


BEING INDIGENOUS FROM THE UNIVERSITY: SATERÉ-MAWÉ EXPERIENCES AND BELONGINGS¹

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ABSTRACT

Currently, much has been discussed about the access and permanence of indigenous peoples to the University. In this sense, the present study problematizes, based on the experiences and belongings of Sateré-Mawé students from the University of the State of Amazonas (UEA), the policies, programs and actions of access and permanence to higher education in Amazonas. We start from the understanding that ethnic experiences and belongings are unfinished processes and identifications, produced socio-historically, in constant movement. With regard to life at the University, we emphasize that it is not enough to guarantee access, but to promote policies and programs aimed at permanence in higher education, which must be successful.

Keywords: Sateré-Mawé, Students, Higher Education, Amazonas.

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INTRODUCTION

The indigenous populations were located in this space-time that we currently call Brazil more than 40 millennia ago, and their populations totaled, when the Portuguese arrived in this territory, more than six million (Freire, 2008). It is worth mentioning that, according to the records of Curt Nimuendaju (IBGE, 1981), these indigenous people belonged to more than 1,300 peoples.

However, as is well known, due to economic, political and religious issues, they were expelled from their lands, enslaved, Christianized, exploited, often forced to deny and/or hide their sense of ethnic belonging. Thus, we understand that the current indigenous people of Brazil, who today number almost 900 thousand and belong to more than 240 peoples (IBGE, 2021), are the result of their struggles and resistance, which date back to the Brazilian colonization process.

Currently, information from the Demographic Census of the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), carried out in 2010, indicates that these peoples live in more than 500 continuous and discontinuous indigenous lands, totaling 12.5% of the national territory. It is the Amazon region that is home to an expressive cultural diversity, given that it brings together about 20 million people, including more than 300 thousand indigenous people of different ethnicities (Museu do Índio, 2021), speakers of 120 languages (Freire, 2011), as well as traditional, riverside, extractivist and quilombola communities. Therefore, it is a multiethnic region, with a great socio-biodiversity sheltered by the Amazon ecosystem.

In Manaus, indigenous peoples are in various regions, both in urban and rural areas, and come from several municipalities in Amazonas and even from other states. Among these peoples, we mention: Munduruku, Mura, Sateré-Mawé (Lower Amazon region), Kambeba, Kokama, Tikuna (Tukúna) (Upper and Middle Solimões region), Baniwa, Baré, Desana, Pira-Tapuya, Tariána, Tukano, Kotiria (Wanana) (Upper Rio Negro region), Deni (Juruá region) and Apurinã (Purus region) (Santos, 2008).

The present study problematizes, based on the experiences and belongings of the Sateré-Mawé students of the University of the State of Amazonas (UEA), the policies, programs and actions of access and permanence to higher education in Amazonas. We start from the understanding that ethnic experiences and belongings are unfinished processes and identifications, produced socio-historically, in constant movement.

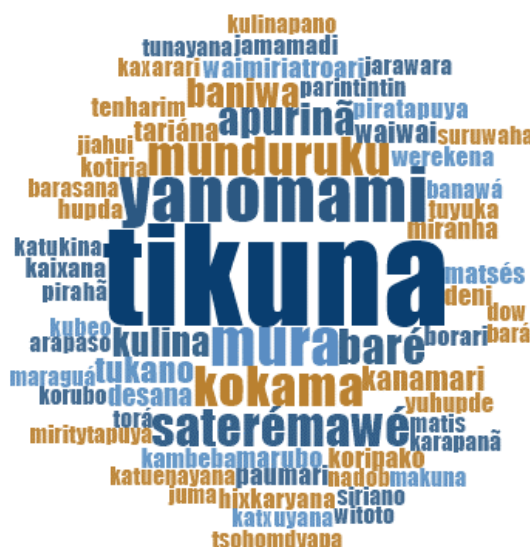
THE CHILDREN OF *THE WARANÁ*

The discourses about these peoples and nations have fluctuated over the centuries, with both assimilationist and romantic visions coexisting, that is, the identifications of these populations vary from the image of heroes of nature to internal enemies who need to be pacified, civilized and incorporated into national society (Cunha, 2009, 2012).

With regard to the current geopolitical space of the state of Amazonas, Cunha (2009) states that, in the eighteenth century, indigenous people from 30 to 40 different nations were found in the missions of the Lower Amazon alone, and some groups were only kept in their places of origin so that they could attest to and defend the limits of Portuguese colonization: they were responsible for the current borders of the Amazon in their regions.

Currently, as illustrated below, there are more than 60 ethnic groups in Amazonas, which include almost 200 thousand indigenous people, among which there is, in the Lower Amazon region, the Sateré-Mawé people, the sixth largest ethnic group present in our state, composed of more than 13 thousand indigenous people:

Figure 1 – Indigenous ethnicities in the state of Amazonas



Fonte: Kaiser (2010); Meletti, (2007).

The Sateré-Mawé made contact with the colonizer, the white, at certain historical moments, resulting in their exposure to processes of domination, forced displacements, demographic losses, and the destruction of social relationship networks. According to Pereira (2003, p. 42), the punitive expeditions organized by the Portuguese colonizers against the Sateré-Mawé, "peaceful but haughty, industrious and fearless farmers", occurred due to the reaction of this population to the process of domination: they were

"imposed by their insubordination against the Portuguese civil authorities, against the greedy traffickers, in search of drugs, spices from the Amazonian hinterlands, among which guarana would be the most coveted".

Pery Teixeira (2004, 2005), who coordinated a participatory sociodemographic census survey with the Sateré-Mawé between 2002 and 2003, stated at the time that they formed a group of 8,500 indigenous people, of which 7,502 lived in the Andirá-Marau Indigenous Land, in the municipalities of Barreirinha, Maués and Parintins, and an estimated 998 who lived in urban areas of these municipalities and, also, from Nova Olinda do Norte.

