



## INDIGENOUS DEGREE: INTERCULTURALITIES AND DECOLONIALITY IN PERSPECTIVE

# LICENCIATURA INDÍGENA: INTERCULTURALIDADES E DECOLONIALIDADES EM PERSPECTIVA

# GRADUACIÓN INDÍGENA: INTERCULTURALIDADES Y DECOLONIALIDADES EN PERSPECTIVA



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**ABSTRACT**: This paper discusses the presence of the concepts of interculturality and decoloniality in the pedagogical projects of indigenous degrees implemented in Brazil. The data collected were taken from twelve projects already approved and that had at least one class. The information sought was related to the explicit presence of these concepts and the spaces reserved for them. The answers allowed a contextualized analysis of the changes in the construction of new courses, especially indigenous degrees, which have the mission of training educators to work in indigenous schools.

KEYWORDS: Interculturality. Decoloniality. Indigenous degree. Course project.

**RESUMO**: Este artigo debate a presença dos conceitos de interculturalidade e decolonialidade nos projetos pedagógicos das licenciaturas indígenas implantadas no Brasil. Os dados coletados foram retirados de doze projetos já aprovados e que tiveram ao menos uma turma. As informações buscadas estavam relacionadas com a presença explicita dos referidos conceitos e dos espaços reservados para eles. As respostas permitiram uma análise contextualizada sobre as mudanças na construção de novos cursos, especialmente as licenciaturas indígenas, que possuem a missão de formar educadores para atuar nas escolas indígenas.

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE**: Interculturalidade. Decolonialidade. Licenciatura indígena. Projeto de curso.

**RESUMEN**: Este artículo discute la presencia de los conceptos de interculturalidad y decolonialidad en los proyectos pedagógicos de graduaciones indígenas implementados en Brasil. Los datos recogidos fueron tomados de doce proyectos ya aprobados y que tenían al menos una clase. La información buscada se relacionó con la presencia explícita de estos conceptos y los espacios reservados para ellos. Las respuestas permitieron un análisis contextualizado de los cambios en la construcción de nuevos cursos, especialmente los grados indígenas, que tienen la misión de formar educadores para trabajar en escuelas indígenas.

**PALABRAS CLAVE**: Interculturalidad. Decolonialidad. Graduación indígena. Proyecto de curso.

#### Introduction

Teacher training is a very relevant topic for a country that needs to structure an education that has not achieved the objectives expected by our society, but which are present in official documents. Assuming that undergraduate degrees need to be seen as the starting point for the training of qualified teachers to intervene in school and social practices should be the premise of training centers. However, there is still, in the training courses, the massive presence of contents and ways of teaching and learning based on theories built in the central countries of capitalism.

The indigenous intercultural degrees conceived as political since the end of the last century, but put into practice already in the twenty-first century, advocate a way to build a higher education course for teacher training with a procedure not previously perceived. The process of this policy does not come from within the teacher training centers, but from the indigenous communities and the partnerships of these communities with other social movements, including with the teacher training centers.

This protagonism of the indigenous movement brought demands to the course project. This work aims to verify if two concepts that are very present in the debates on the training of indigenous teachers are explicit in the Pedagogical Projects of the Courses (PPC) of specific degrees for the training of indigenous teachers. It deals with the concepts of interculturality and decoloniality with their linguistic or conceptual mutations. We try, however, to unite this diversity, because for our purpose the general definitions will suffice. Our goal, therefore, is to perceive in the PPCs of the Indigenous Degrees how such concepts are described and the project is based in a structural way.

To this end, we were able to collect twelve PPCs of Indigenous Licentiates that had at least one class already formed. There is more in Brazil than this amount of courses, however, we could not reach all the projects, but those analyzed point us to a dimension of what has been developing as a curricular proposal, in courses located in the 05 Brazilian regions, contemplating the wide ethnic diversity that exists in the country.

