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Beyond borders: indigenous migration, education, and interculturality

Oltre i confini: migrazione indigena, educazione e interculturalità

Tabita Tiede Lopes
Master's degree
Federal University of São Paulo – Brazil

Katia Cristina Norões
Associate Professor
Federal University of Sergipe – Brazil

Abstract

Latin American countries exhibit varying social structures and constitutions. The recent displacements of Venezuelan indigenous populations have strained access to rights and social goods in host societies. In Brazil, extant legislation acknowledges the rights of indigenous populations linked to their origins. International displacements in the Amazon region raise issues of discrimination, rights violations, and demands for national states. This article analyzes the implications of indigenous migration on education rights. Reviewing legal mechanisms, we identified gaps in access outlined in national and international agreements. Current legal discourses focus on intercultural and bilingual education but lack anti-racist actions. We propose four recommendations for addressing the migration of Venezuelan indigenous peoples to Brazil: reevaluate policies and laws; foster interinstitutional dialogue; promote international cooperation; prioritize intercultural and anti-racist education to respect and promote cultural contributions of indigenous, Afro-descendant, and migrant populations.

Keywords: indigenous migration, education, interculturality, social disparities.

Sommario

I Paesi latinoamericani presentano varie strutture sociali e costituzioni. I recenti spostamenti delle popolazioni indigene venezuelane hanno reso più complicato l'accesso ai diritti e ai beni sociali nelle società ospitanti. In Brasile, la legislazione esistente riconosce i diritti delle popolazioni indigene legati alle loro origini. Gli spostamenti internazionali nella regione amazzonica sollevano questioni di discriminazione, violazioni dei diritti e richieste di Stati nazionali. Questo articolo analizza le implicazioni della migrazione indigena sul diritto all'educazione. Nell'esaminare i meccanismi legali, abbiamo identificato lacune nell'accesso delineate negli accordi nazionali e internazionali. Gli attuali discorsi legali si concentrano sull'educazione interculturale e bilingue, ma mancano di azioni anti-razziste. Proponiamo quattro raccomandazioni per affrontare la migrazione dei popoli indigeni venezuelani in Brasile: rivalutare politiche e leggi; favorire il dialogo interistituzionale; promuovere la cooperazione internazionale; dare priorità all'educazione interculturale e anti-razzista per rispettare e promuovere i contributi culturali delle popolazioni indigene, afrodiscendenti e migranti.

Parole chiave: migrazione indigena, educazione, interculturalità, disuguaglianze sociali.

1. Dynamics of indigenous mobility in the triple border: myths and presences around Mount Roraima

Theodor Koch-Grünberg, a German ethnologist, conducted an extensive expedition documented in his travel itinerary divided into five volumes: *Observações de uma viagem pelo norte do Brasil e pela Venezuela durante os anos de 1911 a 1913*, *Mitos e lendas dos índios Taulipangue e Arecuná*, *Ilustrações culturais e espirituais*, *Dados linguísticos* e um *Atlas Biotipológico*. His observations and deep engagement with the indigenous cultures of the region laid the groundwork for understanding the intricate connections between nature, mythology, and human existence. This exploration remains a fundamental reference for the profound narratives that have shaped the landscapes and

cultures of the Amazon, in the tri-border area. The echoes of Koch-Grünberg's expedition resonate through the mythical journey of Makunaima and Jiguê, intertwined with the landscape of Mount Roraima. From Koch-Grünberg's work *Do Roraima ao Orinoco* (2006), we analyze the myths of the Mount Roraima region in order to comprehend the intersectionality between indigenous migration, educational processes, and interculturality. Many, many years ago, there was a gigantic tree, so large that it touched the sky. It was Wazacá, the world tree, which bore all known fruits. One day, Makunaima and his brother Jiguê cut down this tree, wanting to harvest all the fruits at once; it fell entirely towards Guyana, and its cut trunk began to cry, causing a massive flood. That is why springs and rivers still sprout from there. And it is because they felled Wazacá that different fruit trees exist today: they came from the branches of this great mother tree, later known as Mount Roraima.

