DISCOURSES ON INDIGENOUS SCHOOL EDUCATION[1]

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Abstract

This work is the result of extensive contact with Terena Indigenous School Education (EEI) in a large part of the state of Mato Grosso do Sul. Contact with Terena indigenous teachers, during the author's participation in the development and implementation, as well as teaching in the Postgraduate Program in Terena Language and Culture, was the main motivation for conducting the research. Subsequently, years of living in the village, in direct contact – through profession and/or friendship with Terena teachers – provided extensive observation of the actual functioning of the schools, in villages. This research is part of the work initiated since then. It deals with the knowledge of Terena teachers about the rights to EEI acquired by indigenous people and guaranteed in official documents; in this phase, about Resolution 05 of June 2012.

Keywords: Meanings, Teaching, School Education, Rights and Teachers.

INTRODUCTION

> *"The people are meeting to change this school. We are meeting to see what the ideal school for us would be like". (Report of the II Meeting of Indigenous Teachers from AM and RR, Manaus, 1989 – emphasis added).*

Although 30 years have passed since the movement of Indigenous teachers from Amazonas, Roraima, and Acre, it is evident that "seeing *what the ideal school for us would be like*" (Report, 1989) remains a gap present in Terena Indigenous schools. In light of this and many other issues related to it, the

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need for this research is justified. Between what exists and what is idealized, there is an aggravating factor: the relationship between the Brazilian State and Indigenous peoples.

In this sense, we aim to observe what has been documented in Brazilian society, and what has been appropriated by the Terena school community. Seeking results that may enable some understanding of these two elements, we will use the analytical instruments offered by Orlandian Discourse Analysis—DA; after all, we shall not commit here the naïveté of interpreting the material collected, since we would run the risk of being affected by our "colonizing" origin, or by what white school education proposes. Appropriating a scientific method of analysis exempts us from possible effects of such influence and will allow us the opportunity to present reliable results for the field of Indigenous school education.

In this sense, we will take the discourses of Indigenous Terena teacher-subjects from the two Schools of the aforementioned Village. We will seek to identify, in these uttered discourses, effects of meaning that clarify the relationship between school practice and the official regulation of Indigenous school education, based on what Resolution 5 of June 22, 2012 proposes, which presents itself as the most modern official record since the 1988 Constitution.

The first two topics discuss the identity of Indigenous peoples, in a more generalized way, within the Brazilian historical context, and the relational modes that generally regulate issues between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people, that is, the way in which the non-Indigenous person defines the "Indian" and his or her issues. Next, we outline a very restricted overview of the so-called Indigenous school. After that, we seek to present the Terena Indigenous person through points that mark his or her historical and behavioral configuration. We open a space devoted to the functioning of the theoretical field of Discourse Analysis (DA), for a better understanding of our analytical device. Finally, we turn to analyses of utterances selected from the discourses of Indigenous Teacher-subjects.

Our concern, as researchers, lies in submitting the object of analysis to the analytical device, so that the result may be Terena. And not what some people think Terena is. In this sense, the discourses collected will be transcribed without revision, remaining in their original form. These discourses, as

authorized by DA, will be subdivided into groups according to what is intended to be researched: specific, differentiated, intercultural, and bilingual/multilingual Indigenous school education. As for the appendices, they consist of the full discourses and the questionnaire used in data collection.

OF WHAT/WHOM I SPEAK TO YOU IN THIS WAY

Indigenous issues such as identity, space, struggles, education, advances, achievements, etc., have been the subjects of countless studies; however, it is very common to observe how "white" they are. Observing various relations in academia, it is not difficult to perceive how much colonizing attitudes have been repeated. The Portuguese adventurers of 1500, in the records they left, displayed how strange the natives, their habits, their clothing—or the absence of it—and their social practices appeared to them. From this estrangement, they initiated the so-called civilizing process, so often interpreted, criticized, and condemned.

The question posed in this research is: to what extent do we, researchers of modernity, not incur the same "error"? Or, to put it more politely, to what extent do we not use the same practices of 1500? When thinking about Indigenous school education, for example,

> The Portuguese considered that the institutions and philosophical foundations of the European educational system were "universal." Upon finding no traces of these institutions in Indigenous societies, they concluded that such societies lacked consistent educational practices and, therefore, pedagogical conceptions to guide them, bequeathing this ethnocentric prejudice to Brazilian society, which has internalized it up to the present day. For them, it was not a matter of the opposition between two different educational systems, but of the clash between, on the one hand, the universal system—obviously theirs—and, on the other, the absence of a system in Indigenous societies. Thus, the nonexistence of the school, the classroom, the teacher, the curriculum, schedules, strict discipline, punishments, and corrective penalties allowed them to conclude that Indigenous peoples had no education and needed to be civilized according to the European model of schooled education. (Freire. 2004, p. 16).

Words such as "considered," "concluded" are parts of discourses that point to a dominating subject and, as such, one who reserves to himself the right to evaluate, judge, and decide about the lives

of "all" based on his own convictions, placing his own society and what exists in it as a model for any other.

There, the Portuguese, as a nation superior to the "savages" they encountered, positioned themselves before them in a game of projection schematized by Pêcheux (1990, p. 82): "what functions in discursive processes is a series of imaginary formations that designate the place that A and B attribute each to himself and to the other, the image they make of their own place and of the place of the other."

Thus, we have the "prejudice" inherited from our European ancestors—referred to by Freire (2004, p. 16)—which, through the lens of DA, may be taken as "already-saids" (Pêcheux, 1990, p. 85), widely used in new practices and new research. They are "interdiscourses" (Orlandi, 2017, p. 20), a scientized way of saying that the treatment still given to Indigenous people today by many researchers—and any one of us is relatively subject to this—is an inheritance from the Portuguese. Because "saying is not private property. Words are not ours alone." (Orlandi, 2012, p. 32); therefore, the effects of meaning produced by academic research will be inscribed in given "discursive formations" (Orlandi, 2015, p. 41), which affect the construction of discourse. Moreover,

> From the point of view of discourse, prejudice is a discursivity that circulates without support in real conditions, and is strongly maintained by imaginary relations traversed by a power-to-say that erases (silences) meanings and reasons of the very way of signifying. (Orlandi 2012, p. 222).

