

INDIGENOUS BRAZILIAN ANTHROPOLOGY

Beyond the university: indigenous experiences and intellectualities in Brazil

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This article presents a preliminary survey of texts by indigenous intellectuals in Brazil, advancing some ideas for their analysis. It thus seeks to provide an initial overview of indigenous production in Brazil, understood here under the umbrella term ‘indigenous intellectuality,’ while making clear that indigenous intellectualism is not limited to Brazilian modes of scientific practice. On the contrary, these forms of knowledge are born and radiate from the hard-packed ground of the village. Particular interest is taken in the impacts of the production and experiences of these indigenous intellectuals on the Brazilian indigenous movement — that is, in how individual trajectories, articulated through symbols proper to academia, are articulated with indigenous forms of knowledge, contributing to effective political, economic, legal and social outcomes that take into account the cosmivision of indigenous communities.

Keywords: Indigenous Intellectuality; University; Brazil.

Para além da Universidade: experiências e intelectualidades indígenas no Brasil

Resumo

O presente trabalho tem por objetivo trazer ideias iniciais sobre a análise dos escritos dos intelectuais indígenas no Brasil, apresentando um levantamento preliminar. Pretende-se oferecer um panorama geral prévio da produção indígena no Brasil, compreendida aqui dentro de um guarda-chuva denominado “intelectualidade indígena”, mas tendo claro que a inteligência indígena não está adstrita ao modo de fazer ciência no Brasil, ao contrário, esses saberes nascem e se irradiam do chão batido da aldeia. Estamos especialmente interessados nos impactos da produção e experiências destes indígenas intelectuais no movimento indígena brasileiro, ou seja, como tais trajetórias individuais instrumentalizadas em símbolos próprios da academia se articulam com saberes indígenas próprios, contribuindo efetivamente para resultados políticos, econômicos, jurídicos e sociais que levem em conta a cosmovisão das comunidades indígenas.

Palavras-chave: intelectualidade indígena; universidade; Brasil.

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INTRODUCTION

In recent years, Brazil has witnessed a remarkable growth in the indigenous presence in universities from undergraduate to postgraduate courses, especially in the humanities. Individual trajectories have come to occupy a prominent place in the writings produced by a generation of indigenous scholars who made the journey from the village to the university and who, initially, included in their texts preliminary notions of the knowledge acquired in academia, directed towards seeking some kind of ‘return’ (*devolutiva*) for their communities. Others went further, producing reflections that exceeded local resolutivity. They initiated a contrastive movement between traditional forms of knowledge and scientific knowledge, thereby questioning, to a certain extent, dogmas concerning scientific practice in Brazil.

The present study aims to advance some initial ideas for the analysis of the texts produced by indigenous intellectuals in Brazil, offering a preliminary survey. It seeks to provide an initial overview of indigenous academic writing in Brazil, gathered here under the umbrella term ‘indigenous intellectuality’, while remaining mindful that indigenous intelligence is not limited to modes of scientific practice in Brazil. On the contrary, these forms of knowledge are born and radiate from the hard-packed ground of the village. I am particularly interested in the impacts of the production and experiences of these indigenous intellectuals on the Brazilian indigenous movement — that is, in how individual trajectories, mobilised through symbols proper to academia, are being articulated with indigenous forms of knowledge and are effectively contributing to political, economic, legal and social outcomes that take the cosmovision of indigenous communities into account.

On the other hand, addressing this topic necessarily requires examining the path taken by indigenous people accessing higher education. A copious literature has been produced on the theme of indigenous higher education in Brazil. Published works by Souza Lima (2007, 2008, 2016, 2018), Souza Lima and Barroso-Hoffmann (2007, 2013), Souza Lima and Paladino (2012a, 2012b), Vianna et al. (2014), Amado (2016), Eloy Amado and Brostolin (2011) and Carneiro da Cunha and Cesarino (2016), among others, corroborate the arguments put forward

by Guimarães and Villardi (2010: 19). According to the latter authors, the demand for higher education among indigenous peoples should be understood on the basis of three premises: (a) the insertion of this demand within a broader agenda of fighting for indigenous rights; (b) the plurality of views and perspectives shaping the debate surrounding the implementation of affirmative action policies for indigenous communities in public universities; and (c) the need for the communities concerned to participate in the formulation of inclusion policies.

Data gathered in 1998-1999 by the Brazilian anthropologists João Pacheco de Oliveira and Antonio Carlos de Souza Lima, which led to the seminar *Bases for a New Indigenous Policy*,¹ indicate that ‘one of the greatest concerns among various governmental and non-governmental sectors involved in all these processes of constituting “policies of difference,” in which territorialisation is a fundamental axis, was the perceived need to “build capacity”’ (Souza Lima 2007: 17). In practice, the demand to assist the indigenous struggle with these new instruments was a political decision taken by indigenous leaderships, who channelled individual and collective efforts towards sending their young people to occupy university places. This process was clearly also bound up with a growing demand for schooling within indigenous communities. Drawing on data from the 2005 School Census, Souza Lima (2007: 15) showed that in 2004 there were 2,324 schools in indigenous lands, with ‘9,100 teachers, 88% of whom are indigenous, serving a population of 164,000 indigenous students. Among these schools, 46.6% are state-run, 52.5% municipal and 0.9% private.’ Furthermore, ‘among the 164,000 indigenous students, 11.3% are enrolled in early childhood education; 63.8% in the initial years of primary education; 14.8% in the final four years of primary education; 7.2% in youth and adult education; and only 2.9% are enrolled in secondary education within indigenous lands.’

