

On the trail of travelers: perspectives for a pedagogy of itinerancy

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Abstract: The study has as its object the educational and cultural practices of the *Calon*, *Matchuawa*, *Roraranê* and *Kalderash* Gypsies, with the aim of understanding the educational processes rebuilding their historicity in the geographical space of Rio Grande do Norte. Of qualitative nature, the research is affiliated with the History of Education, with an emphasis on Social History, by highlighting a social, cultural and educational phenomenon. The work has its relevance in providing new reflections on the *Roma* and *itinerant* ways of life, as well as in recognizing alternatives of human interaction with the subjects of diversity, which are found in almost the entire national territory, and, in particular, in the RN, although they are still excluded from the classrooms of our country. In addition, it makes it possible to build references for possible changes, contributing to confronting prejudice and building an education of social quality based on a pedagogy of itinerancy, providing opportunities for debate to better understand ethnic-racial relations and the diversity present in our country.

Keywords: gypsies; cultural practices; school culture; pedagogy of itinerancy.

1 Introduction

In *A social history of knowledge*, Burke (2003) states that, for some sociologists, we live in a knowledge society or information society, for some economists, we live in the knowledge economy or information economy, finally, we live in a society marked by the expansion of knowledge-producing or disseminating occupations. At a key point in this study, Burke (2003) makes use of a crucial question: what is knowledge? This question is, according to the author, as emblematic as the question: what is truth?

Thus, Burke (2003) uses a variety of concepts of “knowledge” ranging from the knowledge of magic, witchcraft, angels and demons, to the study of the most current encyclopedias in human history. For him, non-verbal practices – building, cooking, weaving, healing, hunting, cultivating the land, etc., are also part of this knowledge. But what worries him



most as a historian is the question: - “whose knowledge?” -, and he adds: “most studies on knowledge deal with the knowledge of elites” (Burke, 2003, p. 22).

In dealing with this bias, it is necessary to analyze the processes of knowledge produced and circulated historically, as a form of learning, establishing relationships with non-institutional and institutional and, therefore, cultural means of the majority society, in order to elaborate counterpoints with the processes of production and accumulation of knowledge and learning that go far beyond the school. Thus, it is necessary to intertwine knowledge about culture, popular culture, learning in the world without schools, in short, formative spaces that educate for human coexistence.

Brandão (2009) considers culture as the social place of ideas, codes and practices of production and reinvention of the various names, levels and faces that knowledge has. He emphasizes that, devoid of a necessary knowledge that could pass from one body to another, human beings went through long periods of life living in wandering bands, hordes, families, relatives, clans, villages, tribes, wherever they went, on the tasks of reproducing physical life, men learn to create symbolic life. And create, at that moment, a new model of exchanges between one being and another: objects – man’s product of nature – signs, symbols, institutions and meanings – man’s product of himself – culture. Throughout almost the entire social history of humanity, pedagogical practice has always existed, even if immersed in other social practices: hunting, fishing and gathering activities, where the eldest did and the youngest looked, observed, repeated and learned. Even in the burial of a dead person, in an initiation ritual or other collective celebration, people dance, sing, represent and, in celebrating these acts, at the same time, teach. They teach popular knowledge, the knowledge that essentially constitutes popular culture.

According to Certeau (1994), popular culture draws the utopia of another political relationship between masses and elite. In his studies, he exposes a historical path in France with the emergence of exoticism or popular enthusiasm that takes over the enlightened aristocracy of the late eighteenth century, with a literature that propagates a return to the fields original purity – and displays the French peasant as a savage who is, at the same time, civilized by Christian customs.

By producing knowledge, man produces cultures that spread in circularity¹, cross borders, and structurally modify the way of living of himself and others. For Certeau (1994, p. 19), culture can be compared to an art, he says, conditioned by places, rules, norms and data: “it is a proliferation of inventions in circumscribed spaces”. Culture presents itself as the field of a multiform struggle between the rigid and the flexible in everyday life. Something

¹ The concept of “cultural circularity” is expressed by Carlo Ginzburg, who recovers it from M. Bakhtin. In his work *The Cheese and the Worms*, he develops the idea that “between the culture of the ruling classes and that of the subaltern classes there existed, in pre-industrial Europe, a circular relationship made of reciprocal influences, which moved from bottom to top, as well as from top to bottom” (Ginzburg, 1987, p. 13).

that remains as inventiveness and accumulates in the collective representations that are revealed in everyday gestures from the oldest peoples to those of today. This phenomenon of culture creation occurs in the delineation of directions, deviations, operative resistances, in the dynamics of daily life with a thousand ways of “unauthorized hunting” (Certeau; Giard; Mayol, 2004, p. 19).

Thus, culture is a social relationship that requires a particular mode of appropriation, which means incorporation and transformation of symbolic codes, a kind of exchange between social groups. From this perspective, to think of appropriation is affirming that “appropriation as we understand it aims at the elaboration of a social history of uses and interpretations, related to their fundamental determinations and inscribed in the specific practices that build them” (Chartier, 1995, p. 184).

In this sense, we can infer that the gypsies who make up this article, by producing a culture that is of their own, immanent to their essence as a being, also appropriate another social culture that is presented to them through daily practices of the *gadgê* world², and manufacture their form of existence in the plural world as a guarantee of survival. This study aims to present the educational and cultural practices of Roma groups in Rio Grande do Norte, seeking not only to map the history and memory of these communities, but also to carry out a critical reflection on inclusive education and respect for cultural diversity, essential in such a pluralistic country. The qualitative approach allows a deeper exploration of Roma’s experiences, contributing to the deconstruction of stigmas and prejudices.

In this perspective, the study, which has as its object educational and cultural practices of *Calon*, *Matchuawa*, *Roraranê* and *Kalderash* Gypsies, has sought to identify and understand the educational processes, based on the research interlocutors’ memory, who are located in the state of Rio Grande do Norte. Of qualitative nature, the research is affiliated with the History of Education, with an emphasis on Social History, by highlighting a social, cultural and educational phenomenon. We seek to contribute to confronting prejudice and building an education of social quality based on a pedagogy of itinerancy, providing opportunities for debate to better understand ethnic-racial relations and the diversity present in our country.

2 Experiences and wandering: the family and its practices

In its methodological procedures, the present research work, of qualitative nature, interweaves documentary analyzes and the interview combined with the work of participant observation, having as its starting point the treatment of sources of oral and written discourses. The work’s pathway consisted of field research techniques, which aim to collect

² Usual name of what is not gypsy.

and record, in an orderly manner, the studied data. And, as stated by Minayo (2007, p. 202), “Social research works with people and their creations, understanding them as social actors in relation, specific groups [...]”. The subjects/objects of investigation are theoretically constructed as components of the study’s object.

The investigation locus occurred in the state of Rio Grande do Norte, not exempting some experiences that occurred in some Brazilian states. As for the name of the interviewed subjects, with respect to the custody of their names, we chose to call them Astro, Sol, Lua, Estrela and Prata³. The interviews had permission for publication from the interviewees and, at the time, there were no requirements for analysis by the Ethics Committee. Thus, we elected four subjects for the interviews, two men and two women, belonging to the *Calon*, *Matchuawa*, *Roraranê* and *Kalderash* ethnic groups.

