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INDIGENIST POLICY IN THE TERRITORY OF THE AKWĒ- XERENTE: ORGANIZATION AND PARTICIPATION UNDER REFLECTION

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Abstract: The purpose of this paper is to research indigenous policy after the 1988 Federal Constitution in an attempt to understand the socio-historical bases on which the political reorganization of indigenous people both inside and outside their territory took place, with a focus on the Akwê-Xerente people. Its general objective is to analyse the historical and cultural processes of indigenous policy after the 1988 Federal Constitution in an attempt to understand the historical bases on which the political reorganization of the Akwê-Xerente indigenous people took place inside and outside their territory. The specific objectives are: to learn about the history of indigenous policy in Brazil; to understand the changes that have taken place in indigenous policy and the way of life of the indigenous people since the 1988 Federal Constitution; to see how the Akwê-Xerente indigenous people currently live, especially in relation to the survival and livelihood of their families. In the first section, we discuss the history of indigenous policy in Brazil, from its emergence in the Portuguese colonial project between 1549 and 1755 to the present day. Secondly, we discuss the changes that have taken place in indigenous policy since the 1988 Federal Constitution, and the advances and impasses in implementing this policy. The research was qualitative. To analyze the results, we used dialectical historical materialism as a method of understanding reality. The results provide reflections on the new forms of organization and political participation of indigenous people, which highlight the contradictory way in which the state intervenes in the application of indigenous policy, which denies their ethnic and cultural specificities, since the state refuses to engage in dialogue with indigenous organizations, resulting in little participation by indigenous people in decision-making spaces.

Keywords: Indigenist Policy, 1988 Federal Constitution, Akwê-Xerente

INTRODUCTION

This final paper discusses Indigenous Policy in Brazil and the political process of reorganizing the Akwê-Xerente after the 1988 Constitution.

Since their first contact with European civilization through the colonization process, Brazil's indigenous peoples have suffered from the contradictions inherent in intercultural relations with non-Indians. In this way, new challenges have arisen for indigenous peoples, which are becoming more acute in the face of the globalization process, creating difficulties for the reproduction of the material and cultural life of indigenous communities. In this sense, the Akwê - Xerente are no strangers to this reality, where challenges to physical and cultural survival are evident, especially when it comes to defending their territory, which is surrounded by agricultural enterprises and large estates.

The Akwê - Xerente ethnic group is located in the savannah of the state of Tocantins, 70 km from the capital Palmas. They live on the banks of the Tocantins River, and are in two Indigenous Lands: the Xerente Indigenous Land called "Área Grande", with a total area of 167.542,1058 ha, which was officially identified by the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI) as an area occupied by the Akwê - Xerente in 1972, and the Funil land, which has an area of 15,703,7974 ha (LIMA, 2014).

According to the survey carried out by the Indigenous Health Care Information System (SIASI), the population of the Akwê - Xerente ethnic group in 2016 totaled 3,640 indigenous people, distributed in 68 villages, territorially organized into 5 regions that divide the indigenous reserve, namely: Xerente, Funil, Brupre, Brejo Comprido and Rio Sono.

In the past, the activities carried out for their sustenance were hunting, fishing, farming and other important items in their diet such as honey, fruit and various roots, provided

by gathering, an activity through which medicinal plants are also obtained. However, due to the impact of major construction projects (hydroelectric dams), these activities have been progressively disappearing. The Akwẽ-Xerente, on the other hand, have been looking for other sources of income, such as making and selling handicrafts; family grants; social security benefits paid to elders and the income of Akwẽ-Xerente employees of the state government or the National Indian Foundation - FUNAI. With these changes in the indigenous people's way of subsistence, the women began to make golden grass objects to exchange for money and also for goods, contributing to the family income (LIMA, 2014).