This and other narratives constitute the mythical and sacred past shared by indigenous peoples in the region of the current tri-border area between Venezuela, Brazil, and Guyana. Around the impressive *tepui* – a flat-topped rock formation with great biodiversity – long plains extend on the Venezuelan side – *la gran sabana* – and the Brazilian side – *o lavrado roraimense* –, as well as dense forests in Guyana. The unique landscapes, cut by rivers, mountains, and *islands* of forest and buriti palm groves, have been inhabited for centuries by different societies, especially from the Arawak (or Aruak) and Karib (Carib) linguistic families. Arawak language groups – mainly today the Wapichana – are present in Venezuela, Brazil, the Guianas, Suriname, and some Caribbean islands. Among the Karib language groups are the self-designated subgroups Kapon – also called Ingarikó in Brazil and Akawaio in Guyana – and Pemon – Arekuna, Taurepang, Kamarakoto, and Macuxi peoples in the three countries around Roraima –, as well as the Waiwai. Between Venezuela and Brazil, there are also the Yanomami and the Ye'kuana, in addition to isolated groups.

This myriad of peoples, sometimes related to one another, has shared territories and, obviously, moved across them. The transborder displacements observed in recent years, which is investigated as part of this study, lack understandings that consider a territorial context of traditional occupation and circulation (Ventura, 2018). The Karib, the Arawak, and also the groups referred to in current research as those migrating from Venezuela, have lived and circulated in this region for hundreds and thousands of years. In this sense, national borders are the *new* elements. The peoples in the region of Mount Roraima organize their collective memory around foundational narratives involving sacred beings and events. Among the Pemon, this reference is especially occupied by Makunaima, introduced to the rest of the world by the work of the German ethnographer Theodor Koch-Grünberg in the early 20th century and soon by the masterpiece authored by Mário de Andrade in 1928.

Contemporary displacements and the theoretical and political limbo regarding the mobility of indigenous peoples

Beyond an anthropological perspective on indigenous migrations, we consider that migration theories emerged during a dynamic historical period marked by significant transformations, beginning with industrialization, still in its early stages in Europe. The reorganization of structures and social relations in rural areas triggered a massive rural exodus, which, in turn, constituted urbancenters, also undergoing reconfiguration processes. German-British geographer Ravenstein (1980), compiled and systematized data in the late 19th century, primarily from Britain and other European countries and North America, developed schemes and laws of migration in an attempt to understand the

phenomenon. In the 1960s, the American demographer Everett Lee revisited and continued studies in the context of the Chicago School, proposing a set of negative and positive factors related to the origin and destination areas of migrations, as well as personal elements that individuals would consider before migrating. His theory of attraction and repulsion understands the decision to migrate as a rational behavior of the individual, who compares and weighs before leaving, with migratory currents being the result of the sum of these individual decisions. The approach these studies share aligns with the classical liberal tradition, emphasizing
the centrality of the search for work in migrations and the rationality of economic agents; migrations are understood as factors in a continuous process toward balancing the supply and demand for labor. Where there is an *excess of labor*, there will be strong emigration to regions with a *shortage of labor*, according to the nomenclature used by the authors.
In this framework, migrations (and labor) function as correctives for socio-economic imbalances in space (Vainer, 2005). It is the invisible hand of the market, moving things to self-regulate.

Migrations, in connection with the search for work, also form the core of historical-structural studies critical of the neoclassical perspective. These are studies that perceive migrations as a result of the capitalist development process in societies. The French economist Jean-Paul de Gaudemar (1976) made a decisive contribution, based on the concept of labor mobility; he analyzes the decline of feudal society and the emergence of the figure of the free worker, who freely disposes of his labor force but has an absolute need to do so. The individual, therefore, has a false sense of freedom to move territorially and socially, and capital is the only entity with real freedom of movement, mobilizing (dragging along) the workforce.