We followed a script of questions initially elaborated seeking to reconstruct the interviewees’ family history, groups’ practices and the various ways of learning and teaching among their peers. Thus, we understand that thinking about gypsy identity and the differences between gypsies implies recovering, through memory, the trajectories of their elders. In the interviews conducted with the research subjects, we were able to understand the diversity of possibilities present in the universe of these people⁴.

For Astro, who claims to be⁵ *Matchuano*, the story of his people is told from his parents⁶: “I am the son of (José or Yhoser) Ivanovichi, the grandson of Voino Ivanovichi. Both father and grandfather are gypsies, who belong to the Vithiamachuawa clan or family, therefore Matchuwanos, who are gypsies coming from France and Yugoslavia.” And he adds:

So, I belong to the (Matchwano group) by the origin of my grandfather and my father who was born (Rhoma, or third generation gypsies of this family) who came from Europe. My grandfather came to Brazil entering Belém, passed through Maranhão and arrived in Recife, landing in Rio Grande do Norte, passed through Bahia, Minas Gerais in which my father was born in this state and was baptized in Rio de Janeiro, resided in São Paulo, Brasília and Goiânia. He has been deceased since 1948 and buried in Fortaleza, Ceará. That in turn there is a wing of gypsies buried in clans. My grandfather entered Brazil around 1902, and 1920, or so. My grandpa when he came from Yugoslavia was a lieutenant or colonel in the army of that country. He came here, and settled in Brazil and here were born other uncles of mine who are

³ At the time of the interviews, there were no requirements regarding the Ethics Committee.

⁴ The first contacts with the extra subjects in the research occurred at an event held by the Department of Anthropology at the Federal University of Rio Grande do Norte, during the construction of our Master’s dissertation. Hence, it was possible to enable and prioritize some issues, such as the memory of the groups in their various forms, traditions and collective life.

⁵ The Roma in Brazil are known for the perspective of diverse ethnic groups, including the Kalderash, Kalon, or Calon, Roraronê and Matchuanos, among others.

⁶ Interview conducted in May 2015.

scattered throughout the country. So I have relatives from Maranhão, Pernambuco, Ceará, Brasília, Goiânia Bahia, Minas Gerais, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo.

In the same sense, Lua, the gypsy who calls herself Roraronê⁷, says that her story starts from the memory she had of her father and from stories of people in her family: “I am Romíroraroni on the part of my father who married a gadji but as my grandmother did not accept it, the marriage was ruined and ended up in separation”. She also comments:

At that time, marriages between gypsy and gadje were not common. But today, the Romá has no difficulty accepting sons of rom and gadji contrary to what people think. My grandparents came from Portugal and founded the city of Guarabira, according to my aunt. From there they brought the image of Our Lady of Light to Brazil. So much so that in the mother church of Guarabira there is a bank dedicated to the Costa family, who are part of my family.

Regarding his family, Sol, a gypsy who claims to be *Calon*⁸, stated:

I am the son of João Paulo Tota, a great leader of our people, from whom I inherited the leadership. Our family has always traveled the states of Paraíba, Rio Grande do Norte, Ceará and Piauí. I am from the family of ancient gypsies who arrived in Brazil.

Regarding the history of her family, the gypsy Estrela, who affirms herself as *Kalderash*⁹, admits: “We are descendants of the Kalderashas, my father was born in Minas Gerais, in Uberlândia, registered in Fortaleza - Ceará, where he lived most of his life. From a Yugoslav and (Bosnia) family they arrived in Brazil in the 1908s”. And he recalls:

My deceased parents are buried in Fortaleza. I have a vague memory of my grandfather, Pedro Martins, who was of light color, straight and very fine hair (characteristic of kaldarachas) from Bosnia with an anuran nose and small eyes of bluish color and medium height. He loved a hat and smoking a pipe with a mixture of fine herbs. In lined clothing and of great quality, he wore colored silk shirts. The kaldarachas liked to dress in glamour. Bohemian, he frequented the beaches of Barra do Ceará, Ponte Metálica and Iracema beach a lot. My father did not run away from this rule, he liked to dress well and always with his Panama hat, he led a somewhat bohemian life, following this example, he had some romantic involvement, he separated from my mother and had an average of 25 children. My mother had no involvement other than my father. She said that marriage was for life and with him she had nine children.

⁷ Interview conducted in May 2015.

⁸ Interview conducted in May 2015.

⁹ Interview conducted in June 2015.

The interviewees' statements lead us to understand that different life situations led them to a place where they speak, as well as the space they occupy at the present time and the activities they carry out based on the conditions taught to them by the family as a whole. From diverse origins, these groups were established under the aegis of their beliefs, their possibilities, based on what they received from their ancestors.

3 The sacred knowledge and memory of a people

Regarding the educational processes present in all four groups mentioned, we sought to understand how educational practices were processed within the family, how their families taught and how they, the gypsies, learned. Thus, the gypsy *Matchuano* Astro states in his interview:

My father was always a versatile and very intelligent man. He always has been an incentive for us to study, although I myself do not have so much study, but I was an attuned man. Within the gypsy cultures, we do not use to study, not because we did not want to study, but because we did not have time, look, gypsies' work in the cities is temporary, they sold their pots, they have to go to another place, another region, reading hands, cards, tarots done and then go to another region. So as these trips were very rotating, there was no time to study. So, it was always like this: go to school, study the first, second and third grade, learn to read, write and the four operations and you don't need to study anymore, learn card reading, palm reading, to get out of the grip and difficulties in cities where sales and/or business were bad, men will live with sales and women with divinatory arts and cartomancy and then the world is under our feet. This education at first was passed this way in our midst, so we did not depend much on these educational values, in which I have to graduate, I have to have a (Profession). No, the training was to learn, read and write to know what was being read, the four operations and to fall into the world. For me, our training was to sell well, have good money. And our guarantee that you had a good education was that you would buy gold and that gold was our loan shark, or our graduate, so proving that you had financial stability was fundamental within the gypsy culture of our clan. Many are illiterate or semi illiterate, incredible as it may seem to this day. But then, this model changed a little. For as soon as they became sedentary, they began to have opportunities to study. In the gypsy customs, usually the parents, the male issue, although he raises the children, both the boy and the girl, because the mother leaves to be able to work, in order to earn by reading palms, cards, and bring sustenance home, the father assumes the maternal role, incredible as it may seem. So he brought the food for us to eat and there he made a conversation circle, Brazilian conversation, which was for us to understand the subject and also made all the commands in the gypsy language, which was for us to understand what the gypsy culture and dialect was. So, everything I know about the gypsy world, was orally, in my daily life with him. When he wanted to have a serious conversation with me, he said: my son, go to the supermarket, bring a sardine, chives, tomatoes