According to Lima (2014), these new sustainability practices weaken their identity, culture, values and customs, as they are permeated by the changes and transformations of our society. However, currently the Akwẽ-Xerente have resisted in order to remain alive culturally. A number of factors may have contributed to this problem;

- a) The many interferences of the government's national policies;
- b) And from contact with non-Indian leaders;
- c) The proximity to the city, and the educational system within the village, in a decontextualized way with the Akwẽ-Xerente culture.

Faced with this reality, the expressions and manifestations of the social issue¹ are expressed as a result of a historically determined process in which indigenous people, from colonial Brazil to the present day, have had their rights transgressed, lands expropriated, political, social and, above all, economic interference.

In this sense, the research is justified by the need to reflect on the actions developed by the state in the application of the Indigenous Policy, in order to understand whether they are contributing to the realization of access to indigenous rights. According to the 1988 Federal Constitution, article 231 guarantees indigenous peoples access to fundamental rights such as: recognition of the societal autonomy of indigenous peoples, recognition of their cultural diversity and political organization, recognition of the civil capacity of this population and recognition of the right to hybrid citizenship: ethnic, national and global.

The research to be presented will deal with the theme "Indigenous Policy in the Territory of the Akwẽ-Xerente", the general objective of which is to analyze indigenous policy after the 1988 Federal Constitution in an attempt to understand the historical bases on which the political reorganization of the Akwẽ-Xerente indigenous people took place inside and outside their territory. The specific objectives are: to learn about the history of indigenous policy in Brazil; to understand the changes that have taken place in indigenous policy and in the indigenous people's way of life since the 1988 Federal Constitution; to see how the Akwẽ-Xerente indigenous people currently live, especially in terms of survival and family livelihoods.

It seeks to take into account whether the actions developed by the Indigenous Policy after the 1988 Constitution are committed to their respective realization, which aims to promote the overcoming of guardianship, guaranteeing the right to territory, health, education, culture and other rights that have been won.

1. The social question therefore expresses economic, political and cultural inequalities between social classes, mediated by disparities in gender relations, ethnic-racial characteristics and regional formations, calling into question broad segments of civil society's access to the goods of civilization (IAMAMOTO, 2008, p. 160).

Therefore, in this study we will highlight the historical process of Indigenous Policy in Brazil, from its emergence in the Portuguese colonial project in the period from 1549 to 1755, to the present day. However, we will emphasize the changes brought about by the 1988 Federal Constitution. We will highlight this event, because indigenous rights in Brazil before 1988 were based on and aimed at guaranteeing and facilitating the process of integrating indigenous people into the so-called national community, or even their physical elimination, in order to pave the way for the colonial power's territorial and economic expansion projects. It was with the ratification of the 1988 Federal Constitution that the "Brazilian state produced significant partial results in the history of indigenous peoples, both in the field of law and government policies and in the sphere of daily life in the village" (BANIWA, 2012, p. 207).

Thus, the methodology used is qualitative, guided by the concept of dialectical historical materialism. We decided to analyze the social reality of this ethnic group, seeking an understanding of our capitalist society in the light of the theoretical-methodological framework of dialectical historical materialism, because we understand that history is the result of concrete material conditions in which men construct their subjectivity. It is therefore important to understand the real human being "in the flesh", the material base and the social subjects involved in these relationships (MARX; ENGELS, 2008, p. 26).

DEVELOPMENT

In order to raise awareness about Indigenous Policy in Brazil and the political process of reorganization of the Akwê-Xerente after the 1988 Constitution, we contextualize historical and contemporary facts that expose these events.