In this sense, looking at the "Indian" today—his or her identity, perspectives, aspirations, and way of life—from his or her own standpoint, from his or her own discourse—and not from the discourses said about him or her—seems to us a more authentic way of constructing this work about him or her. Thus, before passing judgments on Indigenous school education, we chose to select some topics: "Who is the Terena Indigenous subject of a specific Village in MS?"; in order to better glimpse "Who is the Terena Indigenous teacher-subject of a specific Village in MS?"; historically positioned, so that we may then seek to understand the Indigenous school education of the Village, seeking to comprehend the meanings constructed in relation to this theme through the "conditions of production" of this model of education.

When one casts a gaze upon the issues of Terena Indigenous School Education, when one reads the actions and laws directed toward this theme, certain meanings result from possible interpretations; however, what is intended here is not restricted to interpretation, but advances into the field of analysis of issues related to the reality in question, the mode that points toward understanding:

> To understand is to know how a symbolic object (utterance, text, painting, music, etc.) produces meanings. [...] When one interprets, one is already bound to a meaning. Understanding seeks the explicitation of the processes of signification present in the text and allows one to hear other meanings that are there, understanding how they are constituted. (Orlandi, 2015, p. 24).

Obviously, a text such as this does not intend to "exhaust" these questions, but rather to "inaugurate," within this space of circulation to which we have had access, a series of reflections and observations on this theme, which will gradually be resumed at the appropriate time.

THE HISTORY OF THE INDIGENOUS SUBJECT IN BRAZIL – OBSTACLES THAT "DISAUTHORIZE" POSSIBLE AUTHORS, OR FORM PASSIVE AUTHORS

It is necessary to mention that one "discourse" in particular motivates the construction of this text:

> In Terra à vista (1990), I speak of our contradiction: Submitted to the designs (ought-to-be) of Western civilization, of the civilizing process—read colonizing—we are cultural beings when we resist in our differences, and for this we lose the possibility of having a history, since it is through the portion that falls to us of Western civilization that we are counted in a history (that of colonization, that is, that of the colonizer). In this history, we do not speak, we are spoken. We are not historical beings, but cultural ones. By erasing our historicity, they blur/bar, in the same gesture, the political and the social. (Orlandi, 2009, emphasis added).

Shifting the author's words to the theme of Indigenous School Education (ISE), several aspects may be addressed. Commonly, when one thinks of school, one thinks of curriculum structure. When speaking of knowledge—at this moment, that which is customarily taught in school—there is a direction toward scientific knowledge. And science crosses borders, whatever they may be. Taking as a basis, for example, the knowledge validated by the ENEM (National High School Exam): **Natural Sciences and**

their Technologies (chemistry, physics, biology, energy, and environmental preservation); **Human Sciences and their Technologies** (history, sociology, geography, and philosophy); **Languages and Codes** (Portuguese, literature, arts, physical education, and languages); **Mathematics**, (numerical comparisons, measurement systems, algebra, interpretation of graphs and tables, etc.), require methods and theories developed and used by different peoples and nations, in order to serve their proposed objectives.

From this perspective, as a society in search of knowledge, we aspire to the advancement of Western civilization at all levels of its development. And, in this sense, we open ourselves to our share of European inheritance: that of the colonizer—of 1500 or of the present day. However, by assuming this "genealogy," we lose the other one: that of a people constituted on this soil called Brazil, a homeland that is, politically and economically, not a gentle mother to all its children, due to the fact that, many times, through this bias, it aborts the existence of the Black person and even more so that of the "Indian," as well as his or her essence, his or her knowledges.

> [...] "The Portuguese discovered Brazil." From this it is inferred that our ancestors are the Portuguese and Brazil was merely an expanse of land. There "were" unruly savages who formed part of the land and who, once "discovered," became the object of catechesis. From the beginning, they are the target of erasure; they constitute nothing in themselves. This is their "transparent" historical status: they do not appear. There is a historical rupture through which one passes from the Indian to the Brazilian by means of a "leap." (Orlandi, 2008, p. 66)

For Orlandi (2008, p. 66), the Indigenous person has been the target of a process of silencing, since "[...] the silencing produced by the State does not fall only upon what the Indian, as subject, but upon the very existence of the Indian subject. And when I say State, I mean the Brazilian State of the white person. This State silences the existence of the Indian as its part and as a component of Brazilian culture." Starting from this/these reality/realities, besides us, Brazilians called non-Indigenous, living the erasure of a past—still present—without construction, without history, we have among us, in this most brilliant land, whose smiling, beautiful fields have more flowers—although some are vehemently prevented from blooming—the Indigenous peoples, "unruly savages" (Orlandi, 2008), still today forming

part of this space. And, at this point, a question becomes necessary: “how has the Terena subject reacted to all of this?”

I am very tempted to mention here the outburst of an Indigenous teacher who, in one of our discussions, declares: “It is necessary to take the trash out from under the rug!” Yes, it is necessary. But what trash is this? And what are the consequences of exposing it? And: what effects of meaning are being produced or silenced there?

Dealing with Indigenous issues is not an easy task. The ideology of silencing materializes itself in the most diverse modalities. And, to some extent, it sometimes even presents itself as a survival strategy/strategies. In a society that writes the history of the other, within some universities, there are those who say that Indigenous school education “is already a resolved issue.” In this sense, it is necessary to reflect in the light of science, of theoretical grounding.

In her text *Colonização, globalização, tradução e autoria científica* [Colonization, globalization, translation and scientific authorship] (2009, p. 181–187), Eni Orlandi raises some questions about valued knowledge and scientific production, based on scientific production:

> It happens that, when this practice is traversed by the effects of colonization, it acquires specific contours and produces significant results. As we know, Westernization is declined in history according to its modalities: colonization, globalization, and other forms sustained in relations of force, of power, *hierarchizing* positions even when one speaks of unity. (Orlandi, 2009, emphasis added).