and bread. When I arrived, he gave me a moment where we made food together and put it in my mouth and I did the same, took it with my hand and put it in his mouth. At that moment, he began to tell the stories, he taught me and told me everything, he talked about his family, who he was, my father, my grandfather, who my uncles and aunts were, and the respect I had to have for them and the care for my sisters, the role of the woman in the group, who when they married, would participate in the groom's family, would be daughters of the couple, parents of the bride and groom. As a man, to the respect they had with others. Dad spoke with his gaze, through the movement of his eyes. I already understood what he wanted to tell me. Whether it was to leave the place, or to pass, that is, or to walk or to stay. That is, and some words, very direct, discreet codes in Romani that is our dialect, and that I already knew what it meant and what my position was before his gaze, word and movement. Even if it was necessary to go get something to defend it, then the codes were used in this sense. And so, how did Dad pass on education to us, both the education of Brazilians, and education as a Matchuan gypsy. He invited me to sit next to him and several times I saw him do his letters, his *abecedary* and it was his primer, that with the help of Brazilian ABC primers, he taught us his language too. So, from the booklets that I learned to read and write and then, in his conversations, he made us always read the newspaper and watch television, the news. He told stories, he was a fabulous storyteller. He spoke of 64 with such accuracy that I relived with him the facts of the time of the military dictatorship. So, I got a lot of information albeit oral, but that's what he went through in his life. So, I remember him saying: how do you build the stories? And he answered: telling the stories. And one day you will have to pass all this on to your children, because this is how we keep up and keep our story. Currently, 70% of Matchuanos are literate readers. They are already studying and attending schools. In Rio Grande do Norte, as incredible as it may seem, I only know my family and two other Matchuan families. They attend schools, work, assume themselves as gypsies, but already inside the work, they do the ordinary work. And at home, they do the cards or tarot reading.

Thus, we noticed that the Gypsy Astro addresses several aspects of family memory, the daily lives of his people and the formative processes that his father provided at certain times, illustrating, through his speech, how the family was led to understand the different ways of teaching the Gypsy way of being. In this same regard, the gypsy *Kalderash*, who we called Estrela, states that:

My mother, Alda Castro Rodrigues, educated us with great rigidity, under her rule she raised nine children, me being the youngest of eight siblings. It was my mother's a haughty voice regarding the education of her children. She taught everything she knew and always encouraged her children to study. My mother studied little and can barely write and is proud of her only daughter with a higher education. I'm unaware of my maternal grandparents, since my grandmother passed away when my mother was less than two years old. She had been raised by her father and then by her stepmother. At the age of 13, she married my father, Antônio Martins Rodrigues. My father worked with everything that gave lover (money). He was a merchant selling everything from clothes to butter. He made, in his small yard workshop, wall paint-

ings for ornamentation, mirrors... he made bread and cookies and did not neglect spiritual services, a great healer of the region in Fortaleza. He passed on his mystical knowledge of Gypsy culture one by one to his children. Of Umbanda religion, he was the owner of well-attended Umbanda terreiros in Fortaleza and highly respected in the region. I absorbed much of the culture by observing his works, and others he passed on orally. There were times when we would get together, make a big circle in the yard poorly lit with lamps, and there, my father would start teaching and telling stories, it was really a magical moment. I admired his intelligence, and to me, my father was a great hero. He could read but he was good at math. When I learned to read, around the age of ten, we continued to make the big circle and he wanted me to read cordel literature novels to everyone. These were special times when my father would relay his teachings in the great circle dimly lit by lamps. I remember that my father was always anxious in our teaching moments, and we were even more anxious to hear him. My mother, with a stronger temperament, had an iron fist, so with her the only way out was to learn, listen, respect and follow everything that was transmitted. My father worked with everything that gave money. He sold paintings that he made himself, clothes, shoes, towels, sheets, mirrors, pots, in short, he sold everything. I worked with the palm reading, cards and spiritual works with which I had the support of my mother, Alda Castro Rodrigues. Today my father is 87 years old and already *retired* by the government; he still is wanted to do some healer work in the region where he lives in Fortaleza.

In the long stretch, we are led to realize that there is, in some groups, a distinct division in terms of gender, with the man/father playing a role that is opposed to the role of the woman/mother. About the same intention in the research, the gypsy *Roraronê*, which we called Lua, states that:

The Roraronê are very discreet, averse to movements and the likes. We are also educated by our elders. Women educate their daughters, but when they make mistakes, the correction comes from men. In the past, when a Romí did something against the norms of the Romá, she suffered very severe penalties that affected the vanity and luck of the gypsy woman, for example, they shaved our hair. This was done by father, brother, brother-in-law, uncle, only man. Women did not participate in this verdict. Because women are not part of Cris Romai, which means something like being a gypsy police, something like an inquisitorial trial. My bato (father) educated me at various times, standing, sitting or in situations where I was on the verge of doing something wrong, or just made a mistake. At meal times or when we went to sleep. Also when the family gathered. If something served everyone, it was in these moments of meeting that it happened, and when it interested only one, he called privately and warned. My father is a criminal lawyer. Alex Roraronô and Jorge Roraronô's granddaughter. Well known in Góias. I am Romíroraroni on the part of my father who married a gadji but as my grandmother did not accept, the marriage was ruined and ended up in separation. At that time, marriages between gypsy and gadje were not common. But today, the Romá has no difficulty accepting sons of rom and gadji contrary to what people think.

It is worth mentioning, in this memory and in this record, how punishment, the discipline on a subject was made from male authority. Gender hierarchy is, or was, a strong feature in the process of learning the Roma condition. The *Calon* gypsy, who we called Sol, with regard to education, states that:

My grandfather Tota could read and write. He learned from a Brazilian woman and he himself taught our people to read and write, I was 12 or 13 years old. He taught at the ranch and wrote on wrapping paper, pieces of paper that we found on the street, we sat on the floor and he used a wooden pencil and he sat with us. He even wrote in the sand when he had no paper and pencil. When he saw that we were doing nothing, he called and taught. He said come here kid, let's learn. There was no right time, it was the time he thought it was right to start teaching. It didn't even have time to finish. He had a book, a grammar, but few ever read the grammar. Mathematics was more about counting and adding, the rest I learned in life, exchanging, negotiating. He sat on the floor as well. When someone did it poorly, he would reprimand in front of others. It was punishment. Today, to teach, to advise, it is private, but before our people were very united and sat in the shape of a wheel. The disobedient is called here, to talk in private. I also learned by looking at my father's gestures. The gaze, the hands' movements, the arms. The earshot conversation, a wave was enough for us to understand what he meant by that.

We can see, from the interviewees' statements, that there is a diversity among these groups in the way they teach what the gypsies conveniently perceive as essential knowledge to their people. Among the four interviewees, each one demonstrates that they have a referent who deals with the transmission of knowledge in the group. To a certain extent, we believe that, in addition to the difference, which is significant, we have here the demonstration that learning, education was done by sharing the codes, which, at the same time, created family unit and also group unit, generating a distinction in relation to non-Gypsy.

For Matchuano, who had a father who was "a versatile and very intelligent man, he knew a little about everything", a man prepared to teach what one should learn in life, it was difficult to go to school due to time, given the greater need to learn how to work. This learning for life occurred outside the school space, on the street. Only the initial grades were enough to win the world. The sacred knowledge of this group was in the way of making a living, in reading *tarot cards*, in reading palms, in the possibility of trading, selling well, gathering money, gold, getting rich and happy.

