

Indigenous policy and education for indigenous women on the Dourados/Mato Grosso indigenous reserve in the 20th century

Cristiane Pereira Peres

Universidade Estadual de Mato Grosso do Sul (Brasil)

Alessandra Cristina Furtado

Universidade Federal da Grande Dourados (Brasil)

Abstract

This paper analyzes the indigenous policy of the Indian Protection Service (SPI, anacronym in Portuguese) in the 20th century, regarding education of Indigenous women on the Dourados/Mato Grosso Indigenous Reserve. The research seeks – through documentary sources, such as official SPI documents available in the archives of the Museu do Índio (Indian Museum) in Rio de Janeiro, Certeau's (2014) concepts of strategies and tactics (2014), and Chartier's (1990, 2011) concepts of practices and representation (1990, 2011) – to investigate how State's Indigenous policies implemented education for indigenous women during the period under study. As a result, it is possible to identify that the SPI's Indigenous policy maintained and developed an education for indigenous women that prioritized assimilation, "civilization," and the integration of ethnic groups into non-Indigenous society, through a system of teaching based on the republican project of nationalizing and universalizing cultures, education, and social behaviors.

Keywords: Indigenous policy. Women's education. Original indigenous peoples. Dourados/Mato Grosso.

Política indigenista e educação para as mulheres indígenas da reserva indígena de Dourados/Mato Grosso no século XX

Resumo

O presente trabalho analisa a política indigenista do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios (SPI), no século XX, no que se refere à educação para as mulheres

indígenas da Reserva Indígena de Dourados/Mato Grosso. A pesquisa busca – por meio de fontes documentais, como os documentos oficiais do SPI, disponíveis nos arquivos do Museu do Índio no Rio de Janeiro, nos conceitos de estratégias e táticas de Certeau (2014) e nas práticas e representação de Chartier (1990, 2011) – investigar como as políticas indigenistas do Estado implementaram a educação para as mulheres indígenas no período em estudo. Como resultados, é possível identificar que a política indigenista do SPI manteve e desenvolveu uma educação para as mulheres indígenas que priorizou a assimilação, a "civilização" e a integração das etnias à sociedade não indígena por meio de um ensino pautado no projeto republicano de nacionalizar e universalizar as culturas, a educação e os comportamentos sociais.

Palavras-chave: Política indigenista. Educação feminina. Povos originários. Dourados/Mato Grosso.

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Resumen

El presente artículo analiza la política indigenista del Servicio de Protección Indígena (SPI) en el siglo XX, en lo que se refiere a la educación de las mujeres indígenas en la Reserva Indígena de Dourados/ Mato Grosso. La investigación busca – mediante fuentes documentales, como los documentos oficiales del SPI, disponibles en los archivos del Museo del Indio en Rio de Janeiro, en los conceptos de estrategias y tácticas de Certeau (2014) y en las prácticas y representación de Chartier (1990, 2011) – investigar cómo las políticas indígenas del Estado implementaron la educación para las mujeres indígenas en el período estudiado. Como resultado, es posible identificar que la política indígena del SPI mantuvo y desarrolló una educación para mujeres indígenas que priorizó la asimilación, la "civilización" y la integración de las etnias a la sociedad no indígena, mediante una enseñanza basada en el proyecto republicano de nacionalizar y universalizar las culturas, la educación y los comportamientos sociales.

Palabras clave: Política indigenista. Educación femenina. Pueblos originarios. Dourados/Mato Grosso.

Introduction

At the beginning of the 20th century, there was still no regulation to protect indigenous peoples, since they were still "[...] seen as a problem for national development and as an obstacle to national progress" (Silva, 2018, p. 487). Thus, the indigenous issue was not treated as if it were a social or political issue, as it was situated within the conflicts of economic interest regarding land ownership (Silva, 2018).