In the context in question, the author states that valued scientific production is international, which she treats as that of the “colonizer.” Of those who, even today, exercise dominion over the Brazilian nation in its various spheres, including imposing their scientific knowledge at the cost of the devaluation or detriment of what is researched and produced in Brazil. The author further adds that

> In this way, and in the manner of colonization, we are merely additions, "cultural" specificities that join the scientific history of first-world countries with our "data." In a certain way, we are part of the scientific experience "there." Thus there always functions a discursive *deixis* that in its "essence" (ideologically posed) separates us from the "scientific space," from the "place of science." We shall see how, under these conditions, thinking discursively, if there is no place for meaning, there is no place for the subject of science "from here." (Orlandi, 2009, p. 183)

Sliding these considerations into the relations between "whites" and "Indians" in current Brazilian society, the situation not only resembles this, but becomes even more aggravated. To understand the dimension of this, it is necessary to analyze, at least, aspects related to the identity of the Indigenous person—the one he or she has and the one society constructs for him or her—and the "identity" of legislation on ISE, within a broader context.

The Brazilian Constitution, according to the text presented by FUNAI, postulates certain prerogatives, of which we shall observe here the initial part:

> Indigenous Peoples have the right to a specific, differentiated, intercultural, bilingual/multilingual, and community-based school education, as defined by the national legislation that grounds Indigenous School Education. Following the regime of collaboration, established by the Federal Constitution of 1988 and by the Law of Guidelines and Bases for National Education (LDB), national coordination of Indigenous School Education policies is the responsibility of the Ministry of Education (MEC), while the States and Municipalities are responsible for implementation in order to guarantee this right of Indigenous peoples. [...] it is fundamental for the establishment of relations between the State and Indigenous peoples that they recognize and respect the autonomy of Indigenous peoples and their own forms of organization.

At this point, more important than interpreting and/or analyzing the text, we consider it relevant to seek what it means for the Indigenous teacher; that is, to know what reading of it can be made by this subject.

A VERY BRIEF APPROACH TO THE INDIGENOUS SCHOOL

Based on the right guaranteed by the Brazilian Constitution, the result of Indigenous struggles and achievements, the school emerges. It is not the purpose of this study to draw the history of the school,

given the vastness of the discussions and information that would be necessary. However, it is also impossible not to touch minimally on this issue.

From the perspective adopted here, the problem is very well summarized in the words of D'Angelis and Veiga:

> [...] the Indians do not know what a school is for; they do not know the school; they do not know what the objectives of the school are; what it wants to do there; whether it wants to improve or worsen, or sink or end or exterminate the Indians, nobody knows. But whoever places the school there knows what they want with the school. (1997, p. 214).

Another summary is relevant because it brings specific points concerning the original interests of the so-called "Indigenous school":

> In 1953, UNESCO published the document The use of vernacular language in education, establishing that "the best medium for teaching is the mother tongue of the student." In this way, the initial bilingual education programs began to assume this axiom as basic. Subsequently, in 1957, the International Labour Organization (ILO) approved Convention 107, drawing international legal attention to the integration of Indigenous populations into national societies and the promotion of the use of their mother tongues. Currently, several Latin American countries have ratified the ILO Convention. Likewise, the Constitutions of these countries introduced articles referring to Indo-American languages and cultures. For example, according to the Constitution of Brazil approved in 1988, "Indians are recognized for their social organization, customs, languages, beliefs, and traditions (...)," Art. 231. In the aspect of teaching, it establishes that "regular elementary education shall be taught in Portuguese, while Indigenous communities are also assured the use of their mother tongues and their own learning processes," Art. 2. Thus, Brazil today has legal bases for developing bilingual and intercultural education. In addition to the Federal Constitution, there are Decree 26/91, Interministerial Ordinance 559/91, Decree 1.904/96 which established the National Human Rights Program, Law 9.394/96—the Law of Guidelines and Bases of National Education (Darcy Ribeiro Law)—and the National Curricular Reference for Indigenous schools (MEC/SEF/DPEF). (Mori, 2002 p. 7)

This school, which emerges in this context, gradually takes shape(s). Without discussing which one or which ones, we will use the BASE DOCUMENT: Second National Conference on Indigenous School Education – II CONEEI, to guide us in a more generalized, more global form. The document reports (p. 4) that "In 2009, twenty-one years after the promulgation of the Constitution, the Ministry of Education (MEC) held the I CONEEI, organized in three stages: (1) Educational Communities; (2)

Regional; and (3) National." It also reports that 50,000 Indigenous and non-Indigenous educators participated. There were a total of 1,836 Conferences in Educational Communities; 18 Regional Conferences; and the national stage took place in 2009, in Luziânia – GO, with the participation of 210 Indigenous peoples. On page 5, it is stated that the event constituted a historical milestone in which "for the first time the Brazilian State assumed the position of considering Indigenous peoples as protagonist subjects in the political decisions that affect the conduct of their educational systems." It was also considered a "thermometer" by which one would measure "the school education offered to Indigenous peoples OR practiced by them." (emphasis added). Of the results, I will mention only the highlighted proposition: a Proper System of Indigenous School Education, defended in the 18 Regional Conferences, whose number of requests in the 1,836 Community Conferences was not specified there.

The document mentions the 2015 School Census, indicating the presence of 3,085 Indigenous schools in Brazil, 273 (9%) of them in the Central-West Region, with a *deficit* of 30% in proper buildings for operation. It also totals 285,303 enrolled students for 17,707 teachers. We will also not address here other infrastructural problems involving water supply and sewage.

The agenda items of the II CONEEI, 2017 are five axes: I – Organization and Management of ISE; II – Differentiated Pedagogical Practices in ISE; III – Training and Valuation of Indigenous Teachers; IV – Policy of Assistance to ISE; V – Higher Education and Indigenous Peoples.

As already stated, the objective of this topic is only to configure the conditions of origin and existence of the so-called "Indigenous School." Two points, however, may be highlighted: there are two sides in this space; MEC and CONEEI; Indigenous School Education still has its highest instance under the dominion of the non-Indigenous.

