

INDIGENIST BRAZILIAN EDUCATIONAL POLICY: CONTRADICTIONS AND CHALLENGES

POLÍTICA EDUCACIONAL INDIGENISTA BRASILEIRA: CONTRADIÇÕES E DESAFIOS

POLÍTICA EDUCATIVA INDIGENISTA BRASILEÑA: CONTRADICCIONES Y DESAFÍOS

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ABSTRACT: The history of Brazilian educational policies aimed at indigenous populations is permeated by the classic sociological paradigm of tradition and modernity. That text presents a brief overview of indigenous educational policies, pointing out how traditional and modern models have affected their development. This study is theoretical in nature and, therefore, based on bibliographic and documentary research to question indigenous policies implemented in Brazil. The development of this, it presents the Brazilian educational policy for indigenous education within a historical context, using the concept of tradition and modernity. Analyzes aspects of traditional indigenous educational policy and the changes brought about by the so-called modernity who was definitively established in the indigenous educational debate after the 1988 Constitution. Finally, this makes considerations about some results of the policies adopted in the first decades of the 21st century.

KEYWORDS: Education. Educational policies. Indigenous politics. Tradition. Modernity.

RESUMO: *A história das políticas educacionais brasileiras voltadas às populações indígenas é perpassada pelo paradigma sociológico clássico da tradição e modernidade. Este texto apresenta um breve panorama das políticas educacionais indigenistas, apontando como os modelos tradicionais e modernos afetaram o desenvolvimento das mesmas. O estudo é de natureza teórica e, portanto, baseado em pesquisa bibliográfica e documental para questionar as políticas indigenistas implementadas no Brasil. O desenvolvimento deste artigo apresenta a política educacional brasileira para a educação indígena dentro de um contexto histórico, utilizando-se do conceito tradição e modernidade. Analisa aspectos da política educacional indígena tradicional e as modificações trazidas pela chamada modernidade que se estabeleceu definitivamente no debate educacional indígena após a Constituição de 1988. E tece considerações sobre alguns resultados das políticas adotadas nas primeiras décadas do século XXI.*

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PALAVRAS-CHAVE: *Educação. Política educacional. Política indigenista. Tradição. Modernidade.*

RESUMEN: *La historia de las políticas educativas brasileñas dirigidas a las poblaciones indígenas está impregnada del paradigma sociológico clásico de tradición y modernidad. Este texto presenta un breve panorama de las políticas educativas indígenas, señalando cómo los modelos tradicionales y modernos han afectado su desarrollo. El estudio es de naturaleza teórica y se basa en investigaciones bibliográficas y documentales para cuestionar las políticas indígenas implementadas en Brasil. El desarrollo de este artículo presenta la política educativa brasileña para la educación indígena en un contexto histórico, utilizando el concepto de tradición y modernidad. Analiza aspectos de la política educativa tradicional indígena y los cambios provocados por la llamada modernidad que se instauró definitivamente en el debate educativo indígena posterior a la Constitución Brasileña de 1988. Y hace consideraciones sobre algunos resultados de las políticas adoptadas en las primeras décadas del siglo XXI.*

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Educación. Políticas educativas. Política indígena. Tradición. Modernidad.*

Introdução

The history of Brazilian educational policies aimed at indigenous populations can be interpreted, as we will see in this study, by the classical sociological paradigm of modernity and tradition. Within this debate, the modern appears associated with all forms of capitalist sociability, while the traditional occupies the opposite horizon, associated with non-capitalist, pre-capitalist, or partially capitalist sociabilities (DUSSEL, 2005; QUIJANO, 2005; ROUANET, 1987). These concepts will be discussed further in this article.

In the sphere of indigenous educational policy (IEP), the paradigm of modernity was hegemonic and materialized in "integrationist", "assimilationist", "colonizing", and "civilizing" actions. The conceptions associated with these concepts helped shape public policies aimed at indigenous populations throughout the formation of Brazilian society.