Sometimes presented as subjects, sometimes as objects, the fact is that people and groups that migrate have their motivations, which go far beyond the search for work. The determinants of migratory flows are a concern of a significant portion of studies on migrations, and we are interested in those that extend the gaze beyond Europe or the global North. Oliveira and Stern (1980), in a study on internal migrations, identify two main schools of sociological interpretation. The first is the historical-structural approach, as we have seen, which can be linked to analyses of the processes of formation of central and peripheral (or dependent) capitalist societies. The second is the modernization approach, which understands migrations as the main axis of dynamism and transformation of traditional agrarian societies into modern industrial societies. These studies analyze phenomena in terms of the speed and sequence of the different processes involved in the transition, with a focus on demographic and psychosocial factors – adaptation to new contexts –, referencing the Western experience. We stand on difficult ground when very complex social processes are superficially analyzed, naturalized, or justified. At times, this is done in the name of an inexorable history that could not – and perhaps still cannot – occur in any other way or social dynamic. Are the paths, after all, inevitable, are they roads with an apparent one-way direction, and perhaps mandatory senses?

After centuries of colonization, marked by various forms of violence, groups have migrated in response to these troubles, sometimes taking their entire community beyond the territories they have occupied for so long. However, international protective legislation for these peoples, along with national laws, often fails to guarantee their right to live in peace in these places or to migrate and inhabit other territories. Thus, despite the tradition of indigenous peoples caring for forests for the benefit of non-indigenous people, the mobility dynamics of indigenous peoples in Latin America challenge classical principles, such as fundamental rights and guarantees provided in constitutions based on

human rights, as well as territorial definition and the establishment of borders under the aegis of a government, both pillars that underpin the concept of the nation-state.

Wanderings and pilgrimages: an indigenous theory?

Immigrations are complex phenomena. In this article, we turn to the anthropological perspective for support in identifying and separating, with the necessary rigor, the different layers of meanings and senses. Oral tradition and collective memory become excellent bridges for a respectful approach to the other; sacred stories, along with fables and other profane narratives, recount the origin of the world and human beings, as well as all the primordial events that have led us to be what we are today – mortal, sexual beings, organized in society, obliged to work to live, and following certain rules (Eliade, 2019). Myths of origin, in particular, explain and justify social taboos and prohibitions, seeking to overcome the contradictions of human existence (Lévi-Strauss, 2012).

We have seen that the primordial event remembered by the Pemon is the episode of the felling of Wazacá tree. In it, the concerns and difficulties in the search for survival appear distinctly recorded: the fall and death of the great tree occur because Makunaima wants to eat all the fruits at once. Even maintaining a lifestyle that prioritizes collective interests and respect for the beings of rivers and forests, indigenous peoples are impacted by hunger and violence that compel them to empty their original territories. Since 2014, more than 5 million Venezuelans, indigenous and non-indigenous, have decided to leave their country; it is one of the largest current migration crises in the world. Of this enormous contingent, about 10 thousand people are indigenous, especially from the Warao (70%) and followed by the Pemon (24%), Eñepá (3%), Kari'ña (1%), and Wayúu (1%). In terms of representation, the Warao stand out, with records in more than 40 municipalities and in all five geographical regions of the country (UNHCR, 2019). In their creation myth, they recount that they did not live on Earth but in the sky. This narrative of the *fabulous time of beginnings*, as Mircea Eliade refers to it, draws our attention by situating the origin of the Warao in a migratory episode. The story goes that they were having difficulties finding food. They tried to hunt a bird, but the arrow fell far away, and when they tried to retrieve it, it sank further and ended up falling down. They decided to make a long rope, and one of them dared to descend. Going down, he stopped sometimes to rest, and finally arrived down there. Searching for the arrow, he looked around and saw, amazed, that there were many fruits, plants, honey, seeds, and fish.

> He arrived up there and began to say, «Damn it! We're having a hard time here because there's no food. Here, we only eat cassava... The cassava we plant around here, the mountain cassava (bitter)... I say this because I have discovered a lot of food...! We will go there!» And as the Warao arrived, he would put it in front of them, and they would eat... «Aha!» he said to his friend. «Oh, buddy! You're enjoying what's yours without remembering me...! You're eating fish!... Where did you get it?...» «I got it down there!... We'll all go down there...! We'll leave this land of ours and go down there...» (Vaquero Rojo, 2001, p. 197)[1].