The course projects that we will analyze are linked to the following institutions: Federal Institute of Bahia, Community University of the Chapecó Region, State University of Bahia, State University of Mato Grosso, State University of Pará, Vale do Acaraú State University, Federal University of Amapá, Federal University of Ceará, Federal University of Espírito Santo, Federal University of Grande Dourados, Federal University of Rondônia, Federal University of Santa Catarina. The Indigenous Intercultural Degrees, together with teacher training courses for Rural Education and Quilombola education, constitute a transformative and defining space for undergraduate degrees in Brazil. These degrees, in order to meet specific audiences, incorporate new conditions for teacher training centers. Requirements that assume obligations for Universities, Institutes and Faculties and that are extended to governmental instances. Thus, new premises emerge, which are rooted in the expectations and demands of social movements. However, old transformative proposals are also recovered, which were already present in the other degrees, at least in some of them, but which were not visible in the fields of clashes for new methodologies and epistemologies. New or pre-existing, in the projects of education undergraduate courses aimed at indigenous communities, the impositions are permanently conjunctural and do not allow concealments.

The subjects involved in these courses carry within themselves aspects of an ancestral collectivity. This aspect is cultural and conditioned to learning processes, providing methodological innovations that are usually away from academies, the only places authorized by society to train teachers. In this intersection of indigenous ancestry with the Western epistemologies accepted in educational institutions lies the central point of conflict, but also inhabits the main possibility for changes in undergraduate degrees in general and, why not, structural transformations in educational institutions.

The specific training of/for indigenous teachers places the universities that offer these courses, as well as the indigenous schools, in a border territory and as a place that produces a frontier thought (MIGNOLO, 2015), because it is observed conflicts of cultures of societies and even of identity. The way in which indigenous people come to universities and the way in which they are producing school do not leave it aside, but incorporate the dominant thought, putting it into question and contaminating it with other histories and other ways of thinking.

In Brazil, several courses at the higher level of training of indigenous teachers have been implemented in this perspective. The first experiences were the Third Indigenous Degree of Barra do Bugres, implemented by the State University of Mato Grosso and the Insikiran Course, of the Federal University of Roraima, started in 2001. Currently there are 23 universities/institutes that offer specific courses, as follows in the table below.

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Acronym	Institution	Creation
IFAM	Federal Institute of Education Science and Technology of Amazonas	
IFBA	Federal Institute of Education, Science and Technology of Bahia	2009
UEA	University of the State of Amazonas	
UECE	State University of Ceará Foundation	2009
UEPA	State University of Pará	2012
UFAC	Federal University of Acre	2008
UFAM	Federal University of Amazonas	
UFC	Federal University of Ceará	2006
UFCG	Federal University of Campina Grande	2007
UFES	Federal University of Espírito Santo	2010
UFG	Federal University of Goiás	2006
UFGD	Federal University of Grande Dourados	2006
UFMG	Federal University of Minas Gerais	2006
UFMS	Federal University of Mato Grosso do Sul	2010
UFPE	Federal University of Pernambuco	2009
UFRO/UNIR	Federal University of Rondônia Foundation	2008
UFRR	Federal University of Roraima	2002
UFSC	Federal University of Santa Catarina	2011
UNEAL	State University of Alagoas	
UNEB	State University of Bahia	
UNEMAT	State University of Mato Grosso	2000
	3rd Indigenous Degree	
UNIFAP	Federal University of Amapá	2007
GRAPE	State University of Vale do Acaraú	

Table 1 – Offer of specific training courses for indigenous teachers in Brazil

Source: Table prepared by the authors from data provided by the Network of Indigenous Licentiates of Brazil (WhatsApp group created by the Ministry of Education and brings together representatives of institutions that offer indigenous degrees in Brazil)