Firstly, we present a brief concept of Indigenous Policy, which can be defined as "an active elaboration that permanently articulates social practices and cosmologies with specific situations" (CUNHA, 2009, p. 130), and covers legislation and ideologies aimed at indigenous peoples. It is carried out by various actors, indigenous people, indigenists, the state and non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

The origin of Indigenous Policy in Brazil begins with the Portuguese colonial project from 1549 to 1910, which fragmented the indigenous population into two polarized groups, the allies and the enemies, for whom contrasting actions and representations were governed. The use of force permitted by legislation depended on this assessment, as well as on the contexts and interests (often divergent) of the Portuguese administration in the metropolis and in the colony. The procedures to be taken in relation to the Indians of Brazil were often the subject of discussions in Lisbon, Bahia and Maranhão, involving issues such as freedom or enslavement, the most appropriate forms of conversion and the implications of all this for the colonization of Brazil (OLIVEIRA; FREIRE, 2006, p. 35).

According to Oliveira and Freire (2006), neither the allies nor the enemies recognized the culture and expressions of autonomy of the indigenous people. The authors also point out:

The indigenous peoples and families who became allies of the Portuguese had to be converted to the Christian faith, while the "brave Indians" (as they were called in the documents of the time) were subjugated militarily and politically to guarantee the catechization procedure. The aim was to justify the colonial project as an initiative of an ethical-religious nature, preparing the indigenous population to serve as a workforce in colonial ventures (economic, geopolitical and military) (OLIVEIRA; FREIRE 2006, p. 35).

According to the authors' ideas, the Indians in the villages were considered to be Indians of different distribution. In the Amazon, there were "distribution villages" that centralized Indians of different origins, distributed to serve not only missionaries but also settlers and the Portuguese Crown, receiving a salary defined by local legislation. The settlers prioritized the conquest of enslaved Indians through ransoms and just wars. It was this slave labor force that established the mills in the Northeast and sustained the companies that exploited the drugs of the backlands in the Amazon after the end of the barter relationships of the first decades of the 16th century (MERCHANT, 1980; COUTO, 1998). In this sense, Alencastro adds:

The *Indios de resgate* or *Indios de corda* were Indians taken prisoner in intertribal wars and taken to the winning village, where they would be sacrificed in anthropophagic rituals. The Portuguese offered goods to "ransom" these Indians and make them their slaves. The Portuguese Crown accepted the enslavement of Indians rescued from tribal wars, legalizing this practice. The 1574 charter limited the captivity of these Indians to ten years of forced labor (ALENCASTRO, 2000, p. 119).

In this context, rebellions and massacres of indigenous people intensified. Within a few years, the Tupiniquim of Ilhéus and the Caeté of Pernambuco and Bahia were decimated (OLIVEIRA; FREIRE, 2006, p. 39).

The policy of the aldeamentos made it possible to occupy territory, convert the gentiles and guarantee slave labor for the crops. Some indigenous people who fought on the side of the Portuguese received honorary titles (such as the Indian Araribóia, in Rio de Janeiro) and were given land for the villages as a reward. However, the donation of "leagues of land in quadra" (ALMEIDA, 2003, p. 220) to the "Indians never prevented these lands from being invaded by settlers" (OLIVEIRA; FREIRE, 2006, p. 43).

In this sense, it is understood that all the Crown's attempts to order "indigenous territorial occupation served much more as a way of segregating the Indians into tiny territorial spaces, freeing up large tracts of their traditionally occupied lands for the colonization process" (ARAÚJO, 2006, p. 25).

Still living up to the words of Araújo (2006, p. 25):

The aldeamento was a practice that lasted throughout the Empire and for much of our republican history. Its emphasis was on confining the Indians to small tracts of land, often limited to the surroundings of their villages, and with little concern for maintaining the conditions necessary for their socio-cultural reproduction. This policy, coupled with the practice of transforming all other areas into vacant land which third parties were allowed to title, led to the de facto and de jure land chaos in which the Indians found themselves involved.

Thus, during the colonization of Brazil, the principle of exploitation for the enrichment of the Portuguese government prevailed. The indigenous policies and legislation in force at the time were contradictory and oscillating, subordinated to the interests of the colonizers and the missionaries.

In this way, it can be understood that the colonizers had their own interests at heart, they aimed to prosper the colony economically and politically, and to achieve these goals they used indigenous labor. According to Cunha (1992), the colonists were interested in having Indians as allies in their struggles against the French, Dutch and Spanish, in order to guarantee their external boundaries.