It is important to recall the observation made by Eloy Amado and Brostolin (2011), extrapolating from Barroso-Hoffmann (2005), where the author pointed out that the implementation of affirmative action policies for indigenous peoples in Brazil arose from constitutional provisions designed to guarantee the exercise of differentiated cultural rights and the adoption of public policies aimed at creating economic and social alternatives capable of sustaining the collective political projects of indigenous peoples. Another factor that deserves emphasis is the recognition that access to the university alone is insufficient: permanence must also be ensured. In this regard, experiences likewise documented by Paladino (2006), Paulino (2008), Amaral (2010), Angnes (2010), Pereira (2011), Amado (2016) and Urquiza et al. (2017), among others, are particularly relevant for analysing these historical conjunctures

1 ‘The seminar *Bases for a New Indigenous Policy (Bases Para Uma Nova Política Indigenista)*, held in June 1999 at the Museu Nacional, with the support of the Ford Foundation and FAPERJ, brought together a broad spectrum of actors involved in indigenous issues to present and discuss new experiences in indigenist action and indigenous organisation. The aim was to foster conditions for debate and for the further development of policies for the indigenous peoples and societies inhabiting Brazilian territory.’ For access to the full seminar report, see: <http://laced3.hospedagemdesites.ws/laced/atividades/seminarios/seminario-bases/>

and for identifying analytical resources for reflecting on how such processes were carried out, involving a wide range of indigenous and non-indigenous social actors (indigenous leaders, indigenous teachers, university lecturers and administrative staff, indigenist NGOs and so on).

Another fundamental aspect concerns the contribution of Carneiro da Cunha and Cesarino (2016) in the volume *Políticas Culturais e Povos Indígenas*, which helps us reflect on the cultural policies that affect indigenous peoples, including educational policies, processes of patrimonialisation and broader debates on culture in its multiple dimensions, such as the use of traditional objects and substances, ritual practices, body painting, among others. In addition, the authors also highlight the role of ‘indigenous researchers’ or ‘researchers who are indigenous,’ who bring collective reflections concerning their own communities. In opening the volume, the authors emphasise the distinction between cultural policies *for* indigenous peoples and cultural policies *by* indigenous peoples, while also underscoring the importance of doing science within the field of anthropology. It becomes clear, therefore, that policies *by* indigenous peoples, *for* indigenous peoples and *mobilising* indigenous peoples are intertwined and articulated so as to produce effects that extend beyond the academy, in certain situations leading to a movement of symmetrical cooperation.

A PRELIMINARY VIEW OF INDIGENOUS INTELLECTUALITY

There is no doubt that a field of reflection produced by and about indigenous peoples exists both within and beyond the academic environment. While the schooling process imposed on indigenous peoples resulted in multiple violations of their culture, language and cosmovision, it enabled a growing indigenous presence in other spaces — such as universities — traditionally occupied by white populations. Exploring indigenous life trajectories and indigenous intellectual and political practices constitutes a potentially powerful exercise in breaking with the coloniality of power and knowledge. Thinking indigenous intellectuality compels us to rethink the political and historical positions of higher education institutions, so deeply shaped by colonial practices and which, in the vast majority of cases, impose top-down procedures and ‘truths’ regarding the local knowledges of the peoples and communities that surround them. As part of this same shift, recognising indigenous intellectuality leads us to reflect critically on epistemological matrices that, under the guise of scientificity, safeguard select categories of a field of knowledge frequently closed to other, peripheral forms of knowing, such as those of indigenous peoples, quilombola communities and the residents of urban peripheries.

The theme addressed here is by no means new. Some reflections have been initiated both by indigenous authors and by indigenists. I explicitly cite the work of the indigenous author Felipe Tuxá (2017), ‘Indígena Antropólogo e o espetáculo da alteridade,’ another text by Gersem Baniwa (2015) entitled ‘Os indígenas antropólogos: desafios e perspectivas,’ the work of the researcher Bergamaschi (2014), ‘Intelectuais indígenas, interculturalidade e educação,’

the article ‘Intelectuales Indígenas y Literaturas en México: ‘Intelectuales Indígenas y Literaturas en México. El campo literario entre los zapotecas y los mayas’ by Luz María Lepe Lira (2017), the text ‘Escarolarização e Intelectuais Indígenas: da formação à emancipação’ by João Francisco Kleba Lisboa (2017) and, finally, the volume organised by Ana Elisa de Castro Freitas (2015), entitled *Intelectuais indígenas e a construção da universidade pluriétnica no Brasil: Povos indígenas e os novos contornos do Programa de Educação Tutorial/ Conexões de Saberes*.

Setting out from an initial reflection grounded in dialogues with indigenous teachers, students and leaders, Bergamaschi (2014) coins the term ‘indigenous intellectuals’ to refer to indigenous individuals who attend university and become intellectuals from an academic perspective and also the organic intellectual, in the Gramscian sense, committed to their social group, their people, their community and their struggles.² As stated at the outset of this article, I align myself with this understanding of the indigenous intellectual as someone not confined to the walls of academia: on the contrary, this position requires the capacity to move between indigenous and non-indigenous worlds and between scientific and traditional forms of knowledge. From this relationship emerges the idea that it is precisely indigenous education that prepares individuals to navigate distinct worlds, each endowed with its own values and epistemological procedures.