In the way of teaching, the father used the table, a place to gather the family, a kind of altar to carry out the teaching ritual, and food, as an element that symbolizes permanence, support of life and gather around him, all the children and, when feeding them, putting bread with sardines and their spices in the mouth, he said, orally, what the children should learn. By introjecting the bread, the father fed them with the sacred knowledge, the knowledge

necessary for the family to live in society. We realize that orality is still very strong among these people. Educating by gazing, by gesture, by body is a point strongly observed in Matchuano's *speech*.

Another fact that deserves analysis is the circularity of ideas due to the constant travels of their parents, their family members around the world. This characteristic is implicit in the gypsy tradition. Cultural wealth and cultural capital acquired in these paths are lessons for the Roma people that help them learn to live with the *Gadje world*.

For the *Kalderash* gypsy, the mother was largely responsible for teaching at home and also encouraged her school studies, under a lot of rigidity, she taught everything she knew to all her children. She learned a lot from his father's knowledge, through observation and orality. These moments were held in circles, in a terreiro of African origin religion. This was the locus of learning the necessary knowledge as sacred moments. His father's greatest skill was with calculations, as he was a merchant. Her father taught the sacred knowledge from storytelling, cordel literature readings, an artifact of popular culture. Her mother, considered as an iron fist, taught the basic rules: listen, respect and follow everything that was transmitted. The work they did maintained the family and, thus, was taught to their children.

For the *Roraronê* gypsy, every educational process is also carried out by the elders. Women take care of educating their daughters, but when they make mistakes and break family agreements, the correction is exercised by the men, which means a severe penalty before the group, usually coming from the men in the family. It was up to the father to talk, to advise in the error moment, making the necessary warnings. The entire teaching process was done at times when they were grouped at the table or at bedtime. The house's setting, the table, the bedroom was the favorable setting for teaching and learning the sacred knowledge of these people.

The *Calon* gypsy says that he has learned in life to live with *gadje* and the rules of survival. From his grandfather, the group leader, he learned how to read and write in the camp, without fixed and/or pre-established schedules. He used paper found on the street or in packages of goods, usually sitting on the stalls' floor. His grandfather also wrote in the sand. He was aware of a book, which was a grammar, but only one gypsy in the group had access to such a work. His grandfather was a kind of group's simulacrum, scolding anyone who was wrong. He rebuked others in public as punishment for their disobedience. The wheel was the sacred way to pass knowledge to the group. The body is a reference in this process of knowledge transmission. Speech at earshot, whisper, wave always taught something to be done.

When analyzing the interviews, it is possible to highlight similarities and convergences present in each distinct group. The presence of being "man", male gender, is observable among the four groups. The man is the one who represents the family's conduct, which we

consider as patriarchal model¹⁰, the one who judges, punishes, interferes and even teaches at necessary time. He calls for the mistake's correction, even without despising the woman's presence, who is responsible for taking care of education, more precisely between *Kalderash* and *Roraronê*.

Among all respondents, the presence of *the poron or purô* (the elderly man) is observed as the teaching's guardian, the guide. A kind of reliquary that is respected and consulted whenever necessary by its guides, and the mother's care is notably expressed in the speeches of the *Roraronô* and *Kalderash*. The medievalist historian Le Goff (1994) considers them to be the guardians of memory, of the traditional communities' sacred codices.

School education was secondary in some cases, such as between *Matchuanos* and *Calon*, but this role was also performed by the male presence, who acted in literacy, numerical literacy, and teachings for life. Everyone recognizes the importance of acquiring knowledge through school, however, due to the lack of time to study, school education was the privilege of only some gypsies. The possibility of never having gone to an educational institution, as was the case with the *Calon* gypsy, never prevented him from learning the knowledge, even if elementary, that school provides.

The organization of teaching spaces between *Calon* and *Kalderash* are similar, as they sat in circles and in their own living places. The camp's tent, the ranch and the terreiro of the religious Center. In the same way, we can see that between Matchuano and Roraronê, tables, houses, and family meetings were the places to teach and learn. For Certeau (1994), every space is the practiced space. Thus, the space is realized by being experienced, as individuals exert dynamics of movement through use. When activated, this space is transformed.

The educational action among the subjects of nomadic, itinerant life is considered to be of great value for the continuity of the group's customs and traditions survival. Orality has always gained ground among the subjects of traditional communities. Viñal Frago (1993) argues that subjects who do not master reading and writing think and express themselves orally, because language is an oral phenomenon:

Man is a being who speaks – who thinks with speech and who speaks when and how he thinks – because not only a minimal part of the spoken languages have possessed or have written texts, because almost all literary texts – from the Iliad and the Odyssey to, at least, the Renaissance – were elaborated from orality and recreated, transmitted and received orally and because in every written text – even those read

¹⁰ It is the family regime, in force in antiquity, in which the father has absolute powers over all family members (Pansani, 2009).

silently or mentally – the echo of the oral resonates, which is why literacy and orality should not be dissociated (Frago, 1993, p. 21).

For him, the perception organ of these subjects of traditional communities is not the sight, but the ear. Their culture is an acoustic culture, their mind works in another way, different from the literate subject, therefore, their condition of expression works:

Their orality is a flexible and situational, imaginative and poetic, rhythmic and bodily orality, which comes from the inside, from the voice, and penetrates the inside of the other through the ear, involving them in the question. [...] Oral communication takes place in the warm environment – the voice, the body, the gesture of oneself and the other -, dialogic and participatory. Men and women of a primary oral culture know how to listen and narrate, tell stories and relate. And this with precision, clarity and expressive richness. In a warm and alive way, like the voice itself. They are masters of storytelling, pauses and games, talking and listening. They love to tell and listen, to take part in them (Frago, 1993, p. 19-20).

Viñao Frago's (1993) statements lead us to note that among gypsies, the presence of musicality, oral expressions, narratives of the lives of their peers, childhood memories and other stages of life are noticeable. These punctuated observations are also strongly transmitted to the interviewee as an act loaded with pedagogical, teaching content and, at the same time, taken by a certain interest in the understanding of the other, an act of teaching.

In this sense, teaching and learning are possible in any circumstance and, among traditional community peoples, such as the gypsies, it flows at the moment of conversation, of gazing, of the body's manner, of the speech murmur, of babbling, of gesture. By taking the relationships between body, gesture and culture, we understand the concept of "body technique", widely defended by anthropologist Marcel Mauss (2003), for whom the body is our first instrument, the first technical means in which we relate to the world and attribute meanings to it.

In the cases of *Calon and Matchuano*, the body is taken through gestures to define an action, an attitude. Each technique used in teaching represents a future action, as well as its future developments. Thus, there is the education of the body and by the body, as a significant moment of attachment of a technique. Every technique is a body technique and articulates a certain form, a specific character, built from the habits of each society.

This diverse reality motivates us to seek to understand the ways of learning in school institutions, not only the functioning of these institutions, which involves the appearance of writing as a watershed in the history of human life, causing a new culture to emerge from daily practices of the school institution: school culture.