Thus, the aldeamento policy was the realization of the colonial project, as it guaranteed the catechization and civilization of the indigenous people, the occupation of the territory, its defence and a constant reserve of labour for the economic development of the colony, characterizing it as the first form

of labour analogous to slavery in Brazil, as the living conditions imposed on the indigenous people were comparable to those of the slaves of African origin who came after them.

Thus, after the Indigenist Policy of the Villages, the Guardianship Regime emerged from 1910 to 1988, a new indigenist policy with the aim of protecting the Indians against acts of persecution and minimizing the conflicts arising from the occupation of their territories by various expanding economic agents, such as ranchers, mining companies, logging companies and other companies. The most innovative aspect of this policy was the intervention of the Indian Protection Service² in the occupation and colonization of large areas of Brazil (OLIVEIRA; FREIRE, 2006, p. 113).

During this first period, the motto of the “Indian Protection Service” was: ‘Die if necessary. Never kill’. Through this pacifist approach, dozens of tribes were placed under the direction and protection of the SPI” (DAVIS, 1978, p. 26).

The SPI was a project that sought to remove the Catholic Church from indigenous catechesis, adopting the republican precept of church-state separation. Its foundation was based on the idea that the condition of the indigenous people would always be transitory (OLIVEIRA, 1983) and that the purpose of the indigenist policy would be to transform them into national workers.

However, with this policy, the indigenous people began to be protected by the Brazilian state, a special right implying a unique administrative device, mediating relations between Indians and the state and national society (OLIVEIRA; FREIRE, 2006, p. 114). As such, Oliveira (1983) points out:

2. The Indian Protection Service (SPI) was created on June 20, 1910 by Decree No. 8,072, based on social networks that linked members of the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce (MAIC), the Positivist Apostolate and the National Museum. The SPI's objectives were: a) to establish peaceful coexistence with the Indians; to act to guarantee the physical survival of the indigenous peoples; c) to make the Indians gradually adopt “civilized” habits; d) to influence indigenous life in a “friendly” way; e) to fix the Indian to the land; f) to contribute to the settlement of the interior of Brazil; g) to be able to access or produce economic goods on the Indians’ lands; h) to use the indigenous workforce to increase agricultural productivity; i) to strengthen the indigenous feeling of belonging to a nation (LIMA, 1987).

The territories occupied by indigenous people, as well as their own pace of life, the accepted forms of sociability, the mechanisms of political representation and their relations with non-indigenous people are now administered by state officials; “a tutelary regime is established, resulting in the recognition by the subjects themselves of a generic ‘Indianness’, a condition that they come to share with other Indians, who are also the object of the same tutelary relationship” (OLIVEIRA, 1983, p. 224).

Thus, in order to achieve its goals of integrating populations and territories, the Indian Protection Service (SPI) adopted an administrative organization similar to other state apparatuses: the units were differentiated according to the phase of intervention (attraction and pacification, civilization, regularization of possession). Some contradictions existed within the SPI: while it set out to respect indigenous territories and culture, it acted by transferring Indians and releasing indigenous lands for colonization, while at the same time repressing traditional practices and imposing a pedagogy that altered the indigenous production system (OLIVEIRA; FREIRE, 2006, p. 114-115).

In this sense, the SPI always sought to prioritize the interests of economic groups whose main objective was the expropriation of indigenous lands, to the detriment of guaranteeing indigenous rights, which in turn saw the reduction of their territories.

At the end of the 1960s, the SPI faced an avalanche of accusations of administrative irregularities, corruption and fraudulent management of indigenous assets, especially the natural resources of indigenous lands. As a result, the federal government promised to

clear up the complaints, punish the guilty and create a new body that would do everything differently (ARAÚJO, 2006, p. 31).