BRIEF APPROACH TO THE TERENA PEOPLE

> Knowing the origin of peoples is very difficult. In general, each people creates myths and legends to explain its origin. The myth about how the Terena were created may be told in various ways. The differences among the narrated versions are linked to the moment and the situation experienced by the people when they tell this part of their history. (Bittencourt & Ladeira, 2000, p. 22)

Originating from the Guaná peoples (Layana, Kinikinao, and Exoaladi), after crossing the Paraguay River, they remained in the region of Miranda – MS. “The departure of the Terena from the Êxiva region was a historical milestone that is orally passed on to us by our elders” (Lindomar, 2012. p. 27). Skilled farmers, in the Paraguayan War they were great allies of the Brazilian army, also providing them with food. They believed the promises that their territories would be safeguarded.

> Next, an important event would affect Terena life: the Paraguayan War. The most significant moment in Terena life was the Paraguayan War (1864–1870). This war, in which many countries participated—Brazil, Paraguay, Argentina, and Uruguay—also involved enslaved people of African origin and Indigenous peoples inhabiting the regions near the Paraguay River. The Terena and Guaicuru allied themselves with the Brazilians and fought to preserve their territory. After the Paraguayan War, many changes occurred in the region and, for the Terena, it meant the loss of most of their territory, which came to be disputed by white landowners, who arrived in increasing numbers to plant crops and raise cattle. (Bittencourt & Ladeira, 2000, p. 26)

However, according to the Terena researcher Antônio Carlos Seizer: “When the war ended, upon returning to their old villages, these had been taken over by farms. They then dispersed to work on the established farms. This period was called by the Terena the ‘time of servitude’” (Seizer da Silva. 2009. p. 23)

Thus, instead of having their lands safeguarded, the reality was different:

> Between the years 1904/1905, the first four areas for the Terena were demarcated, in the then State of Mato Grosso, by Marshal Rondon. These areas were located, at the time, in the municipality of Miranda. They are: Bananal, Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Lalima. Examining Rondon's manuscripts concerning these demarcations, one perceives that, in all these areas, there were successive invasions, with a reduction of the Union Heritage under the usufruct of the Indigenous communities in each revalidation5 carried out. (Cardoso, 2004, p. 17)

Before effective contact with Brazilian soldiers in the Paraguayan War, the Terena maintained their customs and traditions. They were a harmonious people among themselves and with the non-Indigenous, whom they called *purútuye*. Having had their customs transformed by coexistence with the non-Indigenous, they also received the offensive nickname "Bugre," which they reject.

In the era of the military man Rondon, who was the son of a Terena woman, some of their lands were delimited. Resistant, for decades they have struggled for their autonomy, whether through study or through occupying positions in various segments of society. Today, they also organize themselves in cities in the so-called "Urban Villages."

However, many of them struggle to improve their quality of life while maintaining what remains of their structures within the villages, or "at the bases," as they say, seeking to reconstruct their own social organization and identity, living with their families.

Map of Terena villages today:

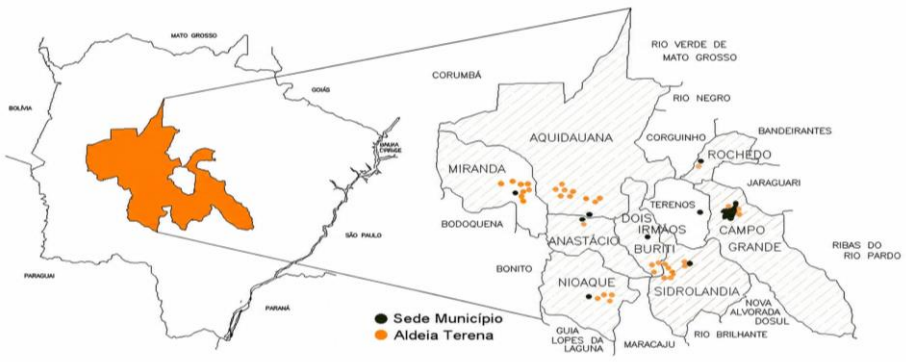

IMAGE 2: Terena Villages in Mato Grosso do Sul
Source: Celso Smanioto, 2010.

According to the Terena researcher Reginaldo:

> Currently, the Terena organize themselves into two types of leadership: the traditional, formed by the chief and his members elected by the community through direct and open voting; and party-political leaders, who form part of the political base of the municipal government or state government. (Reginaldo, 2019, p. 20.)

In addition to this organization cleaved between internal and external societies, they organize themselves at their bases, seeking strengthening through union with their own peers, as Reginaldo explains:

> [...] the Terena of the State of Mato Grosso do Sul, who organized themselves to resist the current model, created "The Great Terena Assembly" (HanaitiHo'únevoTêrenoe), through which any and all rights related to them are discussed, in all segments (education, health, land and territorial issues, etc.) (Reginaldo. 2019, p. 20.)

Today they number approximately 25,000 *terenoé*, most of them in the State of Mato Grosso do Sul.

DISCOURSE ON DIFFERENTIATED SCHOOL EDUCATION

> (DEED 0103) [...] from my point of view, **differentiated**, it would already encompass all levels of knowledge, right?

We cite this utterance only to mark the effect of meaning of reinforcing what was previously analyzed. The configuration of utterance (EEE0101) is maintained; therefore, the effects of meaning produced are reaffirmed by it.

> (DEED 0104) So, I think so. **Differentiated**? Yeeah... because we have there a curriculum that encompassesss, uhhh, the Portuguese language and then Terena. Uhh... I believe thaaat ... in this question there is, there is indeed. From my point of view.

The subject, illusorily, positions himself through the use of the explicit person marker, and appears to appropriate what he says through the use of "I think"; this utterance is an example of "frankly *available* discourses." There continues to be use of the conditional form, marking the nonexistence of differentiated school education. The subject discourses by positioning himself, once again, as his own other, yet is soon positioned within the "frankly available discourse." He says what he has to say, after a reluctant "Yeeah..." to come out. There are some interpolations of hesitating expressions—"Yeeah... / encompassesss, uhhh / Uhh... / thaaat"—and he presents the cause for the existence of differentiated education: "because we have there a curriculum." Once again there emerges a struggle between a "reluctant" or "resistant" subject before a theme, making use of a suspended discourse, which leaps from the margin into discussion, and another who appropriates an available, authorized, borrowed discourse. In "Uhh... I believe thaaat ... in this question there is, there is indeed. From my point of view." He "says himself" intermittently again: even after having said an available "yes," a mark of a kind of individuation pressured by a given force emerges, an effect of the use of "I believe"; a new hesitation and the contradiction brought forth by the use of "in this question." That is, the cause, the proof for the existence of differentiated education, an effect of meaning that constituted a subject interpellated by a given force, becomes reduced, restricted, by the use of "in this question," and there escapes an effect of meaning that carries with it a subject divided between the "ought-to-say" and resistance to it. Subject positions reaffirmed by "there is, there is indeed," in an effort marked by the triple affirmation of something that he or his other had just denied.