This regulation of indigenous protection occurred in 1910 with the creation of the Service for the Protection of Indians and Location of National Workers (SPILTIN, acronym in Portuguese), which, in 1918, became the Service for the Protection of Indians (SPI, acronym in Portuguese) and remained until 1967, when it was replaced by the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI, acronym in Portuguese)¹. The change from SPILTIN to SPI was due to the difficulties of the first version of the body in meeting the demands of various social groups. As stated by Siqueira (2007, p. 39), the transition did not modify "[...] the objectives of protecting the Indians, [as it continued] to emphasize their catechesis, being a mechanism used to try to exercise control over indigenous societies". The SPI started to act targeting exclusively the indigenous demands (Silva, 2018).

It should be noted that the SPI created, between 1915 and 1928, eight small reserves designated to the forced grouping of Kaiowá and Guarani who lived in the south of Mato Grosso, namely, the reserves of Dourados (Dourados city), Caarapó (Caarapó city), Amambai and Limão Verde [green lime] (Amambai city), Sessoró (Tacuru city), Taquaperi (Coronel Sapucaia city), Porto Lindo (Japorã city) and Pirajuí (Paranhos city) (Cavalcante, 2013). These spaces were intended for the forced grouping of the various ethnic groups that inhabited the southern regions of Mato Grosso. Therefore,

[...] indigenous reserves were the result of a clear project of "colonization" and "civilization" that disregarded the specificities (ethnic, cultural, and historical) of the indigenous people and denied them the right to "ownership" of the lands they traditionally occupied (Troquez, 2006, p. 32).

The Dourados Indigenous Reserve (RID, acronym in Portuguese) was

created in 1917, by Decree No. 404 of September 3, having an extension of 3,539 hectares.

The multi-ethnic and multicultural scenario of the Reserve was first constituted by the Kaiowá; then, with the continuity of the occupation fronts in the south of Mato Grosso, the Guarani and Terena were also displaced to the RID (Peres, 2002, p. 59).

Still in the first decades of the 20th century, the RID was divided into two villages, namely: "[...] Jaguapiru, which became led by the Terena, and Bororó, always led by the Kaiowá" (Pereira, 2014, p. 7). After its creation, the State's indigenous policies implemented, through the Service for the Protection of Indians (SPI, acronym in Portuguese), in collaboration with the indigenous posts, the literacy of indigenous people in the Portuguese language with the objective of abandoning their mother tongues. This policy was in line with the objectives of creating reserves, because, as Benites (2009, p. 89) presents, the reserve "[...] was a restricted place, planned to discipline, control and dominate the indigenous people, according to the interests of non-indigenous people".

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Thus, this article enters the themes related to education for indigenous peoples. The objective is to analyze the indigenous policy of the Service for the Protection of Indians (SPI, acronym in Portuguese), in the 20th century, regarding education for indigenous women of the Dourados/Mato Grosso Indigenous Reserve.

About the theme, Julio (2022) points out that dealing with the indigenous presence in history, with an emphasis on indigenous women, is often neglected:

[...] there is still a lot to be done, especially regarding the history of indigenous women who, far from being a "curious" subject, a mere prologue to "national history" were, in fact, fundamental individuals for the construction of colonial societies throughout the continent (Julio, 2022, p. 292).

In view of this, it is worth mentioning that research on the history of indigenous women is an open field for studies. It can be seen the need for studies related to the history of indigenous women as the objective of this article.

Thus, "[...] the questions launched by the so-called New Cultural History have been redrawing the borders and redefining the methods and objects of the history of education in Brazil" (Carvalho, 2007, p. 116).

This research seeks to investigate how the State's indigenous policies have implemented education for indigenous women, through documentary sources, such as the official documents of the Service for the Protection of Indians (SPI, acronym in Portuguese), available in the archives of the Museu do Índio, in Rio de Janeiro, which are analyzed in the light of Certeau's (2014) concepts of strategies and tactics and Chartier's (1990, 2011) practices and representation.

From this perspective, school education, elaborated by the SPI policy, aimed to break with indigenous education developed through traditional knowledge passed on by the family and community. Therefore, school education occurred without respecting the cultures and traditional knowledge of the Kaiowá, Guarani and Terena ethnic groups. Therefore,

[...] education/institution translates the entire panoply of means, structures, agents, resources, but also the socio-cultural marks and signs of civilization that states and other organizations keep in operation for the purpose of permanence and social change (Magalhães, 2004, p. 15).