According to Araújo (2006, p. 31), the federal government did very little of substance. “It ended up extinguishing the SPI in 1967, announcing the creation of a new body to centralize the provision of services to indigenous peoples”. The author adds:

The National Indian Foundation (FUNAI) was created, with the power to act as the Indians’ guardian and, among other functions, to “guarantee permanent possession” of the lands inhabited by the Indians and the exclusive use of the natural resources existing on them. In practice, however, FUNAI was built on the rubble of the SPI, taking advantage of its personnel structure, resources, etc. (ARAÚJO, 2006, p. 31).

Thus, based on the authors’ ideas, it can be understood that even with the replacement of the SPI by the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI) in 1967, there was no change in the tutelary policy and the lack of sensitivity to the specific cultural rights of the indigenous population. The new indigenist body continued to centralize all the government’s work with indigenous peoples, without any influence or participation from them.

Thus, Baniwa (2012, p. 208) states that “the SPI and FUNAI, from the very conception that gave rise to them, have always lived with this contradiction: to protect and guard in order to dominate, integrate and emancipate”.

In the historical path traced so far, we can conclude that indigenous policy has undergone several changes, but all of them had a dominating character in their essence, through the promotion of integration between Indians and non-Indians. This assimilation policy only began to gain characteristics that recognized the ethnic and cultural specificities of indigenous peoples, only after the Federal Constitution of 1988, as we will see later.

Thus, in 1988, with the publication and ratification of the new Federal Constitution, a new conception of Indigenous Policy began, aimed at overcoming the prejudiced ideology of the incapacity of indigenous people.

Indigenous peoples have been recognized as political protagonists in guaranteeing and enforcing their rights and participating in the development of public policies of interest to them. As a result, numerous governmental and non-governmental bodies began to act in the various fields of indigenous action, which allowed for the emergence of specific programs managed by different institutions (OLIVEIRA; FREIRE, 2006, p. 132).

According to Araújo (2006, p. 38), the 1988 Federal Constitution “brought a series of innovations to the treatment of the indigenous issue, incorporating the most modern concept of equality and indicating new parameters for the relationship between the state and Brazilian society and the Indians”.

The 1988 Constitution “broke with the tutelary heritage originating in the Civil Code of 1916, changing the status of Indians, allowing them individually or through their organizations to go to court to defend their rights and interests” (OLIVEIRA; FREIRE, 2006, p. 133).

The 1988 Federal Constitution recognized “indigenous peoples’ permanent and collective rights and also innovated by recognizing the procedural capacity of indigenous peoples, their communities and organizations to defend their own rights and interests” (ARAÚJO, 2006, p. 38).

The Federal Constitution of 1988 broke with the integrationist and assimilationist perspective established since the SPI. Since then, indigenous lands have been defined as those that enable the reproduction of indigenous peoples, i.e. those “necessary for their physical and cultural preservation, according to their uses, customs and traditions” (BRASIL, 1993, p. 16).

The Federal Constitution sought mainly to guarantee indigenous territorial rights, defining Indigenous Lands in paragraph 1 of article 231:

Lands traditionally occupied by Indians are those permanently inhabited by them, those used for their productive activities, those essential for the preservation of the environmental resources necessary for their well-being and those necessary for their physical and cultural reproduction, according to their uses, customs and traditions.

Despite the promulgation of the 1988 Federal Constitution, which guarantees indigenous rights, unfortunately these rights continue to be violated. In the current context, the main problem faced by indigenous peoples is the demarcation of lands. This problem is directly related to the systematic violation of indigenous territorial rights. Since the beginning of the historical process, the state has always given with one hand and taken away with the other (ARAÚJO, 2006, p. 54).

It's important to note that, even today, the indigenous people are struggling to maintain their territory, as colonizing pressure on their territory continues. The difference is that nowadays they are even more aware of the nuances that determine the colonizing advance. Likewise, as a result of their own persistence and resistance, they have been developing their own identity, which gives them greater strength to be recognized in their rights (OLIVEIRA; LIMA, 2014).