4 A school for the world, a school culture

Disciplinary society trains (queues, uniform, strict obedience, posture); establishes rules for the use of time (schedules, waste control); exercises (training, distribution of tasks, body control); constantly and imperceptibly watches the body and its gestures (in the classroom, in the exercise alignment, in the prison cell, on the hospital sign, in front of the factory instruments). [...] The disciplinary process, which originally appeared in schools, barracks, factories, hospitals, a century and a half ago, and to this day is disseminated throughout society, sustains disciplinary power. It matters here in our context that these intertwining of knowledge and power are at the root of our knowledge about man (Araújo, 2003, p. 220).

This model of school that has historically taken the place of promoting systematized education is the same school in which itinerants enroll their children, in which, for years on end, they consume a culture that does not belong to them and that challenges their culture, making them victims of prejudice and, often, feeding the rates of evasion and repetition. Owning a culture that does not belong to them is, for the Roma interviewed in our survey, a challenge. This challenge is necessary because they belong to a world taken by their signs and their definitions necessary for survival in the majority world. Writing and reading for gypsies in today's world are instruments of power, domination and, above all, survival. This fact is compared to what made it possible for man, by taking writing as a demarcator of a culture, to dominate the world that surrounded him.

For Frago (1993, p. 23), writing is, along with the wheel and fire, one of the inventions that most profoundly modified human mind and life, stating: "writing made possible new cognitive strategies, new modes of thought and expression, a new sense or perception of time [...] new ways of seeing and showing reality and, within it, the human being himself". And he adds that, as a communication technology, writing "[...] facilitates distancing, analysis and reflection, spatial-symbolic classification or ordering"; and concludes: "[...] its existence made possible, together with other factors, the birth of philosophy and science, as well as the record and archive, that is, history".

This transformation in everyday life arising from the process of creating symbols to understand reading is a new culture. Frago (1993) states that oral culture is public and collective, and writing is secret and personal. The first implies a face-to-face relationship, proximity, while the second unites the individual with a human set broader than his community. Thus, society watched, little by little, writing consolidate to the detriment of orality, since discourse becomes abstract, general and cumulative. As a result, the elders, tradition, customs and the group have lost their predominant role. A passage was opened for statistical aggregation, for sense, for political arithmetic, for mercantilism. The role played by the collective rite in societies of oral tradition is now assumed by writing, which presides (along

with the rite of signature) over the fundamental acts of life (marriage, contracts, etc.). The history of literacy, of the passage from one restricted literacy to another generalized, is the history of an anthropological mutation (Frago, 1993 p. 35).

And in the course of history, society adhered to the process of institutionalization of knowledge, participating in the birth and growth of a scriptural economy, which, according to Certeau, Giard and Mayol (2004), will gain strength within a new context of modernity and expansion of a new capital. "The institution of scriptural apparatuses of modern 'discipline' inseparable from the 'reproduction' made possible by the press was accompanied by the double isolation of the 'People' (in relation to the bourgeoisie) and the 'voice' (in relation to writing)" (Certeau; Giard; Mayol, 2004, p. 203). For them, scriptural practice has taken on mythical value over the past four centuries.

Therefore, it is possible to observe that spontaneous, natural, unsystematic knowledge, of the natural order, loses ground to a new knowledge that is methodical, systematic, scientific, elaborate, and hence, the specificity of education is determined by the school form, which coincides with the historical stage of the emergence and development of a society that intended to modernize, accumulate, propose cultural transfers to new generations, and it is important to reflect with Saviani (1991), when he states:

The school is an institution whose role consists in the socialization of systematized knowledge, which concerns elaborated knowledge and not spontaneous knowledge, systematized knowledge and not fragmented knowledge, erudite culture and not popular culture. In short, school has to do with the problem of science. [...] It is in this sense that the old are said to be wise, and the young to heed their counsel. Finally, episteme means science, that is, methodical and systematized knowledge (Saviani, 1991, p. 22).

This definition of the school institution, thought from its role in society in conjunction with scientific knowledge, systematized, makes it distinct from other social institutions. However, in addition to the culture instituted at school, new ways of doing things produce practices that are consolidated in daily life. In this sense, we consider that the educational action of the Pastoral dos Nômades (PN)¹¹ of Brazil symbolizes the greater accumulation of experiences with the education process, which contributes to the literacy of Roma children in Brazil's interior. Pastoral in which we started to participate and daily observe their activities with groups of itinerant life.

In the same sense, thinking about a pedagogy for subjects of diversity who live in a situation of itinerancy in our country, dialoguing with the knowledge worshipped by them at

¹¹ The Pastoral is a service of the Catholic Church that welcomes the Gypsy people, Parquistas and Circenses. Available at <https://agenciapatriciagalvao.org.br>. Accessed in: 10th Jan. 2025

the present time, is the result of a meticulous, slow and complex work, and was constituted as the first experience lived in our research, as an itinerant pedagogy. The possibility of teaching children in ranches and camps to read and write was born from a pastoral action with the presence of the creators of the PN itself.

We highlight the work of pedagogue Ignez Carneiro¹², who reports her experiences in a brochure notebook printed by her, offering a rich material as a source of daily educational practice with people in wandering situation. She travels through almost the entire Brazilian territory literating Roma children in an exceptional way, as she acts as a volunteer. In her work, she tells experiences lived in the states of Minas Gerais, Espírito Santo, Paraná, Maranhão, Paraíba, São Paulo, Bahia, Goiás, Rio de Janeiro, and Rio Grande do Sul. Her account is charged with an unusual commitment, as she considers it a hard task, but rich in learning and experiences.

Another reference to which we refer to is the experience of the Zanata School experienced by Gypsies of Porto Seguro, in Bahia's south region, which shows us how it is possible to build possibilities of alternatives for the literacy of children outside the typical school context. This school was conceived by the Calon gypsy Zanata, a musician, composer, poet and businessman who, by teaching guitar lessons to children and adolescents, also helped them learn to read and write in a ritual typically different from the traditional school. Children's axis of interest when entering the environment where the class took place was the effort to master something that arouses gypsy's interest: music. Through guitar lessons, Zanata was able to literate in his *Chibi* dialect¹³ and translate everything that was taught into Portuguese.

During the classes, Zanata demonstrated that not only children, but also adults, were interested in mastering writing and reading in daily life. Some obstacles contributed to the experience discontinuity, including the need to market, constant trips and others that caused the group to disperse throughout the state of Bahia. Zanata School was a reference in the Gypsy Cultures Award offered by the Ministry of Culture, which financed some equipment and the acquisition of writing and reading material.

Another experience occurred in Santa Catarina, at the School of Rogério Calon, which dared to be an enterprise that served all ranches located in the area surrounding the capital, conducted by a trailer with books, paintings, pencils, paper, inks, computers, in short, whatever it was possible to take so that the children could sit around a car and, guided by a gypsy pedagogue, could build their writing and reading knowledge there. The lack of

¹² Ignez Carneiro is a Pastoral agent who registered her activities in a brochure notebook and distributed them with the other Pastoral agents. I have a copy in my files.

¹³ Variation of the Romani language, spoken by the Calon.

resources for materials acquisition buried the idea of Cigano Rogério, who, for a long time, went through institutions in search of help.