Thus, faced with material deprivations, the community looks for other horizons; someone finds an opportunity, prepares for the long journey, fills themselves with courage, and goes. They return with plenty of food, share generously, and narrate everything they saw, inviting and organizing the collective migration project.

However, the Warao are not nomadic groups, although migrations are part of their ancestral history on the continent. First and foremost, let us recall the antiquity of the

occupation of the Orinoco River territory by this people, dating back at least eight thousand years, according to anthropological studies compiled by ACNUR (2021). The long history of the Warao in the region remained unaffected by colonization and the intense processes experienced by an already independent Venezuela; the unique region, characterized by dense forests, islands, and swampy soils, was considered inhospitable and did not arouse interest until the 20th century. The Warao began to migrate in the last decades. It should be mentioned that Capuchin Clergy made many efforts to modify their traditional way of life; these communities lived from hunting, fishing, and collecting forest products, especially the moriche palm, which they consider the tree of life. With the introduction of agricultural and a deeper relationship with the *criollos* (non-indigenous), the Warao became increasingly dependent on selling their products and city resources, with many consequences for their sociocultural system.

However, the decisive moment came in the 1960s with a major intervention in the Manamo River, a tributary of the Orinoco. The Corporación Venezolana de Guayana (CVG), created for this purpose, announced the rulers' and businessmen's goal of expanding arable areas, facing the region's periodic floods through a system of dikes (dams). The results of preventing the river's natural movement were soil chemical alteration, contamination of springs with brackish water, fish mortality, and the imbalance of the entire ecosystem. The Warao of entire communities, never consulted in this process, found themselves without food and water, and their territories were occupied by farmers and companies (García Castro, 2020). Since then, forced by a context of disastrous capitalist interventions – which continue to this day – in their original territories, the Warao progressively headed to the cities, beginning a true saga of wandering and pilgrimages. The displacement of the Warao and the construction of new circulation routes, arising from a structural and historical relationship of territorial dispossession, now challenge the involved states to engage in dialogue with them, through proper procedures, to find adequate measures that ensure the enjoyment of their rights (Ventura, 2018).

The Kari'ña people, who have also migrated to Brazil in recent years, have experienced similar stories regarding *criollo* interventions to occupy supposedly empty spaces and promote *efficient* and *modern* agriculture – assimilating indigenous populations within the status of peasants – and finally introducing cattle and exploiting oil (Figuera and Valderrama, 2006). The deficient and problematic indigenist policy historically adopted by the Venezuelan state has not yet ensured the autonomy and sovereignty of indigenous peoples over their territories, as is also the reality in Brazil. Without a voice, without even being consulted on decisions that will affect them – contrary to national and international laws –, with powerful economic interests drowning out their voices, the Kari'ña are harshly affected by the crisis in Venezuela similarly to other poor peasants.

2. Brief analyses on children in displacement

If we are to identify a *theoretical limbo* in studies on indigenous migration, the human mobility composed of children and adolescents also constitutes another chapter filled with absences and invisibilities. To start with, regarding the concept of migration, according to the Migration Glossary, a publication by the International Organization for Migration (IOM), there is no universally accepted definition, not even for the term *migrant.* In the entry related to this term, it is defined as «all cases in which the decision to migrate is freely taken by the individual in question, for reasons of personal convenience, and without the intervention of external factors forcing them to do so» (IOM, 2009, p. 43). In

the entries of the same publication, in family migration, both the spouse and children are defined as *dependents*, even in cases of financially independent women. Therefore, we observe that the relationship of dependence between the child and an adult has been a constant in migration studies, and the presence of children, at first, was associated with female and/or family migration (Bhabha, 2014).