With the 1988 Federal Constitution, indigenous peoples regained their original rights and were able to establish themselves as ethnically differentiated citizens, thus demonstrating the possibility of a multi-ethnic state. However, the Constitution has not yet guaranteed the inclusion of ethnic communities in full participation in public development policies, in which they can fully exercise their rights. Despite the "economic growth" pro-

moted by the government, ethnic communities are vulnerable groups seeking solutions to their problems, which tend to worsen due to the policy of the minimal state, where there is no room for social policies that include ethnic minorities (ATHIAS, 2005, p. 2-3).

From the above considerations, we can see that capitalist society is focused on overvaluing consumption and profit, and the actions developed by the state are committed to strengthening the economy, rather than guaranteeing and realizing the rights won by indigenous people. Thus, the state's role as mediator of the social relations between capital and labor only appears through minimal social policies, in an attempt to alleviate and not resolve the consequences of the expressions of the social question. In this context, the state uses sparse and precarious indigenous policies, characterized by targeting, guardianship and integration. Indigenous peoples are included in universal policies, disregarding their ethnic and cultural specificities.

Notoriously, the state's interventionist actions are forged from an administrative logic that aims to camouflage the expropriation of indigenous lands through interventionist policies that, definitively, are nothing more than measures that violate the territorial rights of indigenous peoples, with their actions based on the assumption that there is always a need to review indigenous territories. This is evident throughout the historical process of demarcation, and is independent of the government institution that leads actions in this direction. In other words, this perverse logic is not overcome, but rather reformulated according to the emerging demands of the given moment in which they are carried out.

With these considerations in mind, we can allude to the fact that, when the State intervenes in Indigenous Policy in Brazil to take care of indigenous issues, its actions are guided by economic interests and ethnic

domination. “The state’s relationship with indigenous peoples has always been aligned with the socio-political paradigms in force at each historical moment, and has, to a greater or lesser degree, a political project for these populations” (MACHADO, 2012, p. 39).

The indigenist political projects instituted by the state mostly serve the interests of economic groups that target indigenous lands to the detriment of guaranteeing the rights of this population, who have seen their territories reduced and occupied.

Furthermore, the ghost of guardianship persists in the thinking and practice of indigenous policy. The Brazilian state continues to act with paternalistic and clientelistic practices, and has a prejudiced ideology of the incapacity of indigenous people.

Thus, Leite (2013, p. 22) states that, despite the various legal achievements that take into account respect for indigenous differences and demands, especially the 1988 Constitution, ethnocentric values that reproduce asymmetrical power relations between the state and indigenous peoples remain at the core of state interventions.

Therefore, it can be seen that the state not only fails to recognize the specific rights of indigenous peoples, but has also become the main instrument for denying indigenous rights.

In this way, these major undertakings proposed by the state have had an impact on the Akwẽ-Xerente’s way of life, especially in relation to their livelihood. The Akwẽ-Xerente, on the other hand, have sought other sources of income, such as making and selling handicrafts, social assistance benefits such as Bolsa Família, social security benefits paid to elders and the income of Akwẽ-Xerente state and federal civil servants, with one of the main employers being FUNAI. These new subsistence practices weaken their identity, culture, values and customs, as they are permeated by the changes and transformations of our society (LIMA, 2013).

According to Lima (2013, p. 80), over the course of history, the territories of the Akwẽ-Xerente have been constituted by “[...] the movement of their relations with national society and with nature. Thus, the 20th and 21st centuries brought changes to the Akwẽ-Xerente way of life”. In this context, Martins (2012, p. 26) points out:

Indigenous populations have more than resisted the white, capitalist invasion and plundering of their territories. Just as white violence manifests itself in attempts to disfigure them culturally, they have also indicated, in their struggles, what is unbearable and indecipherable for them in what for many of them is a new situation, which is the frontier situation created by the territorial expansion of big business and civilized society. [...] apparently, in very general terms, what the indigenous peoples are slowly defining, by implication, in their confrontations with the whites, is a situation of coexistence marked by cultural and social plurality and the establishment of an entirely new space in the relationship with the other, which is a space of affirmation and recognition of the difference that gives meaning to the existence of the different peoples.

