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# Indigenous themes in Brazil's and Mexico's Journals of History of Education<sup>1</sup>

Sônia Maria da Silva Araújo

ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8240-9704

Alicia Civera Cerecedo

ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0021-2911

Abstract: This article aims to analyze academic productions on indigenous themes in the *Revista Brasileira de História da Educação (RBHE)*, which has been openly available since 2001, and in the *Revista Mexicana de Historia de la Educación (RMHE)*, which has been published continuously since 2013. Stemming from this research, the following questions were raised: to what degree of frequency have indigenous themes been addressed in the articles of these journals? What axes and/or perspectives permeate these articles? Data were collected considering publications published between the years of 2001 and 2024. This is a bibliographic study, based on the research model known as the State of Knowledge. The results show that, out of the total of 843 articles published by the journals, only 17 address indigenous issues, which represents only 2%. The perspectives addressed were organized into three axes: schooling processes, culture, and theoretical-methodological, which encompass reflections on institutions and institutionalizations. In the scope of institutions, it deals with higher education, multi-grade schools, bilingual schools, among others. In terms of institutionalization, it deals with: integration, Christianization, civilization, work and bilingualism.

Keywords: History of Education Journals; Indigenous Education; State of Knowledge Research.

### 1 Introduction

The study aims to map the indigenous thematic and analyze the results in light of the research modality called "State of Knowledge". The data were collected from two history of education journals: the Revista Brasileira de História da Educação (Brazilian Journal of History of Education) and the Revista Mexicana de Historia de la Educación (Mexican Journal of History of Education). The aim of the study is to present how indigenous themes have been addressed by these two journals and to reflect on what has been produced on indigenous themes and in particular in the History of Education.

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In general, the indigenous thematic does not receive the same level of interest from the field of History, including the History of Education, as it receives from the field of Structural Anthropology, which, instead of making efforts to understand actions and their motivations, invested in unconscious structures and models, was decisive in ensuring that the topic remained predominantly under its domain. By looking at the other to capture unconscious and timeless structures and, primarily, to suspend possible colonial interests present among missionaries and administrators, anthropologists reinforced an illusory distance between themselves and the subjects researched, objects of knowledge, while, as Oliveira and Quintero (2020) explain, they nullified the protagonism of actors and collectives, and displayed indigenous people to "[...] a fictional universe from which conflicts, variations and the historical future were absent [...]" (Oliveira; Quintero, 2020, p. 9).

For some time now, since the 1970s approximately, History, as a discipline, seems to be trying to overcome the gap created by the occupation of structural anthropology of Lévi-Strauss in the study of indigenous peoples. By treating the indigenous communities as peoples, as collectives in dispute in the context of politics, History brings the native peoples into their existence in time and, in this sense, as social actors. It is from this perspective that historical anthropology in Mexico begins to construct a contextual, critical reading and repositions the debate, changing the narratives about indigenous peoples. But do the productions on indigenous peoples in the field of History of Education, with articles in Brazilian and Mexican journals on the history of education, construct these more up-to-date reflections?

To understand and analyze these articles, we used State of Knowledge research strategies as the methodological resource, since what guides this study is the understanding of the readings of the previously mentioned journals in order to understand how History has been used in the study of indigenous peoples. In this sense, the first question that arises is: has the indigenous thematic been addressed in the Brazilian Journals of History of Education and the Mexican Journal of History of Education? If so, others arise: to what degree of frequency have these indigenous themes been addressed in the articles of these journals? What axes and/or perspectives permeate these articles?

The State of Knowledge, according to Silva (2020), like the State of the Art, is a manner study that makes "[...] systematic surveys or assessments of some knowledge produced during a given period and area of coverage [...]". For Soares (1987, p. 67), studies on the State of Knowledge are important and necessary insofar as they "[...] can lead to a full understanding of the state of knowledge obtained on a given topic – its breadth and quality [...]". According to this author, this methodology leads us to understand the "[...] expansion

of approaches and appropriation of the topic by sciences that, until recently, had not been interested in it [...]" (Soares, 1987, p. 68).

According to Ferreira (2002), researches on the State of Knowledge or State of the Art have in common the challenge of mapping and discussing certain academic productions on a topic that one seeks to investigate, listing categories and facets that characterize the work carried out, both as a whole and individually. Furthermore, Romanowski and Ens (2006) argue that this type of study is not limited to identifying the production, but [...] analyzing, categorizing and revealing the multiple approaches and perspectives [...]", in short, considering them as "[...] facets on which the phenomenon has been being analyzed [...]" (Romanowski; Ens, 2006, p. 39).

This study was conducted based on this type of research, restricting itself, due to the limits imposed by a scientific article and the required purposes, to publications in the two journals already explained. The results were organized into three categories. In the first, we handled the journals as research sources. In the second, we presented the appraisal of the articles. In the third and last, we developed an analysis. Finally, as final considerations, we outline some (in)conclusive reflections.

## 2 Brazilian Journal and Mexican Journal of History of Education as research sources

The Revista Brasileira de História da Educação (RBHE) and the Revista Mexicana de Historia de la Educación (RMHE) are two widely circulated journals among researchers in the field of History of Education, in particular, and their quality can be assessed according to the strata attributed by the Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior (CAPES)'s Qualis Periodicals². According to the latest classification carried out by the CAPES assessment area of Education and History area, which took place in the 2017-2020 four-year period, RBHE, e-ISSN 2238-0094, was evaluated in stratum A1, and RMHE, e-ISSN 2007-7335, in stratum B2.

According to Pasquini and Toledo (2014, p. 257), the use of the pedagogical press "[...] as a research source enables the understanding of education as a historical process linked to conflicts, being a result of social relations [...]". For the author, the press provides elements that clarify the debates held in the social sphere, and which are not always close to the formal sectors of school practice. Therefore, for both, this type of

The qualis periodicals is a system used in Brazil to classify the academic production of Postgraduate Programs in relation to articles published in scientific journals. This system was built and is fed by the Ministry of Education's Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (CAPES), which classifies the journals into strata A, B and C. Those evaluated in strata A (A1, A2, A3 and A4) are considered the best classified; those in strata B (B1, B2, B3 and B4) are the journals of medium quality; those classified as C are journals with zero evaluation weight.

study contributes to a broader analysis of education as it presents with significant force the external world in which school education is inscribed. They argue, in summary, that the press circulates in its pages historical elements that facilitate the understanding not only of the educational process itself, but of the debates held in the society in which education plays a relevant role.