The discussions below address education organized by the SPI policy with the objective of inserting new non-indigenous customs, habits, and behaviors into the Dourados Indigenous Reserve (RID, acronym in Portuguese), aiming to integrate indigenous women into non-indigenous society.

The article is organized into two sections: the first addresses education for the indigenous people of the Dourados/Mato Grosso Reserve from the performance of the Service for the Protection of Indians (SPI, acronym in Portuguese); and the second, education aimed at women of the Kaiowá, Guarani and Terena ethnic groups of the RID.

Education for the indigenous people of the Dourados Reserve/ Mato Grosso: the performance of the SPI

At first, it is important to note that the objective of the SPI in the work carried out in the Reserve with the Francisco Horta Barbosa Indigenous Post was "[...] to improve the material conditions of indigenous life, awakening in it the taste for agriculture and rural industries [...]" (Service plan..., 1951).

For this, the SPI policy relied on school education to insert new non-indigenous knowledge among the ethnic groups of the Reserve. Thus, "[...] teaching aimed at the RID indigenous people caused socio-cultural, religious and economic changes in the way of life of the Kaiowá, Guarani and Terena" (Peres, 2022, p. 99).

The removal of native peoples from their traditional territories, in view of the advance of monoculture, by the agricultural and pastoral fronts caused a compromise of the "[...] environmental diversity once found in these areas. This put at risk the relations with plants, animals, deities, and relatives [...]" in the organization of the various ethnicities (Seraguza, 2018, 231). In this context, it should be emphasized that:

Even when expelled, the indigenous people never cease to occupy and enjoy the territory, be it their forests for hunting and collecting medicines and fruits, be it their rivers for bathing and fishing. They "keep in their heads" the image of the land before the expulsion and encourage themselves to return to it, facing a diversity of violence (Ayoub; Seraguza; Dourado, 2024, p. 4-5).

School and non-school education organized for the indigenous people prioritized the transfer of the gospel, civility, and the formation of individuals capable of non-indigenous work, with the objective of forming a new indigenous community, which would distance itself from their customs, assuming new habits that would make them "civilized" and "developed" individuals (Peres, 2022). In this context, as stated:

[...] the school education implemented by the Service for the Protection of Indians (SPI, acronym in Portuguese)'s indigenous policy developed a work of colonization, assimilation, denial, "civilization" and integration of the indigenous people to the ideal

of nationality defended by the State and transmitted by the educational policy that remained disconnected from the cultural and ethnic reality of the indigenous people (Peres, 2022, p. 115).

This construction of school education for the indigenous people in the first half of the 20th century was part of the republican purposes of nationalizing, "civilizing" and developing the Brazilian nation through the education of the individuals. For this, it inserted new habits regarding hygiene, clothing, food, and work. Thus, "[...] programs of education, political organization of reserves and Christianization were considered important contributions to the promotion of integration" (Pereira, 2012, p. 125). In this context, "[...] while indigenous education always takes place in terms of continuity, education for the indigenous intends to establish discontinuity and rupture with the previous time" (Melià, 1979, p. 53).

SPI's policy of literacy of Dourados Indigenous Reserve (RID, acronym in Portuguese) people in the Portuguese language sought, through educational, social, economic, and political strategies, to break with indigenous knowledge, traditions, and cultures, inserting non-indigenous knowledge through State policy. According to Certeau (2014, p. 45), strategy is "[...] the calculation of power relations that becomes possible from the moment an individual of desire and power can be isolated from an 'environment'." Thus, social perceptions

[...] they are not, in any way, neutral discourses: they produce social, school, and political strategies and practices that tend to impose an authority at the expense of others, despised by them, to legitimize a reforming project or to justify, for the individuals themselves, their choices and conduct (Chartier, 1990, p. 17).