Until 1988, with the promulgation of the Brazilian Constitution known as the Citizen Constitution, the Brazilian IEP followed a format that began to be built in the colonial period, marked by the quest for the conversion of the indigenous person into a civilized citizen (LUCIANO, 2006, 2013). According to experts in the field (AIRES, 2009; LUCIANO, 2006, 2013; OLIVEIRA; FREIRE, 2006; OLIVEIRA; NASCIMENTO, 2012), this policy aimed to lead the indigenous to break with their roots and abandon their way of life in favor of adherence to the typically Western and capitalist way of life. In both the colonial and post-colonial periods the practical goals behind this policy are similar: to use indigenous labor in economic activities

associated with the capitalist mode of production, to appropriate their lands, natural wealth, and their knowledge and strength for the protection of territories (AIRES, 2009; FAUSTO, 2006; LUCIANO, 2006, 2013; OLIVEIRA; FREIRE, 2006). However, from the late twentieth century to the present day, this policy has undergone significant changes, within the perspective of what can be called a "new paradigm of modernity", which absorbs the traditional as one of its components (SANTOS, 2013).

The modernizing posture of the Brazilian Indigenist Policy (IP) was explained, at the macro level, by the search for economic, political and strategic valorization of the native man, which meant the conversion of the native into cheap labor for capital, the transformation of his natural riches into merchandise and the incentive to promote territorial occupation. These objectives were justified in the name of the nation's cultural unity and the mitigation of threats of territorial fragmentation to reduce the country's vulnerabilities to the covetousness of other nations (FONTENELE, 2008; SANTOS, 2013).

It is this set of interests that feeds the modernizing pattern of IP and IEP until, basically, the 1980s. At the end of this decade, due to the strengthening of civil society, the indigenous movement and the advancement of a democratic political and social culture, the Brazilian State would begin to adopt a new posture. This would prove to be more in tune with the affirmation of the traditional way of life, through which, on the one hand, it sought to align IP with the interests and needs of the indigenous populations themselves (GUSTAFSON, 2002).

Scholars of the indigenous issue who analyze it from the standpoint of critical theory (AIRES, 2009; BARROSO-HOFFMANN *et al.*, 2007; DEAN, 2015; GUSTAFSON, 2009; HALE, 2002) point out that this political stance closer to indigenous interests also fit into the new global demands of the capitalist system, which, besides globalization, neoliberalism, and flexible production, sought to adjust its gears to the strengthening of environmentalist movements and sustainable development.

According to Hale (2002), at the same time that the proponents of the neoliberal ideology stimulated multiculturalism by promoting the defense of indigenous cultural rights and the opening of the political space for the conquest of these rights, they also sought to impose their political agendas and regulate the spaces for political participation of Indians, as well as the normatization of cultural differences.

One way or another, the neoliberal endorsement of multiculturalism, sustainability and minority rights generated uncontrolled or, as Hale (2002) prefers, "unintended" effects that culminated in the strengthening of civil society, social movements and, through them, the ideology of sustainable development.

The strengthening of this sustainability ideology was such that it began to be considered as a "so-called 'new paradigm of modernity': 'sustainable development'" (FLEURY; ALMEIDA, 2007). In the indigenous movement, this "new paradigm of modernity" was responsible for the approximation of indigenous communities with governmental and international funding agencies for community development projects, the consolidation of partnerships between these communities and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), and the formation of local and regional associations and organizations (OLIVEIRA; FREIRE, 2006).

It is in this context of strengthening of the Brazilian indigenous movement, the permeabilization of the culture of sustainable development within this movement, the limited conquest of rights and autonomy by these peoples, and the advances and setbacks of the democratic process in Brazil, that it is justified to question the indigenous educational policy. This article is a qualitative study, which presents theoretical questions based on bibliographic and documental research. However, secondary data of a qualitative and quantitative nature were used to illustrate some of the arguments developed here, especially those related to the socioeconomic and educational conditions of Brazilian Indians.

The development of this article presents the Brazilian educational policy for indigenous education within a historical context, using the sociological concepts of tradition and modernity as they appear in Rouanet (1986), Giddens (1991) and Dussel (2005), that is, tradition as the economic, social, political organization and the typical cultural manifestations of archaic non-capitalist societies, and modernity as the way of life and ethos of capitalist societies (DUSSEL, 2005; GIDDENS, 1991; ROUANET, 1986). It analyzes aspects of the indigenous educational policy since its creation in 1988 and the modifications brought about by the 1988 Constitution. It also considers some of the results of the policies adopted in the first decades of the 21st century.