In this sense, the previously constituted indigenous intellectual field seeks spaces for self-affirmation within academic procedures. Indigenous languages are perhaps the most powerful expression of the legitimacy of this field. Beyond language, however, a critical view of the history of one’s own people, the rereading of ethnographies produced by non-indigenous authors, privileged access to certain kinds of information and the individual trajectories of indigenous scholars, among other factors, are all elements that mark the constitution of the indigenous intellectual field.

To visualise this line of reasoning more clearly, we take as an example indigenous students who are pursuing degrees in anthropology — a discipline founded on working with the other, yet which, in the case of indigenous scholars, involves working not with an other but with their own people, their own families. The first point of our reflection concerns research methods and field techniques in their traditional sense. As early as the 1970s, Gerald Berreman (1975),³ drawing in part on the writings of Elenore Bowen (1954), argued that ethnographers had ‘all

2 Along these lines, Bergamaschi (2014: 12) argues that ‘indigenous movements and academic circles have increasingly used the term indigenous intellectual. Controversial perhaps, since it is once again a designation exogenous to Amerindian peoples, expressing a western understanding of knowledge, including the hierarchisation of who produces knowledge, what kind of knowledge is produced, for whom, and where it is produced. It also poses another problem that narrows understanding, as the very word intellectual indicates: something related to the intellect, mental, spiritual. It refers to a person who performs an activity in which intelligence or reasoning plays a predominant or excessive role; cerebral, rational. Without ignoring the role of the intellect, it is nonetheless well known that Amerindian peoples’ understanding of knowledge is broader, a conception of totality that recognises the body, in its entirety, as the site of learning and knowledge production.’

3 Berreman (1962).

too rarely made explicit the methods by which the information reported in their descriptive and analytical works was derived,' going so far as to suggest that one might 'suspect that ethnographers of having established a conspiracy of silence on these matters' (1975: 123). It is evident, therefore, that fieldwork is a human experience that is subject to implications of various kinds and to unexpected outcomes. Immersion in ethnographic accounts — through extensive reading and subsequent return to the indigenous researcher's community of origin — makes it possible to reflect analytically on the role of anthropology, but also on the role of the 'indigenous anthropologist.'

When an indigenous researcher arrives in their community to conduct research, the indigenous and scientific categories resulting from their readings become interwoven in their reasoning. It is highly likely that, were the researcher not indigenous, they would begin their writing by describing their arrival in the field, their initial contact with the group under study and the presentation of the ethnographer. But the indigenous researcher begins with their own trajectory, precisely in order to justify their legitimacy vis-à-vis the group. For this reason, I insist, the indigenous anthropologist does not go to the field in the traditional sense. The process is reversed. The confrontation of oneself before the group discussed by Gerald Berreman (1975) fundamental for understanding the relational processes operating in the conduct of research. In the indigenous case, however, the point of departure is in the recovery of the researcher's personal trajectory: where they were born, to which family they belong, the political relations within the community, involvement in the indigenous movement and who the researcher's *trancos* (kin lines) are.

Affirming that the indigenous researcher does not 'go to the field' in the traditional sense has serious implications for science and recalibrates the debate on epistemological methods. In the same movement, the indigenous researcher is understood to follow an inverse path, insofar as they already possess lived experience and familiarity with 'native concepts' and seek to contrast these with the theories developed by non-indigenous researchers. As Marisa Peirano (1995: 16) argues in relation to anthropology, 'it is not grand theories or comprehensive theoretical frameworks that inform it but rather, by contrasting our concepts with other native concepts, it sets out to formulate an idea of humanity constructed through differences.' If, as the author suggests, anthropology proposes to formulate an idea of humanity built through difference, then the anthropological practice carried out by indigenous researchers calls these pathways of ethnographic method into question. In other words, after decades of tradition within anthropological science, the presence of the 'natives' on anthropology programmes tends to disrupt centuries of imposition by a discipline that nevertheless claims to engage in dialogue with difference.

This raises the following question: what kind of anthropology are indigenous anthropologists producing? Or, put differently, what will be the impact of these writings on anthropology itself? In the view consolidated by Bronislaw Malinowski (1978), ethnography should consist of an intensive, long-term investigation in which the ethnographer was required to live in the

place where fieldwork was conducted, to learn the ‘native language’ and thus to create the conditions for observing the everyday life of the ‘natives’ without neglecting any of its aspects. From this perspective, the aim of ethnography was to account for the totality of ‘tribal life’ through the reconstruction of social structure, the recording of the ‘imponderabilia of actual life and of typical behaviour’ (Malinowski 1978: 31), as well as the apprehension of the ‘native’ point of view as an expression of their ways of thinking and feeling — in other words, gaining access to the intimate life of the subjects under study. Sharing in ‘native’ cultural intimacy thus is the outcome of the constitution of a mode of relationship that is permanently negotiated and limited, whose developments which will undoubtedly shape the knowledge produced through ethnography. But in the case of the ‘indigenous anthropologist,’ this intimacy is already known and the sensation is left that indigenous researchers are continually required to fit their culture into categories previously elaborated by anthropologists. At one point, João Pacheco de Oliveira (2009: 3) speaks of a certain malaise in anthropology, raising a question that appears to be common among some anthropologists: ‘might anthropologists not be becoming excessively involved in the practical conditions of carrying out their studies, intervening in native life and institutions (rather than merely observing them), and positioning themselves on issues that they should only observe and record?’