The State's indigenous policies, implemented by the Service for the Protection of Indians (SPI, acronym in Portuguese) in partnership with the Indigenous Posts, did not guarantee the indigenous people the conditions to live with their cultures, present in the various social, religious, educational, and political manifestations of the ethnic groups. All aimed at building a Brazilian national culture, with developed, cleaned, literate and civilized individuals. That said, "[...] one of the most striking characteristics of elementary school

culture, throughout the 20th century, may have been its links with the construction of nationality" (Souza, 2008, p. 67).

Through the school contents, it was intended to build an organized, progressive and nationalist society, considered effective for the constitution and development of knowledge and individuals. For this, the State agents adopted, through school education, the insertion of new values related to family, work, discipline, homeland, hygiene, morality and character, aspects that aimed to keep the indigenous people distant from their cultures and traditional knowledge (Peres, 2022).

Thus, the performance of schools in the reserves collaborated with the political, social, religious, and educational project of the State to literate indigenous people for their integration into non-indigenous society. To this end, schools were spaces for the dissemination of non-indigenous culture and knowledge, such as morality, civility, hygiene, new forms of clothing, work and the Christian religion, through school contents and practices that denied indigenous cultures and knowledge (Peres, 2022).

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The activities in celebration of the homeland day, carried out at the "post school" Francisco Ibiapina, which worked at Dourados Indigenous Reserve (RID, acronym in Portuguese), demonstrate the education undertaken by the State that aimed at the construction of nationalism, patriotism, and civic behaviour among the indigenous people.

The indigenous school worthily celebrated Day of the Nation, with an internal party at the school's headquarters, students' parade, declamations and singing of the patriotic hymns. Many adult Indians rose to the podium to express their satisfaction at the organization of the little party. Three kilos of sweets were distributed to students and their parents (Report of the Francisco Horta Indigenous Post, 1964).

The strategies of state agents were based on transforming indigenous children and adults into nationalist citizens, "capable" of contributing to the new formation of the Brazilian nation. It is a school culture marked by "[...] idealistic and positivist orientations" (Escolano Benito, 2017, p. 30). It is interesting that the State acted in the Reserve in partnership with the Caiuá Evangelical Mission (MEC, acronym in Portuguese) in the work developed

regarding school, non-school and religious education. MEC was established in Dourados/Mato Grosso in 1929 with a provisional installation near the Francisco Horta Barbosa Indigenous Post. The evangelical Mission had as objective to develop with the indigenous people of the Reserve "[...] agricultural services, dental medical assistance, and primary education and the Word of God" (O Puritano, 1929, p. 7).

Indigenous policies aimed to build new indigenous representations, based on non-indigenous culture and behaviors. Therefore, "[...] representations of the social world thus constructed, although they aspire to the universality of a diagnosis based on reason, are always determined by the group interests that forge them" (Chartier, 1990, p. 17).

However, the Dourados Indigenous Reserve (RID, acronym in Portuguese) people made use of what was necessary to live with the non-indigenous people in the new multi-ethnic scenario formed in the Reserve in the first half of the 20th century and also denied what was necessary to maintain their cultures and knowledge, since "[...] the struggles of representations are thus understood as a construction of the social world through the processes of adhesion or rejection they produce" (Chartier, 2011, p. 22).

In the Reserve, the school became an important and necessary space for the indigenous people in the search for knowledge about the culture of non-indigenous people; as well as to have access to food, clothes, shoes, and the learning of the Portuguese language, necessary for communication with the non-indigenous people.

Evidence of education for indigenous women of the Dourados/Mato Grosso Reserve

At first, we highlight that the first data, obtained from the research from the documents of the Museu do Índio (Indian Museum) on the operation of the School maintained by the State in the Dourados/Mato Grosso Reserve, refer to the years 1929 to 1930. The document presents a list of the names of the students who belonged to the school classes in these years. Through the list, it was possible to identify that the 19 students who attended the School were male and aged between 18 and 19 years (List of students' names... 1948).