According to the IOM report (Bhabha and Abel, 2020), both in international human mobility and internal migration, there are different phenomena involved and a range of motivations, from a family project to displacements forced by climate change, wars, ethnic cleansing, forced marriages, etc. Therefore, studies have focused on similarities, patterns, or explanatory variables that do not always contribute to understanding displacements involving children and adolescents in the 21st century. Starting with the distance between origin and destination, according to UNICEF (2020), most children still migrate within their regions of birth, which was also confirmed in the World Migration Report (IOM, 2020), produced by the IOM based on the research of Jacqueline Bhabha and Guy Abel. In the latter, displacements under 20 years old were analyzed by regions defined as Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean, North America, and Oceania. The results presented by Bhabha and Abel (2020) highlight distortions present in the analyzed regions. Starting with the proportion of children under 14, which reaches almost 30% in the African continent, followed by Latin America and the Caribbean with over 20%. In comparison with Europe and North America, the proportion reaches 10%. When analyzing data regarding young people above 15 years old, the African and Asian continents, in greater numbers, experienced a sharp growth in the percentage, indicating different characteristics when considering the age or age group variable and the geographical location of these flows.

From the analysis of data based on age and gender variables, UNICEF published, in 2020 and 2023, the estimate that there are between 36 to 60 million children and adolescents in mobility. In both, the difficulties in measuring and grasping this phenomenon from the population statistics of the surveyed countries are made explicit. This characteristic is also present to a lesser extent in adult mobility, but in the case of minors, complexity increases when considering the risks of different types to life and the various violations of their rights, which become exponential due to age and gender. The variables mentioned based on the characterization by age, location, and gender fall into the field of access to rights or violations of these rights. That said, it is worth highlighting the research coordinated by Jacqueline Bhabha with other researchers (2014, 2018, 2020) on the impact of children and adolescents in displacement on societies of origin, transit, and destination, under different political, economic, and cultural circumstances. For Bhabha (2014), reality is modified, and the phenomenon is reconfigured when mobility is composed of children and adolescents. Thus, in migratory processes where the age variable is fundamental to composing analyses about the specificities of displacement, the forms of these displacements become evident, such as: unaccompanied children and adolescents; citizen children, whose parents are undocumented migrants; international adoption; international child trafficking; refugee or applicant children; among others.

Other contributions from these studies on child migration are in the realm of the realization of human rights in the global era, as the scope of this phenomenon highlights contexts full of violations and neglect. When examining the obstacles to access rights, it became evident that there are almost insurmountable challenges, especially for children and adolescents displaced by fleeing due to civil conflicts or war, different forms of exploitation, or general misery.

In a report published by the IOM, Bhabha and Abel (2020) emphasized that large-scale child migration imposes more complex demands on nation-states, which, when pressured

to meet them and provide satisfactory public services, are governed by national and/or international legislation. In this sense, access to education and care and protection, such as temporary guardianship or foster care, among others, constitutes tensions and pressures regarding access to rights, both in transit and at the destination. After the global pandemic crisis combined with ongoing conflicts and wars, we understand that there are serious challenges in the realm of protection and access to rights, challenges that are likely to persist unless effective measures are taken to counteract some trends filled with omissions and invisibilities. Among them, perhaps the most critical, for Bhabha and Abel (2020), is the persistent violence directed at migrant communities, understood as a cause and not a consequence of socio-economic problems, political crises, wars and armed conflicts, climate tragedies, etc. The authors have denounced different forms of violence against migrant communities throughout their journey or displacement, as well as exposed unacceptable forms of dehumanization to which children and adolescents are subjected when compared to migration flows composed only of adults.

Indigenous children in displacement and the violation of the right to education

In a recent report published by UNICEF (2023), it is highlighted that Latin America faces one of the largest and most complex crises of child migration in the world. This phenomenon emphasizes groups that are particularly vulnerable, composed of children and adolescents with disabilities, those identified as LGBTQI+, or indigenous. Data from these studies demonstrate that indigenous children do not have adequate access to protection and rights services, both in transit and host countries, while others have shown that indigenous migrant and refugee children and adolescents are at a higher risk of sexual trafficking. According to the mentioned report, approximately 9,000 indigenous individuals, in the condition of migrants or refugees from Venezuela, are currently in Brazil, with almost half of this contingent consisting of children. Regarding the largest Venezuelan indigenous group, the Warao, it is noteworthy that only 20% of children and adolescents from this community are properly enrolled in public educational institutions. This observation significantly underscores the restricted access to education faced by this specific population in this country.