For Vidal and Camargo (1992), the study of printed matter helps with understanding each era in its details, as it captures reality outside of an enormous historical process that lists causes and consequences, redimensioning our perception which is very crystallized in "hegemonic landscapes", reinforcing the importance of this type of study for research in Education. Catani (1996) highlights the potential of specialized education journals as a source for studying the constitution of the dynamics of the educational field from a historical perspective, confirming his defense of the importance of studying these journals. For Catani and Bastos (1997, p. 7)

Specialized education journals are a privileged instance for understanding the manner in which the educational field functions, as they circulate information about pedagogical work, the improvement of teaching practices, the specific teaching of disciplines, the organization of systems, the demands of the teaching profession and other themes that emerge from the professional space. Furthermore, following the emergence and life cycle of the educational periodical press allows us to understand the struggles for legitimacy that take place within the field and also to analyze the participation of the agents producing the journal in the organization of the education system and in the elaboration of discourses that aim to establish exemplary practices.

Catani's defense is supported by studies by Nóvoa (1997), for whom the materials present in periodicals are, quintessentially, capable of mapping the multiplicity of the educational field. According to the author, printed matter is a privileged source for understanding the History of Education.

In the wake of debates about the importance of printed matter when researching Education, Bastos (2007) highlights how studies on them can offer promising reflections by saying that:

The study of the place of the pedagogical press in social discourse, editorial strategies in the face of educational and social phenomena thus prove to be rich in information for the researcher to recover the pedagogical discourse, educational practices, school routine, the degree of submission of teachers to official programs and instructions, the official ideology and the teaching staff, the strength of innovation and continuity that it represents, and the contradictions of the discourse (Bastos, 2007, p. 168).

In the specific case of the periodicals whose articles are analyzed in this study, in addition to being a privileged source of understanding educational phenomena in Brazil and Mexico, they have the unique characteristic of being positioned in the field of History of Education and problematizing indigenous issues, a topic that takes a place of relevance in the countries where the periodicals are registered.

The Revista Brasileira de História da Educação (RBHE), in particular, is the official publication of the Sociedade Brasileira de História da Educação³ (SBHE), created on the occasion of the I Congresso Brasileiro de História da Educação⁴, in the city of Rio de Janeiro, in 2000. Available in open access, it has been circulating in national and international academic circles since 2001. The journal adopts the continuous publication of unpublished articles, resulting from researches that address themes associated with the history and historiography of education. Considering that all published issues are available on the journal 's website, the volumes reviewed are from a period of 23 years, from 2001 to 2024.

The Revista Mexicana de Historia de la Educación (RMHE), in turn, is also the official publication of the Mexican Society of History of Education and receives unpublished texts, products of ongoing or completed research in the field of history of education. It also brings together articles that contribute to serious methodological and theoretical reflection, as well as historiographical reviews. The Mexican Journal receives contributions related to the history of education in general throughout the year. In addition, calls for papers on specific topics are periodically published, which are incorporated together and published in the corresponding issue. Considering that the published issues date back to 2013, which makes it a "younger" journal than RBHE, the volumes reviewed cover a total of 11 years, from 2013 to 2024, retrieved from the journal's website. It is important to highlight that, as a history journal that addresses education mainly in the 19th and 20th centuries, the interest of researchers in the area ends up being directed to other sources.

In its 21 years, Revista Brasileira published a total of 54 issues, and Revista Mexicana, in its 11 years, 23 issues. In the case of Revista Brasileira, the issues are distributed according to the table below:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Brazilian Society of History of Education

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> 1st Brazilian Congress of History of Education

**Table 1** – Revista Brasileira de História da Educação Editions (2001-2024)

Year of Publication	Volume	Issue	Amount of Issues	Amount of Articles
2001	1	1 & 2	2	14
2002	2	1 & 2	2	11
2003	3	1 & 2	2	17
2004	4	1 & 2	2	18
2005	5	1 & 2	2	16
2006	6	1 & 2	2	12
2007	7	1; 2; 3	3	21
2008	8	1; 2; 3	3	22
2009	9	1; 2; 3	3	21
2010	10	1; 2; 3	3	22
2011	11	1; 2; 3	3	19
2012	12	1; 2; 3	3	24
2013	13	1; 2; 3	3	27
2014	14	1; 2; 3	3	32
2015	15	1; 2; 3	3	32
2016	16	1; 2; 3; 4	4	43
2017	17	1; 2; 3; 4	4	41
2018	18	1	1	42
2019	19	1	1	41
2020	20	1	1	42
2021	21	1	1	45
2022	22	1	1	46
2023	23	1	1	46
2024	24	1	1	46
			54	700

Source: Revista Brasileira de História da Educação (RBHE)'s site.

In these 54 issues of RBHE, 542 individual articles were published; 158 articles in 23 dossiers; 90 reviews; 07 reading notes; 07 interviews; 01 translation. The journal has a total of 700 published articles. The dossiers dealt with the themes listed in the table below. It can be seen that among the thematic dossiers there are no discussions on indigenous issues.

Regarding Revista Mexicana, the issues are distributed according to the following table below:

Table 2 – Revista Mexicana de Historia de la Educación Editions (2013-2024)

Year of Publication	Volume	Issue	Amount of Issues	Amount of Articles
2013	1	1 & 2	2	14
2014	2	3 & 4	2	10
2015	3	5 & 6	2	10
2016	4	7 & 8	2	10
2017	5	9 & 10	2	11
2018	6	11 & 12	2	10
2019	7	13 & 14	2	10
2020	8	15 & 16	2	14
2021	9	17 & 18	2	10
2022	10	19 & 20	2	16
2023	11	21 & 22	2	16
2024	12	23	1	12
			23	143

Source: Revista Mexicana de Historia de la Educación (RMHE)'s site

Regarding the Revista Mexicana de História de la Educación, 118 separate articles were published in its 23 volumes; 14 articles in 4 special sections; 11 articles in 2 dossiers; 41 reviews; totaling 143 published articles. Among the special sections and dossiers, indigenous issues are also not addressed.