> (DEED 0105) Differentiated is whenn the ahaa school itself, it creates a curriculum, when it creates a didactic organization aaand this becomes a differentiated school.

The use of "this": "curriculum" and "didactic organization"; following the model of what happens in (DEED 0104), inscribing itself in the space of "available discourse."

> (DEED 0106) (Differentiated School Education) At the moment, not yet. I do not consider thaat Indigenous school education is yet differentiated. Because there are still many things, uhh, that are in progress. Aaaand, because they are in progress, it is still not differentiated, and another thing is because many times, uhh, education, for it to be differentiated, it is not only to stop from the, uhh, curriculum, for example the curriculum today that is, that comes from the secretariat. But for me aaaa uhhh differentiated education is when iiit encompasses, uhh, all, all areas, that is, iiit links, not only iiin, specifically in the language, but also that iiit, it there, it makes aaaa uhhh—how can I say it? (pause)—it-it is not mixing the word, but it is more or less something like that, right?, that iiit uhhhh does not leave only fooor, for the language, right?, for the mother tongue, but that it finds a way there to encompass all disciplines.

The previous utterance, although still marked by some hesitations, constitutes, through its effects of meaning, the identity of a "resistant" subject. However, by resisting, he brings the presence of the "frankly available discourse" through negation: "it is not only to stop from the, uhh, curriculum, for example the curriculum today that is, that comes from the secretariat." And in the construction of this negation, through the symbolic, through failure, through equivocation and through the interpretation of the constitutive exteriority and discursive historicity of the formulated discourse, two revealing effects of meaning emerge: 1—"the curriculum today that is"—and here we have a sample of the subject's inscription in language, of the abstract linguistic being allied to the materiality of language: The curriculum—the element about which information is brought, remains today—a temporal marker that positions this old reality in the now, in the present—is—a verb with complete meaning, through the abandonment of the construction by the resistant subject; which allows the effect of meaning of permanence, through historicity: as it has always been—but which, also, seen in this context, may connect to something the subject omits there, yet concludes: is [set]. Thus, one has that differentiated Indigenous school education is not Indigenous and is not differentiated.

In this utterance, marked by resistance, another way was found to complete the statement: "that comes from the secretariat." Linguistically, coming from the Department of Education is the characteristic of the curriculum up to that point, defining differentiated Indigenous school education. Historically, it is the mark of the "colonizer's" control over the Indigenous person.

> (DEED 0107) Yes, for example, this, this differentiated education, iiit, as I just said, it encompassesss va-, vari-, various areas, right?, for example, ethnomathematics, right?, I'll cite an example of ethnomathematics, it can there, at the same time, work with the curriculum that is set, right?, and, at the same time, it can create its own, right?, so, more or less in that sense. That is what there isn't (in the school where he works). (...)

The construction "va-, vari-, various areas," marked by a kind of gradation, brings forth the effort to break with the available concept of the presence of a single area denoting the differential. However, the weight of what is set returns: "I'll cite an example of ethnomathematics, it can there, work with the curriculum that is set [...] and, at the same time, it can create its own"—"at the same time": there is the established frontier, the point of conflict, of contradiction of the Terena Indigenous teacher-subject of the Village: positioning oneself between what "ought to be" and what "wants to be." "right?": a triple, insistent search for confirmation of what is discoursed, a search for something to support this positioning.

> (DEED 0108) Differentiated, look, from, from what I researched and from what, before, when I studied, ahaa the teachers used to say a lot "differentiated school"

If "what I say says me," in "my" broad context, in this historicity, silence protects me. This utterance constructs a subject who does not submit, but does not resist; in a kind of silencing of resistance, he is constituted by the search for authorized or available discourse; however, he announces that, when he speaks, it is not he who speaks.

> (DEED 0109) "And to bring local knowledge into reality, I think it is a, like, trying to place, in the classroom, local knowledge, and to make it so that, through this knowledge, you can discover, right, the world, through, by means of this knowledge, uhhh, see that other realities, uhhh, are equal to your knowledge."

In "And to bring local knowledge into reality," effects of meaning emerge that identify a resistant, denouncing subject: there exists a "reality," and "local knowledge" has not been part of it. In this context, whose discourse theme is differentiated education, there also emerges the effect of meaning that there is a reality opposing Indigenous knowledge. This reality is what is experienced in the Indigenous school: what

is being called reality is the school, which is located within the village. Concomitantly, “local knowledge” is also located within the village, but it is not the “reality.” Therefore, within the Indigenous village, reality is not Indigenous! Thus there are two forces, and a force that is not Indigenous has dominated the Indigenous force.

In “And to bring local knowledge into reality” added to “I think it is a, like, trying to place, in the classroom, local knowledge,” the resistant subject is identified; appropriating the linguistic resource of using the infinitive as an imperative, he inscribes himself in language by calling others to “bring knowledge” and “try to place it in the classroom.” However, the use of “try” produces the effect of meaning of an opposing force ready to combat this practice, in the school located within the village under the aegis of a constitution that declares the existence of differentiated Indigenous school education since 1988.

> (DEED 0110) but, then, if we were to research in depth, discover many riches, I think we would have this differentiated school, and our culture study in depth. And discover, and we would discover this. But, like, today I think this, the concept of differentiated school, is fragmented.

The use of “but” produces an effect of meaning of something that comes to supersede the previous situation. “then,” initiating a conclusion that is interrupted by a new factor: “if we were to research in depth,” presents a condition for the existence of differentiated education. This produces effects of meaning of something not yet identified, not practiced, and needing to be “discovered”—now by the Indigenous person—which, although forgotten, hidden, his memory, in some way, recognizes as “riches.”