Brazilian Educational Policy for Indigenous Education: Tradition and Modernity

Luciano (2006) points out that the Brazilian imaginary about indigenous people presents three lines: a romantic one, a dehumanizing one, and a citizen one. The first two are heirs of the colonizing process and are in tune with European ethnocentrism, that is, with the concept of superiority and human centrality of the colonizing peoples. Finally, the citizen vision, which has been consolidated since the 1988 Federal Constitution, "is the most civilized vision of the modern world, not only about Indians, but about minorities or socially marginalized majorities. This vision conceives the Indians as subjects of rights and, therefore, of citizenship" (LUCIANO, 2006, p. 36).

The idea of progress, according to which the history of all human societies follows stages that extend from a mythical, primitive phase, passing through an intermediate, metaphysical stage, to the positive phase, which would be superior (DUSSEL, 2005; QUIJANO, 2005), was at the ideological base of the creation of the Brazilian Indigenist Policy, which officially began in 1910 with the creation of the Serviço de Proteção ao Índio e Localização de Trabalhadores Nacionais (SPILTN). Later, in 1918, the SPILTN was replaced by the Indian Protection Service (IPS). As the Federal Government itself acknowledges, on the website of the National Indian Foundation

This governmental decision was made at a historical moment when evolutionist ideas about humanity and its development through stages still predominated. This ethnocentric ideology influenced the governmental vision, and the Constitution in force at that time established the legal figure of guardianship and considered the Indians as "relatively incapable" (FUNAI, 2020).

Until the creation of the SPILTN, the indigenous actions in Brazil were decentralized and, thus, were mainly in charge of either religious missions, which sought to catechize and convert them to Christianity, or business missions, whose purpose was to transform the Indians into slave labor to appropriate their natural wealth (LUCIANO, 2006; OLIVEIRA; FREIRE, 2006; OLIVEIRA; NASCIMENTO, 2012).

The official indigenist policy continued, throughout the 20th century, the actions of integration, acculturation, and conversion of traditional peoples through the ideology of progress and evolution, which resulted in the destruction of the culture, the way of life of these peoples, and their integration, often forced and marginal, to modern society. In this integration policy, aimed at "empowering" and "integrating" the Indian, the educational policy came to

occupy a central place, since it was left with the responsibility of developing the intellectual and physical skills necessary for the utilization of the labor force of these subjects.

In the Brazilian indigenous education policy, the "mythical" of progress was translated into the construction of a model that specialists call "integrationist," "colonialist," "civilizing," "assimilationist," "modernizing," "evolutionist" (AIRES, 2009; LUCIANO, 2006; MELIÁ, 1979; OLIVEIRA; NASCIMENTO, 2012).

Thus, what is being called here the modern model of the Brazilian indigenous educational policy had as its main objective to meet the goals of progress: alter the traditional way of life and culture of indigenous peoples, integrate them into modern society and teach them the values, knowledge and the capitalist way of life:

[...] the main objective of the educational policies aimed at the indigenous peoples, from the catechetical actions of the Jesuits in the colonial period to the indigenist practices of the 20th century, was to bring them to civilization or nationalize them. It was under this imperative that the indigenist field was instituted within the institutional apparatus of the State, based on the assumption of the inferiority of the indigenous in relation to the civilized white race, being situated, this time, in a primitive or savage evolutionary phase. [...] Thus, considered as obstacles to the modernizing project of the country, the Indians were [...]. At the moment when the Brazilian indigenist policies were institutionalized, they were at the center of debates that predicted their extinction. (OLIVEIRA; NASCIMENTO, 2012, p. 768).

As can be seen, in the creation of the National Indian Foundation in 1967, the ideals of evolution, progress, integration, and guardianship of the Indian are present: the search for "spontaneous acculturation" so as not to cause abrupt changes, but with the evident purpose of achieving the socioeconomic "integration" and "evolution" of these peoples.