Methodologically, a survey of articles on indigenous issues was conducted on the websites of the two journals by consulting each published issue. The articles were identified based on their titles, which were confirmed (or not) by opening and reading them. Considering the interests of this article, only the articles were analyzed.

Excluding possible publications that address indigenous issues in an adjacent manner, the numbers show that of the 700 articles published in the Brazilian Journal of History of Education, only 13 deal with indigenous issues, which is equivalent to only 1.8% of the total number of publications. In the Mexican Journal of History of Education, of the 143 articles published, 4 deal with indigenous issues, which is equivalent to approximately 2.8% of the total number of publications<sup>5</sup>. This means that, proportionally, the Mexican Journal presents a greater number of publications on indigenous populations than the Brazilian Journal. Of

It is important to highlight that in the particular case of Mexico, the indigenous theme may be indirectly addressed in other articles, this is because the miscegenation policies, so strong in this country, ended up resulting in a more complex debate on the topic, in which indigenous issues are addressed amidst other problems in the field: school structure, teacher training, bilingualism, etc.

the total number of articles published by the two journals, 843 articles, only 17 deal with indigenous issues, which represents only 2%. With these considerations, we move on to the survey of publications.

# 3 Survey of articles published on indigenous issues in Brazilian and Mexican history of education journals

As previously highlighted, of the 700 articles published by Revista Brasileira, only 13 deal with indigenous issues. Below we present a table with the articles identified.

Table 3 – Articles about indigenous themes published in the Revista Brasileira de História da Educação

Type of Production	Title	Author(s)	Referen- ces from Publication
Article	Nem "programa de índio", nem "presente de grego": uma crítica a concepções teórico-meto-dológicas em pesquisas sobre educação escolar indígena, em Mato Grosso e Mato Grosso do Sul (1995-2001)	Léia Teixeira Lacerda Maciel, Giovani José da Silva.	2009. V. 9, N. 1 [19]
Article	Jovens indígenas nas universidades brasileiras: alguns aspectos históricos e interculturais	Sueli Barros da Res- surreição, Sonia Ma- ria Rocha Sampaio	2015. V. 15, N. 3 [39]
Article	Escolarização kaingang no Rio Grande do Sul de meados do século XIX ao limiar do século XXI: das iniciativas missionárias à escola indígena específica e diferenciada	Maria Aparecida Bergamaschi, Cláu- dia Pereira Antunes, Juliana Schneider Medeiros	2020. v. 20, n. 1
Article	O cuidado de si tupinambá em narrativas de via- jantes franceses no Brasil Colonial (séculos XVI e XVII)	Anderson de Carva- Iho Pereira (Autor)	2022. V. 22, n. 1
Article	Cultura alimentar indígena e os cuidados da cunhã, trocas culturais e educação não escolar na Amazônia colonial	Francídio Montei- ro Abbate; Maria Betania Barbosa Albuquerque.	2024. V. 24, n. 1
Article	A educação de populações indígenas em Moçambique	Názia Anita Cardoso; Orquídea Coelho	2022, v. 22, n. 1
Article	A institucionalização e o disciplinamento de crianças indígenas nas missões salesianas do Amazonas/Brasil (1923-1965)	Mauro Gomes da Costa	2021. v. 21, n.1

Article	Tramas conceptuales e institucionales en la historia de la educación bilingue en México	Susana Ayala	2021. v. 21, n.1
Article	Aportes de la antropología visual al análisis de lecturas sobre pueblos indigenas: o de cómo disminuir los riesgos de un estudio 'insular' de los textos escolares	Teresa Laura Artieda	2020. v. 20, n. 1
Article	Católicos para Deus e brasileiros para a pátria: os povos indígenas do alto Rio Negro e a Educação Escolar Salesiana (1960-1980)	Mauro Gomes Costa	2017. v. 17, n. 4 [47]
Article	As crianças tupinambás e sua educação no século XVI: ternura, dor, obediência	Jérôme Thomas; Tradução de: Carmen Lucia Soares	2014. v. 14, n. 1 [34]
Article	Colônia Orfanológica Isabel: uma escola para negros, índios e brancos (Pernambuco 1874-1889)	Adlene Silva Arantes	2009 v. 9, n. 2 [20]
Article	Educação dos índios na Amazônia do século XVIII: uma opção laica	Mauro Cezar Coelho	2008. v. 8, n. 3 [18]

Source: Revista Brasileira de História da Educação's site

As previously discussed, of the 143 articles published by Revista Mexicana, only 4 address the indigenous theme. Below we present a table in which all the identified articles are listed.

**Quadro 4** – Articles about indigenous themes published in the *Revista Mexicana de Historia de la Educación* 

Type of Production	Title	Author(s)	Year of Publication
Article	O consumo indígena do cauim no Brasil colonial: contribuições a uma história não escolar da educação	Maria Betâ- nia Barbosa Albuquerque	2015. V. 3, n.6
Article	La práctica docente en una escuela multigrado en un contexto indígena	Arely Hernán- dez Mendoza	2023. v. 11, n. 22
Article	El uso negado de la lengua hñahñu en la escuela	Arely Hernán- dez Mendoza	2023. v. 11, n. 21
Article	La educación indígena y los educadores en el Congreso Centroamericano de 1893	Amalia Nivón Bolán	2013. V. 1, n. 1

Source: Revista Mexicana de Historia de la Educación's site

The articles published by the two journals can be grouped into 3 discussion perspectives: 1) one that deals with schooling processes of the indigenous population, 11 articles; 2) another that addresses indigenous culture in its educational dimension, 4 articles; 3) Finally,

one that reflects on the theoretical-methodological debate of research on indigenous populations and education, 2 articles.

Of these three grouped perspectives, the Mexican Journal only includes two: 1) one that deals with *schooling processes* of the indigenous population, 3 articles; 2) one that analyzes *indigenous culture* in its educational dimension, 1 article.

In the Brazilian journal, from the group that deals with *schooling processes*, which brings together the largest number of articles, 8 in total, there are the writings of: a) Sueli Barros da Ressurreição and Sonia Maria Rocha Sampaio (2015); b) Maria Aparecida Bergamaschi, Cláudia Pereira Antunes and Juliana Schneider Medeiros (2020); c) Názia Anita Cardoso and Orquídea Coelho (2022); d) Mauro Gomes da Costa, who published 2 articles (2017; 2021); e) Susana Ayala (2021); f) Adlene Silva Arantes (2009); and g) Mauro Cezar Coelho (2008).