We lived in the state of Rio Grande do Norte, more precisely in the Natal's North Zone, located in Conjunto Cidade Praia, a children's literacy experience at Captain Cigar's School. We were in research work to conclude our Master's course when we found Cigar Gypsy and his intention to improvise a kind of classroom for children who did not want to attend an educational institution that was located nearby. It was the Municipal School Arquiteta Elizabete de Araújo Guilhermino, located in the Pajussara neighborhood, bordering Captain's ranch. According to him, children did not like, did not learn and were always rejected, in addition to being mistreated by classmates.

We visited the school several times in an attempt to dialogue with the management team and teachers, however, our work was ignored every day by them. After some conversations with the Captain's group, and realizing that it had become impossible for the children to attend the aforementioned municipal school, we chose, with the help of the State Secretary for Education, Sport and Leisure (SEEC/RN) and the Mova Brasil Project, to format a kind of classroom in the ranch's center. There were, in all, twelve children who were duly enrolled in school, and some adults who justified the presence of the Mova Brasil Project, intended for education of young people and adults. Through donations, we took chairs and improvised a board for writing. We made several surprise visits and meetings, participated in important and decisive moments in the group's life, in short, we learned a lot from the experience of the Cigar School.

This school was the radiating center of the group's culture, as all gypsies gathered to discuss, talk, teach, exchange experiences, and live the sacred knowledge of their people. At first, children did not accept the imposition of class time, but the teacher who had been chosen by them, who had teaching experience and lived near the ranch, built contracts of coexistence and every day, when she arrived, she led them to the ranch's center and talked to everyone until she formed a circle from which the knowledge marking the current class lived started. This teacher, whom we call Nature, orally states that:

The gypsies of the North Zone were with me in the classroom we improvised at Captain Cigar's ranch. Every day was a different class, children like many different subjects and classes without an appointment to start and end. They are very smart, fast and clever. They learn easily, but only what interests them. There is neither time to start nor time to finish the class with gypsy children. I stayed there with them until the last student left the group. They like their school, for them. Talk about the things in their lives.

The teacher's speech confirms what we observed in the research's course, in relation to the experiences of Professora Ignez Carneiro's school and Zanata's School. This experience lived in Cidade Praia neighborhood, at Captain Cigar's ranch, also resembles the experience lived in the city of Macau/RN, when Captain Gonzaga, head of the community, installed, with the help of the Mova Brasil Project, a classroom in his own residence, with the intention of teaching reading and writing to the *calons* of his ranch. On a visit, we observed that students preferred a teacher who was close to them, a *Calin* who knew their references to teach what the non-Roma community knew.

These experiments compared to what we observed in Rio Grande do Norte, in cities where there were schools that enrolled¹⁴ Roma children were of great value for the literacy of children, young people and adults, since, in the systematized school, keeping Roma in the classroom is a complex and/or almost impossible task. When considering such aspects observed in this moment of investigation, we understand that children who attended the classes had the support of their parents, because:

At school, gypsies sought opportunities for social inclusion in obtaining literate knowledge in the scriptural apparatus of a society of economy and power of the majority culture. [...] carried out, in this process, the appropriation of the domain of new learning present in the current world such as the handling of machines, bank credit card, cell phone, from living letter to Driver's License, among others. From school, they take with them the neighborhood's and city's social integration, instructions for reading, writing and calculus. They also take an invisible culture that dominates their body and soul, making them docile, disciplined and subject to the interests of the strongest. They find in school an education that is imposed on them, and they do not participate in curricular decisions, nor are they called upon to give an opinion on this or that. They are absent voices in school curricula, as they have no other power to bargain for an education that considers the concrete reality of their peers, their origins and their daily culture. Living in a space of conflicts with the *gadjê* world, they learn on a daily basis to plot with their equals new codes of survival (Silva, 2012, p. 92).

In this sense, when thinking of a school for the subjects of itinerant life, it is necessary, in the first place, to think of a pedagogy that guarantees the possibility of feeling to be/participate in a collective construction, that is, to think as a subject of the world, a pedagogy for other subjects who have a life that resembles the peoples who fight for the emancipation of their rights to a social education. As subjects of a new historical moment, Roma decisively accompany the struggle for spaces to guarantee rights in the national scenario and organize

¹⁴ The cities where we located schools that enroll Roma children in RN were, respectively: Florânia, São Vicente, Jucurutu, Currais Novos, Ecuador, Cruzeta, Acarí, Caicó, Tangará, Messias Targino, Mossoró, Macaíba, Serra Caiada, Apodi, Nova Cruz, Parnamirim and Natal.

themselves in collective experiences, whether in municipal or state councils, or in municipal, regional, state and national conferences, in which they represent their peers in their respective groups, to face the problem of exclusion and prejudice. Therefore, they signal a new social movement in ascendancy in our country.

Thus, to think of a pedagogy of itinerancy in the current political and cultural moment of our society is to think of an artifact that materializes in the intertwining of a set of struggles, a set that Arroyo (2014) considers to be a space of struggle for social emancipation, which makes another pedagogy emerge for other subjects. Subjects in movement, in educational actions. Education as a process of humanization of diverse collective subjects. It is Pedagogy in motion (Arroyo, 2014, p. 27).

Thus, it is necessary to think of a theory that can reflect on the human condition present in social processes, in the movements of humanization and liberation of the oppressed, such as childhood, youth and adult life, workers, social, ethnic, racial groups and, above all, in the recovery of complex and tense processes in which they are immersed for their survival and affirmation as humans, as landless, homeless, without health, without school, without university, without work, without spaces for a dignified and just life (Arroyo, 2014).

For Arroyo (2014), pedagogical thinking is led, on the one hand, to be present in the most complex and tense pedagogical processes in our history, this social, political, cultural and also pedagogical history is what no longer allows us to speak only in a single pedagogy, but rather to speak of antagonistic pedagogies, built in the tense conflicting political relations of domination/reaction/liberation. Social movements highlight that, in history, they have been victims of concealment, inferiorization, even the denial of their knowledge, values, cultures, identities. "Ignoring these peoples and their pedagogies represents an intentional gap in the narratives of the history of pedagogical ideas" (Arroyo, 2014, p. 30).

All this concealment was designed to perpetuate the self-identity of hegemonic pedagogical theories, in which it is necessary to ignore the knowledge, values, cultures, way of thinking and affirming and humanizing of colonized peoples. Therefore, recognizing that these subjects have other pedagogies that produce knowledge, a way of thinking, freeing themselves and humanizing themselves would destabilize the self-identity of hegemonic pedagogy.

In this sense, when thinking about another pedagogy for the subjects of itinerant life, it is necessary to understand the processes of construction of movements that legitimize their resistance in the reading of their world and themselves, in the construction of daily reflections that are strengthened under the prism of the struggle for an education that interests them in their collectives.

To think of a school that has enrollments for the subjects of diversity, in particular, for the groups that live in a wandering situation, is to think of a school open to a flexible proposal, which considers different possibilities of access, permanence and success. This vision of an intercultural education corroborates the thought of Candau (2011), who tries to identify and enumerate the challenges we will have to face in promoting an intercultural and emancipatory education that articulates issues related to the affirmation of cultural rights to equality and difference. To this end, she states: “The intercultural perspective is oriented to the construction of a democratic, plural, human society that articulates equality policies with identity policies” (Candau, 2011, p. 27).