These data reveal that indigenous women did not attend school in the first years of school education in the Dourados Reserve, allowing us to understand that school education should be prioritized for men and home education for women. This allows us to agree with Bock (1991), when he states that the experience of women have a history that, although not independent of that of men, is, however, a history of women as women.

The relationship between the male presence in school education in the first years of school operation in the Reserve and the female absence in this form of schooling, perhaps, in the period and in that context, can be understood as a tactic used by the Reserve's indigenous people themselves, in the sense put forward by Certeau (2014). This is because it seems to have been an important and necessary practice with indigenous women to preserve and ensure their traditions, values, and customs, as well as the conditions to live in the way manifested and passed on by the various cultural manifestations. After all, the tactic "[...] takes advantage of 'the occasions' and depends on them, with no basis for storing benefits, increasing ownership and predicting exits" (Certeau, 2014, p. 100).

10 It is interesting to clarify that the performance of the indigenous post in the Reserve made it possible to find traces of school functioning, as well as the school material used in the first half of the 20th century. In 1933, the regional inspector sent to the Reserve Indigenous Post "[...] 30 childhood booklets, 100 calligraphy notebooks, 15 blackboards, 2 chalk boxes, 1 map of Brazil, 50 Faber pencils No. 2, 20 first reading book and 1 national flag" (Regional Inspectorate... 1933). According to Peres (2022), from the materials

[...] sent to the School, such as the *Childhood Booklet* and the *First reading book*, it is possible to infer that the Service for the Protection of Indians (SPI, acronym in Portuguese) policy for school was intended to form literate and civilized individuals, through individual and social preparation that would make them individuals capable of achieving local and national progress (Peres, 2022, p. 120).

In this context, when contents were introduced into school education that did not belong to indigenous cultures but addressed the social, cultural, and political context of non-indigenous society, the State imposed on

indigenous people a nationalist, assimilative, and "civilizing" education, presenting new behaviors regarding their participation in the family and society. As Peres (2022) states,

[...] the incorporation of new values related to family, work, discipline, homeland, hygiene, morality, and character was adopted, aspects that remained distant from the traditional cultures and knowledge of the indigenous people (Peres, 2022, p. 120).

In 1933, 10 indigenous women were included in the school. It is worth noting that the number of female students at the Reserva school increased from the 1940s onwards, nevertheless, it never surpassed the number of male students.

[...] boys added the largest number of school enrollments from the 1930s to the 1960s. Girls were only higher in the months of May 1953 and October 1963, with the difference of one school enrollment. In the months of November 1962, October and December 1965, and August 1967, the total school enrollment remained the same among boys and girls (Peres, 2022, p. 128).

Although the female presence was lower than the male presence in the School in the period studied, education for women of the Guarani/Kaiowá, Guarani/Ñandeva and Terena ethnic groups of the Reserve was also subordinated to a nationalist, assimilationist, and civilizing education. To achieve the educational, social, economic, and political objectives of breaking with indigenous traditions and cultures, non-indigenous culture and knowledge were inserted through school education. "Therefore, the State's indigenous policies, implemented by the protectionism of the SPI with the collaboration of the indigenous posts, did not ensure the indigenous people the conditions to live in their own way, manifested and passed on by the various cultural manifestations" (Peres, 2022, p. 118).

Regarding the teachers who taught at the School, "[...] they were from the SPI staff, the classes were taught in Portuguese and the curriculum that was prepared for the non-indigenous society was used at school of the post" (Peres, 2022, p. 134). Thus, "[...] the imposition of a general or national language, a national curriculum, and teachers on indigenous peoples [...]" (Melià, 1999,

p. 14) was configured, according to the author, in a form of violence that did not respect the otherness of the ethnicities and "[...] sought to replace indigenous cultures through strategies of evangelization and literacy" (Peres, 2022, p. 134).

We must not forget to mention that there were also activities aimed at girls in the organization of the school education proposal, such as domestic education. To the boys, an agricultural education was directed. This segmentation of activities between the sexes is related to the divisions of the spaces in which men and women should occupy in the 20th century; men were destined for public spaces and women for private space (Almeida, 2015).