Starting from this approach to indigenous anthropologists as a way into thinking about the role of the indigenous researcher, it seems clear that the retrospective account of their individual trajectory functions as a form of legitimation: in the indigenous case, the more engaged and involved the researcher is with their social group, the richer their source of inquiry and the greater their possibilities in the field. Moreover, reviewing the scientific records produced about their own people and/or community constitutes a primary task. Doing science as an indigenous researcher consists precisely in testing theories formulated about their own group, contrasting these analyses with those produced by non-indigenous scholars, retracing methodological pathways and opening up new possibilities. Within the field of indigenous anthropology, the early reflections of indigenous anthropologists Tonico Benites (2015), Gersem Baniwa (2015) and Felipe Tuxá (2017) serve as guiding lights, pointing towards a way of conceiving anthropological science as an instrument that must be enriched by indigenous ways of seeing and understanding the world. It is not only indigenous peoples who benefit from anthropology: it is also essential to recognise the contribution of indigenous anthropologists to anthropological science and especially to anthropologists themselves.

These are initial considerations that inaugurate a debate centred on conducting research via an indigenous perspective. That said, it is important to present some preliminary data

based on the *Wikilivro* compiling a bibliography of indigenous publications in Brazil.⁴ This digital platform is fed with information taken from the Lattes Platform run by the National Scientific and Technological Development Council (CNPq), which currently represents the national standard for recording the past and present academic trajectories of students and researchers in Brazil, and is today adopted by the vast majority of funding agencies, universities and research institutes in the country.

The initial data were systematised in a table appended to this text. Broken down into fields of knowledge, the following areas are represented: agronomy, anthropology, arts, environment, law, education, geography, history, literature, psychology, social work, health and society/culture. The first observation to be made is that indigenous writings cannot be considered separate from wider academic production, in the sense of being marginalised as a form of ‘sub-science.’ On the contrary, these works have proven to be accomplished studies that have come to the fore precisely because they were conducted by indigenous researchers. Likewise, even when these studies focus on issues initially considered local, indigenous scholars demonstrate a profound capacity to connect their local realities with the world system, dialoguing with major theoretical currents and responding to events global in scale — hence the ability of indigenous researchers to converse with multiple worlds, including in contexts of acute adversity. A recurring discourse among indigenous scholars in postgraduate training concerns the resistance shown by their supervisors — most of whom are non-indigenous — to their continued involvement in the indigenous movement. For many, these spheres are ideally kept separate, but for indigenous researchers they are compatible paths: indeed, much of the research undertaken has achieved its anticipated effects precisely because it is intimately connected to political activism on behalf of their peoples and/or communities. This may be viewed unfavourably in traditional academia, yet it is a boundary increasingly breached by indigenous researchers.

By way of example, we cite the work of Ytanaje Coelho Cardoso (2017), entitled *Os últimos falantes da língua Munduruku do Amazonas: habitus, dialogismo e invenção cultural no campo discursivo*, which documents the last speakers of the Munduruku language in Amazonia. As he analyses the discourse of elders, the researcher also demonstrates how these discourses constitute a historical and symbolic capital within the political field and how this factor is essentially bound to Munduruku resistance in the ethnolinguistic landscape. Consulting the study reveals that the research techniques involved far more than bibliographic research: its basis lies precisely in participant observation and in the oral accounts of indig-

4 This *Wikilivro* is a collaborative bibliography that compiles and lists publications by indigenous writers in Brazil. The initiative aims to serve as a reference work and a source of consultation for researchers and readers –indigenous and non-indigenous – interested in this body of literature. The bibliography was initiated in January 2019. The project is coordinated by the librarian and researcher Aline da Silva Franca, the writer Daniel Munduruku and the librarian and researcher Thulio Dias Gomes. It is supported by Livraria Maracá – Conectando Saberes and the Instituto Uk’a – Casa de Saberes Ancestrais. For further information, visit: <https://pt.wikibooks.org/wiki/>

enous leaders, making clear the researcher's privileged access to empirical material, only possible because the researcher is himself indigenous. In this respect, the contribution of the research becomes evident not only for the history of the people concerned and for Brazilian literature, but also as a personal and collective gain, insofar as the research was conducted with social coherence, grounded in the lived reality of the Munduruku people.

Along similar lines is the work of Lucia Fernanda Inácio Belfort (2006), entitled *A proteção dos conhecimentos tradicionais dos povos indígenas em face da Convenção sobre Diversidade Biológica*. Rooted in a concern with protecting the traditional knowledge of indigenous peoples, the indigenous researcher and jurist developed a study that sets out the legal frameworks for such protection at both national and international levels. While the text constitutes a landmark in terms of its legal and theoretical references, it is also distinguished by the emphasis it places on the role of indigenous peoples as social protagonists within the scope of the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD), highlighting the convention as the most important international environmental treaty precisely because it encompasses all components of biodiversity and adopts an approach that prioritises the conservation of natural resources—that is, their utilisation in line with sustainable principles.