According to Lima (2013, p. 78), the struggle for the territory and way of life of the Akwẽ-Xerente “was built on the relationship of survival, human and cultural, adding to the various transformations they have experienced, these peoples have been reorganizing themselves inside and outside their territory”.

Thus, for Lima (2013), the Akwẽ-Xerente are living and reorganizing themselves inside and outside their territory, facing the challenge of perpetuating their culture and intercultural relations with national society, the state government and the municipality, especially political and economic relations with the cities of Tocantinia and Miracema.

Thus, through the analysis and discussion of the data presented, it is clear that the implementation of the Indigenous Policy after the 1988 Constitution is still in need of greater investment; actions need to be implemented that truly guarantee the rights of the indigenous population. In this way, it is clear that the Indigenist Policy has not yet met the expected expectations.

Finally, it should be emphasized that it is necessary to break with the patrimonialist and clientelist nature of social policies, specifically indigenous policies, which have always failed to guarantee and make indigenous rights a reality.

CONCLUSION

Currently, even with all the legislation that has been passed on Indigenous Policy in Brazil since the 1988 Constitution, the rights of indigenous peoples continue to be violated, something that has been happening throughout history, as demonstrated throughout this work.

The projects developed by the state for the creation and implementation of indigenous policies primarily serve the interests of economic groups, who seek the usufruct of indigenous territories, to the detriment of guaranteeing the rights of the indigenous population, who have seen their territories become targets of disputes and economic interests.

The policies aimed at indigenous peoples deny their ethnic and cultural specificities, as there is no indigenous participation in the drafting and implementation of these policies, because the state refuses to engage in dialog with indigenous peoples, leaving the discussions inherent in this important issue on the sidelines.

In the course of the research, we concluded that after the 1988 Constitution, there were many advances, but in practice these advances did not materialize, because we noticed the

existence of setbacks, due to the fact that the State refuses to recognize the rights of indigenous peoples, always acting with a view to serving economic power and development, while indigenous communities continue to experience the denial of their rights, making their living conditions precarious.

Furthermore, the ghost of guardianship persists in the thinking and practice of indigenous policy. The Brazilian state continues to act with paternalistic and clientelistic practices, and has a prejudiced ideology of the incapacity of indigenous people.

From this perspective, the challenges faced by indigenous peoples today therefore require the construction of public policies that are articulated in the resolution of the problems inherent in the indigenous question. Furthermore, in the governmental sphere, there is a need to determine and propose, in dialogue with indigenous peoples, political strategies that allow indigenous people individually or through their organizations to take legal action in defence of their rights and interests. The political protagonism of indigenous peoples in guaranteeing and realizing their rights, and their participation in the development and implementation of public policies in their interests, must be highlighted.

In this sense, it is necessary to think about and create new instruments to fulfill indigenous rights, based on administrative autonomies that have the territorial and ethnic autonomies of indigenous peoples as a reference and foundation.

Therefore, in order to advance the guarantee of indigenous rights in Brazil, it is still necessary to build a new engineering for indigenous policy, based on the conceptual, legal, political and administrative principles guaranteed in the current Federal Constitution and on the innovative and advanced experiences developed by indigenous communities and organizations.

Finally, the objectives of this research were achieved, reaching the conclusion that the process of political reorganization of the Akwẽ-Xerente is still under construction, where there is a need to develop strategies to overcome problems such as: lack of dialogue

with the state, participation in political decisions and overcoming a bureaucratic model of organization imposed by the state, facts that culminate in the non-effectiveness of indigenous policy.

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