Bhabha and Abel (2020) caution that nation-states are obligated to provide education for all children, without any form of discrimination, across their entire jurisdiction. Education is understood, in this conception, as an essential public good or service from reception to inclusion and socialization, extending well beyond the processes of teaching and learning. Under Brazilian law and international legal frameworks, it is considered that children, adolescents, and indigenous communities are entitled to fundamental legislation. However, the realization of rights also depends on understandings beyond the letter of the laws. Regarding the right to education, acknowledged as unrestricted for all, the first major tension faced by states and subsequently educational institutions is the conception of the child and their way of being in the collective life of their peoples, their childhoods, and the cultural plurality of indigenous peoples, whether in displacement or not, present in Latin America.

Another point to be considered concerns the specificities of indigenous groups in displacement inhabiting urban contexts. These peoples, with unique experiences, face the deprivation of ties to their territories due to successive processes of uprooting, involving different configurations of coexistence, cultural and ethnic habits that shape both individual and collective being. These are communities that struggle for their own existence, seeking to preserve their ways of life, traditions, and the structures of their

groups, regardless of borders or other delimitations inherent in the legal and institutional structures of nation-states.

A brief analysis of the complex reality of child migration in Latin America, with an emphasis on the challenges faced by indigenous groups in displacement, reveals the urgency of a more comprehensive and sensitive approach by states and institutions. The UNICEF report highlights not only the quantitative dimension of migration but, above all, the specific vulnerabilities faced by children and adolescents, especially indigenous ones. In the face of this scenario, there is an urgent need for the construction of policies sensitive to the needs of childhood, aiming not only at access to education but at promoting an environment that respects and values their identities, traditions, and ways of life. This reflection, anchored in the specific challenges faced by indigenous peoples in displacement, emphasizes the need for a critical intercultural approach.

Interculturality as a proposition

In the conceptual survey conducted by Rapanta and Trovão (2021) on intercultural education, this concept is discussed by various authors in the European context; it relates to migrant and refugee children, offering a possibility of inclusion and integration of these children into receiving societies. They highlight that authors such as Santos *et al*. (2014, in Rapanta and Trovão, 2021) and O'Brien *et al*. (2019, in Rapanta and Trovão, 2021) emphasize the importance of recognizing cultural diversity and dialogue among different ethnic, cultural, and linguistic groups to promote intercultural education. However, it is observed that in Borghetti *et al*. (2015, Rapanta and Trovão, 2021) and Trovão (2012, in Rapanta and Trovão, 2021), the effective implementation of intercultural education faces significant challenges, especially in operationalizing the concept in educational settings. A dynamic and constantly evolving approach to intercultural education is crucial, going beyond mere cultural competence, as advocated by Faas (2010, in Rapanta and Trovão, 2021), and focusing on experiential learning and genuine dialogue, as suggested by Bennett (2009, in Rapanta and Trovão, 2021). Additionally, it is necessary to consider the multiple identities and subjectivities of migrant and refugee children, as highlighted by Brooks and Pitts (2016, in Rapanta and Trovão, 2021), ensuring that educational programs are sensitive to their specific needs and realities.

In the context of studies on Latin America, it is necessary to consider indigenous migration as a common social phenomenon among certain peoples in the Amazon region. In the case of indigenous children, who are also part of the displaced populations, this section aims to examine how critical interculturality (Walsh, 2006) can serve as a theoretical and methodological key to the challenges presented here. We seek to deepen our understanding of how this approach can offer a new perspective on educational policies and practices, with the intention of recognizing and respecting the distinct cosmogonies and ways of life present in indigenous communities.