Equally, we have the work of Almiros Martins Machado (2009), *De Direito indigenista a Direitos indígenas: desdobramento da arte do enfrentamento*, which explores Guarani law, examining its principles and the phenomenon of the subsumption of community issues, constituting an excellent treatise on what the author himself terms *direito nativo* (native law). The researcher begins the study by describing his personal trajectory, closely aligned with the lived experiences of indigenous communities in Mato Grosso do Sul, particularly within the social milieu of the *tekoha* communities of Jaguapiru and Bororó, located in the municipality of Dourados. Evoking memories of working environments in sugarcane mills, as well as discussing indigenous law (Guarani law), the author critically examines Brazilian national law, pointing to its difficulties in dealing with indigenous issues. In so doing, he engages with the theoretical contributions of legal pluralism: in other words, based on his own trajectory and experience in the community, the researcher elaborates a critical theory of Brazilian law, proposing as a possible way out the recognition and practical mobilisation of the communities' own legal systems. The outcome is a remarkable treatise on the law and norms specific to his people, articulated through indigenous objects, principles and interpretative modes.

In the field of history, I highlight the work of Márcia Nunes Maciel (2015), *Tecendo tradições*, a text that 'questions the usual paradigms evident in analyses that consistently perceive the "other" as an "object of research."' The work is dense and opens with the voices of members of her own social group, electing individual voices in order to understand the dynamics of group projects. By performing the exercise of recovering ancestral forms of knowledge and setting them in contrast with existing ethnographies and historiographical

reflections, the research engages in the primary task I have identified as fundamental to indigenous research practice: revisiting writings about one's own people and analysing, from an indigenous perspective, whether such theories effectively support concrete social life. It becomes clear in the author's writing that her principal aim is to weave together reflections on indigenous ways of being and their mechanisms of resistance, so that forms of life bound up with nature may remain alive in the face of the threats posed by developmentalist projects that endanger Amazonian peoples. It is important to consider the testimony presented by the researcher, who states that since her master's degree she has been writing about her own history through oral history with members of her family and other families from her community of origin, while recognising that her gaze was, at that stage, strongly shaped by academic theories. At doctoral level, however, she set out to live these experiences more fully within spaces of tradition and in search of new concepts, going to the swidden fields and the *casa de farinha* (manioc-flour houses), accompanying women's fishing expeditions, cleaning and preparing fish, dancing and struggling alongside relatives in villages traversed by highways, as well as participating in festivities and litanies in the spaces of former rubber plantations that later became localities, villages and districts along the banks of the Madeira River. These are local experiences that underpin the architecture of indigenous epistemology, since it is from and through such lived practices that academic constructions seek to express theories that both explain and are nourished by indigenous reality.

From these few observations outlined above, we can discern a political dimension inherent to being an indigenous academic. The works emerge from indigenous demands, whether individual or collective, although it may be difficult to determine the extent to which an indigenous text can be considered solely individual, given that methodological pathways are imbued with collective endeavours. In 'Whose side are we on?' Howard Becker (1977a), discussing the false idea that there exists research uncontaminated by personal and political sympathies, concludes that, across the wide range of fields and methods available to us, we cannot avoid taking sides, recognising that our work is solidly grounded in social structure. Still drawing on Becker (1977b), in 'Problems in the publication of field studies,' which addresses the ethical issues that frequently arise at the moment of publishing fieldwork results, he points to the striking difference between conducting research in a well-defined organisation (a factory, hospital, school and so on) and conducting research within a community or association. In the former cases, senior management will generally have the right to read and review the results prior to publication, whereas in an indigenous community, for example, such control will rarely exist. Furthermore, as the author explores, several other conditions affect publication, among them conduct related to sacred and traditional values and issues relating to internal group politics. This may become a point of much debate among indigenous researchers, insofar as such actors enjoy privileged access to internal data and knowledge within their own groups.

In this respect, the book *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* by Erving Goffman (1999) helps us reflect on the notion of the ‘definition of the situation,’ central to Goffman’s thought as well as to the Chicago School. This refers to the process through which meaning is attributed to lived contexts, making it significant for understanding how people orient their actions in everyday life. In the case of indigenous researchers, it is fundamental to consider the position they occupy within their own group, the role they perform and how other members of their group interpret their actions. Goffman (1999) argues that only the sociologist or a someone dissatisfied will harbour doubts about the ‘reality’ of what is being presented. There is no doubt that the passage of the indigenous researcher must be marked primarily by an approach grounded in an ‘indigenous perspective,’ rather than by merely validating or repeating what non-indigenous researchers have written about their people and/or community.

TRANSLATED BY DAVID RODGERS

DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

Data available in the final report of the postdoctoral fellowship at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (Paris, France), awarded by the Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel - CAPES (CAPES grant no. 88887.370345/2019-00).

FUNDING STATEMENT

This research was supported by CAPES (*Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior*), a Brazilian government agency for the training of human resources (CAPES grant no. 88887.370345/2019-00).

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ANNEX

Table 1. List of dissertations and theses by indigenous researchers.