After this interpolation for the presentation of the aforementioned condition, the conclusion brought in this utterance is resumed: “then I think I think we would have this differentiated school,” reinforcing the possibility of having it, denying its existence.

> (DEEE0111) “If it exists... I cannot say that it does not exist, right?, but at least the idea, in the idea of some teachers, is to make the school, it be differentiated, right? In the sense of being bilingual, uh, practicing the culture, and... I believe that is it.”

In “I cannot say that it does not exist, right?” the subject’s positioning before an other repeats the modality of authorized discourse; illusorily remaining obedient, he rebels through the very attempt to deny reality, to subject himself to a discourse permitted to him. And he strengthens himself in his resistance with the utterance after the adversative conjunction “but at least the idea, in the idea of some teachers, is to make the school, it be differentiated.” And, again, one can perceive a cleavage in the Indigenous subject who, ‘in possession of an authorized discourse,’ does not explicitly deny it, but by saying it, positions himself in a saying that he appropriates as his own, in the illusion of having created it based on his observations.

> (DEED 0112) “I think the word already says it, ‘differentiated’: you work with something different. Different from what? Different from whaaat, from what comes from the government to us. As I said previously, not that you are going to stop doing it, but you differentiate according to what the reality of our students is”

In “I think,” the discourse that would identify the subject echoes before its concealment through the use of the elliptical form and in a “ready meaning” of the word “differentiated,” producing a meaning of hiding oneself within one’s own discourse. Subsequently, the division of the subject with an other within himself is resumed, with whom he dialogues, in a question-and-answer game through which ideology emerges, even after an apparent hesitation—whaaat—: different from what the government sends. The metaphor in question displaces a meaning of the word in the law “differentiated education” toward a history of liberation from the dominion imposed by the government. Supported by the work between paraphrase and polysemy, the discourse also produces the displacement from the position of colonized subject to that of autonomous, resistant, Terena subject. Like someone who strikes and hides the hand, between the leaps from one position to another, he resumes his authorized position through “As I said previously, not that you are going to stop doing it, but you differentiate according to what the reality of our students is.” In “not that you are going to stop doing it,” he returns to the authorized, available discourse; however, the equivocation of language assists him in his veiled resistance, semi-apparent in its

flashes. Thus, the use of “the reality of our students” allows him, paraphrastically-polysemically, to play within his cleavage: he is the subject of the authorized discourse, positioning himself in the theme of school education; but he is also the subject of the discourse of resistance, who denied that “which comes from the government to us.”

> (DEED 0113) Yes. Differentiated education is taking place even because of, as I told you, right?, the Terena language itself we are working on it, but, to be differentiated, it does not need to be, it is not only necessary to be there, on paper. Differentiated education has to happen in practice. As I said previously, I try to work as much as possible, to draw as much as possible from myself in order to be teaching the culture to our students, right? And the teachers themselves also work on this, but I believe that, to be differentiated, uhh, it is possible to do more than we are already doing.

Discourse strongly marked by contradiction, producing an effect of meaning that does not go against what has been analyzed thus far, but rather intensifies the meanings produced. In “has to happen in practice, differentiated education,” by displacing the meanings produced by the joint use of the underlined verbal forms, an imperative meaning is produced: differentiated education must come into existence.

> (DEED 0114) A differentiated school education is an education that, uhhh, even the name itself says it, is different, right? Where youuu apply not only that traditional mode, but rather in a wayyy, in another manner, in another differentiated way. With your own way, right? Sometimes the student remains only in that same sameness of board, blackboard, blackboard and classroom, so a differentiated education, it provides you, uh, “un-experience,” right? Uh, only in the classroom, learning only in the classroom, but rather, uh, learning in another way, another different way, another way that can contribute to teaching education, right? That is what I understand about differentiated education.

There is the real of language, equivocation, non-transparency betraying the Adamic subject who believes himself to be at the origin of saying, forgetting number 1, allied to forgetting number 2, believing I had to say it like this: “un-experience.” What has been the “experienced routine” in this prism of knowledge or of ought-to-know? Well then, the discourse identifies a resistant, denouncing subject, producing an effect of meaning of attestation for something that, in practice, in lived experience, does not

exist. The opposition to what has been experienced would be differentiated education, in its form or etymology, invented by the displacement of meaning of the word used, which has just been said, but which does not exist in the language used.

> (DEED 0115) Yes. Yes, a differentiated education. / Where there is by law that we have to have a differentiated education and I as an Indigenous person uhh observe these, thiss, this line of thought, right?: we have to have a differentiated education. And, from my point of view, what it most encompasses is the question of, of Terena-language education, of Terena-language teaching. Uh, I have observed teachers, male teachers, female teachers, iiin, in, in working on an education that would, like, contribute to, to a method of Terena-language teaching, because what most makes the wo-, what most fails in a differentiated education, in an Indigenous school, are specific materials for the Terena language. And I think that this, uh, makes the Terena-language teacher, uh, seek means, methods, so that you can be working on differentiated education. Like, more focused and that can contribute more to teaching. I think the Terena language is differentiated education, right?, as well as "Indigenous Issues," uhh, the teaching of Indigenous issues, right?, encompasses this.

This discourse, on its linguistic surface, begins by affirming and reaffirming the existence of differentiated Indigenous school education. Then it relies on a discourse of authority—or an authorized discourse: the law. Subsequently, the subject is presented as Indigenous. And positioned as such, the utterance that follows this identification begins to have a sequence of hesitations. This produces an effect of meaning of once again being cleaved between authorized discourse and discourse of resistance. Again, "we have to have a differentiated education," repeating the imperative effect. The novelty that emerges there is related to the issue of differentiated material, and once again the curriculum is mentioned: Terena Language and Indigenous Issues.

> (DEED 0116) Ah, I think that Indigenous school education, first that the, the Indigenous peoples of Brazil they have already left this utopia of, of the 1960s, 70s, whenn most of these leaders, in fact, have already died, who fought so that one day in Brazil such a thing as differentiated Indigenous school education would arrive. But, this we achieved, this the Indigenous communities already have. This is one of the privileges; now, to make it work in, as it has to work, that is difficult, but it is not... it is never too late.