Throughout Brazilian history, education for indigenous peoples has predominantly been organized based on models focused on national integration and cultural assimilation. Even in the 20th century, the initiatives of official indigenous agencies of the Brazilian state, notably the Indian Protection Service (SPI) from 1910 to 1967, reflect the concept of assimilation and integration. The SPI, by creating territorial reserves and establishing schools on indigenous lands, incorporated education as fundamental to the integration process, following the attraction and concentration of indigenous people in reserves. This process aimed not only to provide education for indigenous children and youth, including teaching Portuguese, mathematics, and agricultural, livestock, and industrial techniques but also to prepare indigenous people for the *civilizing process*, guiding them to become

productive members of Brazilian national society. The school played a central role in this context, representing not only an educational tool but also a fundamental instrument in the assimilation process of indigenous peoples (Tassinari, 2008). Assimilation, in this perspective, has deep roots in the constitution of racism related to indigenous peoples, in which linguistic imposition, followed by models of customs and ways of being in civilized society, is imposed in the schooling processes, starting with children. During the SPI's activities, only the use of the Portuguese language was encouraged or allowed, discouraging or prohibiting the use of indigenous languages. This contributed to monolingualism and even the weakening of the use of native languages by community members. According to Tassinari (2008), the education experienced by indigenous peoples took on different contours with the role of the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI) when the use of indigenous languages became fundamental in the literacy process and in the early grades of schooling. However, this use was seen as an intermediate stage, whose ultimate goal remained to assimilate. From the 1980s, with the promulgation of the 1988 Constitution, there were significant changes in educational policies for indigenous peoples, considering that education should be based on the traditional knowledge of each group, the use of their mother tongue, and, mainly, based on the educational interests and demands of each people. It is in this context that the idea of intercultural education will gain more space. In the text, the breadth of this concept and the distance from its political character and its possibilities to transform societies becomes evident. For Catherine Walsh (2006), interculturality is an approach that recognizes and values cultural diversity, fostering interaction and dialogue among different cultures. Walsh emphasizes the importance of overcoming unequal power relations and building forms of coexistence that respect and integrate diverse cultural identities. According to her perspective, interculturality is not limited simply to coexistence but implies a profound transformation in social structures to ensure equality and justice among cultural groups. In addressing the structural-colonial-racial problem and moving towards the transformation of structures, institutions, and social relations, as well as the construction of radically different conditions, critical interculturality, as a political practice, traces a very different path. It extends beyond political, social, and cultural spheres and intersects with the spheres of knowledge, being, and life itself. In other words, it also concerns itself with the ontological and epistemic-cognitive exclusion, denial, and subalternization of racialized groups and subjects by dehumanization and subordination practices of knowledge, which privilege some over others, *naturalizing* difference and hiding the inequalities structured and maintained within. Furthermore, critical interculturality is concerned with the beings and knowledge of resistance, insurgency, and opposition that persist despite dehumanization and subordination (Walsh, 2009).

Thus, the depletion of this concept, along with the deconfiguration of a project committed to profound transformations in the Latin American context, has both local and global motivations. According to Candau and Russo (2010), between 1980 and 1990, eleven Latin American countries recognized the multiethnic, pluricultural, and multilingual nature of their communities in their Federal Constitutions. These countries are Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru, and Venezuela. However, it is evident that the incorporation of the interculturality concept into educational policies occurred during governments committed to implementing neoliberal policies, adopting the logic of hegemonic globalization and the agenda of major international organizations. Thus, the concept of interculturality in the educational policies of Latin American countries assumed a functional character, termed functional interculturality, in contrast to the critical interculturality brought by Walsh. For Baniwa (2019), the understanding of intercultural education in the 21st

century asserts that schools based on intercultural education are an invention of non-indigenous people. According to the indigenous author, the school is still the most effective instrument of Western colonization and not a new proposal for education that considers the perspective of indigenous communities. Baniwa's position on intercultural education expresses that indigenous peoples have historically been subjugated to a position of racial inferiority, resulting in the systematic usurpation of their fundamental rights under the colonial narrative of salvation and civilization. For centuries, they have been prevented from practicing their cosmologies, including their languages and knowledge. Thus, the implementation of the intercultural approach in school education, when approached critically and inclusively, assumes a decolonial nature. This is imperative because it requires rethinking the foundations upon which relations between diverse cultural groups have been established since colonial times.