It is worth noting that, currently, part of this people also lives in the Kwatá-Laranjal Indigenous Land, together with the Munduruku people, in the municipality of Borba, and there are also those who have lived in Manaus (and nearby) for at least three generations (Alvarez, 2009). The 2014 data from the General Council of the Sateré-Mawé Tribes (CGTSM) are the references of this study and are available on the website of Indigenous Peoples in Brazil of the Socioenvironmental Institute (ISA), pointing to the existence of 13,350 indigenous people of the Sateré-Mawé ethnic group.

In the Andirá-Marau Indigenous Land, more than 90 villages are located along the main rivers and their streams, and are divided into three areas: the Andirá region (municipality of Barreirinha), the Marau region (municipality of Maués) and the Waikurapá region (municipality of Parintins) According to Teixeira (2004, 2005), the largest population of the Sateré-Mawé is concentrated in the region of the Andirá River, where there are 50 villages. The largest villages in this region are: Ponta Alegre, Simão I, Molongotuba, Vila Nova, Castanhal, Conceição, Araticum Novo, Fortaleza, Umirituba and Nova América.

In the region of the Marau River, there are more than 35 villages, and its largest communities are: Santa Maria, Vila Nova II, Campo do Miriti, Nossa Senhora de Nazaré, Boas Novas, Nova Aldeia, Marau Novo, Kuruatuba and Menino Deus. In Parintins, in the region of the Waikurapá River, there are four villages, and their communities are: Vila Batista, São Francisco, Nova Alegria and Vila da Paz (Teixeira, 2004, 2005). In the Kwatá-Laranjal Indigenous Land, there is only one Sateré-Mawé village, Vila Batista II, and the other villages in this territory belong to the Munduruku people.

This brief characterization allows us to understand, at least in part, the demography and geographical-spatial distribution of the Sateré-Mawé people and villages. However, the numbers, despite being considered recent, may not match the real population present in the

villages, due to the displacements, births and intraethnic and interethnic marriages carried out in recent years. As Barroso (2015, p. 37) states, in the Molongotuba community alone, during the period of its data collection, carried out in 2010, "the community had a population of 281 inhabitants; it currently has a population of 470 inhabitants, almost double".

Therefore, the data are illustrative of the size of the Sateré-Mawé communities, but may vary depending on the studies and references adopted. In this study, the participants-collaborators informed the following origins and territorial belongings: Ponta Alegre, Simão I, Simão II and Umituba – Andira region; Nova Esperança, Terra Nova and Vila Nova II – Marau region; and Vila Batista – Waikurapá region.

The Sateré-Mawé are also known as Sateré, calling themselves, however, Sateré-Mawé, Sateré meaning fire caterpillar, and Mawé meaning intelligent and curious parrot. As for the origin of these peoples, it dates back to the Tupinambá people, and, according to Pereira (2003), it was Curt Nimuendaju who was one of the first to classify the Sateré language as belonging to the Tupi trunk.

The social organization of the Sateré-Mawé cultivates values associated with the art of war and the capacity for dialogue. Such elements are expressed in the *Porantim*, a sacred object of this people, which has the shape of an oar. For Pereira (2003), the aerogriffs that adorn the *Porantim* can be considered as an ideographic writing that is read on the occasion of rituals. On one side, the story of the Sateré-Mawé origin is written, and on the other, the record of their wars.

As Ywytu Wawa (Interview, 2020), or *Porantim*, informs us,

for our people, we Sateré-Mawé, let's suppose, it is a sacred thing, as if it were a sacred book. There are no people who like the Bible, and consider it a sacred book, right? It's like that, you know? And it is all written in the language of the oldest. There, there it is, if I'm not mistaken, bad things too, and they say that the devil wants that for him. Then, the gods took the book, kept it and hid it so that it wouldn't do something bad to our people, because it was going to do it. Then, to prevent it, the ancients stole and kept this weapon, which is, which was very powerful. And it could even harm the Sateré-Mawé people. And the oldest say that it was the gods, they who stole and hid us, to protect us. If I'm not mistaken, it looks like there's one in Brasília, but the one in Brasília is a copy, you know? But I don't know where the original is, I just know that they made several copies, that's what our people say. The devil may not find our sacred weaponry and start doing evil things. Then, because of that, nowadays there is a lot of violence, even here in the city where we came to live to study, because the devil, our grandparents say, he is looking for this weapon for him even here in the city. That's why, let's suppose, violence is growing nowadays. Because he's looking for where that weaponry is. And, if I'm not mistaken, there is one in Maués, one in Brasília and another is in one of our communities.

Another element of the Sateré-Mawé culture is the *waraná* (guaraná), a symbol that is still present. For the Sateré-Mawé, the use of *waraná* reinforces wisdom, knowledge and memory. The drink is part of the daily life of the communities, being used in meetings, in malocas and in rituals. For Mory'apyiğ (Interview, 2019), "guaraná, which is for us to have good thoughts and wisdom in decisions, so there is no Sateré-Mawé meeting that does not have him and the *çapó*". The *waraná* is one of the creation myths for the Sateré-Mawé and refers to the story of *Uniawasap*, one of the female figures of the group. According to the mythological narrative, *Uniawasap* was a beautiful girl who had a magical knowledge about plants and lived with her brothers in *Noçoquém* (the land without evil). One day, she became pregnant with a snake and, fearing that she would live with the snake, her brothers decided to kill her child.

Upon learning that his child was dead, *Uniawasap* buries his body, blessing him and stating that he would return to preside over the meetings. From his son's left eye was born the false guaraná (*uaraná-êp*); from the law, the plant of the true guaraná (*uaraná-cecé*); from the body, different animals emerged (the coatá monkey, the wild dog, the peccary); and, finally, his son, who gives rise to the Sateré-Mawé people (Alvarez, 2009). It is from this context that the Sateré-Mawé people understand that *the waraná* is a source of knowledge and knowledge. The picture below is an image of the *waraná*:

Figure 2 – Image of the Waraná fruit



Fonte: Kelly (2021).