In relation to the Mexican magazine, 3 articles address the *schooling processes*, authored by: a) Arely Hernández Mendoza, who published 2 articles (2023a; 2023b); and b) Amalia Nivón Bolán (2013).

Regarding the perspective of *studies of indigenous culture*, on the side of the Brazilian Journal, there are 3 articles, by the following authors: a) Anderson de Carvalho Pereira (2022); b) Francídio Monteiro Abbate and Maria Betania Barbosa Albuquerque (2024); c) Jérôme Thomas, translated by Carmen Lucia Soares (2014). On the side of the Mexican Journal, 1 article was published, by Maria Betania Barbosa Albuquerque.

Regarding the *theoretical-methodological debate* of research on indigenous populations and education, there are 2 publications in the Brazilian Journal, represented by the article by: a) Léia Teixeira Lacerda Maciel and Giovani José da Silva (2009); b) Tereza Laura Artieda (2020).

# 4 Evidence presented in Brazilian and Mexican journals on the history of education on indigenous issues

The frequency of publications in the Brazilian Journal, which has been published for the longest time, is balanced between 2 and 1 article in the years in which indigenous themes were addressed. In other words, in no year were more than 2 articles published, which could supposedly suggest the incidence of some event that provoked greater interest in the issue. The first publication dates back to 2008, 7 years after its creation. This says a lot about the reduced relevance attributed by Brazilian historians of education to the matter at hand. In 2009, 2 publications were recorded and only 5 years later, in 2014, another article was published, followed by another published in 2015. Then, only in 2017 does 1 article on the indigenous issue appears again. There is a regulation on the frequency of publica-

tions between the years 2020-2022. In these 3 years (2020, 2021 and 2022) 6 articles were published, two per year.

Regarding the Revista Mexicana, 1 article was published in 2013, the year it was founded, followed by another article published 2 years later, in 2015. However, only in 2023, 8 years later, were 2 new articles published. This also demonstrates that, although, proportionally, the Revista Mexicana has published more than the Revista Brasileira on the subject, the interest aroused in Mexican historians by the educational problems of indigenous populations is still insufficient, especially because, among these articles, one is authored by a Brazilian researcher, Maria Betânia Barbosa Albuquerque (2015), which appeared in volume 3, no. 6, and which addresses the *beberagem6* among the Tupinambá in Colonial Brazil.

It is important to highlight that the *Revista Brasileira* contains publications by researchers of foreign nationality. As noted, there was a publication by the French author Jérome Thomas (2014), which, translated by a Brazilian researcher, deals with representations constructed by Europeans about the indigenous Tupinambá child, present in volume 12, n. 1. There is also the publication of an article authored by two foreigners, Názia Anita Cardoso (2022), Mozambican, and Orquídea Coelho (2022), Portuguese, which deals with the education of the indigenous population of Mozambique, volume 22, no. 1. There was also a publication by Mexican researcher Susana Ayala Reyes (2021) on the history of bilingual education in Mexico, volume 21, no. 1, in addition to the article by Argentinean Teresa Laura Artieda (2020), volume 20, no. 1.

Among the authors, three stand out, for having each published two articles in the journals, being them: Mauro Gomes da Costa (2017; 2021), Maria Betânia Barbosa Albuquerque (2015; 2024) and Arely Hernández Mendoza (2023a; 2023b). Mauro Gomes da Costa published two articles in the *Revista Brasileira*: one entitled "Católicos para Deus e brasileiros para a pátria: os povos indígenas do alto Rio Negro e a Educação Escolar Salesiana (1960-1980)" ("Catholics for God and Brazilians for the homeland: the indigenous peoples of the upper Rio Negro and Salesian School Education (1960-1980)"), edited in volume 17, no. 4, 2017, and the one entitled "A institucionalização e o disciplinamento de crianças indígenas nas missões salesianas do Amazonas/Brasil (1923-1965)" ("The institutionalization and disciplining of indigenous children in the Salesian missions of Amazonas/Brazil (1923-1965)"), located in volume 21, no. 1, 2021. Maria Betânia Barbosa Albuquerque, published 1 article in the Mexican Magazine, in Portuguese, named "O consumo indígena do cauim no Brasil colonial: contribuições a uma história não escolar da educação" ("The indigenous consumption of cauim in colonial Brazil: contributions to a non-school history of education"), in volume 3, no. 6, 2015; and the article "Cultura alimentar indígena e os cuidados da cunhã,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Collective practice of drinking fermented beverages.

trocas culturais e educação não escolar na Amazônia colonial" ("Indigenous food culture and the care of the *cunh*ã, cultural exchanges and non-school education in the colonial Amazon"), in the Brazilian Magazine, of which she appears as co-author, in partnership with Francídio Monteiro Abbate, volume 24, no. 1, 2024. Arely Hernández Mendoza published her two articles in the Mexican Magazine, both in 2023, volume 11, but one in issue 21 and the other in issue 22. The first one is "El uso negado de la lengua hñahñu en la escuela" ("The denied use of the Hñahñu language in school") and the second "La práctica docente en una escuela multigrado en un contexto indígena" ("The teaching practice in a multigrade school in an indigenous context"). The six articles published by the three authors correspond to 35% of the publications on indigenous issues.

The data on the authors also demonstrate the importance of the issue in general. After all, indigenous issues involve not only reflections of a national nature, but, among others, the history of "contact" and "conquest" of indigenous peoples in processes of colonization; the history of struggle and resistance of indigenous peoples against colonization; the tactics and strategies of catechization and evangelization of native peoples; the attempt to suppress indigenous languages and the imposition of the colonizer's language. In this sense, indigenous peoples become a topic of global interest.

Regarding the *schooling processes*, it is clear that the articles discuss *institutions* and *institutionalizations*. Schools and education are debated. In particular, access to and permanence in higher education; colonies specifically for indigenous populations; multi-grade schools; bilingual schools (or bilingualism); missionary educational action (Catholics and Protestants) and secularism; congresses responsible for indicating public policies for indigenous populations.