This educational policy was a policy that failed to integrate the Indian only in a marginal way to the national society, through slumization, sub-proletarianization, unemployment, informalization, impoverishment and physical, social and symbolic violence against these subjects (SOUZA, 2009). As Luciano (2006, p. 97) notes: "It cannot be forgotten that the Brazilian State is the result of a colonial structure that incurs on Indians, forcing them to be part of the most impoverished, exploited and discriminated sectors in Brazil and Latin America."

In the "new paradigm of modernity", sustainable development, in discourse and in practice, seeks to invert the logic of the relationship that the State and society, under the hegemony of the ideology of modernity/progress/evolution, have maintained with Brazilian Indians. This is explained because, in the context of the classic modernizing imaginary, tradition is understood as backwardness and an obstacle to development, and in this new

context it comes to be understood as an ally and even a stage of development. Thus, it is considered that an organization, a State and a society, to be modern, developed, capitalist, have to be economically, socially, politically and culturally efficient, i.e., that promote, at the same time, economic growth, social development, rational and ethical use of public resources, preservation and strengthening of cultural diversity (DIZ, 2014; IPEA, 2012; VEIGA, 2010).

The Brazilian indigenist educational policy under the new paradigm of modernity is in tune with the citizen perception of the Indian. Luciano (2006), when analyzing this perception, emphasizes:

Here the indigenous peoples have won the right to continue perpetuating their own ways of life, their cultures, their civilizations, their values, while also guaranteeing the right of access to other cultures, to technologies and to the values of the world as a whole.

The main normative conquests associated with the new paradigm of modernity that fall upon indigenous peoples begin with the Federal Constitution of 1988. Such conquests are related to the consolidation of the right to possession of the lands they inhabit and to cultural diversity: "Art. 231. Their social organization, customs, languages, beliefs and traditions, and the original rights over the lands they traditionally occupy are recognized to Indians, and the Union is responsible for demarcating them and protecting and enforcing respect for all their assets" (BRAZIL, 1988). They are also associated with the right to a differentiated education, as determined in Paragraph 2 of Article 210 of the Constitution: "Paragraph 2 Regular elementary schooling will be taught in the Portuguese language, and indigenous communities will also be assured the use of their native languages and their own learning processes" (BRAZIL, 1988).

The recognition of the right to land, to cultural diversity, and to a differentiated education unfolded, subsequently, in norms aimed at implementing an indigenous educational policy different from that adopted until 1987, and that was guided, gradually, by the principles and discourse of sustainable development, as shown below.

The legislation in this area involves, besides the CF/88, norms such as Decree no. 26 of 1991, which provides for indigenous education in Brazil (BRAZIL, 1991); Law no. 9.394/1996, the Law of Directives and Bases for National Education (BRAZIL, 1996); Law no. 11. 645/2008, which includes the theme "Afro-Brazilian and Indigenous History and Culture" in the official curriculum of the education system (BRAZIL, 2008); Decree n. 6861/2009, which provides for Indigenous School Education, defines its organization in ethno-educational territories, and makes other provisions (BRAZIL, 2009); Law n. 12. 711/2012,

which provides for affirmative action for Afro-descendants and indigenous people; (BRAZIL, 2012a); Decree n. 7747/2012, which establishes the National Policy for Environmental and Territorial Management of Indigenous Lands (BRAZIL, 2012b); Resolution CEB/CNE n. 05/2012, which defines the National Curricular Guidelines for Indigenous School Education in Basic Education (BRAZIL, 2012c); MEC Ordinance n. 389/2013, which creates the National Program of Permanence Scholarship for undergraduate students entering federal universities and institutes (BRAZIL, 2013a); MEC Ordinance n. 1,062/2013, which establishes the National Program of Ethnoeducational Territories - PNTEE (BRAZIL, 2013b).

The LDB (Law of Directives and Bases) reaffirms and understands the indigenous as a subject of rights. In Articles 78 and 79, for example, the right to a differentiated education is reinforced by reinforcing the right to cultural diversity, autonomy, and the participation of these peoples in the formulation of their school education:

Art. 78. The Union Education System, with the collaboration of federal agencies for the promotion of culture and assistance to Indians, shall develop integrated teaching and research programs, for the provision of bilingual and intercultural school education to indigenous peoples, with the following objectives: I - to provide the Indians, their communities and peoples, with the recovery of their historical memories; the reaffirmation of their ethnic identities; the valorization of their languages and sciences; **Art.79.** The Union will support technically and financially the teaching systems in the provision of intercultural education to indigenous communities, developing integrated programs of teaching and research. § The programs will be planned with an audience with the indigenous communities (BRAZIL, 1996, our emphasis).