Area	Researcher	Type	Title
Agronomy	Jefferson Fernandes do Nascimento	Dissertation	Resistência do algodeiro e variabilidade de <i>Colletotrichum gossypii</i> var. <i>cephalosporioides</i> . Completed 2000.
		Thesis	Epidemiologia e dano causado pela ferrugem asiática (<i>Phakopsora pachyrizi</i>) da soja (<i>Glycine max</i>). Completed 2008.
Anthropology	Dorvalino São José Velasques Chagas	Dissertation	Cosmologia, mitos e histórias: o mundo dos Pamulin Mahsã Waikhana do Rio Papuri. Completed 2001.
	Simone Eloy Amado	Dissertation	O ensino superior para os povos indígenas de Mato Grosso do Sul: desafios, superação e profissionalização. Completed 2016.
	Gersem José dos Santos Luciano	Dissertation	‘Projeto é como branco trabalha; as lideranças que se virem para aprender e nos ensinar’: experiências dos povos indígenas do Alto Rio Negro. Completed 2006.
		Thesis	Educação para manejo e domesticação do mundo entre a escola ideal e a escola real: os dilemas da educação escolar indígena no Alto Rio Negro. Completed 2011.
	Ivo Fernandes Fontoura	Dissertation	Formas de Transmissão de Conhecimentos entre os Tariano da Região do Rio Uaupés-Amazonas. Completed 2006.
		Thesis	A escola na ótica dos Ava Kaiowá: impactos e interpretações indígenas. Completed 2009.
	Tonico Benites	Thesis	Rojeroky hina ha roike jevy tekohape (rezando e lutando): o movimento histórico do Aty Guasudos Ava Kaiowa e dos Ava Guarani pela recuperação de seus tekoha. Completed 2014.
	Mutua Mehinaku Kuikuro	Dissertation	TETSUALÜ: pluralismo de línguas e pessoas no Alto Xingu. Completed 2010.
	Inara do Nascimento Tavares	Dissertation	Formar gestores indígenas e fazer trajetórias: configurações das políticas indígenas e indigenistas no Médio Solimões. Completed 2012.
	Rosilene Fonseca Pereira	Dissertation	Criando Gente no Alto Rio Negro: um olhar Waikhana. Completed 2013.
	Almires Martins Machado	Thesis	Exá raú mboguatá guassú mohekauka yvy marãe’y: de sonhos ao oguatá guassú em busca da(s) Terra(s) Isenta(s) de Mal. Completed 2015.
Nelly Barbosa Duarte Dollis	Dissertation	NOKÊ MEVI REVÖSHO SHOVIWA AWE - O que é transformado pelas pontas das nossas mãos: o trabalho manual dos Marubo do Rio Curuçá. Completed 2017.	

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Anthropology	Rosani de Fatima Fernandes Kaingang	Thesis	“Na educação continua do mesmo jeito”: retomando os fios da história Tembê Tenetehara de Santa Maria do Pará. Completed 2017.
	Jaime Moura Fernandes	Dissertation	GAAPI: Elemento fundamental de acesso aos conhecimentos sobre esse mundo e outros mundos. Completed 2018.
	Alexandre Aniceto de Souza	Dissertation	WaiWai Yana Komo - rotas de transformações ameríndias: um estudo de caso nas regiões das Guianas. Completed 2018.
	Sandra Benites	Dissertation	‘Viver na língua Guarani Nhandeva (mulher falando).’ Completed 2018.
	Helena Indiara Ferreira Corezomaé	Dissertation	Pinturas corporais: revitalização de uma expressão cultural Umutina/Balatiponé. Completed 2018.
	Eliane Boroponepá Monzilar	Dissertation	Aprender o conhecimento a partir da convivência: uma etnografia indígena da educação e da Escola do Povo Balatiponé-Umutina. Completed 2019.
	Edgar Nunes Corrêa	Dissertation	Etnovisão: o olhar indígena que atravessa a lente. Completed 2019.
	Luiz Henrique Eloy Amado	Thesis	Vukapanavo - o despertar do povo Terena para os seus direitos: movimento indígena e confronto político. Completed 2019.
	Gilberto Pires Kadiwéu	Dissertation	As fronteiras da educação indígena: considerações de um professor Ejiwajegi sobre a escola intercultural. Completed 2019.
	Gilson Tiago Terena	Dissertation	Kixovoku Hômo Terenoe: um estudo antropológico sobre o jeito Terena de se pintar. Completed 2019.
	Edson Dorneles de Andrade	Thesis	The legal imagination of indigenous peoples: the idea of ownership among Amazonian groups.
	Felipe Sotto Maior Cruz	Dissertation	Quando a terra sair’ Os Índios Tuxá de Rodelas e a barragem de Itaparica: Memórias do desterro, memórias da resistência. Completed 2017
Arts	Naine Terena de Jesus	Dissertation	Kohixoti-Kipaé, A Dança da Ema: memória, resistência e cotidiano Terena. Completed 2007.
	Mirna Patricia Marinho da Silva	Dissertation	Que memórias me atravessam? Meu percurso de estudante indígena. Completed 2018.
Environment	Francisco Kennedy Araújo de Souza	Dissertation	Effectiveness of extractive reserves, agroextractive reserves, and colonist settlements in southwestern Amazonia: an economic and land cover comparison of three land tenure types in Acre, Brazil. Completed 2006.
		Thesis	Examining the tradeoffs of conservation development strategies in Amazonia: a landuse/land-cover, economic, and institutional comparative analysis of institutional arrangement regimes. Completed 2014.