In relation to specific *institutions*, 4 articles stand out: that by Sueli Barros da Ressurreição and Sonia Maria Rocha Sampaio (2015); that by Adlene Silva Arantes (2009); that by Arely Hernández Mendoza (2023a); and that by Amalia Nivón Bolán (2013). From the present time, Ressurreição and Sampaio (2015) bring up for discussion the access to and permanence of indigenous people in higher education, in Brazilian universities. Arantes (2009) analyzes an orphanage created by Capuchin missionaries in 1874, which served orphaned and *ingênuas* (naive) children<sup>7</sup> in the Brazilian state of Pernambuco, located in the Northeast of the country. Mendoza (2023) describes and reflects on contemporary multi-grade schools in Mexico. Bolán (2013) analyzes guidelines indicated by educators at the *Congresso Centroamericano* of 1893, (Central American Congress of 1893), which should be adopted by the educational policy of the Mexican national state for indigenous populations.

Ingênuas was the name given in Brazil to free black children, covered by the Lei do ventre Livre, n. 2040, enacted on September 28, 1871.

In these articles, the authors who take educational institutions as the most central object of their reflections – the university, multi-series schools or even the Isabel Orphanage, as in the case of Arantes' study (2009) – are analyzed under a logic from which criticism of practices is explained based on the historical processes of submission of indigenous populations. In this sense, colonization, with its proposal of discipline, which had as its guideline the transformation of the indigenous, who had been considered savage and/or naive, into civilized and God-fearing people, is strongly recovered by the authors to explain the practices of these institutions in the past and present. Likewise, the moment in which Latin American nations, already politically independent, under the ideological gaze of positivism and liberalism, reinforce the colonialist representations of Europeans about indigenous peoples is also recovered.

Based on these events, the authors argue that, even after the recognition of the indigenous people's right to have rights, and that they were exploited and enslaved on their own lands, stigmas and prejudices remained in Latin American culture and, by extension, in educational institutions, including on the part of those (educators and anthropologists) who claimed to defend and protect the peoples. The idea of citizenship, arising from the construction of national states, as the authors note, was not capable of promoting the overcoming of the idea of savagery and barbarity attached to the image of the indigenous. The articles demonstrate that the existence of multi-grade schools for indigenous people, the organization of curricula focused on agricultural work and bilingualism are examples of how indigenous people were included in the education system only to be excluded. The statement by Ressureição and Sampaio (2015, p. 133) strongly portrays this understanding when they say:

promoting access for ethnic and social groups in situations of inequality goes beyond offering places and laws that regulate their implementation. There is still a long way to go in terms of the degree of application of these laws, considering the rich diversity of indigenous ethnicities in this country [Brazil], the deficiencies in basic education, the financing of programs and projects that promote sustainability, intercultural curricula and equal conditions for the insertion of these young people in society as critical and transformative actors.

Arantes (2009) also constructs statements along the same line of reflection. She explains:

the number of indigenous students in high school classes is still very small. This means that hundreds of indigenous young people have to migrate to the cities in search of high school education, facing numerous situations of social risk (Arantes, 2009, p. 107).

The quotes are presented by the authors in order to confirm the argument that indigenous people are still being treated as second-class "citizens". The policies implemented, for those who analyze the institutions created after the countries' independence, were not enough to guarantee a change in the treatment of indigenous people. The idea of integration, so present in the colonial period, was aggravated by the nation states and, according to Mendonza (2023a), only a close look at the complexity of these institutions, at their daily lives, can help us make the right decisions to overcome educational backwardness and the exclusions they promote.

Regarding *institutionalization8* nos artigos sobre os *processos de escolarização*, foram apontados os artigos de: Maria Aparecida Bergamaschi, Cláudia Pereira Antunes e Juliana Schneider Medeiros (2020); Názia Anita Cardoso e Orquídea Coelho (2022); os dois artigos de Mauro Gomes da Costa (2017; 2021); Susana Ayala Reyes (2021); Mauro Cezar Coelho (2008); e os dois artigos de Arely Hernández Mendonza (2023a; 2023b).

In the articles on *schooling processes*, the articles by: Maria Aparecida Bergamaschi, Cláudia Pereira Antunes and Juliana Schneider Medeiros (2020); Názia Anita Cardoso and Orquídea Coelho (2022); the two articles by Mauro Gomes da Costa (2017; 2021); Susana Ayala Reyes (2021); Mauro Cezar Coelho (2008); and the two articles by Arely Hernández Mendonza (2023a; 2023b).

The production of these articles, in which *institutionalization* is placed as a guide for the authors' reflections on indigenous issues in correlation with the theme of education, highlights five processes that have affected the indigenous populations of Latin America, Brazil and Mexico, and Mozambique, in Africa: 1) integration; 2) Christianization; 3) civilization; 4) work; 5) bilingualism, all interconnected, composing a mosaic in which the ultimate goal is colonialism in its deepest sense, that according to which, as Quijano (1992) explains, the coloniality of being, the coloniality of knowledge and the coloniality of power are generated.

In the articles by the authors mentioned above, these *institutionalizations* emerge and their recurrence indicates their argumentative structures. Of the set of articles, the more (or less) frequent presence of each one varies, but they all still form part of the statements made by the authors. The variations in the use of these *institutionalizations* arise from the way each author articulates the events – the history –, to the actions taken against the indigenous people.

In the case of *integration*, this is an institutionalization process used by the authors when they refer to colonization and the formation of nation states. In colonization, it is articulated with the actions of the missionaries, with their agricultural schools, primary education schools, and arts and crafts schools for indigenous people. According to the authors, inte-

<sup>8</sup> Institutionalization must be understood as the act of making social processes prevail, through systems of control and oppression.

gration through these institutions, formalized in "escolinhas" (lit. translation: little schools), colonies, and boarding schools, meant replacing indigenous cultural practices with Euro-Western ones in entire communities. During the period of formation of the nation States, after their independences, integration was defended, as the authors argue, because indigenous people were treated as groups that prevented the unity that was so necessary for the formation of the nation. In this case, education historians will say, integration represented a "necessary" strategy for the defense of the emerging homeland.