According to Mory'apyiğ (Interview, 2019), *waraná* is used in meetings, assemblies and parties as an illumination of speech and agreements. According to Alvarez (2009, p. 148), the *waraná* has the ability to make things happen, or, as the author calls it, it is an "illocutionary symbol", as it transforms words into facts and thoughts into action, that is, the

power of the *waraná* means that to think and say "one thing is to do one thing" (Alvarez, 2009, p. 20).

Among the Sateré-Mawé there is also *çapó*, which is a mixture of guarana stick grated with water. It is drunk in a gourd and is usually shared by everyone, men, women and children. *Çapó* is a typical drink of the Sateré-Mawé, and guaraná itself is grated at the time the drink is made, and, in general, this activity is carried out by women, especially the lady of the house (Yi'ampe'ok, Interview, 2020). When talking about *waraná* and *çapó*, Hywi Wato and Merep-Merep'e (Interview, 2019) stated as follows:

Merep-Merep'e: For us, Sateré-Mawé, guarana and *çapó* are two very important things. And if someone offers, and the person doesn't accept, it's a snub.

Hywi Wato: It's a snub for us. Also, if you don't want to, you don't want to. Neither will you... You lose credibility with Sateré-Mawé.

Merep-Merep'e: It's that question you have here in the city: "look, my neighbor is offering something, and if I say no, it's going to be boring. And when he wants to give me something else, he'll stay with this: wow, if he didn't want that, he won't want it now."

Hywi Wato: So, with us it's like this: either you accept it or you... It's not that you won't take it. Take. Don't refuse anything. Do not refuse anything from Sateré-Mawé. Legal... Prove it, but then, in the next round, you: "no, thank you!". You didn't do that undoing, you proved it.

Another important construction of the Sateré-Mawé culture is the *Waymat*, also called the Tucandeira Ritual. The *Waymat* is a rite of passage with educational training content: it marks both the transition of the child to another condition, transforming him "into a hunter and traditionally into a warrior, and the entry into the category of men who can marry and form a new family" (Alvarez, 2009, p. 34).

In other words, in addition to being a rite of passage, it is also a ritual of affinity, structuring social relations, especially marital relations (Barroso, 2015). Non-Sateré-Mawé who want to marry a Sateré-Mawé woman will have to go through the Tucandeira Ritual to be accepted by the group. The images below illustrate some moments of the Tucandeira Ritual:

Figure 3 – *Waymat* (Tucandeira Ritual)



(a) (b)

Legend: (a) – preparation of gloves with the tucandeira ants; (b) – Performing the ritual.

Source: Personal archive of Lucas Milhomens (2018).

This ritual is divided into three parts: the preparation, the ritual itself, and the reintegration into Sateré-Mawé society, but in a new condition (Alvarez, 2009). In the Tucandeira Ritual, the Sateré-Mawé boys must place their hands on a straw glove where the tucandeira ants are, which is called and *saari*, with the stinger facing inside. This action is accompanied by ritualistic songs and dances and has the participation of several people (men and women). This ritual has a variable duration, and will be complete when the initiate inserts his hand into the glove 20 times and also passes a hunting test.

For the participants-collaborators of the research, the Tucandeira Ritual has many meanings, among which we highlight:

A very important ritual for the Sateré-Mawé is that of the Tucandeira, it helps us to become men, we stop being children and become warriors and hunters. And we have to put our hand on the Tucandeira about 20 times to say that the person is really a warrior. And from the moment he puts his hand in, he becomes a man, you know? From that moment he got screwed, then he is already respected, he is already a man and can hunt alone too. And the ritual helps you find the game, so you will be a good hunter, because you will find and know how to hunt (Iaman, Interview, 2020).

And we went through the Tucandeira Ritual, according to our tradition, it is to be healthier, not to have disease frequently. And it's good to end otherwise the opposite happens. According to our tradition, it is a medicine, say our elders. And if we finish completing the Tucandeira Ritual, we become hunters, we have health, we have more long health, we have more strength for it (Ātipy, Interview, 2019)⁴.

⁴In the sense that there is a sense of urgency and understanding, it is possible to realize a translation of Portuguese/sateré-mawé/portuguese. We're going to start by saying, "I'm going to start by saying, "I'm going to start by saying, "I'm going to start by saying, "I'm going to start by saying, "I'm going to start by saying, "I'm going to take a look at the thermometer. I'm going to take a look at my mother's name, i'm going to take a look at my mother's name. We're not going to be able to do that, but we're going to be able to do that, and we're going to be able to do that.

Therefore, it is of great importance to us, because in addition to... It has a form of prevention, it helps our body, like an injection to prevent diseases. And the Sateré-Mawé who gets screwed in the *tucandeira* becomes a great hunter, a great fisherman and is lucky in life (Awyato Pot, Interview, 2020).

Oh, and the *Tucandeira* Ritual is sacred to us too. It is as if it were the resistance of our people. It maintains the life of our existence and our struggle. And this, in addition to the meaning of the passage of the child preparing to become an adult. It starts from a very early age. There are some who start with about 10, but the age, like, today is changing a little, but many still start as children. And who decides is the family and the person himself: if he wants to put it, he will put it (Awyato, Interview, 2020).

Traditionally, in our culture, it was usually done in the month of November. Today we see that people do it kind of randomly, but traditionally, it was done in November. Because the month of November is the month in which cashews bloom. And we knead them [in reference to the flower and leaf of the cashew tree] and add water. And it is this water that, when the *tucandeira* is captured, we put it in and it puts the *tucandeira* to sleep (Mory'apyiğ, Interview, 2019).

In the *Tucandeira* Ritual, we also sing and dance and they have a meaning, they have their importance. Every phrase of the song that people sing has a meaning, I mean. They are like sung metaphors. And they tell our story, they tell how our people lived, what life was like for the Sateré-Mawé in the past... Thus, each song they sing in the ritual, at each moment has its meaning and tells our story. It's not just any song like that, no, you know? They are metaphors always meaning something, which is revealed to those who are getting screwed (Ywyhiğ, Interview, 2020).