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Environment	Eliane Boroponepá Monzilar	Dissertation	Trabalho, educação e sustentabilidade dentro do território. Completed 2013.
	Isabel Teresa Cristina Taukane	Dissertation	Na trilha das Pekobaym Guerreiras Kura-Bakairi: de mulheres árvores ao associativismo do Instituto Yukamaniru. Completed 2013.
	Célia Nunes Correa	Dissertation	O barro, o genipapo e o giz no fazer epistemológico de autoria Xakriabá: reativação da memória por uma educação territorializada. Completed 2018.
Law	Lucia Fernanda Inácio Belfort Sales	Dissertation	A proteção dos conhecimentos tradicionais dos povos indígenas, em face da convenção sobre diversidade biológica. Completed 2006.
	Paulo Celso de Oliveira	Dissertation	Gestão Territorial Indígena. Completed 2006.
	Almiros Martins Machado	Dissertation	De Direito Indigenista a Direito Indígena: desdobramento da arte do enfrentamento. Completed 2009.
	Vilmar Martins Moura Guarany	Dissertation	Direito territorial Guarany e as unidades de conservação. Completed 2009.
	Rosani de Fatima Fernandes Kaingang	Dissertation	Educação Escolar Kyikatêjê: novos caminhos para aprender e ensinar. Completed 2010.
	Ercivaldo Damsôkekwa Calixto Xerente	Dissertation	Processos de educação akwê e os direitos indígenas a uma educação diferenciada: práticas educativas tradicionais e suas relações com a prática escolar. Completed 2017.
	Luiz Henrique Eloy Amado	Thesis	O campo social do direito e a teoria do direito indigenista brasileiro.
Education	Darlene Yaminalo Taukane	Dissertation	Educação escolar entre os Kura Bakairi. Completed 1996.
	Rita Gomes do Nascimento	Dissertation	Educação Escolar Indígena: consensos e dissensos no projeto de formação docente Tapeba, Pitaguary e Jenipapo-Kanindé. Completed 2006.
		Thesis	Rituais de resistência: experiências pedagógicas tapeba. Completed 2009.
	Justino Sarmiento Rezende	Dissertation	Escola Indígena Municipal Utâpinopona-Tuyuka e a construção da identidade Tuyuka. Completed 2007.
	Geraldo Veloso Ferreira	Dissertation	Educação escolar indígena: as práticas culturais indígenas na ação pedagógica da Escola Estadual Indígena São Miguel Iauaretê (AM). Completed 2007.
	Daniel Monteiro Costa	Thesis	O caráter educativo do Movimento Indígena Brasileiro (1970-2000). Completed 2010.
	Edson Machado de Brito	Thesis	A escola dos índios Karípunas na aldeia do Espírito Santo (Oiapoque) e o ritual do Turé: uma história da resistência indígena. Completed 2012.

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Education	Elda Vasques Aquino	Dissertation	Educação escolar indígena e os processos próprios de aprendizagem: espaço de interrelação de conhecimentos na infância Guarani/Kaiowá, antes da escola, na Comunidade Indígena de Amambai. Completed 2012.
	Fátima Trindade do Amaral Kaingang	Dissertation	O protagonismo Kaingang no espaço da escola indígena. Completed 2013.
	Teodora de Souza Guarani	Dissertation	Educação escolar indígena e as políticas públicas no município de Dourados/MS (2001-2010). Completed 2013.
	Zaqueu Key Claudino	Dissertation	A formação da pessoa nos pressupostos da tradição: educação indígena Kaingang. Completed 2013.
	Bruno Ferreira Kaingang	Dissertation	Educação kaingang: processos próprios de aprendizagem e educação escolar. Completed 2014.
	Naine Terena de Jesus	Thesis	Audiovisual na escola Terena Lutuma Dias: educação indígena diferenciada e as mídias. Completed 2014.
	Severia Maria Idioriê-Xavante	Dissertation	Línguas e educação intercultural na formação de professores A'uwê. Completed 2016.
	Maria Inês de Freitas Kaingang	Dissertation	Escola kaingang: concepções cosmo-sóciopolíticas e práticas cotidianas. Completed 2017.
	Lennon Ferreira Corezomaé	Dissertation	Educação escolar do povo indígena Balatiponé-Umutina: compreendendo processos educativos da escola Julá Paré. Completed 2017.
	Ademario Souza Ribeiro	Dissertation	O ensino das histórias e culturas dos povos indígenas nos anos finais do Ensino Fundamental nas escolas Mbo'ehao e Kijêtxawê de Simões Filho, Estado da Bahia. Completed 2019.
Geography	Israel Fontes Dutra Tuyuka	Dissertation	Pari-Cachoeira e Trinidad: convivência e construção da autodeterminação indígena na fronteira Brasil-Colômbia. Completed 2009.
	Márcia Vieira da Silva	Dissertation	Reterritorialização e identidade do povo Omágua-Kambeba na aldeia Tururucari-Uka. Completed 2012.
Health	Zuleica da Silva Tiago Terena	Dissertation	Sífilis adquirida, sífilis em gestante e sífilis congênita na população indígena do Mato Grosso do Sul: análise comparativa entre as notificações no SINAN e no DSEI-MS. Completed 2016.
History	Edson Machado de Brito	Dissertation	Do sentido aos significados do presídio de Clevelândia do Norte: repressão, resistência e a disputa política no debate da imprensa. Completed 2008.
	Wanderley Dias Cardoso	Thesis	A história da educação escolar para o Terena: origem e desenvolvimento do ensino médio na Aldeia Limão Verde. Completed 2011.
<i>Continues in the next page »</i>			

