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School histories in Amazonia: Education and schooling in Apurinã lands

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In Brazilian Amazonia, a significant number of Indigenous children and youth are born in Indigenous reserves and settlements located at several days' river journey from the nearest urban areas. This rainforest environment differs from those Indigenous settlements and demarcated Indigenous territories that are only a few minutes' distance from nearby urban areas. Many Indigenous families live in cities for generations, but their visits to their home villages can be frequent.

All of the above-mentioned cases apply to the Apurinã. They are one of Brazil's approximately 240 Indigenous groups, numbering almost 900,000 people in total. Most of the Apurinã live in demarcated or rural areas. Indigenous groups in Brazil can be classified according to their language families – Tupi, Carib, Ge, and Arawak being the biggest ones (Funai 2018). The special requirements to develop Indigenous schooling and were principally studied from the perspectives of anthropology, education, and linguistics (see e.g. Cabral et al 1987; Monte 1996; Lopes et al 2001), and today both Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars are contributing to this Indigenization (e.g. Weber 2006; Tassinari & Cohn 2009; Luciano 2013). In this chapter, we are interested in exploring how the first schools were set up in Southwestern Amazonia and how the participation in state schools has been experienced. Our case is the history of Apurinã schools from the perspective of the Apurinã themselves. Arawak-speaking Apurinã live principally along the Purus River, principally in the state of Amazonas, but also in Rondônia and in many urban areas of Acre, Brazil.

In exploring the kinds of education that Apurinã children have experienced, we first look at Apurinã traditional education, and then the historical and structural changes in their national and political contexts. Finally, we discuss the recent changes in

education as well as the challenges encountered in sustaining the Apurinã in their education processes. Our focus is on elementary school students, as there are no high schools in the current demarcated territories for the Apurinã.

Examining schooling in the Apurinã context, our methods have been ethnography, collaborative work, and reviewing historical records. The first author has worked in Southwestern Amazonia since 2003. The second author is an Apurinã scholar, originally from the Camicuã (Kamikuã) reserve in southern Amazonas state, and therefore one of our examples is from there. Ethnography and local Indigenous experiences are used especially in analyzing traditional Apurinã education and memories, as well as attitudes towards schooling. Then we draw on the first historical records on the arrival of state schooling in Apurinã lands. Brazilian Indigenous education policies are also presented to contextualize Apurinã schooling in the past as well as today. Our research, combining local and larger views, contributes to studies on local school histories, and it is the first to present school history from an Apurinã perspective.

Traditional Apurinã education

The Apurinã have been oppressed by state powers, rubber patrons, settlers, nut-collectors, merchants, and others. For a long time they have been told to abandon their mother tongue or traditions (see Schiel 1999). Today, in order to claim their Indigenous rights, they are however, asked to show and prove their cultural difference. The task is difficult for many people, especially for those whose parents had close interactions with non-Indians, and who, in order to survive, had to speak only Portuguese to their children. Due to harsh assimilation politics, most of the Apurinã people no longer speak their Indigenous language fluently. Having said that, knowledge of Apurinã language is still strong in some villages and Apurinãs learn about their history through their parents, as well as through natural medicine, chants, dances, and oral histories. In this particular part of Brazil, Indigenous youth living in villages have a deep knowledge of their local environments and know how to live in the forest.

For the Apurinã, history starts with the myth of Tsura, who is responsible for the creation of the world and everything that exists in it. The existence, presence, and role of the *mỹty*, generally known as a shaman, are also significant for the Apurinã. Shamanic principles construct the world, and in order to understand it, one needs to comprehend how the body and the person are, according to Apurinã knowledge, produced in interrelation. The *mỹty* are undoubtedly the most important persons for the well-being of the Apurinã collective, since they are the holders of fundamental knowledge that allow them to heal, to predict things, and whose ontological knowledge reaches the domain of the codes by which they communicate with the world of spirits and the inhabitants of other lands.

Apurinã social organization also explains their ways of being. Apurinã society is divided into exogamous moieties with social and political functions, and these define the right to consume or restrict certain types of food, the right to marry, and generally the social rules of the people. These patrilineal moieties are called *meetymanety* and *xiwapuryry*. The first is traditionally represented by the *atukatxi* (the sun) and *kasiri* (the moon), or the figures of *kyãty* and *wainhamary* cobras.