Ihot'ok: The Ritual of the *Tucandeira*, he...

Wantym: It brings a lot of meaning to us. And it is very important today as well.

Ihot'ok: And I agree with Wantym, it's important even today. Because it is what will prepare you for the challenges of everyday life, for you to be stronger, like you feel a little with power, really strength, for us to go after our goals, things like that (Inhot'ok; Wantym, Interview, 2020).

It is interesting to observe that, for the Sateré-Mawé, the *tucandeira* is a woman, beautiful and adorned, as the *tucandeira*'s glove appears. The one who can resist the stings of the ant (woman) will be able to be a strong man and hunter. It can be seen that, despite being a rite of passage from boys to adulthood, the female figure is also placed throughout the ritual (Alvarez, 2009; Barroso, 2015).

Regarding the processes and modes of displacement of the Sateré-Mawé, Romano (1982) states, especially about those coming to Manaus, that they occur directly and indirectly. The first is when a member or an entire family moves directly to the city. The second occurs from the moment a member or the group moves, temporarily and temporarily, between several places until they reach the city.

The presence of the Sateré-Mawé in Manaus, according to Romano (1982), dates back to the 1940s. However, it was in the 1970s that they began to move in significant numbers to this city, in search of better living conditions. It is important to emphasize that the histories, processes of social, political, cultural, and territorial organization and the

struggles of the Sateré-Mawé to and in the city of Manaus have "a direct connection with the history of the migration of Mrs. *Tereza Ferreira de Souza*, the matriarch of the families and who arrived in the city of Manaus at the end of the 1960s" (Santos, 2015, p. 139, emphasis added). Thus, we can affirm that the migration of the Sateré-Mawé to Manaus is strongly marked by a feminine imprint.

As for the reasons that contributed and still contribute to the indigenous populations migrating to Manaus, especially with regard to the displacement of the Sateré-Mawé, they are diverse, among which we highlight the creation and development of the Manaus Free Trade Zone, an element that attracted, and still continues to attract, a significant portion of the population that recognizes itself as indigenous in the city, and also the "partial and sometimes total absence of the possibility of study for children and young people". In addition, the logic of migration used by the Sateré-Mawé occurred – and still occurs – based on kinship relations, or rather, on "family structures" (Bernal, 2009, p. 158).

These motivations, or rather, the reasons that led and continue to take the Sateré-Mawé to the contexts of the cities, were observed in the narratives of the Sateré-Mawé students interviewed-collaborators at the time of the research:

I came to the city for the sake of study. I started studying in the indigenous area, on my own initiative. I started at the São Pedro Agricultural School. Then one day, I was talking to my aunt, I told her that I wanted to study here in the city. She took my documents, and I asked for my resignation from the São Pedro Agricultural School. I took my transfer, I came like this, everything legalized. Then she enrolled me here. The first school I studied was Gentil Belém. I studied at night. But later, at the Gentil Belém School, there was no more at night. And that worried me a lot, because I studied at night. Then, at the time, there was a teacher here in the city [of Parintins] who was an employee at the Brandão de Amorim School and he was the one who found a place for me there. And so, as I didn't disappoint my aunt, I didn't disappoint him either. So much so that now I'm here at the university. And that's how it was, I came alone, from the Ponta Alegre Village to here. And my parents stayed there in the village, and I came to study and I always went there. They paid for a room for me to stay. I didn't live, I stayed in this room, and every month my parents came to visit me. Because they came... they are retired. And they were the ones who paid the rent for me, so I stayed. And here it was from the classroom to home, and from home to the classroom... And I'm here just to want to study. That's it, the desire to study, to conclude and not stop only in Pedagogy. I intend to do more. I'm going to let it all happen little by little (Apukuite, Interview, 2020).

I came here [Manaus] because I passed a course that I didn't have there in Parintins, which is closer to Barreirinha, and not even in Barreirinha. Then the reason I came was for that, to study. And one thing, I had already been to Manaus I think a couple of times, but every time I... So, I always say that the Manaus of you coming to walk is totally different from the one where you come and live to study. Like that, the day to day. Because, when "you come" for a walk, people take you places, and everything seems to be so easy. But when you arrive to study and live here, then you have to take the bus, you have to know things... Then it starts like that reality shock that we don't have in our city... Then it's difficult, because it arrives here and it's totally different. And, until I came to live here [referring to the UEA Student House], I went through

three houses before. I lived with some of my father's friends from Barreirinha. Then it didn't work out very well, because the university routine is integral. Then when you arrive you have to help tidy up the house, wash the clothes, dishes, these things. You have to do it, because you are living there, so you have to help in any way. Then you arrive tired and can't afford it. Then I moved from that first house and went to another, then it didn't work out either. That's when I told my father that I wanted to get out of there. Then we had an acquaintance from Barreirinha whose daughter also studied here at UEA, at ESA. Then I went to live with her, but it didn't work out either, because she's kind of difficult to deal with. And like me too, I'm not very easy... And so it was. Then I learned that UEA had this house for students, and I am here (Ipohyt, Interview, 2020).

These narratives highlight the many motivations or reasons for being-staying in the urban spaces of the cities of Amazonas, as well as the difficulties faced, with losses and gains. There is also, in the testimonies of Mory'apyiğ (Interview, 2019), Apukuite (Interview, 2020), and Ipohyt (Interview, 2020), the presence and desire to continue their studies, which, as highlighted, is an important reason for their displacements.