The integration advocated for, both in the colonial period and in the early years of the formation of national states, when missionaries were still involved, even though the secular nature of the state was theoretically defended, as Costa (2017, 2021) demonstrates, was processed by disciplinary pedagogical practices, by the control of children's bodies, by strict rules of behavior, such as the prohibition of the use of the indigenous language, and by the total removal of children from their communities. Costa (2021, p. 9) explains:

The confinement of indigenous children led to a radical rupture in family, social and cultural life. On the one hand, this family and sociocultural segregation aimed to separate them from the influence of their groups of origin and, on the other, to instill new knowledge, values and customs, in order to erase the cultural traditions that shaped indigenous identity and transform them into Christians and civilized individuals.

The articles that deal with educational practices and policies carried out by mission-aries reinforce that the objective was to institutionalize *Christianization* among indigenous people and to marginalize their rituals, their rhythms of time and space usage. As they instructed by Christianizing, the missionaries removed the indigenous people from their imaginations, their traditions, their daily practices, making them "docile". The article by Cardoso and Coelho (2022), which addresses the education of indigenous populations in Mozambique, demonstrates that Christianization aimed to instill "the values of religion and the dominant culture, also establishing relations of power and domination (Cardoso and Coelho, 2022, p. 2).

The institutionalization of the *civilization* of indigenous people, in turn, became, as the authors indicate, an element of connection between indigenous and non-indigenous people. The idealizations of indigenous cultures as non-cultures, as savagery and barbarism, were responsible for trying to construct the denial of self and to provoke the possibility that the indigenous peoples assume the culture of the Other. After all, "civilized" practices, as was deemed Western culture, in the history of contact between whites and indigenous people, acted as a pedagogical project, that is, as a model to be followed, to be learned in the long term. In this sense, the *Lei de Diretório dos Índios (Indian Directory Law)* of 1758 in Brazil, in the words of Coelho (2008), was an expressive piece because, in addition to school relations, it introduced

this so-called civilized culture into indigenous social life by imposing the use of the Portuguese language, interethnic marriage and agricultural work. For Coelho (2008, p. 100), "[...] such instances situated the process of civilization as a secular enterprise, in which experience, example and the adoption of civil values became fundamental [...]".

The process of 'civilizing' the indigenous people thus involved the attempt to instill skills and a worldview typical of the West among the indigenous populations, and this needed to occur in daily life, in the teachings that Portuguese fatherhood would transmit to their children and, on the part of the mother, the abandonment of indigenous practices.

The articles also address the insertion of the value of work in the context of indigenous peoples, whose members were considered lazy and indolent. The institutionalization of work, especially in the colonization process, in addition to generating a new logic in indigenous lifestyles, resulted in the production of wealth for the colonizers and, in contemporary times, inserted the indigenous people into the most exploited strata of capitalism. As Bergamaschi, Antunes and Medeiros (2020) explain, when analyzing the situation of the Kaingang of Rio Grande do Sul in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, schooling, by aiming to prepare indigenous people for agricultural work, ended up promoting their access to a situation of social inequality. In the same vein, Reyes (2021), when describing the educational project of the first Centro Coordenador Indigenista do Planalto de Chiapas (Indigenous Coordinating Center of the Chiapas Plateau), in Mexico, explains that in the 1950s anthropologists already pointed out that the biggest problem to be faced in relation to indigenous populations was inequality and economic and social exploitation. Coelho (2008), when discussing the Lei de Diretório dos Índios, also emphasizes that in 1758, for the colonizers, work was what would make the indigenous people civilized and the resulting sense of ambition useful to the metropolis. According to Coelho (2008, p. 112): "[...] during the validity of the Indian Directory, the concern with civilizing, through agriculture, was never far from the need to keep the colony supplied with goods for internal consumption and for inter-Atlantic trade [...]".

The institutionalization of *bilingualism*, present in the articles, recovers its use in colonization, aiming for domination, but mainly on the occasion of the formation of national States, with the intent to integrate the indigenous people into the nation. It is from then on that, for the sake of an educational system that guaranteed academic success, bilingualism begins to be defended and later surpassed by the notion of a unified education system.

When discussing this institutionalization, Reyes (2021) explains that in Chiapas, Mexico, bilingual education as a policy ended up resulting in different teaching practices and teacher training in the mid-20th century. This policy was consolidated with the hiring of indigenous teachers, speakers of both the indigenous language and Castilian, to work in schools. The intention, identified as indigenous policy, had the support of experts convinced that education in rural areas should be different from education in urban areas so

that it would result in academic success capable of placing natives in a position to achieve a dignified place in the sociopolitical and economic power structure as a social class. The idea underlying bilingual education was that starting the school process with the native mother tongue would help in learning Spanish, which needed to be mastered by natives to defend themselves from abuse, exploitation, and subordination. The option for bilingualism generated a policy of teacher training and publishing teaching materials in the indigenous language that, in the author's view, yielded good results and, in her view, for the first time the indigenous peoples of *Chiapas* were able to receive schools that operated regularly, accessible to all, with trained teachers and teaching materials in the indigenous language. However, the policy of unifying the system subsequently revised the proposal and began to apply an education model *for* the indigenous peoples and not *with* the indigenous peoples.

In this school that is not committed to indigenous culture, language becomes an instrument for the political manipulation of values. In a second article published by Mendonza (2023b), resulting from an ethnographic research with a bilingual indigenous teacher who denies the use of his mother tongue, hñahñu, in school, she shows that this teacher's practice is the result of the lack of prestige and of the prejudice against indigenous peoples in educational policies in Mexico. By accompanying him, the author finds that the indigenous person himself is a victim of Castilianization; it is he who says that he was prepared to "dispossess" himself of his indigenous language. Having demonstrated this, the author argues that bilingualism functioned as an integration policy, therefore reinforcing the prejudice against indigenous culture that decreed it in need of being supplanted by Castilianization. The teacher's statements made it clear to the author that the expectations surrounding his performance were that he would become a monolingual speaker of Spanish, and this happened during his training, during which he was ignored whenever he tried to communicate in his native language. But, most seriously, he was also discriminated against for "speaking" Spanish badly." This, according to Mendonza (2023b), gives us the true dimension of the violence that bilingual schools meant among indigenous people.