Domestic education organized and developed by the State for the students of the School can be noticed in school activities such as the care of a garden that was in the School, which was "[...] preserved by the female students", while the planting of fruitful seedlings, "[...] black pepper, a cassava plantation and banana tree" (Document of the Francisco Horta Indigenous Post, 1958) was carried out by the boys. That said, it is necessary to point out that the culture of creating gardens at home does not refer to the indigenous cultures of the Reserve in the period under study. The distribution of tasks shows that there was an education for girls focused on home education at school, which sought to insert non-indigenous practices regarding domestic care, a denial of the ways of being and doing of indigenous women. Therefore,

[...] formulating a national identity, drawing a profile of the citizen, stereotyping the character of a people [...] correspond to practices that involve power relations and that aim to build mechanisms of social cohesion (Pesavento, 1995, p. 116).

Based on these observations, it can be understood that the School was conceived not solely as a place for literacy, but also for teaching indigenous people new, non-indigenous habits and behaviors. In this case, the education of indigenous women was designed not only for school education, but also for a domestic education that contributed to the learning of indigenous women, to take care of the house and children, shaped by the teachings of habits and behaviors distant from indigenous cultures. Thus, we can infer that education for indigenous women of the Guarani, Kaiowá, and Terena ethnic

groups of the Dourados Indigenous Reserve (RID, acronym in Portuguese), Mato Grosso, based on the indigenous policy of the Service for the Protection of Indians (SPI, acronym in Portuguese), in the 20th century, was permeated by strategies, in the sense put forward by Certeau (2014) and based on a representation of the feminine ideal belonging to non-indigenous culture. This representation limited, still in the period, women to the universe of the home, the family, and the domestic world, restricting "[...] as much as possible their activities and aspirations, until they fit the role of 'queen of the home', supported by the mother-wife-housewife tripod [...]", as warned by Maluf and Mott (1998, p. 371-2).

By analyzing the contents addressed in the School on personal hygiene, of the whole family and the home, it is possible to relate them to the formation of the education of indigenous women from the activities that should be developed in the family environment. Such contents were inserted for the construction of modern and civilized society in the twentieth century. A copy activity, developed with the students, highlights these contents:

Cleanliness is health

Cleanliness and health are two things that go together. Cleaning our body, our clothes, our house, the backyard, our water from the tank we drink, the things we eat.

A person who often washes their hands when sitting at the table, when entering the house, when arriving from the street, when touching animals, when leaving.

If you know simple habits, you avoid many diseases [...]. (Document of the Francisco Horta Indigenous Post, 1966).

The content of the copy made by indigenous students allows us to glimpse that, as Peres (2022, p. 160) presents, "[...] the teaching about new habits related to hygiene widespread in the 20th century maintained a direct relationship with the hygienist discourse propagated in the period to achieve the formation of a sanitary, individual and community awareness". Body education was developed in the 20th century as a proposal to build a clean and civilized society through new hygienic habits. Education in the Reserve was inserted in a civilizing way, disregarding indigenous habits and cultures regarding individualities, identities and relations with the body and the home.

Thus, in the 20th century, "[...] education and health appeared as inseparable elements in the configuration of a moralization program, which had, as one of its most important pillars, the hygiene of the population" (Rocha, 2003, p. 54).

Thus, we can affirm that the indigenous policy developed by the Service for the Protection of Indians (SPI, acronym in Portuguese) used the functioning of the School as a strategy, since it imposed its ability to "produce, to map, to impose the 'place of power' desired by the strategist, who seeks means of maintenance within external relations" (Certeau, 2014, p. 100) as the cultures of the original peoples and, in the specific case of the approach of this article, directed to the education of indigenous women in the Dourados Reserve in the period investigated.