Faced with what is posed, the following question arises: what really matters to the Roma people? What is the knowledge consecrated by the group? We can understand this problem more clearly in the interview we conducted with a gypsy we call Prata, who, in verbal information, reported memories of his passage through classrooms of several schools in the countryside of Rio Grande do Norte:

The prejudice against us is very strong, we already went to school unwilling to stay there and a boy always appeared to curse us. They said we stole, everyone was dirty. They hurt with words. It was the worst. Some of my sisters and other gypsies didn't go out of fear and didn't feel well. When we told the teacher, she always favored the *jurom*.¹⁵ There was a mother who always went to the classroom's door to prevent her son from sitting near some gypsy. The studies didn't have anything we wanted. The good thing there was to play.

The gypsy's speech leads us to understand the difficulties that gypsy children face in everyday school life, consuming a culture different from their own. The ritual of access to the school institution, behavioral protocols, formative intentions, teaching methods are completely alien to them, as they are different from the practices of itinerant peoples of teaching and learning. School uniforms are contrary to the way they usually dress, and often mean an imposition that forces them to abandon their own customs. Calins *who* wear long skirts or dresses are required to wear long pants, which causes them sadness and discomfort. Even having the time to learn, enter school and return home is completely at odds with those who have always had the freedom to walk, cross different paths and start from their own needs to take their actions.

When thinking about the curriculum of a pedagogy of itinerancy, it is necessary to take two integrating axes that are constituted and intertwined by human action and its capacity to produce culture: the schooled world and the non-schooled world. These two worlds/

¹⁵ Usual name of the gypsy to identify the non-gypsy. From the Kalé dialect.

axes, taken as indicators, need the understanding that every form of educating carries a set of values, postures, power relations, that is, spaces and times.

A pedagogy of itinerancy is an intentional pedagogy, with defined objectives, clear proposals of necessary knowledge and consecrated by the subjects who will use it to apprehend, teach and vivify the world. Knowing how to think about the subject, a philosophical axiom with its defined foundations rooted in the culture of the body, the land, the lived world. A pedagogy that can be constantly modified, annulable, reprogrammable, reversible and adaptable to the natural circumstances and works of itinerant men and women, the pedagogy of itinerancy must be interconnected by plural connections that recognize the world as the place of our species and that, therefore, we will have to recognize ourselves as being in the world.

This pedagogy that is intended is not a fixed program, structured in the form of sequential elaborations in years and grades, it ignores organizational rigidity. This pedagogy is a place where performance is elaborated for life, for the totality of what man needs to become. The place to learn is the open world and its particular possible simulacra. A place to eat, cook, play, fish, hunt, run, sleep, dream. It is on the floor of the house, the tent, the park, the circus, on the stage, on the sidewalk, on the street. The Roma child needs a place of culture that fosters culture to learn culturally.

Thus, we can understand that the learning processes are dependent on the processes of culture to which the child is subject, including the culture of orality that gradually enriches their knowledge. Children, popular adolescents, according to Arroyo (2014), carry to schools ways of thinking about them, linked to their place, theirs and their collectives of origin, their references of sacred knowledge. And the vision of popular sectors, such as marginal collectives, harshly criticizes this institutionalized pedagogy, and there are many socio-educational policies that carry as an identity to offer paths, passages to get out of ignorance, inculcation, pre-political tradition, poverty to civilization, culture, political consciousness, progress and social ascension.

Unlike the curriculum that is established as being formed by all the school's core activities (Saviani, 1991), the intended curriculum should be produced in the happening, at the moment. Education is thought of as a plane of eminence, a diagrammatic whole that crosses other planes and traits. Cartography of ideas, feelings. In other words, the objectivity of knowledge in itself for its use in everyday life.

As an educational principle, we point out that culture can support this curriculum with its demarcating function. According to Arroyo (2014), the movements' subjects, as well as popular childhood and adolescence in schools, and youth and adults in EJA and universities, bring to the knowledge field the culture and specificity of popular culture – another

culture: “Culture that is not a mere product of work, so that it does not become reductionism and that loses the formative virtualities of human work itself” (Arroyo, 2014, p. 103).

Thus, these subjects of diversity regain, in the integration of culture, the act of producing their forms of resistance to everyday life and recognize that pedagogical proposals that situate the centrality of culture in the processes of formation socialize education without reducing it to the detachment of production of existence. For this reason, Arroyo (2014) draws our attention to the need to recognize that the route to renew the way of working culture in school practices would be to consider that there is a narrow path between work and culture, and that the latter is no longer seen in school curricula as an appendix, a transversal theme or a celebration of dates that are organized as specific themes of studies on diversity, detached from the material production of life.

Bringing up the debate about the history of the movements’ subjects is a rich contribution, since they are victimized by a cultural history hidden by culturicides committed by the hegemonic forces of domination. As Arroyo (2014) states, hiding a culture is a way of hiding popular culture, which has been the way of hiding the people as a subject of culture.

It should be remembered that, by the Federal Constitution of 1988, the Roma ethnicity was included in the classification of ethnic minorities. However, guaranteeing the rights of ethnic minorities only included indigenous peoples. Only in May, 1993, the Constitution would expand the rights of other populations, including the Roma.

In this sense, the year 2006 is considered for the gypsy peoples of our country as a special and demarcating year of a new moment in the history of this people, as President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva decrees, through the Official Gazette, May 24 as the day that commemorates the day of Santa Sara Kalí, patron saint of gypsies, the National Gypsy Day. And it holds the Special Secretariat for Policies to Promote Racial Equality and the Secretariat for Human Rights of the Presidency of the Republic responsible as support bodies and responsible for promoting and disseminating this achievement.

In view of this, some government ministries are constantly seeking dialogue between the interlocutors of the Working Groups – WGs – of affirmation policy movements and subjects of law recognized as gypsies. Thus, it is worth mentioning the importance, for the construction of a national education policy, of some recent legal frameworks that guarantee rights to Roma Peoples: the Decree of May 25, 2006, which establishes the National Gypsy Day, on May 24; Decree No. 6.040, of February 7, 2007, which establishes the National Policy for the Sustainable Development of Traditional Peoples and Communities; Ordinance No. 1.820, of August 13, 2009, of the Ministry of Health, which provides for rights and duties of health users, and which states, in the sole paragraph, of Art. 4, the principle of non-discrimination in health service network; Ordinance No. 940, of April 28, 2011, of the Ministry of Health, which regulates the National Health Card system; and Inclusion in the Single Regis-

try for Social Programs of the Federal Government (CadÚnico), of a specific marker for the identification of Roma families.

It is worth highlighting CNE/CEB Opinion No. 14/2011, unanimously approved on December 7, 2011, which favors circuses, gypsies, indigenous people and nomadic peoples in general to guarantee access to school even without documentary proof prior to admission. And CNE/CEB Resolution No. 3, of May 16, 2012, which defines the guidelines for serving school education for itinerant populations.