In this discursive formation, an Indigenous-resistant subject is identified, historically positioned in the historicity of the issue. The use of expressions such as “utopia”; “such a thing” produces the effect of meaning of the distance that existed between Indigenous peoples and this differentiated education. The non-transparency of language refers there to a historical-social process in which, as the “first” point in discourse, its exit from it, or abandonment, is demarcated. In a metaphorical movement, in which the “utopia” is not “shaken,” but there is an exit from it. This is followed by the materiality of a past of struggle waged by Indigenous leaders; how this occurred is silenced, but history materializes in “died,” “in fact”: this truth marked in this discourse, opposing other “untrue” ones. In “who fought,” the subject, subjected to language, makes use of a sentential adjective characterizing “leaders.” By sliding the meanings metaphorically through the use of “battles,” a field of confrontation comes to light between at least two opposing sides/groups: Indigenous and non-Indigenous (Indigenous and colonizers—even if modern); a battle occurs through confrontations, clashes, disputes over power; use of “weapons” (firearms and other objects; limitations; laws; intimidation; among others, and language itself—using the Portuguese language of the “official Brazilian nation” to the detriment of Indigenous languages, of the various other silenced, erased, unofficialized, and denied “Brazilian nations.” After all, analyzing the broad and restricted contexts, on what terms did the discussions take place between levels so unequal in their mastery of the Portuguese language? On what terms were the finalizations of each stage carried out through this same lens?

In “this we achieved, this the Indigenous communities already have,” a stage is concluded, an effect of meaning produced by “we achieved” and “we have.” There occurs the use of a temporal divider between past and present: “now”; bringing forth an effect of contradiction between what is said and what is practiced, between the law conquered and guaranteed and the practice of education. “to make it work in, as it has to work”: effect of meaning: it still does not work. Differentiated Indigenous school education, resumed in “it,” is “difficult.” By displacement of meaning, something difficult is not something that is not attempted, but something that encounters difficulties in coming into being (What

difficulties?). Opposed to the obstacles to such practice, there is: “but it is not... it is never too late,” producing an effect of continuity of the search for, of hope for, even though the real today is the non-concreteness and the difficulty/difficulties for.

> (DEEE0117) So we will never achieve differentiated and quality Indigenous school education if we teachers do not qualify ourselves, seeking new knowledge, specializations, uhh, master’s, a doctorate, aand, this I think also has to come from a consensus, from the teacher himself

Introduced by an element of conclusion, the utterance still brings a condition for the implementation of DISE marked by the use of “if.” In this social discourse, there is a discursive formation of resistance and struggle for autonomy/authorship established in “qualify”—qualification through academic degrees. Effect of meaning of appropriation of the institutionalized “weapons” used by non-Indigenous people, whose possession can guarantee them, Indigenous teachers, the construction they aspire to.

DISCOURSE ON INTERCULTURAL SCHOOL EDUCATION

> (DEEI 0118) an intercultural education inn, within the Terena peoples? Ah, an intercultural education for me would be... you bringing the culture inside, right?

Similar to EEIE0101, the use of the form “would be” displaces from other discourses the meaning of dependence on a prior fact for this possibility of realization; a possibility not yet realized.

> (DEEI 0119) Yes, I perceive that we need to foster this, right? And not only in, let’s take there, on April 19, right? Which is a lot. So we need to seek our history, which is millenary. Aaaand, we have superficial knowledge, right? But if we go deeper, right? Certainly we will bring much more, right?,

Again, the effects of meaning of bringing into existence, since it does not exist.

> (DEEI 0120) So I think we have a lot to be raised in, within the, the history of a people. And this knowledge, iiit needs to be. But how, right? Is it only we, who are teachers, who have to be involved in this?

In addition to marks already commented upon previously, in “only we, who are teachers,” the emphasis demarcated in the form “only” brings to light, in this social discourse with suspended characteristics, an “only,” a “restricted group,” whose force does not totalize the necessary force for the functioning of a given model of education.

DISCOURSE ON BILINGUAL/MULTILINGUAL SCHOOL EDUCATION

> (DEEB 0121) a bilingual school education would bee, you communicate in two languages. In the caase, our school, uhh, they say it is bilingual, right?, but in my opinion... it is not bilingual. Because there are few people who speak the mother tongue, understand? Today Portuguese is used more. So, for me, uhhh, there would have to be both, right? It would have to be the Terena language, all students and teachers communicating, and also with another national language, which is Portuguese. So where we have there this issue that is said, that the mother tongue is the first language, and the Portuguese language is the second. And I perceive that it would be a school in this way, where these two languages would be well attuned within a community or even within the school.

The use of “would bee” again displaces from other discourses the meaning of dependence on a prior fact for this possibility of realization; a possibility not yet realized.

The utterance “they say it is bilingual” inscribes itself in a paraphrastic process that anchors forgetting number two, in which the subject deludes himself into believing he has chosen this way of saying. Thus, by choosing the form “they say,” he inscribes himself in language by making the subject indeterminate. By subjecting himself, he distances from his formulation the proximity or participation in attesting that school education in the village is bilingual. However, he refers to the “authorship” of that already-said, an existing interdiscourse, yet distanced by the anonymity of the subject who said it there.

Whereas in “my opinion,” positioned as the origin of the saying, he appropriates, marked by the first-person possessive, the discourse of denial of the existence of bilingual school education in the aforementioned school.

> (DEEB 0122) Bilingual, bilingual is, in my case, I consider myself bilingual, right?, I kno.. am fluent in the Terena language, right?

The subjection to language, the use of frankly available discourse, demarcated five times by the use of the first person, projects a subject who identified himself with such formulation, appropriating it, positioned as author of the saying.