These transformations are the legacies of traditional peoples and communities and also of the social movements led by these groups. In the specific case of undergraduate degrees for the training of indigenous teachers, there is the ancestral structure of the subjects, with their own modes of learning, with epistemological mobilizations that carry knowledge that form a solid basis for new learning. There are also specific elements: students are teachers in their communities, will attend courses that are offered in the model of the Pedagogy of Alternation (unusual typology in teacher training institutions), are fathers and mothers (many with small children who will accompany them during classes), receive very low salaries and are not admitted (they are disconnected from their duties or do not receive their fees often), Institutional student assistance policies for these groups are also scarce.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The model of the pedagogy of alternation is a "way of organizing the training process, whose principles encompass pedagogical and methodological instruments that integrate practical knowledge, scientific knowledge, diversity of epistemologies, identities, knowledge, educational territories and territorialities of the subjects in the scope of the school, the university and other educational institutions" (BRASIL, PARECER CNE/CP N°: 22/2020, p. 2), and training courses for indigenous teachers are organized, enabling the alternation of educational times and spaces, sometimes in the university, sometimes in the communities of origin of the students.

These own characteristics, there are certainly others that we do not list, do not accept to be ignored. On the other hand, it is not simple and we do not even know if it becomes necessary to hierarchize them. The latent question posed reveals the condition for the offer of these courses: they are born of indigenous peoples and for indigenous peoples. In this way, the institution offering the degree and all its structure of professionals and locations must walk to respect and enhance this protagonism.

Logically, the courses are not homogeneous. There are specific needs of indigenous peoples that alter this structure. Thus, there are changes in this form of supply, adaptations and modifications that are born from local realities. Even this local factor is paramount to maintain the quality of the course and occupies the centrality in the discussions for the reformulations in the courses. Thus, it is not our intention to rigorously describe this pedagogical structure of the course, nor to plaster this offer. We then made a more general reading of this structure to move on to the next step.

#### Interculturality in perspective

The process of building the curricula of intercultural courses aimed at indigenous peoples in Brazil by bringing as an adjective, in the very way of referring to undergraduate courses, the word 'intercultural' already propagates the central premise of this way of building a teacher education. It reveals that in this training program for indigenous teachers there is a central concept that will define curricula, pedagogical practices and management practices. Therefore, the definition that is divided into two - interculturality, as a conceptual noun, and intercultural, as a procedural adjective - occupies space and defines in and for educational institutions other ways of training professionals for schools where local culture cannot be subordinated to national/international culture.<sup>4</sup>

This way of constructing initial education differs from other degrees in a structural way, even considering all the debates that currently permeate teacher education courses. The courses for indigenous peoples germinate in the fertile soil of indigenous communities, fertilize themselves in the epistemologies of traditional communities and grow watered by the clashes for the territory and culture of each people. These social guidelines characterize these courses

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> This noun format, interculturality, for when the concept is going to be debated and the other format, as an adjective, intercultural, for when it is restricting the meaning of some noun, is how it appears in the PPCs. In both cases, the concept is of interculturality, the choice, between noun and adjective, is then linked to the morphosyntactic positioning of the lexicon.

and bathe them in constitutive heterogeneity (AUTHIER, 1990, p. 32), making them collective by the struggles that unite them and, at the same time, one, from the cultural specificities of each people.

The presence of the culture of the indigenous people to be served modifies the bases of the training to be offered (BRASIL, 2015, 2002). This factor complexifies the writing of the Pedagogical Projects of these courses, considering that almost all of these formations serve more than one ethnicity. Each ethnicity brings its own ritualistic, epistemological, territorial, linguistic and defining elements of its ways of being, learning and teaching. Building a course project with this plural nature without ignoring the particularities of each ethnicity tends to only materialize in the broad participation of indigenous communities in this writing process. That is, this structure of higher education institutions, of constructing course proposals having as an initiating element of the process subjects internal to the HEIs, becomes a nebulous path for these formations. Of course, it is also so for other degrees, but for Indigenous Licentiates it is deadly.