In Manaus, there are currently four Sateré-Mawé communities (Hiwy – formerly called Mawé –, l'nhã-bé, Y'apyrehyt and Waikuru). According to the report of the Tuxauxa Sateré-Mawé Moisés Souza, of the Y'apyrehyt Indigenous Community, "AMISM, ⁵the Sahuape community, the l'nhã-be, the Waikuru, the Mawé [currently called Hiwy]" (Souza, 2008, p. 122). The Hiwy and l'nhã-bé communities are located in the region of the Tarumã-Açu River (near the Tiú and Sandy streams, in an area considered a rural area of Manaus) and established themselves in the region in the 2000s. The Y'apyrehyt and Waikuru communities, with which we conducted our study, are located in the urban area of Manaus, in the Redenção neighborhood, the first of which emerged in the 1990s, and the second, in 2000. It is worth noting that this information was confirmed by Awyato (2020), Merep-Merep'e (2019), Ha'yiğ (2020), Hywi Wato (2019) and Y'ykaiwat (2020) when conducting the interviews.

In the capital of Amazonas, Manaus, the struggle of the Sateré-Mawé for recognition as indigenous residents in the city activates and resignifies their processes of ethnic identification as an element of differentiation, which is evident in ritual, artisanal and mythical practices. In fact, culture is also a space of political recognition, and the process of identification is (re)constructed in constant contrast, differentiation, experience and confrontation with other indigenous and non-indigenous societies.

Thus, we understand that subjects construct and reconstruct their existences according to internal, external, natural and social conditions, which they cannot avoid, at

⁵ Association of Sateré-Mawé Indigenous Women (AMISM).

least not totally. They are influenced in some way, but not in a single way, by the passing of the seasons, the annual rains, the ebb and flow of rivers, customs, actions with their neighbors, and many other social and cultural interactions (Sahlins, 2004). And it was in these spaces of interaction of indigenous and non-indigenous people, especially in urban contexts, that the theme of access and permanence in higher education began to be discussed and experienced by indigenous peoples, among whom we highlight the Sateré-Mawé living in the urban contexts of Barreirinha, Manaus, Maués and Parintins, who participated and collaborated with this study.

THE SATERÉ-MAWÉ AT THE UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF AMAZONAS

In the interviews conducted with Sateré-Mawé indigenous students from the University of the State of Amazonas, in Barreirinha, Manaus, Maués and Parintins, we sought to point out and discuss how they narrate their belongings and their ethnic identifications, evidencing the relationships they establish with the Sateré-Mawé cultural constructions, as well as with those identified as non-indigenous, also undertaking discussions about their displacements to urban contexts and the experiences and (re)significations experienced in such spaces.

In order to better contextualize the interviews carried out, we deem it pertinent to present information related to the indigenous students of UEA, especially about the Sateré-Mawé, analyzing the academic situation of these students, as well as their age groups, gender declaration and chosen courses. It is important to highlight that the University of the State of Amazonas was the first university in the North region to have a system of reservation of vacancies for admission to higher education for indigenous peoples, creating, as of the 2005 entrance exam, a percentage of vacancies, per course, at least equal to the percentage of the indigenous population in the composition of the Amazonian population, to be filled exclusively by candidates belonging to indigenous ethnic groups located in the state of Amazonas (Amazonas, 2004).

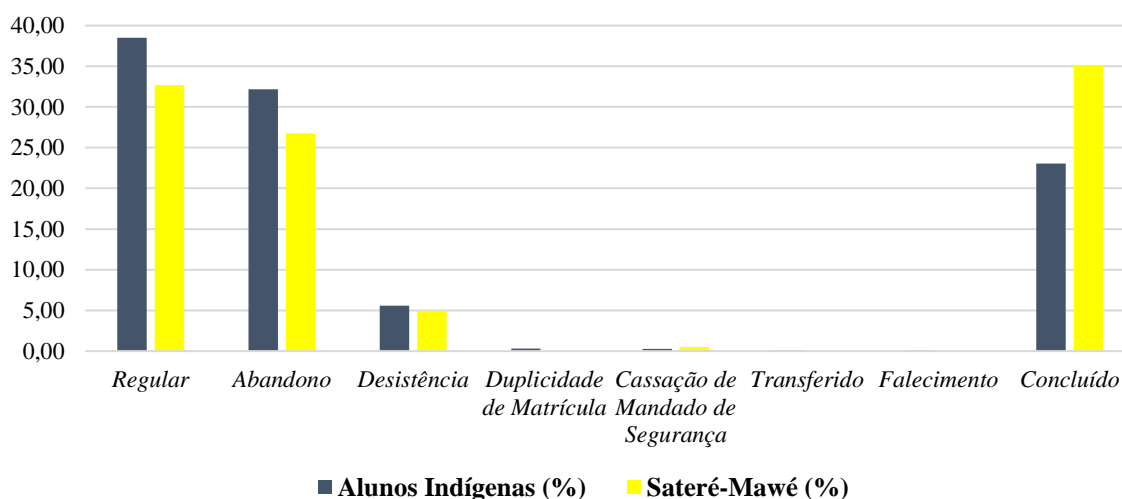
We understand the reservation of vacancies for admission to higher education as an affirmative action policy of the ethnic quota type, aimed at achieving equal opportunities among people, distinguishing and benefiting groups historically affected by discriminatory mechanisms, in order to positively change the situations of disadvantage experienced by such groups. In the state of Amazonas, ethnic quotas are implemented by UEA based on the struggles and claims undertaken by the indigenous movement, especially the actions

undertaken by MEIAM and COIAB, which took their demands to the state legislature and pressed for them to be met, resulting in their incorporation into State Law No. 2,894/2005.

Based on the provisions of this state legislation, the University of the State of Amazonas offered in its entrance exams – from 2005 to 2020 –, through ethnic quotas, a total of 2,768 vacancies, of which, only 56.29% were filled, which represents a total of 1,558 indigenous people enrolled under the quota system. Among these students, 202 (12.97%) are Sateré-Mawé.

Regarding the academic situation of indigenous students at UEA and the Sateré-Mawé, referring to the period highlighted above, we obtained the following results:

Graph 1 – Academic situation of indigenous students at UEA



Source: UEA General Archive and School Records (2021).

The regular situation represents those students who were, until December 2020, regularly attending their undergraduate courses. In this item, there is a similarity between the general UEA data of indigenous students (38.51%) and those referring to those of the Sateré-Mawé ethnic group (32.67%).

