory, gender, sexual orientation, age (generation), gender identity, deficiency, among other social markers of difference, including the recent territorial fluxes of Black population from the African continent or from *Amefrica* itself. We argue that intersectionality (Collins, 2019) — present as well in the Black feminist movements — may be a useful concept to reassess teacher training and the production of educational materials focused on the EAR in *Amefrica*. These intersectionalities, from the theoretical and methodological points of view, are instrumental to account for multidimensional issues imposed on us by the heterogeneity of realities that *Amefrica* experiences from the ethnic-racial relations. Most teachers (60%) in basic education in *Ladino Amefrica* are women, a number that has been constant for three decades (Elacqua *et al.*, 2018). These results strengthen the perspective of Lélia Gonzalez (2020)'s *Amefricanity*, since it also seeks to understand the power of the patriarchy and the conditions of domination to which Black and Indigenous women are more susceptible.

There is no multidisciplinary, transdisciplinary, and transnational treatment, in *Amefrica*, of the educational dimension of the ethnic-racial question. The realities of the different countries are not addressed through the analysis of the materials available in the Ministries within the context of *Amefrica*. The historical issues of the Black and Indigenous peoples are still placed in the past and often folklorized by the hegemonic systems of education. The Indigenous and Black African languages built in the diaspora are not fully experienced as they should be in the educational processes.

The epistemologies of resistance, mainly those of *quilombola* peoples, are not present in educational materials found in the websites. There is a lack of deep discussions about African ascent and what it means to belong to the Black and original peoples. The epistemological whitening (Bento, 2022) of *Amefrica* is not debated, and the culture of privilege — a fundamental historical trait of Latin American societies in the ambit of colonial relations — remains strong in the educational processes of the countries. The educational processes, with few exceptions, still fail to connect racism with explorations of the African continent and the *Amefrican* original peoples with the European invasion of the 15th century, with colonialism and processes of slavery. The concept of race, as directly associated with Modernity, is still vaguely discussed within the ambit of *Amefrica*. Despite all advancements, the coloniality of being, knowing, and power is maintained (Quijano, 2000).

FINAL REMARKS

In this article, we argued that the ERER (Brasil, 2004) is a project of education and society that is essential for us to advance in ethical and democratic issues that ensure the right to be and to live of Black and Indigenous people in *Ladino Amefrica*. In a corpus of 20 countries, we presented the historical-geographical, political-educational, and epistemological panorama of the construction of differentiated educational processes. Documents were analyzed, interpreted under the light of the thought of various scholars, including Black and Indigenous ones.

Except for Brazil, Colombia, and Ecuador, the countries analyzed lack deeper theoretical, political-educational, and epistemological directions to enforce public policies that aim at deconstructing racism and at racial equity in basic education, mainly thinking about the high degree of educational vulnerability of the *quilombola* populations in the region. In relation to Indigenous peoples, Black peoples, and those of African descent, they remain spread in the constitutional and legal marks, mainly in relation to projects of differentiated education. Even when present, the fundamental principle is the discourse on equality and not equity, discrimination and, above all, lack of acknowledgment of the operationalization of racism in all levels of education. The race-class ambiguity needs to undergo a degeneracy as that undergone by the race-ethnicity discussion in different countries.

The category of *Amefricanity* and the concepts of *confluence and counter-colonization* are relevant to help us reflect about historical-geographical, political-educational, and epistemological processes that hinder the advancement in the creation of ERER policies in *Ladino Amefrica* to reflect upon the concepts of race, ethnicity and, above all, the dynamics of racism in the continent. The DCNEER, implemented in Brazil in 2004, are seen here as a robust document that renders explicit not only historical-geographical, political-educational, and epistemological processes involving antiracist experiences of Black and Indigenous peoples, but have a fundamental element lacking in the projects of bilingual Indigenous education, ethno-education and/or intercultural education in other countries: they acknowledge the existence of racism and the importance of building relational projects between White and non-White persons. Although this aspect seems simple, its potency in the acknowledgment of Black and Indigenous languages, cultures, and territories cannot be underestimated.

Finally, we highlight that Nêgo Bispo exemplarily shows that, in the Brazilian Federal Constitution of 1988, confluence is embodied in the fact that Black and Indigenous persons were treated as subjects of law only after long historical processes of extermination. However, he reflects that what is written in the Constitution (and this is true for other countries analyzed) cannot be taken too seriously, since rights, for him, are built in political struggle and history (Santos, 2015). The concepts of race and ethnicity are, in this sense, complex and need to be thought in depth within the ambit of education as practiced in *Ladino Amefrica* and through ethnic-racial relations. *Amefricanity* and confluence are two key concepts that, despite the historical time that separates them, allow us

to analyze historical, geographical, political, educational and onto-epistemological questions in the process of construction of a robust ERER Program in the *Amefrican* continent (Gonzalez, 2020), which follow decolonial and counter-colonial practices (Quijano, 2000; Santos, 2015).

Sueli Carneiro (2023), another major scholar of *Amefrica*, works with the idea of epistemicide not only as an element of disqualification and annulment of Indigenous and Black knowledge. For her, there is a process of cultural indigence that not only denies Black and Indigenous populations access to quality education but also plunges them into racist and discriminatory processes that hinder the exercise of thought and learning. Any EAR project in *Ladino Amefrica* should have, as an ethical principle, the struggle against epistemicide, which has racism as its most potent and implicit argument for existence. Black and Indigenous populations have built, for centuries, their education of resistance. We need, in all spheres of power, to be affected by them and to put them into practice, or we will go on practicing racism by negation in *Amefrica*, which is the basis of the *Amefrican* discussion by Lélia Gonzalez (2020).

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