With such prerogatives, this section will deal with pedagogical projects, reflecting on interculturality (WALSH, 2009, 2007; CANDAU, 2008) explicitly present in these documents. Thus, we enumerate some categories of our own to direct our analysis. The first data refers to the presence of the words 'Interculturality' and 'Intercultural' in the titles of the courses. The adjective 'intercultural', restricting the noun "licensure" present in the title of the course, is quite central to this debate, as it makes visible a central premise for the structure of the PPC and, therefore, of the course. In this way, the course construction structure of the Universities/Institutes is moved to serve subjects who did not have their epistemologies recognized by the research centers.

Considering that there is a substantial gain in intercultural proposals, both for the peoples to be served and for the training institutions, it is salutary to realize that all the PPCs consulted are defined as intercultural, when we consider the title as a central marker element. Therefore, all undergraduate students who had their PPCs read for this study are defined as intercultural. This factor is very relevant, because at least there is an understanding that it is necessary to build another degree, where the culture of a group is constitutive of knowledge that cannot continue on the periphery of the teaching and learning processes.

The second verified data referred to the presence of 'Interculturality/Interculturality' as the central phrasing in the construction of one of the topics of the summary of the course projects. This data was chosen considering that the summary defines the parts of the project and, then, the central path to be followed to propose a new course. The placement of the aforementioned words as guiding elements of a part of the project demonstrates the recognition of the need for a broader reflection on the part of the subjects involved in the course on what they should accept as intercultural.

In another direction, but adding to the previous one, an entire part of the project dedicated to this debate allows the concept to be applied to the decisions made about the internal processes of teaching, learning, course management. How will interculturality be concretized in the practices developed in the course? What interculturality is the course, considering that there is not only one way to make the course intercultural? These questions are not rhetorical. They direct the materialization of an epistemological debate present in the project.

Of the twelve PPCs consulted, only two have a section of the table of contents where interculturality appears as a central element. Therefore, the space to dialogue expressly about this concept is not seen by project proponents as indispensable. This fact, minimally, indicates an incoherent stance in relation to the title of the project itself. If the term intercultural is central defining because it is in the title, spelling out what it means to be intercultural should be seen as a basic necessity. Unless it is already considered that being intercultural is a peaceful point for undergraduate courses. However, it is not possible to find this to be a good premise.

Thus, we looked at another data, which had as a proposition to perceive if there was in the PPC the reflection on interculturality, no longer as a section title, but as the content of some section. Such a stance shows, on the one hand, that this concept does not deserve much space as occupying an entire section, but, on the other hand, it demonstrates that there was a concern to define the concept, even if with less detail.

Seven projects did not concern themselves with this debate, but five reserved some space to show that there is a need to talk about this concept. There is, thus, an increase of space for it, showing that even with less space than an entire section, a few paragraphs can already clarify which direction of interculturality the project proposes.

Reflecting on this posture, we verify, then, the presence of the adjective 'criticism' linked to the noun 'interculturality'. This choice is justified by current studies that there are several ways to adopt an intercultural stance. One of these ways tends to be more appropriate when one is in the field of cultures considered invisible. In the case of indigenous communities, their epistemologies have almost always been relegated to less prestigious spaces. Thus, to erect a critical intercultural process (TUBINO, 2005; WALSH, 2002; SEQUEIRA, 2016) will make

the subordinated knowledge (GROSFOGUEL, 2009) assume positions that were not allowed to them before.

Taking a critical stance reveals the clash between the knowledge that will be passed on in the training courses of indigenous teachers. It is known that science, classified as Western, encompasses almost all curricular components, if not all, of the most different undergraduate courses. Allowing this exclusionary stance to be maintained cannot be seen as an inclusive attitude, even worse when the training is of indigenous teachers. The challenge is at the level of inserting other knowledge belonging to other groups. It is expected, in the interim, that the epistemologies of the traditional groups served for each course permeate the theories and practices undertaken in the actions.