The abandonment is provided for in Resolutions No. 002/2006 and No. 83/2014, which provide for the dismissal, in the student register of the University of the State of Amazonas, of undergraduate students due to abandonment of academic activities. This situation applies to students who, for two consecutive periods, have not enrolled in courses or who have failed due to absences in all the courses in which they enrolled (Amazonas; UEA, 2006, 2014). The data referring to dropout are, in our understanding, high, both in relation to indigenous students in general (32.16%) and to those of the Sateré-Mawé

people (26.73%), evidencing the difficulties faced by these peoples in remaining in higher education.

Withdrawal, on the other hand, is the formalization, through an administrative process, by the members of the UEA student body, of the renunciation of the vacancy won, and their percentages are practically equal between the total number of indigenous students and the Sateré-Mawé, totaling, respectively, 5.58% and 4.95%. The category of completed students corresponds to students who have finished their higher education courses, and, in this item, we identified that the Sateré-Mawé have a higher percentage of completion (35.15%) when compared to the other indigenous students of the University of the State of Amazonas.

Students with double enrollment (0.32%), who were approved for two different courses and in different entrance exams, had to choose one of the courses, due to the provisions of Law No. 12,089/2009, which prohibits the same person from occupying, simultaneously, in undergraduate courses, two vacancies in a public institution of higher education (Brasil, 2009). The situation of revocation of a writ of mandamus (0.26% – in relation to all indigenous students – and 0.50% – in the case of Sateré-Mawé) refers to students who had their enrollment granted by court order, but who, until December 2018, were listed as revoked, because such students had not proven their ethnic ancestry or because they had not completed high school. The transferred students (0.06%) are those students who requested a change of course to another Higher Education Institution (HEI). It is worth mentioning that situations of double enrollment, transferees and deceased did not occur among Sateré-Mawé students at UEA.

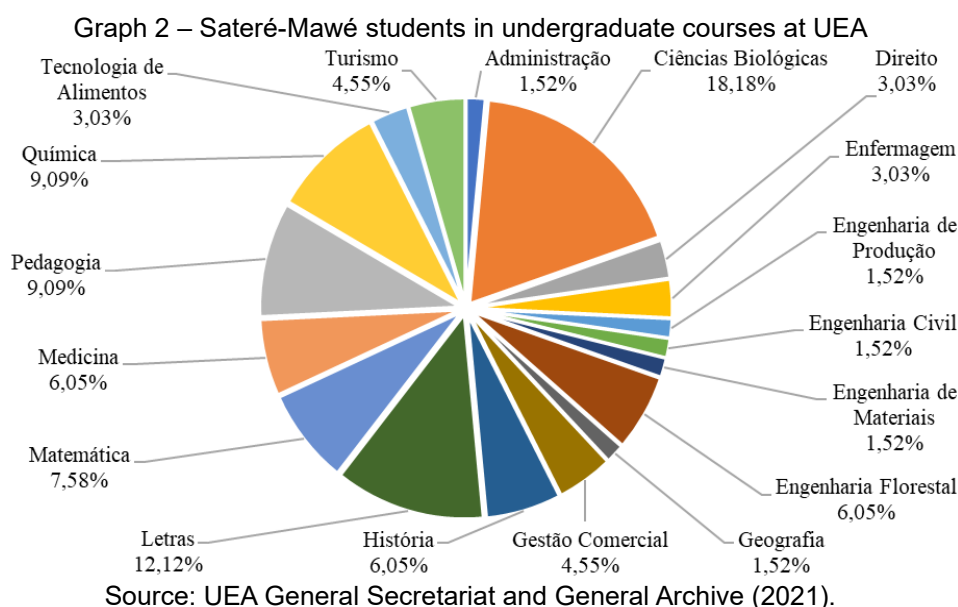
Of the indigenous students with regular academic status, we identified 37 ethnic groups. The figure below illustrates its representativeness:

Figure 4 – Ethnic mapping of indigenous students at UEA



Source: Administrative Registration of Birth of Indigenous – of students – in the UEA General Archive (2021).

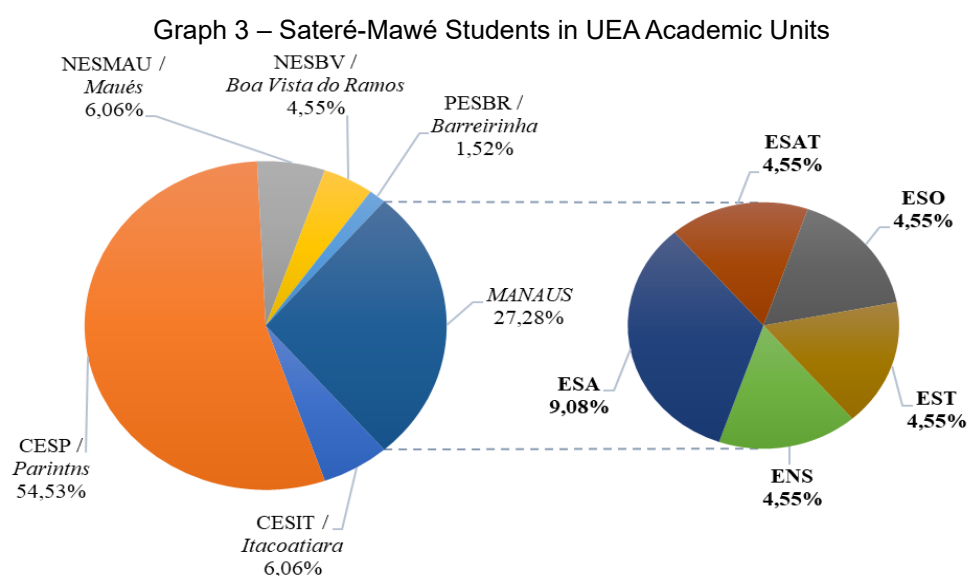
Of these peoples who entered through ethnic quotas, the Sateré-Mawé are the second largest ethnic group in number of indigenous students, as they represent 11.00%, which means a total of 66 Sateré-Mawé indigenous students at the University of the State of Amazonas. They are present in the following undergraduate courses:



Of the courses listed, the degrees in Biological Sciences, Geography, History, Languages, Mathematics, Pedagogy and Chemistry stand out, which, together, correspond to more than 60% of those chosen by Sateré-Mawé students. We believe that this occurs because such degrees are prioritized by UEA in its internalization process. However, the

courses most sought after by the Sateré-Mawé, in the city of Manaus, are those related to the health area (Medicine and Nursing), which correspond to 9.08%.