Final considerations

The article aimed to analyze the indigenous policy of the Indian Protection Service (SPI, acronym in Portuguese) in the 20th century, regarding education for indigenous women in the Dourados Indigenous Reserve/Mato Grosso. Thus, it was possible to analyze, understand and reflect on education for indigenous women, more specifically on education for women of the Kaiowá, Guarani and Terena ethnic groups of the Dourados/Mato Grosso Indigenous Reserve, based on the indigenous policy of the SPI, in the first half of the 20th century. The sources used were, mainly, the official documents of the SPI, available in the archives of the Museu do Índio (Indian Museum) in Rio de Janeiro, analyzed from the perspective of the contributions of the New Cultural History. Based on the above, the analyzes of the documents developed in this study considered that "[...] every document is a support for social practice, and therefore, it speaks of a social place and a certain time, being articulated by/in the historical intentionality that constitutes it" (Cruz; Peixoto, 2007, p. 258).

From this perspective, it is possible to identify that the indigenous policy of the SPI maintained and developed education for indigenous women of the Kaiowá, Guarani and Terena ethnic groups of the Dourados/Mato Grosso Indigenous Reserve, which prioritized the assimilation, "civilization" and integration of ethnic groups into non-indigenous society. This priority was

based on the republican project of nationalizing and universalizing cultures, education, and social behaviors, since it was necessary to form literate individuals in the Portuguese language, civic, clean, patriots, workers, with morality and civility.

In the case of the school maintained by the State in the Dourados/Mato Grosso Reserve in the 20th century, this school space was not a place of knowledge of the Kaiowá, Guarani and Terena ethnic groups. This is because it constituted a space that sought to break with the traditional knowledge of indigenous education through non-indigenous education. Thus, in this context, it can be said that the educational, social, cultural, and economic practices developed by the agents of the State in the Reserve were permeated by strategies, in the sense put forward by Certeau (2014), to impose their "place of power", since they intended the discontinuity of indigenous education.

Therefore, the documents analyzed here make it possible to understand that the development of the Brazilian nation relied on school education to transform indigenous cultures and knowledge into a universal culture, which represented the development of the population through the literacy of the individuals. However, as Certeau (2014, p. 142) asserts, "[...] for there to be culture, it is not enough to be the author of social practices, it is necessary that these social practices have meaning for the one who performs them". This allows us to show that indigenous women were undertaking tactics to live with and resist the indigenous educational practices implemented at the Reserve school, since the tactic "[...] operates blow by blow, move by move" (Certeau, 2014, p. 94-95).

In this perspective, the indigenous people were resisting their way, either by refusing the indigenous policies, or by taking their sons and daughters to school, since the relations maintained with the non-indigenous people must also be analyzed as forms of physical and cultural resistance by which they transformed, and still transform, what is imposed by the non-indigenous people. In the words of Melià (1979, p. 59), "[...] the Indians realized that, allowing literacy, they can camouflage themselves and be calmer in their own way of being".

Given these aspects, it can be understood that education for indigenous women of the Kaiowá, Guarani and Terena ethnic groups of the

Dourados/Mato Grosso Reserve, based on the indigenous policy of the Service for the Protection of Indians (SPI, acronym in Portuguese), in the 20th century, was permeated by strategies, in the sense put forward by Certeau (2014), due to what was imposed by the State on the education of indigenous peoples, which promoted the discontinuity of indigenous education, but which was also marked by tactics, according to Certeau (2014), of resistance by indigenous women.

Finally, we hope that this article will bring opportunities for other researchers to add new knowledge, with new sources and new approaches, continuing studies that focus on education for indigenous women from a historical perspective. The possibilities of investigations on the education of these indigenous women are not exhausted here.

Note

1. Report of the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce, 1930/1944, p. 404.

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Prof. Dr. Cristiane Pereira Peres

State University of Mato Grosso do Sul (Brazil)

Research Group on History of Education, Memory, and Society (GEPHEMES)

Orcid id: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5906-2834>

Email: cris.peres@uems.br

Prof. Dr. Alessandra Cristina Furtado

Federal University of Grande Dourados (Brazil)

Graduate Program in Education

Research Group on History of Education, Memory, and Society (GEPHEMES)

Orcid id: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6084-2299>

Email: alessandrafurtado@ufgd.edu.br

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Translator's name and email

Affonso Henriques Nunes

affonsohnunes@gmail.com

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