Small children receive Apurinã education at home following the principles of Apurinã socio-philosophies. Since the age of four, children accompany and learn from their parents the daily activities, which make them human subjects as Apurinã. Young men and boys are typically capable of undertaking various kinds of activities, such as preparing slash-burn swiddens, planting, clearing a plantation, house building, and fishing, while the young women and girls know how to gather, prepare 'traditional' food, and prepare several objects from their natural environment.

The second author of this chapter, Francisco, for instance, has accompanied his father on his long incursions to collect wild fruits, such as *kinhary* and *kitxiti* palms, and their *upu* and *txũkinhiky* worms. His father also took him hunting and fishing, so that he learned how to handle a bow and arrow, as well as other instruments. He also learned how to make and take care of plantations of banana, yam, inhame, cará, cassava and

other staples that are part of the Apurinã diet. This offered him rich land and place-specific environmental knowledge.

According to Francisco's father, Katãwry, in this way it is possible to be a person who can represent the Apurinã people well, as well as be admired by one's future father-in-law. On the other hand, if a boy is a liar, or lazy and fearful, he will have little respect within the village, and will die a bachelor, as no father would want to have a son-in-law like this. Nor can such a person become a wise person. The same goes for girls.

Francisco learned myths and oral histories about the creation of the cosmos from his grandparents. Gradually, he learned the words and actions that allowed him to connect with the other agencies of the environment, including the respect the Apurinã should have for each living being that makes up what non-Indigenous people call "nature". For the Apurinã, every living species has a function on the earth, and must be respected by humans. In this way an individual can be a guardian who protects the environment and biodiversity. As Francisco's father said:

We Apurinã are on the earth since the beginning of the world, as my father told me, as his grandfather had told him, as my great-grandfather had told my grandfather [...]. Tsura, our creator gave life to our people and everything that exists in the world: those who live on the earth, those who live in the forest, those who live in the water and even those who live in the air. Since then, we have learned to take care of the things that he left from the first day, taking from nature only what is necessary, as he taught us; respecting his creation, because even the animals talk to us and deserve respect. Many of these animals are our own kin, but Tsura also gave the Apurinãs the knowledge that allows them to know which animals we can kill to serve as food, and which ones we should respect as our relative. That is why everything that is harmful to our culture also does harm to the law of Tsura.

Normally, when the Apurinã return from a hunting or fishing trip, they share with their relatives what they managed to capture. They kill only what is enough for them to eat that day. If unsustainable actions happen, the person is considered severely to be

punished by the spirits that protect the forest, which are usually Apurinã ancestors who have transformed into animals (see Virtanen 2015; Apurinã 2017). Moral education, not only related to humans but also-non humans, is still present in Apurinã practices.

Looking at the past: the first schools in the Purus River

If we move from ethnography to colonial historical documents, we find that the Purus River is mentioned in the reports of Francisco Orellana's expedition, the first written source on Latin America. The Southern Amazonas state was one of the last places in Brazil to receive missionaries and colonizers, as well as adventurers. The first historical records mentioning the Apurinã in the lower and central Purus River are, among others, the reports by Silva Coutinho (1862), Chandless (1866), and Labre (1872), which mention the region to be rich in cacao, natural oils, cotton, nuts, herbs, and rubber. In fact, the report of Coronel Labre's (1889:501) journey along the Purus River towards the Madre de Dios River ends by mentioning that an Apurinã chief had given Labre three young men to assist him in exploring the Ituxi River, and in a compensation Labre had taught them to read and write.

The rubber boom changed the history of Amazonia, as it brought many settlers to work in the area, which led to the enslavement of various Indigenous peoples, including some Apurinã, forcing them to work in rubber collection, on farms, or in other services. Until the end of the 19th century, the Apurinã could live in their traditional lands, and after that they experienced violence, even massacres by new settlers, whose aim was to turn them into a workforce or use them to exploit the natural resources of their territories (Schiel 1999).

Most of the historical records mention the Apurinã as strong people, although they are also represented as savages, ignorant, barbarians, violent, and without manners, and this attitude from the non-Indigenous population still persists today. The positivist views of the state concurred that for "progress" to take place, the Indigenous population had to be assimilated into the new nation state. According to the historical records, written by non-Indigenous elites, the Apurinã were noble savages who could

be civilized, Christianized, and turned into an able workforce (see Silva Coutinho 1863; Chandelss 1866; Labre 1872). In the beginning of the 20th century, the Brazilian state established so-called Indigenous posts (*posto indígena*) in the Amazon region, state official's houses and buildings for productive activities, with the aim of turning Indigenous people into "proper citizens", but also to act as places of intermediation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations. The state's aim was to educate the Indigenous population in order to carry out agricultural and other types of economic production, and these plans worked in tandem with the schools that were to be opened in the area (Oliveira & Nascimento 2012).