History	Aline do Carmo Rochedo	Dissertation	Os filhos da Revolução: A juventude urbana e o rock brasileiro dos anos 1980. Completed 2011.
		Thesis	Afrodite se quiser: o protagonismo das mulheres no rock brasileiro. Completed 2018.
	Marcia Nunes Maciel	Thesis	Tecendo tradições indígenas. Completed 2015.
Letters and Literature	Maria das Graças Ferreira Graúna	Dissertation	O imaginário dos povos indígenas na literatura infantil. Completed 1991.
		Thesis	Contrapontos da literatura indígena contemporânea no Brasil. Completed 2003.
	Maria das Dores de Oliveira	Dissertation	A variação fonética da vibrante /r/ na fala Pankararu: análise lingüística e sociolingüística. Completed 2001.
		Thesis	Ofayé, a língua do Povo do Mel: fonologia e gramática. Completed 2006.
	Nanblá Gakran	Dissertation	Aspectos morfossintáticos da língua Laklãnõ (Xokleng). Completed 2005.
		Thesis	Elementos Fundamentais da Gramática Laklãnõ. Completed 2015.
	Aisanain Páltu Kamaiwrá	Dissertation	Uma análise linguístico-antropológica de exemplares de dois gêneros discursivos Kamaiurá. Completed 2010.
		Thesis	O Kwaryp de Kanutari : uma abordagem linguística e etnográfica. Completed 2015.
	Fábia Pereira da Silva	Dissertation	A sílaba em yaathe. Completed 2011.
	Joaquim Paulo de Lima Kaxinawá	Dissertation	Confrontando registros e memórias sobre a língua e a cultura Huni Kui: de Capistrano de Abreu aos dias atuais. Completed 2011.
		Thesis	Para uma gramática da língua Hãtxa kuĩ. Completed 2014.
	Márcia Nascimento	Dissertation	Tempo, modo, aspecto e evidencialidade em Kaingang. Completed 2013.
	Edson Dorneles de Andrade	Dissertation	Entre o som e o silêncio: a literatura ameríndia e o romance Órfãos do Eldorado de Milton Hatoum. Completed 2014.
	Julie Stefane Dorrigo Peres	Dissertation	Autoria e performance nas narrativas míticas indígenas amondawa. Completed 2015.
	Altaci Corrêa Rubim	Thesis	O reordenamento político e cultural do povo kokama : a reconquista da língua e do território além das fronteiras entre o Brasil e o Peru. Completed 2016.
Fábia Pereira da Silva	Thesis	A organização prosódica do Yaathe, a língua do povo Fulni-ô. Completed 2016.	
<i>Continues in the next page »</i>			

Letters and Literature	Márcia Nascimento	Thesis	Evidencialidade em Kaingang: descrição, processamento e aquisição. Completed 2017.
	Ytanaje Coelho Cardoso	Dissertation	Os últimos falantes da língua Munduruku do Amazonas: habitus, dialogismo e invenção cultural no campo discursivo. Completed 2017.
Psychology	Nilza Leite Antonio Terena	Dissertation	Raízes na língua: identidade e rede social de crianças terena da escola bilingue da Aldeia Bananal. Completed 2009.
Social Work	Elizângela Cardoso de Araújo Silva Pankararu	Dissertation	As mulheres e as muralhas do patriarcado e do capitalismo: terceirização e precarização do trabalho no sistema do capital. Completed 2012.
Society, Culture	Wanderley Dias Cardoso	Dissertation	A aldeia indígena de Limão Verde: escola, comunidade e desenvolvimento local. Completed 2004.
	Márcia Nunes Maciel	Dissertation	O vivido e o lembrado: memórias e trajetórias de pessoas que vivenciaram seringais na Amazônia. Completed 2010.
	Israel Fontes Dutra Tuyuka	Dissertation	Xamanismo Uhtâpinõponã: princípios dos rituais de pajelanças e do ser pajé Tuyuka. Completed 2010.
	Paulo Baltazar Terena	Dissertation	O processo decisório dos Terena. Completed 2010.
	Altaci Corrêa Rubim	Dissertation	Identidade dos professores indígenas e processo de territorialização/Manaus-AM. Completed 2011.
	Anari Braz Bomfim	Dissertation	Patxohã, “língua de guerreiro”: um estudo sobre o processo de retomada da língua Pataxó. Completed 2014.
	Luiz Henrique Eloy Amado	Dissertation	Poké’exa Utî: o território indígena como direito fundamental para o etnodesenvolvimento local. Completed 2014.
	Isabel Teresa Cristina Taukane	Thesis	Kurâ Iwenu (a nossa pintura): performance e resistência na pintura corporal Kurâ-Bakairi; Completed 2019.

Author’s elaboration based on the Wikilivro.

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