Cultural diversity, participation, autonomy, defense, promotion and strengthening of indigenous peoples' ways of life are vehicles that directly connect Brazilian indigenous educational policy with Human Rights³ and, through them, with sustainable development, since one of the foundations of this development model is the promotion of cultural diversity, environmental sustainability, social well-being, political democracy, the promotion of equality, and the reduction of social injustices, which are also vectors of human rights (BRAZIL, 2013c; DIZ, 2014; IPEA, 2012; VEIGA, 2010).

³ Arruda (2020, p. 8) states that International Rights "refer to rights that are universally accepted in the international order, as they deal with rights attributed to humanity in general, by means of international treaties. In this sense, as Brazil (2013c) shows, they encompass a set of Rights provided for in International Treaties ranging from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, through the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, to the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions and the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities and its Optional Protocol. For more information, see **Human Rights**: international acts and related standards (BRAZIL, 2013c).

The other norms that regulate indigenous education in Brazil only reinforce, detail and operationalize the objectives already set out in the LDB, but advance in the explicitness of the ideology of sustainability or of the "new paradigm of modernity" as its major end. Thus, for example, Resolution No. 5, of June 22, 2012, which defines the National Curricular Guidelines for Indigenous School Education in Basic Education, highlights, in its Article 13, Item I, explicitly, as shown in the highlighted fragments, sustainable development as the north of this policy:

Art. 13 The Professional and Technological Education in Indigenous School Education shall articulate the principles of broad education, socio-environmental sustainability, and respect for the diversity of students, considering the forms of organization of indigenous societies and their social, political, economic, and cultural differences, and shall

I - contribute to the construction of autonomous territorial management, enabling the elaboration of sustainable development projects and alternative production for indigenous communities, in view of, in many cases, the situations of unassistance and lack of support for their productive processes (BRAZIL, 2012c).

This resolution is preceded by Decree No. 7,747 of June 5, 2012, which institutes the National Policy for Territorial and Environmental Management of Indigenous Lands (PNGATI). This Decree makes references ten times to the term sustainable or its derivatives, such as sustainable and sustainability, which makes it explicit that this is the main axis of PNGATI.

Thus, already in the preliminary provisions of this norm, in its Art. 1, we read that: "The National Policy for Territorial and Environmental Management of Indigenous Lands - PNGATI is hereby instituted, with the objective of guaranteeing and promoting the protection, recovery, conservation and **sustainable use of the natural resources of indigenous lands and territories**" (BRAZIL, 2012b, our emphasis).

Then, in Chapter II, PNGATI's Guidelines and Objectives, Section IV, this norm defines that one of the guidelines of this policy is:

IV - recognition and appreciation of the contribution of indigenous women and the use of their knowledge and **practices for the protection, conservation, recovery and sustainable use of natural resources essential for the well-being and the physical and cultural reproduction of indigenous peoples** (BRAZIL, 2012b, our emphasis)

In Article 4, which deals with the axes in which the specific objectives of PNGATI are structured, Decree No. 7.747 deals specifically with sustainability as an axis of this policy in Axis 5, as shown in the parts highlighted by us:

V - axis 5 - **sustainable use** of natural resources and indigenous productive initiatives:

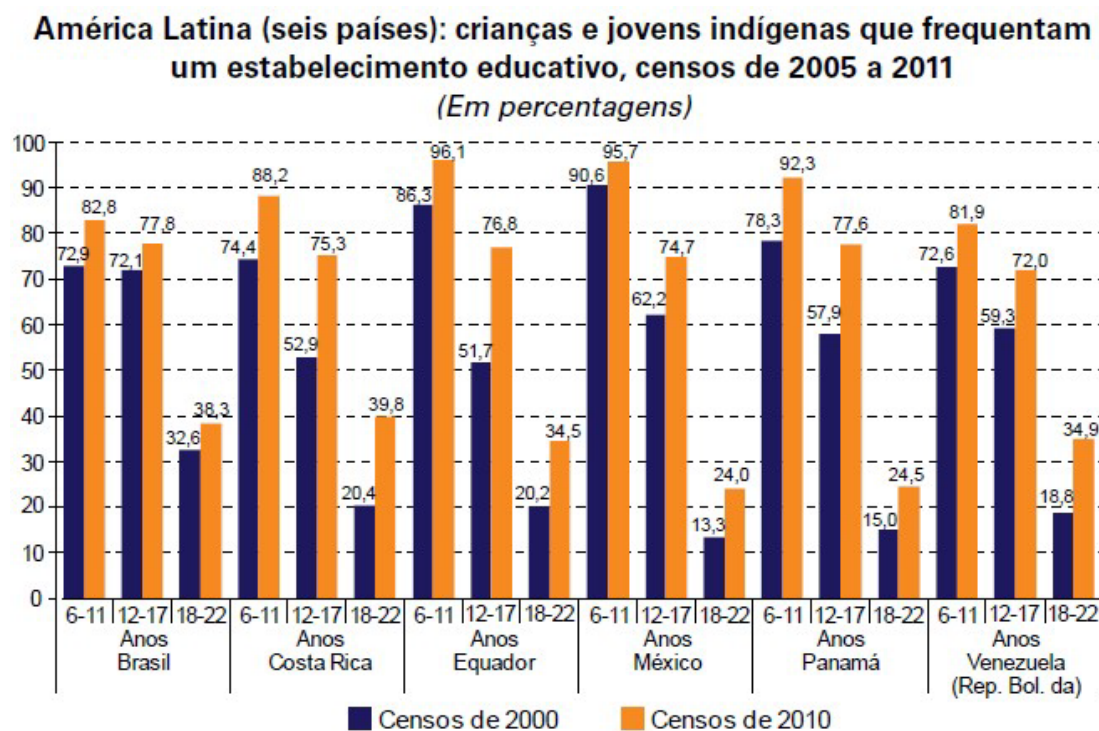
- a) guarantee indigenous peoples the exclusive usufruct of the riches of the soil, rivers and lakes existing on indigenous lands;
- b) strengthen and promote indigenous productive initiatives, with support for the use and development of **new sustainable technologies**;
- c) promote and support the conservation and **sustainable use** of natural resources used in indigenous culture, including handicrafts for commercial purposes;
- d) support the substitution of non-sustainable productive activities on indigenous lands for **sustainable activities**;
- e) Support studies of socio-environmental impact of non-traditional economic and productive activities of indigenous communities' initiative;
- f) Discourage the use of pesticides on indigenous lands and monitor compliance with Law No. 11,460, of March 21, 2007, which prohibits the cultivation of genetically modified organisms on indigenous lands;
- g) **Support sustainable indigenous initiatives of ethno-tourism and ecotourism**, respecting the community's decision and the indigenous peoples' diversity, promoting, when applicable, previous studies, diagnosis of socio-environmental impacts and the indigenous communities' capacity building for managing these activities;

A little earlier, in Decree No. 6.861/2009, the principle of sustainability is already present in the formatting of indigenous school education, as evidenced in Article 11 of this norm, which reads that: "The pedagogical proposals for high school integrated to the professional training of indigenous students should **articulate the school activities with the sustainability projects formulated by the indigenous communities** and consider the regional and local specificities" (BRAZIL, 2009, our emphasis).

The content of the norms indicates, therefore, that current Brazilian indigenous educational policy is ultimately guided by the "new paradigm of modernity" as a development strategy for these peoples. After almost three decades since the publication of the 1988 Federal Constitution, one can affirm, at the end of two decades of the 21st century, that this new paradigm has been consolidated, if not as a practice, then as an ideological, scientific, and normative/official discourse guiding this policy.

As Saviani (1999; 2010; 2011) states, an educational policy is successful if it contributes to expanding social opportunities, social welfare, access to social and labor rights, citizenship, dignity, and, thus, the possibilities of social and human development of a society. In this sense, it is important to ask how are the economic conditions of the Brazilian indigenous populations doing under the educational policies induced by the new paradigm of modernity? Here is some data for reflection.