As for the academic units attended, the graph below shows that more than 70.00% of the Sateré-Mawé carry out their graduations in cities in the interior of Amazonas, with a higher concentration in the Center for Higher Studies of Parintins (54.53%) and in the Higher Education Center of Maués (6.06%). This was one of the reasons why our research included, in addition to the city of Manaus, the municipalities of Barreirinha, Maués and Parintins.

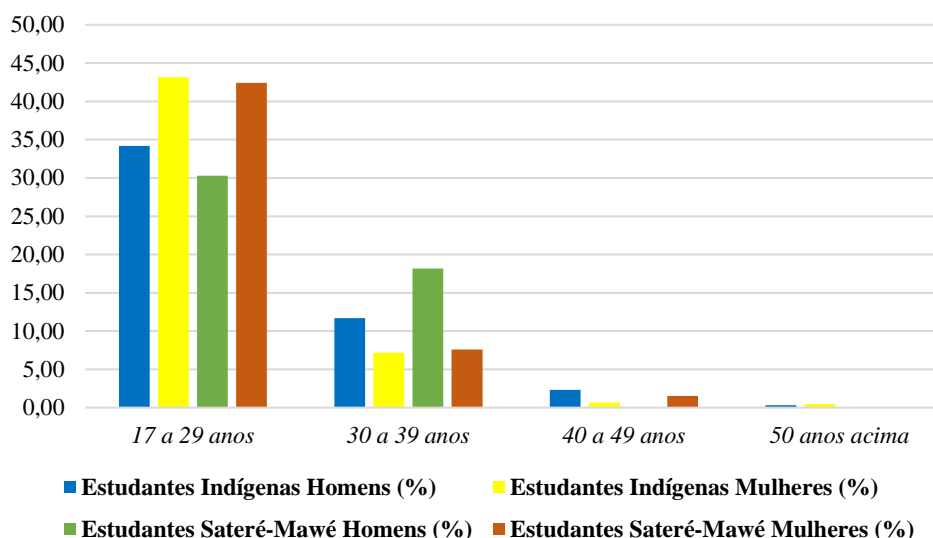


Source: UEA General Secretariat and General Archive (2021).

When analyzing the gender identification declared by indigenous students at the University of the State of Amazonas with regular academic status, and relating it to their age group, the following graph shows that indigenous women (51.50%) are the majority, with a prevalence of age between 17 and 29 years (43.17%) in undergraduate courses at UEA. However, the situation is reversed in the age group of 30 to 39 years, when male indigenous students, including among the Sateré-Mawé, have a greater presence in undergraduate courses.

The data indicate that, even though the Sateré-Mawé opposed, at times, the departure of women from their villages and communities, even going so far as to prohibit them from learning Portuguese, they continued and continue to leave the villages, including to study, as they represent the majority, corresponding to 51.52% of the Sateré-Mawé students at the University of the State of Amazonas.

Graph 4 – Indigenous students at UEA by gender and age group

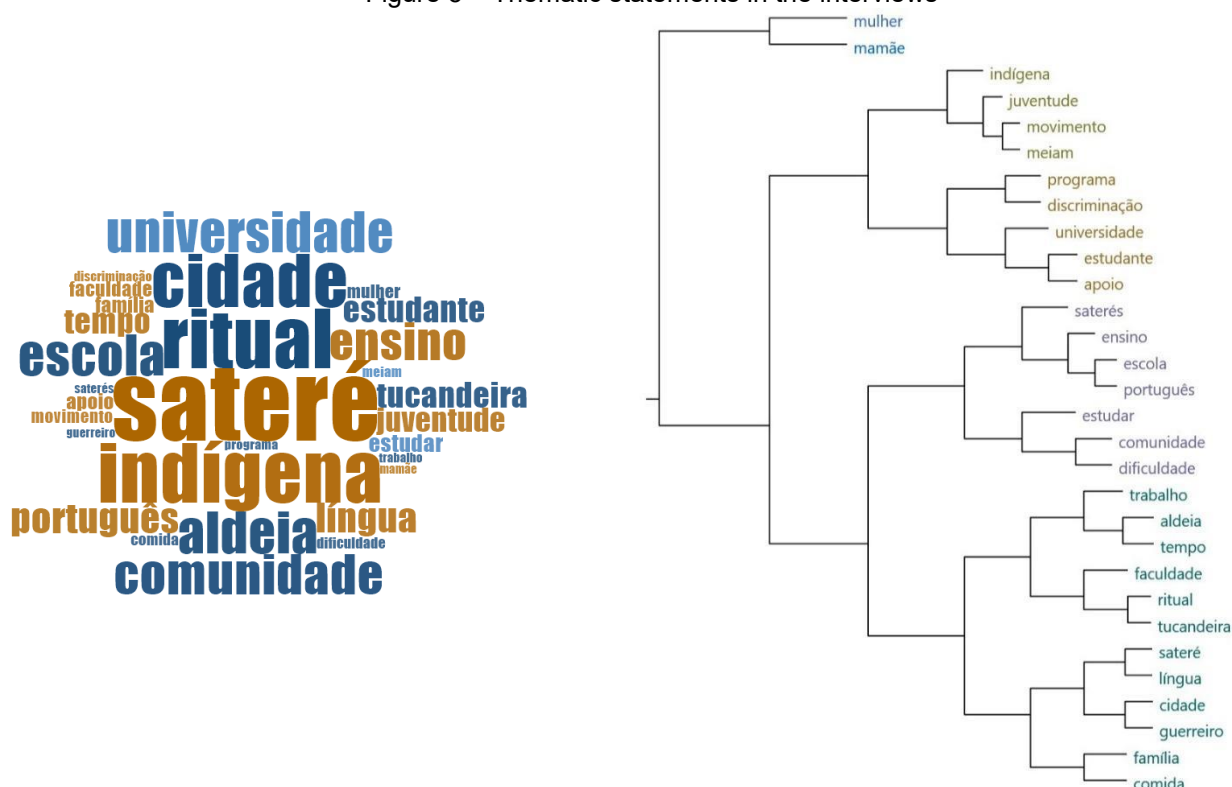


Source: Administrative Registration of Indigenous Birth (UEA General Archive) and School Records (2021).