> (DEEB 0123) So I think that, since it is a bilingual school, the school of/of the Village of, it leaves, uhhh, I do not say something to be desired, but I think that it is there, to function, but it is not achieving its objective, so much so that the Portuguese language, for example, it is the first language. Let’s suppose: in a 4H workload for Portuguese language, uhhh, we have there the mother tongue: one class, for example. So it is out of balance. So I think thaaat it has a lot to advance in these issues. So at the school, the bilingual school, at the Ndeti School, it is a, it is kind of odd. It is still behind what is supposed to happen. Now, I think that, I don’t know, becauuse the legislation is there. It supports all of this. We have Resolution 05, we have thhe of, the Constitution itself. We have there/there thheee, the, the LDB; but iiit, I don’t know what is happening for this to work as bilingual. Because teachers we have... uhhh, I think that this part there is really up to teachers. Mainly for the coordination to put, to make fun/function, becauuse it is out of balance.

In (DEEB 0123), the constitution of utterance (DEEB 0122) is repeated; however, there also emerges what I previously called the subject cleaved between authorized, available discourse and appropriated discourse, projecting glimpses of a subject who says what he must say in opposition to a resistant subject: “it leaves, uhhh, I do not say something to be desired, but I think that it is there, to function, but it is not achieving its objective.” He must say that “it does not leave something to be desired,” he hesitates (uhhh), resisting; subsequently, the appropriation of another formulation emerges, demarcated by the use of the first person and by a need to say “I think,” illusorily marking resistance and the appropriation of something that was at the margin. The conflict between these two positionings is

demarcated by the repetition of "but," metaphorizing the effect of contradiction and of greater weight in what is said after this form, effecting the negation, a leap: "it [BSE/school] is not achieving its objective."

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

> I seek to understand the sensible, the body, aiming to understand the meaning of this bond that unites us even in totally adverse situations and that makes a subject, even massacred, still echo in history and in the symbolic, not ceasing to be a social subject. (Orlandi, 2006, p. 7)

Reiterating that this corpus was analyzed under the theoretical framework of Orlandian DA, one cannot fail to reiterate also the historical issues of the Terena Indigenous subject as a broad context to be considered. In this sense, in the face of the non-transparency of language, one has as one of the many conditions of production more than 500 years of resistance by this nation silenced by the official Brazilian nation that enveloped it. Therefore, if we think of the founding silence of discourse, it is still possible to think of the forms that arise in/for the formulation of discourse, within diverse discursive formations of an invaded, repressed, persecuted, massacred, and [sur]viving people.

The Terena of today, part of the so-called Indigenous peoples who remained and reorganized themselves, hold a current identity, yet never dissociated from that of the "colonized" Indigenous nations. The historical past of a people is part of its identification for itself and for the other. The game of power remains latent, demarcated in the game of social projection prevailing in the I and in the OTHER; in WHO AM I TO SPEAK TO YOU IN THIS WAY; in WHO IS THE OTHER THAT I SHOULD SPEAK TO HIM/HER IN THIS WAY and in WHAT I SPEAK TO YOU IN THIS WAY. The sayings that were said in other places were often said in confrontations of blood, abuse, dispossession, extermination. Interdiscourses have never reflected to me so much precaution, protection, so much so that, many times, the topics were directed toward other directions.

To respond, the contemporary Terena subject, who for us only "paraphrastically" can be this, would indeed use the metaphor of the rhea, which he himself appropriates in his Kipae; as a researcher, I do not see myself as having the right to do more than this. Thus, he will continue to be.

If the original question of this research was "What is a specific, differentiated, intercultural, bilingual school education?", the discourses analyzed proved the effects of meaning of the invisible borders that separate Brazilians from Brazil today. I found answers to what I was not looking for, and I confess that I would have preferred not to have found some of them. I, who am part of them and of a so-called other, who is monstrously the tormentor of his fellow human being. Discourse analysis is a perverse lens, effective in showing the meanings of truths that our white society (at the cost of much crying) has silenced/tries to silence. We are descendants of this.

The analyses of the utterances of the four researched topics produced effects of meaning identifying three Indigenous school educations: 1 – the one that warriors fought to have and that culminated in legal records; 2 – the one that the Brazilian State constructed/constructs; 3 – the one that the Terena Indigenous teacher-subject aspires to/constructs through his resistance.

Regarding 1, the battled-for education, mentioned by a subject positioned as militants of the 1960s, 70s, contained the outlines of what the peoples, in the figure of those warriors, demanded.

With regard to two, it concerns the implementation of laws and resolutions that declare the rights of Indigenous peoples in the issues raised in this research, but that position themselves in the place of dictating to them what to do. This is how the State decides what is good for the Indigenous person and what he or she needs.

The third type identifies an ISE present on paper, viewed, on one hand, as a Greek gift: metaphorically, from History emerge effects of meaning that I must not accept a gift from the colonizer, even if he is now called republic; on the other: "who is he that he should speak to me in this way?" The rhea, in its step forward, wants to choose where to tread, the direction to take. It wants autonomy and

rejects the seal of D. Manuel. For its part, the State insists on configuring, for Indigenous peoples, and therefore also for the Terena, the model of education.

The Terena subject dances the kipae; he holds back the step when using the discourses of right, individuated by the State, assuming an authorized, available social discourse; however, he is seized by leaps that bring to the surface other discourses, with which he identifies, which he appropriates in discursive formations of resistance.

They are furtive discourses, which very ephemerally identify discourses in which, before the State, the Terena is not, remains silenced, now by obligatory and juridical sayings. Under these conditions of production, the discourse of the Terena teacher-subject comes to light through a discourse marginalized by this State, in outbursts. Hence his cleaved identity, which we observed many times in the analyses.

Such a process is delaying: it has delayed progress in the ISE of the Village, which is still not fully specific, nor differentiated, nor intercultural, nor community-based for the resistant Terena subject. The State delays, in its policy of colonization of a people, still attempting to force it to fit into its molds. It delays Brazil in its plurality and diversity as a nation, for by concentrating its wealth—economic and cultural—in the hands of the few, it restricts itself to the Middle Ages, in politics and behavior.

Indigenous School Education will be Indigenous from the moment when we, the Brazilians who own the official Brazilian language, from the height of our ignorance, manage to analyze the word we use to characterize it: “of the Indian.” The desire to position oneself as owners of the land still prevails, freezing this updated colonizer in the position of owner of what is not his. Ahead of us, the rhea has already understood this.

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