Figure 1 – Indigenous children and youth attending an educational institution in countries with the most significant indigenous populations in Latin America⁴



Source: CEPAL (2015, p. 97)

The data in Figure 1, which includes some of the countries with the most significant indigenous populations in Latin America, show that in Brazil, from 2000 to 2010, there was an increase in the school attendance of indigenous people in all age groups, from 6 to 22 years old. ECLAC's data indicates improved school access for indigenous people in Brazil and is consistent with other studies that, over the last decade, show improved schooling among indigenous people.

According to Vettorazzo (2017), the illiteracy rate among black and brown people - where indigenous people are located - had fallen to 9.9% in 2017, however, it was still double the illiteracy rate among whites, which was, in this year, 4.2%. Illiteracy among indigenous people, between 2000 and 2010, was almost 3 times the national rate, and reached 23.3% of the population.

Nearly ten years later, the reality of poverty among indigenous people in the country remains strong, as indicated by the epidemiological data of these populations. According to the 2017 Epidemiological Bulletin of the Ministry of Health, for example, the infant mortality rates

⁴ Latin America (6 countries): indigenous children and youth attending an educational institution, censuses 2005 to 2011 =

among indigenous people in Brazil are higher than those of the other ethnic groups evaluated. The bulletin also shows that diseases typical of poverty and misery, such as leishmaniasis and tuberculosis (BRAZIL, 2017), are endemic among these peoples. The data from the bulletin follows:

The detection coefficients among indigenous and blacks were, respectively, 18 and 3.4 times higher than in the white population (3.5/100,000 inhab.). In all regions analyzed, it was observed that indigenous people account for the highest detection coefficients of new cases of LT (Tegumentary Leishmaniasis), with emphasis on the Midwest region (125.8/100,000 inhab.) (BRAZIL, 2017, p. 3).

Despite the improvement in access to school education, the data are not encouraging either. According to the Federal Government, in 2019 there were 3,345 indigenous schools in Brazil, however:

1,029 indigenous schools do not function in school buildings; 1,027 indigenous schools are not regularized by their education systems [...]. In addition, 1,970 schools do not have filtered water, 1,076 do not have electricity, and 1,634 schools do not have sanitary sewage. There are 3,077 schools without a library, 3,083 without broadband, and 1,546 that do not use specific teaching materials. And, although 2,417 schools do not inform the indigenous language adopted, 3,345 school units use indigenous language (BRAZIL, 2019).

The situation of poverty and misery that prevails among Brazilian indigenous populations, therefore, does not allow us to argue in favor of the experience of an effective development process on their part. And this occurs in the context of a new model of indigenist policy and indigenous educational policy, wrapped up in the discourse of sustainable development.

Final remarks

The discourse of the "new paradigm of modernity" seeks to subvert the logic of the modernity paradigm in the conduct of Brazilian indigenous educational policy, by starting from a new understanding of efficiency and development as a composite that involves environmental, social, political, cultural, and economic efficiency. In this context, traditional peoples came to be understood as partners and promoters of sustainable development. As partners in development, their culture, traditions, way of life, customs, economic practices, social relations, and traditional knowledge need to be protected, promoted, and strengthened.

However, the educational and social data presented show that the new indigenist policy, adopted since 1988, has not proved sufficient to bring social development to these populations, as the indicators presented show. It can be inferred that this "new model" has not yet been able to promote the longed-for development of these societies, neither in the classical sense, of economic improvements, nor in the sense of sustainable development.

In general, there were no changes or generalized transformations in the social conditions of these populations, which leads to the conclusion that, even under the hegemony of this new model of educational policy, what we have are reproduction processes of social conditions of marginality, marked by the mass vulnerability of these peoples.

Why, even after almost three decades of hegemony of the sustainable development discourse in Brazilian indigenous educational policy has there not been a generalized expansion of social opportunities, social well-being, and social and human development among these peoples? Is it the "new model" that is wrong or is it not being effectively applied? If it is not being applied, what struggles should be fought for its effectiveness? These questions can be developed from the issues presented in this article.

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