Once this general characterization of the Sateré-Mawé students of the University of the State of Amazonas was concluded, we undertook a preliminary analysis of the interviews conducted in Barreirinha, Manaus, Maués and Parintins, with the intention of identifying the 30 most recurrent and significant words uttered by the participants-collaborators, which would contribute to the definition of the categories of content analysis that we proposed to develop.

The results obtained, after excluding the non-significant words, are illustrated in the following image, and indicate, in our understanding, that the narratives of the interviewees-collaborators are related as follows:

Figure 5 – Thematic statements in the interviews



Source: Author's database (2022).

1. the female figure – in the relationship between woman and mother – as an important presence and mark in the social and cultural context of the Sateré-Mawé;
2. a correlation of the terms indigenous, youth, movement and MEIAM, associated with program, discrimination, university, student and support, suggest that the theme of *indigenous youth and being at the University* among the Sateré-Mawé is related to actions and political action of the indigenous movement, with a focus on the Movement of Indigenous Students of Amazonas, to think and fight, at the university, for programs to combat discrimination and favor support for students so that they can abide there;
3. the words saterés – which represents a Sateré-Mawé degree inflection –, teaching, school, Portuguese, linked to studying, community and difficulty, indicate that in the Sateré-Mawé communities or villages, studying and its continuity is still difficult today and that the Portuguese language is taught and learned by them in school spaces;
4. The terms warrior, city, language, Sateré – a reference to the ethnic language and not to the ethnicity – and also family and food indicate that the Sateré-Mawé language is alive, that one is a warrior even in the city, with experiences of

conversing in the ethnic or mother tongue (Sateré-Mawé), and that one lives there with the help of the family, mainly to make a living, food;

5. the words in the previous item are directly related to those that make up this group, which are: work, village, time, college, ritual and Tucandeira, and they suggest ways of being Sateré-Mawé and inform about the Tucandeira Ritual, its continuity and realization in the period of study in higher education, and adds that the work has a different temporality in the villages when compared to that of the city.

Thus, from these thematic approaches, based on the critical and decolonial intercultural perspective and considering the research issues, we understand that with regard to access and permanence in higher education, it is important to assume a theoretical-political position that understands cultures as socio-historical constructions, permeated by asymmetrical and unequal power relations, and prioritize the construction of a plural society, inclusive and diverse, articulating identity politics with equality politics and offering a political horizon of an equality that recognizes and values differences.

With regard to higher education, what is necessary is to guarantee permanence, but that it is successful! We believe that material conditions and also symbolic conditions are necessary. In other words, successful permanence in higher education institutions occurs through a model associated with the material and symbolic conditions of the university's existence, which can be called material permanence and symbolic permanence (Santos, 2009).

We understand that permanence acts as a genre of affirmative action and a possibility for students, regardless of their social, ethnic or racial origin, to maintain themselves during all their higher education courses, preferably with sufficient quality (successful permanence), allowing them, if they want and fight, a transformation both individually and in their social environment; enabling them to continue their studies, from undergraduate to the various modalities of post-graduation.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

In Amazonas, the reservation of vacancies for indigenous people was implemented at the University of the State of Amazonas by determination of state law, and this claim was taken to the state legislature by the Movement of Indigenous Students of Amazonas and by the Coordination of Indigenous Organizations of the Brazilian Amazon, and its incorporation

into the legal system of the State occurred due to the pressures exerted by these organizations.

From the analysis and the studies carried out, we noticed that the ethnic quotas of the UEA are restricted to access, which denotes that in this higher education institution there is no broad policy of affirmative action aimed at the Indians, which must be (re)built with institutional programs of permanence, because the students of ethnic origin who entered this university create informal strategies, personal and family members to continue studying and often, or almost always, without the support of the institution.

We also identified that the percentages of dropout, dropout and dropout among Sateré-Mawé students of the University of the State of Amazonas who entered through ethnic quotas are high and evidences the importance and need for UEA to build solutions in order to try to solve such issues with institutional programs aimed at the permanence of students of ethnic origin and also seek to promote their successful permanence.

We understand that affirmative action should not have welfare characteristics, but should be thought of as an effective policy of the State, with the aim of guaranteeing and strengthening the academic trajectory of indigenous students. This reinforces the conception that the implementation of the quota system in Brazilian universities should be thought of, together, with programs and projects for permanence in higher education. This is because it is not enough just to guarantee a place at the university, but it is also necessary to guarantee them adequate conditions for the continuity of studies and academic and scientific training, providing them with a successful permanence.

Therefore, we can consider that as or more important than the guarantee of the reservation of vacancies, is the recognition that quota students need support, including financial, so that they can be successful. In other words, it is in permanence that one of the points for the success of programs to expand access for ethnic and racial minorities in higher education is found. In the current Brazilian context, "[...] the worst that can happen in relation to the future of these policies is their emptying, either due to the dropout of benefited students or due to the insufficiency of conditions for students to perform well in higher education" (Heringer, 2006, p. 102). And this is the current reality of the ethnic quotas of the University of the State of Amazonas. Therefore, access to higher education is still undeniably for a few, but staying there is an even greater challenge.

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