Thus, some interministerial actions to recognize the rights of Roma population were carried out, such as: launching of the seal and stamp alluding to the date by the Postal and Telegraph Company (ECT); insertion of the Roma theme among the specificities to be contemplated in Notice 01/2013 of the National Program for Library in Schools (PNBE) and the thematic axis of Roma peoples in the notice of the National Textbook Program for acquisition of textbooks that make history and Roma culture visible and valued; the signing of a term of commitment with the National Historical and Artistic Heritage Institute (IPHAN) for the survey of Roma cultural and intangible heritage; launching of the Gypsy Citizenship Rights Booklet; Gypsy Cultures Award, promoted by SCDC/MinC – the 3rd edition, in 2014, with the objective of promoting and strengthening cultural expressions and identity of Roma peoples, identifying, valuing and giving visibility to cultural activities carried out by gypsies; holding Workshops on Diversity in Education and Roma Peoples; supporting programs and actions of the Territorial Agenda for Integrated Development of Literacy and Education of Youth and Adults, including the articulation between policies to increase education and the Professional and Technological Education Programs (PRONATEC), Literate Brazil and More Education; and the Bolsa Família Program, through the programs (Right to Health Program and Family Health Program, Oral Health Program, School Health Program) and on the Assistance Network (SUAS).

In addition to the aforementioned actions, the Ministry of Education established, through Ordinance No. 10, of February 28, 2014, a Roma Working Group (WG), to monitor the implementation of Resolution CNE/CEB No. 03/2012, as well as to prepare aids for the implementation of Resolution CNE/CEB No. 03, of May 16, 2012, which establishes the Guidelines for the provision of school education for wandering populations, with regard to Roma populations.

As a result of the work, the WG prepared the document entitled “Gypsies - Guidance Document for Education Systems”, at the federal, state and municipal levels, whose objective, with its distribution, is to give the possible unity to the procedures that Brazilian Education Systems adopt in relation to this theme, in the different places where gypsies are present. The document addressed the right to education of Roma, legal frameworks within the Ministry of Education and inter-ministerial actions for Roma. It contributed with guidance

to the education systems regarding the school enrollment of Roma children, adolescents and young people, in addition to the presentation of programs offered by the Ministry of Education that serve the Roma population.

Of these policies, it is worth mentioning, at the state level, in the Federal District, an important program, which is the “School Tent”, proposed by the Special Secretariat for the Promotion of Racial Equality (SEPIR/DF) in partnership with the Departments of Education and Culture of the Federal District and the Administration of Sobradinho, with the objective of teaching young people, adults and elderly people of Roma culture, residing in the Rural Center Córrego do Arrozal, Chácara 163, BR-020, km 16, where 25 families of the Roma Association of the Calon Ethnicity live, to read and write. Students over the age of 15, who learned to read and write and also received guidance on human rights, drugs and family violence¹⁶.

Another important goal is to establish a dialogue with the National Union of Municipal Education Leaders (UNDIME), National Union of Municipal Education Councils (UNCME) and National Council of Secretaries of Education (CONSED) to prepare and carry out actions to disseminate the document “Gypsies - Guidance Document for the Education System” (Ministry of Education, 2014) in the states and municipalities; promote actions with the states to carry out continuing education courses for non-Gypsy and Roma teachers; review the More Education Program to include activities in the after-hours that contemplate teaching of Roma peoples’ history.

In this perspective, the new moment for Brazilian gypsies is configured as a piece of a game in a scenario in construction of new possibilities. Taking and appropriating systematized knowledge, learning to read, write and tell, for them, is a pressing need, and setting up a pedagogy for the subjects of itinerant life is a new provocation to society. To this end, there is a struggle that will be constant, as constant are their challenges in daily life. As Certeau (1994, p. 236) explains to us, “Reading is a hunting operation”.

5 Conclusion

The subjects of our investigation, who identify themselves as members of the *Calon*, *Matchuawa*, *Roraranê* and *Kalderash* ethnic groups, represent their groups in their most distinct modalities of action and are characterized in our investigation as subjects of violated rights, as their existence in conflicting scenarios demarcate life experiences taken by the most diverse vulnerabilities.

The gypsies involved in this research work demonstrate that they live centered in the present and seek in memory the relationship of their existence as world’s subjects. They

¹⁶ Available at: <http://www.cresobradinho.org/>. Accessed in: 10th Jan. 2025.

prove that they endure pain and suffering with their tactics, ways of making of their own, cunning and strategies practiced by the borderless world, acting as invisible networks of interactions with each other. For them, glimpsing access to citizenship on the horizon is a tireless task, as they firmly verify their rights being violated and, on the other hand, violate the rights of others, as a way of circumventing the difficulties of the facts experienced.

As beings of the daily order, they learn and teach each other the sacred knowledge shared by their peers, spoils inherited from their ancestors - cultural capital -, and use the most diverse forms of utilities in the transmission of this task, including the body itself, with the help of signs, gazes, smiles, babbles, with frowns and nods, codes of secrecy towards the other equal, recreating, in their spaces, their goods and belongings in a portable way. By learning in the world that is given to them as a social space, gypsies establish their relations with the world of tradition, composed of what comes from their ancestors, who, in the daily life of their existence, produced their forms of survival among non-gypsies.

Among the groupings observed, we clearly perceive that the family or group hierarchy is still very strong and permeated by the division of tasks to be performed by gender, age and social capital. Women play a historical role of bringing food into the home, they are the ones who ask for it day by day, they work reading palms and reading cards. Men are exchangers, traders, in short, groups have a set of ethics, rules and values to be fulfilled without written codes, but memorized by a culture that demarcates body and spirit. There are no written regiments that underlie the daily life of the studied gypsies. And, in this world of communication, of literate culture, they live with socially majority groups, breaking, through tactics and cunning, the rules of the other. There are socially defined laws, codes of conduct, hierarchical chains.

By seeking the school as a place of social insertion, we found that gypsies live in a space-institution of teaching the scriptural and bureaucratic order of society that does not belong to them, nor does it allow them to exercise any influence or decision-making power over what they want to learn to be in the world.

At school, they are faced with a world composed of protocols that they do not build and arrangements that *are bricolated* by everyday coexistence. Thus, they become involved in an educational process around which there is a set of intentions of other actors, in a practice established by symbolic powers and, in this path of obstructions, they interrelate with the other subjects who are part of the school. We also found that it is on the school floor, in the daily life of its operation, that the usual fabrications of a culture that opposes the subjects of the diversity of our country and the world occur. They are distinct cultural practices generating large gaps in the training of subjects who seek, in school, opportunities for inclusion in the society in which they live. From this emerges the need to think about a pedagogy for the subjects of life in a wandering situation.

Thus, in the condition of being/and living, it is noticeable that the gypsies of our research generated in the course of history a social isolation to promote the usual fabrication of their ways of existing in the world, and, as in a circular movement, in the gaps of the borders of isolation, they perform daily life in a constant appropriation of the other's culture, building and reconstructing their representations, reinventing and consolidating their educational and cultural practices in multiple contexts. In the set of their traditions, their educational practices reside. In this context, we can admit that the first approaches to the construction of a pedagogy of itinerancy are born, that is, paths that will enable new perspectives for the education of nomadic peoples in our country.

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