Bergamaschi, Antunes and Medeiros (2020) also identify the application of this policy with the *Kaingang* in Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil, in the mid-20th century, and for whom bilingual monitors were prepared to act as assistants in the children's schooling. For the authors, the bilingualism strategy aimed, in fact, to advance the process of integration into the national project, but it resulted in resistance. They say:

Although throughout most of the 20th century schools run by state-owned indigenous agencies worked to integrate the *Kaingang* into national society, it is possible to see that the indigenous people maintained an active role in this relationship, whether due to their infrequency in the first decades or due to the strategies they found to

promote their own language in the 1970s and 1980s (Bergamaschi; Antunes; Medeiros, 2020, p. 15).

As was possible to see based on the authors' writings, the schooling process, based on the institutions analyzed in the articles – Brazilian universities, Salesian schools in the Upper Rio Negro, Mexican multi-grade schools and the Central American Congress of 1893 – and the institutionalizations processed – integration, Christianization, civilization, work and bilingualism – indigenous people are political and social actors whose situation goes through the historical process of contact between colonizers and colonized, which is still ongoing and still promotes the hierarchization of peoples. The ideas of citizenship, rule of law and modernity, assumed by the colonized national states, with their integration policies, demonstrated, based on the analyzed writings, that the school remains, contradictorily, a resource of domination, expropriation and exploitation of indigenous peoples.

The analysis of the articles allowed us to identify, in the context of the production of the authors who deal with indigenous themes in the two magazines, a group that addresses education in its main relationship with *culture*, not necessarily with schools or educational institutions. Within this group, the debate on culture refers to: caring for the self, eating, *be-beragem* and the handling of childhood by indigenous people. These articles are based on documents, written testimonies, letters and accounts of travelers, and are represented in 4 articles by the following authors: two articles by Maria Betânia Barbosa Albuquerque (2017), one in partnership with Francídio Monteiro Abbate (2024); Anderson de Carvalho Pereira (2022); and Jérôme Thomas (2014) whose article was translated by Carmen Lucia Soares.

These articles focus heavily on the history of prejudice and stigmas built around indigenous peoples and end up explaining, in a certain way, the reflections presented by the authors who deal with the *schooling processes*. This is because these are the constructions that cement negative values about indigenous culture and that result in the education policies that are so criticized by previous authors, in the colonial and the national state formation periods.

These constructions are presented by the authors of the culture articles based on travel narratives and documents written by foreigners. In the particular case of Thomas's article (2014) on *Tupinambá* children, he argues that the Portuguese views on the way these indigenous people dealt with their children, the birth process, rites of passage and daily life, are subject to ideologies; that the freedom present in the relationships between parents and children did not mean education without rules. For the author, the rigid, disciplinary and corrective model of relationships that the Europeans established with their children ended up making them judge the indigenous people according to their cultures and experiences.

When detailing the indigenous practices of the *Tupinambá* in relation to children, the author says that, in fact, that they demonstrated a deep tenderness for them. Unlike the

Europeans, they did not punish or repress them, and when a child died, it caused immense pain throughout the community. Thomas (2014) analyzes that the Europeans did not realize that for the *Tupinamb*á "[...] it is the social group that directs, regulates, and ultimately educates the Tupinambá children, who, far from being left to their own devices, are integrated into the structures of their community [...]" (Thomas, 2014, p. 30). Children, as Thomas (2014) signals, are loved by their parents and included in the community, integrating themselves into the social organization of the group.

In particular, Thomas (2014) highlights the *Rito do Couvade*, the rite dictating the father's resting period after the birth of the child. The *Couvade*, he says, "[...] is conceived as the affirmation that the father is the only progenitor of the egg that was introduced into the mother, and that the child is the 'little father [...]', according to Karsten's expression, that is, the representation of the father in miniature" (Thomas, 2014, p. 33). Despite the biased view of the authors of the records, they recognize that the children were healthy, robust, well-nourished, and without health problems. In these terms, Thomas (2014) concludes that in *Tupinambá* society, a society without schools, education as the transmission of knowledge was carried out daily, everywhere, all the time. It maintains a non-coercive system of dissemination of knowledge, which is transmitted by the agents of education, who are the parents.

Pereira's article (2022), which also deals with *Tupinambá* culture, in which he analyzes two reports by French missionary travelers – Jean Léry and Yves D'Évreux – through Brazil in the 16th and 17th centuries, focuses on the way in which indigenous people educate their children and conceive childhood, youth and old age. His objective is to understand the narratives of the French authors as a double of themselves, that is, a description of the Other based on what one is not, that is, on otherness. The results lead the author to understand that the *Tupinambá*'s way of educating their children is "[...] read by travelers through the paradigm of sin, conversion and purity (sacredness and profaneness) of the social body [...]" (Pereira, 2022, p.1), because they were immersed in their Christian intellectual heritage.

The articles by Albuquerque (2015) and Abbate and Albuquerque (2024), which address food culture and drinking culture among indigenous people, argue that such cultural practices involve a very important non-school educational process because they constitute a pedagogy of everyday life that forms their identity.

In the article on *beberagem* among the Tupinambá, Albuquerque (2015) demonstrates that it functioned as a process of socialization of knowledge, which constitutes arrangements for teaching and learning about culture. From the author's perspective, food practices, which include the ingestion of fermented beverages, are socio-educational events, acting as a "[...] significant factor in the constitution of the social and cultural identity of groups [...]" (Albu-

querque, 2015, p. 236). Through food practices, says the author, teachings were transmitted and learned, configuring them as a situation of communication and learning.

Albuquerque (2015) concludes her article by stating that the rituals related to the ingestion of *Cauim*, by functioning as an element of social cohesion and maintenance of the group's identity (courage, bravery, etc.), guaranteed the socialization of some of the ways in which that group ordered the world, giving it meaning. She emphasizes that by arguing against this practice, colonists and religious people tried to make their educational model prevail, which, with their schools and boarding schools, sought to prevent this cultural learning, responsible for the transmission of collective memory, gathering and social cohesion. But this attempt did not work, according to the author. To this day, the consumption of fermented beverages prevails among indigenous people.

In the article on food culture, Abbate and Albuquerque (2024) also aim to understand its educational character. The intention is to analyze the uses of cassava as a plant of civilization and the role of women as mediators of food knowledge in Colonial Amazonia. For the author, women, in the exercise of this culture, are seen as educators because they ensure daily care and teach the food knowledge necessary for the survival of both indigenous people and colonizers.