It is surprising how the adjective critical, defining the type of interculturality, is present, explicitly, in only one of the PPCs. If there is a discussion about the concept, as we have seen there is this activity in some projects, why is the critical perspective not discussed in a crystalclear way? This is a good question considering that studies on interculturality, clearly defining the various possibilities of it happening, tend to contribute more to the practices of teacher educators. As it is the trainers who usually write the course projects, defining this concept in great detail will contribute greatly to the realization of intercultural teaching practices.

Having as a defining element this importance of a good discussion of the concept of interculturality, the following data refers to the curricular components. We searched in the title of the curricular component for the word 'intercultural' or the word 'interculturality', placing them as equally capable of bringing the debate, explicitly, as expected from the titles of the projects. The presence of this term in this specific space, in addition to strengthening the importance of a good debate on the concept we are studying, shows that the curricular structure of the course is focused on the recognition of indigenous culture as the protagonist of pedagogical practice.

The curricular structure carries the responsibility of concretizing the theoretical debates present in the PPC. It is defined, therefore, in the course of the project, the methodological and epistemological postures of the pedagogical praxis (FREIRE, 2016) and inserts them in the curriculum defining syllabus that dialogue with such propositions.

Seven of the PPCs verified present, in their curricular structure, components with the intercultural definitor. Some of these designs feature many components built in this format. Obviously, this data strengthens the question previously posed (about the critical perspective), because it shows a concern with the sedimentation of indigenous protagonism, through the

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presence of their knowledge, a fact that is concretized by the presence of interculturality. However, the lack of a good definition of the concept tends to concentrate the responsibility for an intercultural syllabus to be developed in a critical way in the pedagogical proposals of teachers.

The syllabuses are structured as intercultural, but this does not in itself, even if it is an important step, ensure the most appropriate perspective of interculturality to be adopted. For us, this perspective needs to be critical. We recognize, however, that these decision-making and assumption of posture depend on teaching positions. We assume, however, that a detailed debate in the PPC will contribute to the teaching practice assuming an intercultural and critical stance.

Thus, the data seen so far already reveal that the intercultural posture is present in the projects, even if still needing more debates, its presence is palpable. Thus, finally, we verified the repetition of the words intercultural and interculturality in the projects. The data was whether there were more than ten repetitions adding up the two words. In nine of the twelve projects consulted, the response was positive. The other three had fewer than ten. There was no occurrence of absence of the concept (always checking if there was one of the two words). Therefore, there is no way not to recognize that interculturality is present in a robust way in all projects, becoming one of the premises for course proposal.

We emphasize that we did not research this concept in the bibliographic references because we consider that being in a reference does not mean a priori being in the text of the projects and, at this moment, being in the text of the project interested us directly.

The data demonstrate a crystallization of the presence of the concept of interculturality in training courses for indigenous teachers. This advance demonstrates the strength of indigenous protagonism, showing that their knowledge contributes directly to the teaching and learning process in their communities.

Interculturality is not only the entry of a concept into a course project, it represents the entry of epistemologies of indigenous communities into teacher training centers (COSTA, 2019). The solidification of this way of training teachers transforms the degrees from within, because it removes a label very present in the institutions, the one that defines what knowledge is accepted, and there is knowledge that is on the margins.

The knowledge of traditional communities qualifies the formation and allows social movements to be seen as part of the process of building a course. Usually, the part of the community in proposing a new course is restricted to polls or interviews. In indigenous courses, traditional, community knowledge will be part of the entire course process, including defining pedagogical practices. Thus, verifying the change that the data have brought us reinvigorates our expectations for teacher training courses connected with social practices and with social movements and society.

## **Decoloniality in perspective**

As we have already pointed out, undergraduate projects throughout Brazil can be composed within what we consider decolonial movements. We speak from places - from specific training courses for indigenous teachers - where relationships are established between indigenous teachers, communities, university/institute and school. To think about the processes by which these places are affected, we seek in the pedagogical projects of these courses' concepts such as: decoloniality/decoloniality; overcoming Eurocentrism; modernity/coloniality/colonialism. These concepts are present in the movement produced by a network that forms the Modernity-Coloniality Research program called "Decolonial Gyre" (MIGNOLO; WALSH, 2002).