On the other hand, Indigenous people were also protected by the state from the violent attack of settlers and explorers who were exploiting the region's natural resources. The agency responsible for this function was called the Service for Protection of Indians and Local Workers (SPILT), but later it needed only to "protect" Indigenous People and in 1918 its name was changed to the Protection Service of Indians (*Serviço de Proteção aos Índios-SPI*) (Souza Lima 1992). It was also put in charge of establishing and maintaining Indigenous posts. In the Apurinã area of the Purus River, was the Posto Marienê, and it was influential for many Apurinãs (Schiel 1999).

By that time, numerous Indigenous persons were employed by the Purus River region's rubber patrons, and they lived in poor conditions, as they could rarely cultivate their own lands. Instead, they had to buy products at high prices and pay with their labor, meaning that they were perpetually in debt to their employers. Those who were unable to pay back their debts, were obliged to continue to work for their bosses. The SPI wanted to turn Indigenous people into "proper" Brazilian citizens, but at the same time their number was declining. Diseases, hunger, and violence were common problems (Ramos 1998).

In the schools established in the area, Indigenous languages and Indigeneity were consequently forbidden, as the aim was to transcend cultural differences and unify the nation state. The state encouraged Indigenous people to learn practices that would

help Indigenous communities enter the market economy, such as agricultural skills, learning to use sewing machines, and acquiring other mechanical skills that were beneficial to the national economy, but also encouraged hygiene (Henriques et al. 2007). The school buildings were equipped by the state with sewing machines, carpentry and other work objects (see Oliveira & Nascimento 2012). Indigenous Peoples were persuaded to dress up in the style of the period and were materially “made” into being members of the dominant society.

Numerous non-Indigenous settlers brought with them more Christian missions, which became places to educate Indians, as well as convert them to Christianity. Missions in the area had been established especially by the Jesuits, and later by other groups. On one hand, in the missions, Indigenous people received some protection from those interested only in exploiting the natural resources and riches of the region, but on the other, the missions forced Indigenous groups to adopt the rules of the dominant society and were forced into hard physical labor (Souza Lima 1992). Missionaries coming from different backgrounds also offered schooling, putting Indigenous people even more under the influence of Western thinking. Most missionaries started to use Indigenous languages in their Christian teaching and missions and made efforts to transform them into a written form. In the missions, Christian sacred texts and chants were translated into Indigenous languages, including the Apurinã language. This process happened without collaboration and negotiation on orthography or standardization. Moreover, most missionaries prohibited the practices of traditional rituals and many other ways of life, such as the use of traditional medicine and shamanism, considering them demonic (see also Schiel 1999).

Due to criticism towards the SPI, its mandate was taken over in 1967 by the National Indigenous Foundation—FUNAI, and now Indigenous people were not only officially protected in paternalistic relations but given more agency (see Ramos 1998). In their schooling, Indigenous languages were slowly recognized, and with that aim, the teaching responsibility was also given to institutions working on Indigenous languages, such as the SIL—Summer Institute of Linguistics, a North American missionary institution specialized in translating Christian texts. In the same period,

some nongovernmental institutions started pioneer activities in Indigenous teacher training and education. Such an attempt was made by the CPI – Pro-Indian Commission (*Comissão Pro-Índio*) in the Acre state at the end of the 1970s. At the same time, the Funai continued developing economic activities in Indigenous areas, such as cattle ranching and the cultivation of coffee, corn, beans, cotton and so forth. These activities reorganized and broke family relations and kin ties, as well as social hierarchies related to knowledge in Indigenous communities.

In the 1970s, through the resistance of the civil society to the military government, Indigenous organizations were founded in Brazil. They were supported by various non-governmental organizations, such as rubber tappers and pro-Indigenous organizations. The Indigenous movement and its supportive actors backed Indigenous peoples' rights (Ramos 1998). From the late 1970s, Indigenous leaders collaborated with pro-Indian non-governmental organizations, such as CIMI – the Indianist Missionary Council (*Conselho Indigenista Missionário*) and CPI. Consequently, in the 1980s, Indigenous leaders demanded their rights and the demarcation of their lands. At the same time the UNI – Union of Indigenous Nations of Acre and Southern Amazonas (*União das Nações Indígenas do Acre e sul-do-Amazonas*) was founded (see also Ramos 1998: 19). Apurinã leaders were among the most forceful actors in Indigenous politics. The Indigenous movement fought first for land rights, but soon after the battle for education and health rights began. This social movement also succeeded in designing and founding conservation units, environmental protection and social development projects, and a range of co-operative economic, educational, and health care projects in Indigenous territories.