Conclusions

In the Latin American context, the ethnic and linguistic diversity among indigenous peoples is highly expressive. In Brazil alone, it encompasses approximately 305 different ethnic groups and over 200 distinct native languages. This multiplicity is further amplified by the migratory flow of Venezuelan ethnicities, adding new dimensions to the complexity of this landscape. As interactions among different indigenous communities intensify, the cultural, linguistic, and social dynamics become more intricate, demanding alternative interpretative frameworks. Commencing with the reassessment of policies and laws, it is imperative to address the specific challenges presented by indigenous migration. Such a review should recognize and respect the fundamental rights of indigenous populations. Secondly, fostering interinstitutional dialogue among governmental agencies, non-governmental organizations, and indigenous communities is crucial. This collaborative approach is essential for developing inclusive and effective policies, considering diverse perspectives and needs. Thirdly, given the transnational nature of indigenous migration, the promotion of international cooperation emerges as a fundamental strategy. Collaboration between affected countries and regions is essential to address emerging challenges in a coordinated manner. Resource-sharing and the development of joint strategies are crucial components for addressing the impacts of indigenous migration, transcending national borders.

Finally, a significant emphasis on promoting intercultural education is proposed as a fundamental element. In this regard, critical intercultural education provides us with ways of understanding a diverse reality so that practices are localized but involve actions, programs, policies, and the active participation of the groups that make up societies. Thus, intercultural education is understood as an anti-racist approach because recognizing and valuing ethnic and racial diversity, integrating concepts, policies, and educational practices that respect the cultural contributions of indigenous, Afro-descendant, and migrant populations is vital. This approach will not only strengthen social cohesion but also contribute to the construction of more just and equitable societies.

Notes

[1] The original text is in Spanish: «Llegó allá arriba y comenzó a decir: - ¡Carajo!, aquí lo estamos pasando mal, porque aquí no hay comida. Nosotros aquí solamente comemos yuca... La yuca que plantamos por aquí, la yuca de montaña (amarga)... Digo esto porque yo he descubierto muchísima comida...! ¡Nos iremos para allá! Y conforme llegaban los waraos, se lo iba poniendo por delante y ellos comían... -¡Ahá! -le dijo a su amigo- ¡Ay, compañero! ¡Tú disfrutando de lo tuyo sin acordarte de mí...! ¡Tú estás comiendo

pescado!... ¿Adónde lo conseguiste?... -¡Yo lo conseguí allá abajo!... Allá nos iremos todos...! Abandonaremos esta tierra nuestra y nos iremos para abajo...» (Vaquero Rojo, 2001, p. 197).

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Short Bio

Tabita Tiede Lopes

Degree in Social Sciences and master's degree in Sociology from the Federal University of São Paulo. She works in the fields of education, human rights, and migration in border regions. She has worked with international agencies, NGOs, and public institutions focusing on migration, refuge, and statelessness.

Laureata in Scienze Sociali, ha conseguito un master in Sociologia presso l'Università Federale di San Paolo. Lavora nei settori dell'educazione, dei diritti umani e delle migrazioni nelle regioni di confine. Ha lavorato con agenzie internazionali, ONG e istituzioni pubbliche, concentrandosi su migrazione, asilo e apolidia.

Katia Cristina Norões

Educator with a master's and a Ph.D. in Social Sciences and Education. She works in the fields of education, politics, public administration, and human rights. She has worked with international agencies and NGOs, and she is currently a professor at the Federal University of Sergipe. Her research focuses on children and adolescents in contexts of displacement and child migration.

Pedagogista, con un master e un dottorato in Scienze Sociali ed Educazione. Lavora nei settori dell'educazione, della politica, della gestione pubblica e dei diritti umani. Ha lavorato con agenzie internazionali e ONG, ed è attualmente professoressa presso l'Università Federale di Sergipe. La sua ricerca si concentra su bambini e adolescenti in contesti di spostamento e migrazione infantile.