This movement brings together a set of attempts to produce critical knowledge to address the political and cultural dilemmas facing Latin America today. And it has been configured as a "decolonial turn", because it is about the openness and freedom of thought and other forms of life - other theories, other economies, other policies - the cleansing of the coloniality of being and knowledge, the detachment from the rhetoric of modernity and its imperial imaginary (MIGNOLO, 2007, p. 29).

As Walsh (2017) points out, it is very recurrent, in the literature related to the decoloniality of power, to find references to the terms decolonial and decoloniality, as well as decolonial and decoloniality. This finding justifies the choice of these keywords so that we could identify in the PPCs this concept, which we named in the section as decoloniality in perspective<sup>5</sup>.

Higher education institutions are epistemologically designed spaces. This finding does not refer only to the physical space, located on a map, but to the historical, social, cultural and discursive spaces (MIGNOLO, 2015). They are epistemological spaces that provide the basis for subjectivities/identities. These geopolitics of knowledge, according to Walsh (2009), is what

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Catherine Walsh suggests, that by suppressing the "s" of the word decoloniality, if it intends to highlight not the existence of "a null state of coloniality, but rather postures, positions, horizons and projects of resisting, transgressing, intervening, insurgent, creating and incurring" (WALSH, 2017).

guides education and its conceptions of knowledge science and knowledge. Bilingual education, conceived and proposed by indigenous peoples as a practice to confront integrationist, homogenizing, colonizing educational policies and unequal reforms of power, has a clearly identity and political character of demand. For the author, it is necessary to move towards an educational reformulation from a decolonial orientation, which implies working strategically on different fronts, including that of knowledge.

To discuss an epistemic politics of interculturality, but also political and critical epistemologies in the field of education, could serve to elevate the debates around interculturality to another level, moving from its roots in ethnic-cultural diversity to the problem of "Science" itself. That is, to show how science, as one of the central foundations of the project of modernity / coloniality, contributed vitally to the establishment and maintenance of the historical and current hierarchical racial order, in which whites - European white men - remain at the top (WALSH, 2009, p. 206, our translation).

It is fundamental to realize that the relations of knowledge, established in the model imposed by the structures, by the systems of power and by the colonial knowledge, are maintained and reproduced by the universities and still guide the ways of being and perceiving oneself in the world. In this way, interculturality and decoloniality are projects that are linked to the struggle for a differentiated indigenous school education and always under construction, permeated by a series of tensions. When we refer to the training of indigenous teachers in a space that has the potential for coloniality - the universities/institutes - it is necessary to think that it is more than just resistance what these courses have done, they are decolonial movements.

The knowledge desired by the indigenous people is constituted from the elements of values of their own culture, but also from the knowledge of the other, of the non-indigenous. This conception composes the fabric of the PPCs of the training courses for indigenous teachers (OLIVEIRA, 2009). In this sense, the initial training of indigenous teachers to work in indigenous schools, brings to universities the challenge of developing an action that aims at the human person, the child and the community where these peoples are inserted. It is a look at the issues of knowledge, in view of the power relations, experiences and identity of a people, or indigenous peoples. This is revealed in the speech of indigenous professor Otoniel Ricardo, during the Seminar *Challenges for a Higher Education for Indigenous Peoples in Brazil*, held in Brasilia, in August 2004. According to this indigenous professor, "Many seek knowledge from the other side, from the outside, but we have to take the sciences to both sides: our science,

as Guarani and Kaiowá, that is, as indigenous, and the second science, which is not ours, which does not belong to us. [...]".6

We bring here a reading referring to the curriculum, which is present in the Curricular Pedagogical Proposals – PPCs of Indigenous Intercultural Degree courses already in operation in Brazil. More specifically, from this perspective, we seek to verify how these courses, from the curricular organization, present the aforementioned themes, that is, how the decolonial dimension is present in these documents.