Developing Indigenous education: the first decades after the military regime

In one of the first books in which Indigenous education in Brazil is mentioned, Fernandes (1975) noted that, since Tupinambá society was “traditional, sacred and closed,” their traditional education had not prepared them to face new social situations in which Indigenous peoples had to defend themselves. Instead, it trained them to follow a collective way of living and to achieve their social realization as persons and human beings by acting in accordance with specific traditional criteria.

However, Indigenous societies have never lived in isolation, and even in pre-colonial times there were long-distant exchanges (Virtanen 2011).

In the Brazilian constitution of 1988, the Indigenous population was guaranteed for the first time the right to speak their language and carry out their traditional practices. Up until the 1990s, the state agency, FUNAI officially took responsibility for the education of the Indigenous population. Indigenous leaders and educators have worked hard to make schooling an instrument that would reproduce Indigenous knowledge and dignity, while at the same time receiving the same opportunities to study as others (Luciano 2013, see also Lopes da Silva et al 2001).

In 1991, differentiated education services for the Indigenous population were defined by law (Decree no. 26, 4th February, 1991– *Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação Nacional*), and the responsibility for this was passed over to the Ministry of Education (see MEC 2017). In the same year, the Indigenous Education Committee in the Ministry of Education was established, which also became responsible for Indigenous education. Later in 2001, it was substituted by the Committee of Indigenous Teachers (see also other legal agreements in Luciano 2013). In its policies on Indigenous Education, the state focuses on the training of Indigenous teachers and offers school materials in both Indigenous languages and in Portuguese, and these efforts are financially supported.

From the 1990s onwards, Indigenous teachers' training became the official responsibility of the State Secretaries for Education, although the local actors, such as the CPI-Acre, or federal universities continued to be involved in their practical implementation. In the state of Acre, for instance, it was as late as 1999 that these developments had a real impact on the public articulation of Indigenous education in this state. The CPI-Acre, for instance, took into account the different needs and cultural differences of Indigenous peoples, and still today the state's Indigenous schools are showcases of successful and constructive Indigenous schooling.

With the help of state and nongovernmental sponsors, several Indigenous teachers have produced the first reader books in indigenous languages. However, the first Apurinã teachers who participated in the teacher training course did not have a very strong command of Apurinã, as they came from areas which were strongly influenced by the dominant society. Later on, when linguistic research was carried out in villages where the first language is Apurinã, new schooling materials were produced. The research has been done by Brazilian linguist Sidney Facundes and his students. Later, the first author of this chapter joined the team, while Apurinã teachers and elders were also involved through workshops which took place on Apurinã land and in the nearby cities. This collaborative work has produced first reader book, conversation manuals, dictionaries, and other teaching materials for Apurinã schools (see Facundes et al. in print). However, their use is limited since there are not enough copies for all the schools on the reserves. Textbooks are mostly provided by the Secretary of Education, and are used more frequently. However, teachers say that only part of the state school material can be used, since its content is not applicable to their everyday lives. The literature can be very distant from the social, cultural and economic realities of the Indigenous reserves, such as the geography text books in Portuguese on Brazil's metropolitan cities.

Several dissertations have been written on the schooling of particular Indigenous groups (see, e.g. Weber 2006; Collet 2006; Luciano 2013). According to our experience in the Purus River, the educational system still fails in terms of educating qualified Indian teachers and in employing state officials familiar with Indigenous realities. In general, the most common problems faced by Indigenous education at the state level are still the lack of funding and the inadequate organization and communication between Indigenous peoples and State Secretaries of Education. Studying school history at local levels, especially through the implementation of schooling policies, is a complex issue, as the local politics is related to power relations which constantly take new turns, and practical implementations of policies are short termed. The success of Indigenous education has largely depended on the realization of state funding arriving in distant Amazonian localities as well as collaborations with different NGOs (national and international), researchers, and other civil society actors.