What we perceive in common, in these courses, is the perspective of a flexible curriculum, in constant construction, therefore, from what is presented on paper until the effectiveness of these proposals, there is a long way to go. In the same proportion, there is the search for the identity of the course, always respecting the peoples served. Another relevant data is in the curricular organization divided into two parts: one common to all students and the other aimed at qualification in specific areas. However, our search will be in the sum of these parts, in the project as a whole.

In the PPCs analyzed, the terms of **decolonial**, **decoloniality**, **coloniality**<sup>7</sup> appear few times and lead little to the theoretical-methodological perspectives of the courses. In seven projects, we find mention of these terms. Such mentions were, for the most part, in the syllabus of the disciplines or in the titles of the disciplines. In only one of them, decoloniality is explicitly present in the pedagogical and methodological conceptions. These findings demonstrate the lack of dedication to the debate on the subject. Considering that a colonial stance makes it impossible for these courses to achieve the objectives desired by indigenous communities, there is a latent need for debates on this concept.

On the other hand, a tacit position against imperialism, represented by the coloniality of power, tends to open space for debates involving actions that will go to the whole society. These actions bring gains for all, because they carry the posture of social transformation and involvement of practices and experiences that are built locally. This valorization exposes the ideologies that are usually camouflaged by pedagogical practices that assume praxis built outside the communities (and even the country) as if they were the only possible ones and ignore knowledge that would mediate with much more property the processes of teaching and learning.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The results of this seminar are published in the book Trilhas de Conhecimentos: o ensino superior de indígenas no Brasil; Available: http://www.trilhasdeconhecimentos.etc.br/livros/arquivos/Desafios.pdf. Access: 10 Dec. 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> In Portuguese: de(s)colonial, de(s)colonialidade, colonialidade.

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We perceive, however, that even if these concepts are not explicit in the PPCs of the courses, it is possible to perceive that throughout the proposals, the production of knowledge debated breaks with the unitary logic, opening up to distinct knowledge. The PPCs, then, place the indigenous as the subject that can intervene directly in the production of knowledge (WALSH, 2004), promoting fissures in the coloniality/modernity model present in higher education institutions.

An example of this decision-making concerns bilingual education. It was conceived and proposed by indigenous peoples as a practice to confront integrationist, homogenizing, colonizing educational policies and unequal power reforms. It has a clearly identity and political character of demand. This practice is present in the proposals, showing that these courses move towards an educational reformulation from a decolonial orientation, which implies working strategically on different fronts, including that of knowledge.

#### **Final remarks**

We noticed in the projects that the indigenous peoples, when entering the universities, brought demands that are changing the documents of course construction, which indicates transformation of the practices of these institutions. Logically, we realize that the changes are gradual, because the spaces occupied are still smaller than they can be, including, can reach the other degrees. Thus, the current condition, as proposed by Mignolo (2015), is in a situation of "frontier thinking", in the condition of relationship between subordinated knowledge and knowledge universalized by the Western world. Indigenous peoples, locally, have taken a position of negotiation and transgression. It is worth mentioning that "frontier thinking does not leave aside, but incorporates the dominant thought, puts it in question, contaminates it with other histories and other ways of thinking" (WALSH, 2002).

The movements of (re)existence, produced by indigenous peoples, in partnership with universities/institutes, which offer specific courses for the training of indigenous teachers, point to lines of escape from the fixity of the ideological construction placed in the process of coloniality. They are lines of escape that move in the outline of "scribbles" of decoloniality, produced between the fissures and the cracks, within the modern/colonial order (WALSH, 2004). The constant struggle for the recovery of territories, to which is linked the search for (revival) of a way of being of one's own, the search for a differentiated formation that values its knowledge in dialogue with Western knowledge are, in our view, what we can identify as

some lines of escape.

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