The first formal school in the Camicuã reserve

The Camicuã reserve, one of the few dozen Apurinã reserves, is situated in the Southern Amazonas state, close to the city of Boca do Acre. According to Francisco, their first contact with the world of letters occurred in the 1980s with the arrival of the National Foundation of the Indian– FUNAI, which was responsible for the establishment of the first basic schooling unit in the so-called “White man’s education.” The school’s floor and walls were made of logs, and *ubim* palm leaves provided its covering. In this way, the Apurinã of that territory took their first steps in learning to know, speak and write Portuguese.

Currently, the elementary school in this village is called the Municipal Indian Apurinã school and has over 200 students, who study until the fifth year. Besides them, more than 100 students study from the 6th grade up to the upper secondary school in the municipality of Boca do Acre. An increasing number of Indigenous youth study in urban areas. There they often face difficulties in entering schools and attending the classes, especially the many procedures involved in becoming officially registered at a state school. A registration fee has to be paid, and school shirts, books and other school materials have to be acquired. FUNAI provides some Indigenous students with a small grant, but usually the aid is sufficient only for a few notebooks and pencils. The students face serious difficulties in continuing their respective courses, including problems concerning discrimination, prejudice, housing, transportation and food –all factors that make it difficult to stay in school.

In the mid-2010s, still under the management of the former mayor of the municipality of Boca do Acre, Maria de Socorro [commonly called Dorinha], the Umanary Training Center was built in the Camicuã village. It was named after the current village leader, Umanary, who has been a leading figure in the Indigenous movement in the region.

In November 2016, the current mayor of Boca do Acre municipality, José Maria, received the strategic planning of OPIAJBAM– the Jamamadi and Apurinã Indigenous Peoples Organization of Boca do Acre, containing a set of actions, among them the

proposal to set up an upper secondary school in the Aldeia Camicuã. At that time many things were verbally agreed upon between the mayor and Apurinã leaders, including the construction of the aforesaid school, but unfortunately these plans have not been realized. Traditional environmental and moral education is still provided to Apurinã youth in the community, as described in the earlier section of this chapter, but as many of them travel daily to schools outside the home village, their time is increasingly spent in the schools of the dominant society.

However, a very positive factor is that despite the difficulties faced by the Apurinã students outside their village, almost 30 persons from the reserve have been able to obtain new education from different university courses (health care, pedagogy, public management and others), besides those who are currently attending these and other courses. Not to mention that in 2017, a group of 15 students graduated in a technical nursing course, and many of them are now practicing nurses.

School as symbol of state recognition

Previous studies have showed that for Amazonian Indigenous population, village schools have been important places to “become civilized” (e.g. Collet 2006). While investigating the meaning of schools for the Piro (Yine), Gow (1991, 229–251) notes that schooling is a major symbol of state recognition and residential legitimacy, similar to land deeds. Furthermore, the school can act as a sign of acknowledging the dignity and well-being of the people in the village. These intellectual aspirations are one of the instruments for social reordering and state school education can be a source of power and a means of control during contemporary periods of change and uncertainty.

In general, for those attending classes, school is a place to acquire valuable knowledge. It is a custom that before the pupils attend classes, they always take a bath and change into fresh clean clothes, usually a T-shirt distributed by the local government. The school sets its own behavioral codes and references. Teachers call students by their Portuguese names rather than by the Indigenous names typically used in the community. Tassinari and Cohn (2009) have shown how schooling, in Karipuna and Xikrin perspectives and lands in Brazil, is valued as an “opening to the

other”, applying the term of L.vi-Strauss, especially gaining knowledge of mathematics, accounting, and Portuguese as well as other tools that could offer them means to reproduce their differences. During the course of our work, it was apparent that initially the students in the reserve studied for no more than a few years. Early marriages and pregnancies prevented young girls in particular from studying (Virtanen 2012). Today, the students stay longer at school, but parents still demand and fight for better implementation of educational rights for their children.

When young Apurinãs are asked what for them is most important, the answer is often “to study.” This dream is shared by families and by people in both villages and urban areas. Overall, the question of multicultural education is a complicated issue, since the overall priority seems to be the ability to read and write. Good quality and fully functioning Indigenous education is a dream for many Indigenous peoples.

For the Huni Kuin in Acre state, schooling became the main instrument for defining and contributing to their own well-being, through drawing on their social relations, knowledge, and language (Weber 2006). However, among Apurinã teachers, at local level, the state’s support for the idea that Indigenous schools can apply different forms of learning, pedagogies, and values in Indigenous curricular and educational plans has been little, as they have been harshly suppressed by attitudes of assimilation. In those villages that have managed to establish well-functioning multicultural Indigenous education there has been Indigenization of education and a clear valuation of Indigenous traditional knowledge. The students are then encouraged to learn about their environment, Indigenous language, traditional medicine, art, and history – while inviting elders to the classes, visiting the plantations and forests. But school structure by itself cannot rescue Indigenous knowledge and languages as they should also be integrated into the new areas and fields where young Apurinãs are active.

Due to the rarity of training events organized in the central Purus region, there are also only a few trained Apurinã teachers. The first teachers often achieved literacy while living and working outside the reserve. Being away from the reserve for quite some time resulted in that they rarely speak their Indigenous language well. This has

impeded the concrete development of bilingual and multicultural schooling. A comparison between the southern state of Amazonas and the neighboring state, Acre, shows that local politics have played a key role in acknowledging Indigenous education on its own terms. It shows how acknowledging the traditional ways of life of Indigenous peoples vary according to the different local politics. For instance, since the end of the 1990s in the state of Acre, the meetings of Indigenous teachers have been frequent and they have supported the use of Indigenous languages. This state also has set up training for Indigenous teachers that is led by Indigenous persons.

For the last few years, Indigenous education has been managed by so-called Ethnoeducational territories (*Territórios Etnoeducacionais*), an attempt to reach better functioning regional Educational policies. However, some territories have various Indigenous peoples from different language families, and this makes the specific needs of different nations less visible, and gives undue emphasis to more vocal groups. Overall, one problem that has surfaced in all villages has been the lack of information and explanations, as well as the absence of trained Indigenous teachers.

Over recent years, indigeneity has facilitated access to schooling and job markets following the introduction of quotas for Indigenous students in higher education. In some Brazilian universities, specific actions are implemented to include Indigenous people in higher education, such as the Affirmative Action Policy, which allows Indigenous people to debate this policy and introduce their own opinions, perspectives and history in academia (Apurinã 2018, see also Mihesuah and Wilson 2004). However, most universities in Brazil do not currently have the basic and necessary conditions to sufficiently support Indigenous students in academia and in higher studies. Since 2005, Indigenous students have started studying at universities with the help of scholarships, offered, for example, by the FUNAI. However, this option is extremely difficult since many Indigenous students lack the necessary level of basic education to apply for such scholarships. Moreover, they also lack the necessary contacts with the Indigenous organizations capable of passing on information about these possibilities.

Many Indigenous youths feel that there is still a strong prejudice against the Indigenous population, and a way forward is improving education of Indigenous population. Their desire is to work in such areas as journalism, agronomy, medicine, law, business administration, and civil engineering, in order to become subjects in diverse areas of the society. On the other hand, many who live in areas where the environment no longer can provide game and other resources are acquiring education with paid work in mind. To date, a growing number of Indigenous persons have effectively invested in their education and learning experiences in urban offices, and actively take part in Indigenous politics (see discussion in Virtanen 2017). Overall, Indigenous political and cultural meetings have increased over the past years, and have allowed Indigenous peoples to become more conscious of other Indigenous groups and helped build collective resistance. Consequently, the current generations have gained more social power and space than the previous generations, who had to largely conceal their Indian roots, especially in the urban areas.

Indigenous governance of Education

Indigenous values, histories, languages, and traditional knowledge cannot be separated from ways of receiving schooling, and their importance have been behind the claims for Indigenizing education. Our Apurinã case shows that even if Indigenous education and schooling are guaranteed by the Constitution and Education laws in Brazil, on local level, the practical implementation of Indigenous educational rights varies greatly. Thus, there are different school realities rather than just one Apurinã school history. Those Apurinã reserves that have succeeded well in designing their schools and their curriculums, have often benefited from constructive collaborations with governmental and nongovernmental agencies and far-reaching leadership. In this way, they integrate Apurinã ways of knowing and learning – just as they have been taught since the time of Tsura to the state schooling programs.

Amazonian Indigenous leaders and spokespersons have actively argued for Indigenous engagement and participation in governance of Indigenous education and educational policies regionally but also at state level. These leadership roles and positions have usually been the privilege of the well networked higher classes of Brazil. It is also a loss

for universities and fields of science if the Indigenous presence is not allowed agency in research. In the meantime, the dominant society still lacks adequate information about Indigenous people in general as well as their educational necessities. Solving these issues is crucial for better future-making, as Wilson (2013) has noted. This chapter has contributed to making one of the Amazonian Indigenous school histories more visible.

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