The reflections on cassava are crossed with reflections on facts and documents that confirm the importance of cassava in the diet, as well as the disdain for it, a result of the European colonialist view of the eating habits of indigenous populations. Abbate and Albuquerque (2024) conclude the article by reviving the idea of cassava as the *Queen of Brazil*, criticizing the colonialist proposal to eliminate its cultivation and use in food.

Regarding the articles referring to the *theoretical-methodological debate*, as was already mentioned, 2 articles were identified, authored by Léia Teixeira Lacerda Maciel and Giovani José da Silva (2009) and Teresa Laura Artieda (2020). The articles present two perspectives of reflection on the theoretical-methodological discussion in dealing with the discussion of indigenous populations and their relationship with education: one that presents the state of knowledge of research on indigenous school education, produced in the Central-West region of Brazil, particularly in Mato Grosso and Mato Grosso do Sul, in post-graduate programs (Maciel; Silva, 2009); another that applies a methodology for interpreting ethnographic photography of indigenous people in didactic texts used in Argentine schools (Artieda, 2020).

Maciel and Silva (2009), when surveying research on the subject in the region, found that there were (in 2009, 15 years ago) few studies on formal education processes carried out among indigenous people. They argue that this results in a lack of knowledge about the historical processes that led to formal school experiences among indigenous societies in Brazil, and that this has commonly occurred in two ways: domination for the purposes of

integration, assimilation and cultural homogenization (from the colonial period to the 20th century); and recognition of cultural pluralism (ongoing).

The survey conducted by the author shows that 30% of the production on the subject had been produced in that region between 1978 and 2002. When identifying the published studies, by author, Maciel and Silva (2009) criticize the factual nature present in them, which does not provide multiple aspects and spatial and temporal perspectives, in addition to imprisoning the rich and complex indigenous reality in beliefs and repertoires that have long been questioned within historiographical knowledge.

Maciel and Silva (2009) state that the studies produce a reductionist view of the subject by dividing history into two autonomous phases: "dark past" and "illuminated future". The first corresponds to a phase of decadence, under government and religious responsibility; the second, the golden phase, in which indigenous people appropriated the school and became its protagonists. For the authors, this leads to a great error: to assume that only indigenous authorship guarantees the quality of the writing of the history of indigenous education. The authors question whether works on indigenous people can be better if written by indigenous people. Thus, they begin to criticize the ideological and militant engagement of the researchers. For both, the intercultural, bilingual, differentiated and specific indigenous school has become a cliché emptied of significant content and that perhaps good ethnographic work today in indigenous schools reveals to us that they are as authoritarian or even more so than those of "the past". They conclude the article by saying that there is a simplistic and reductionist tendency to treat indigenous schools and that in order to overcome this state of affairs, it is necessary to invest more in the study of history of indigenous school education, thinking of it as a history of exclusion of certain subjects from the school system.

Artieda's article (2020) presents a methodology for analyzing readings about indigenous people in Argentine schoolbooks used between 1885 and 1940. To this end, she uses anthropology and visual anthropology to carry out the analysis. According to the author, these fields facilitate the recognition of the meanings of images about indigenous people reproduced in the teaching material used with children in schools.

In Artieda's (2020) view, this material is responsible for the construction of national identities, otherness, differences, and a certain negative image of indigenous peoples. She draws attention to the fact that this material was produced by teachers with extensive teaching experience, or by members of the school system, who constructed, alongside images produced by art and literature, texts that reinforced the representation of indigenous people as degenerate, in contrast to that of white people, who were considered pure and civilized.

In the particular case of schools, Artieda (2020) argues that history has created representations about interethnic contacts that strengthen the expansion of political power over indigenous people as necessary for the advancement and development of the nation, and

that the teaching materials used in schools were decisive for this. In this sense, according to the author, it is necessary to study iconographies in order to understand the power they hold in the formation of mental representations not only of those who receive them, but also, and mainly, of those who expose them, as is the case of the authors of schoolbooks, almost always teachers. The author reveals that during the course of her research, when referring to the originals of the stories transcribed in schoolbooks, she came across the possibility that there was a lot of imagination in them that was far from the events that actually occurred.

The author briefly discusses how to understand images, especially images of indigenous people, which are often subject to interventions in their production in order to strengthen indigenous otherness, that is, the non-indigenous Other. The author then presents some images and analyzes them. The author draws attention to the different representations of indigenous people, depending on the period in which they were produced. She highlights that from 1880 onwards, the photographs present indigenous people as a threat, showing the supposed risk that the military suffered when having to confront them. In these photographs, the stereotypes are accentuated: men living in the forests, with weapons in their hands, ornaments on their chests and faces, and loincloths that cover them from the waist down. These images provoke contempt and indifference, as well as a lack of interest in learning about indigenous culture. According to the author (2020), these images are accompanied by texts that validate the idea that these beings no longer belong to the Argentine nation and that the few that exist are already civilized. This is so that the image's recipient assimilates the idea that these native groups are part of a distant time that no longer exists. Ultimately, the author demonstrates that these images are the foundations of meanings or learning matrices that run through the Argentine imagination about indigenous peoples. The schoolbook, he argues, is a cultural product to which understanding requires knowledge of other contemporary cultural processes and products so that distortions can be overcome.

### 5 Final considerations

Undoubtedly, the volume of publications in Brazilian and Mexican journals on the history of education indicates the lack of interest of their interlocutors, in particular, in indigenous issues, which, in a certain way, does not reflect the general progress of publications on the subject over the years of their existence. As stated by the *Conselho Mexicano de Pesquisa Educacional* (COMIE), meaning the Mexican Council for Educational Research, which conducted a study on the state of knowledge on the subject in Mexico, based on various publication spectrums, production is growing. Maroldi, Lima and Hayashi (2018), who also conducted a similar study in Brazil in 2018, demonstrate with substantial data that "[...] scientific productions on indigenous education are no longer incipient [...]" (Maroldi, Lima

and Hayashi, 2018, p. 950). In this sense, it is worth asking: why do historians of education, interlocutors of the RBHE and RMHE, show so little interest in indigenous education?

Although this was not the problem raised for this study, this issue arose at the end of the study, mainly because the magazines are produced in two Latin American countries with a significant indigenous population and a colonial history against indigenous people that still resonates today, as demonstrated by the articles analyzed. Hypothetically, this may occur for three reasons. First, the lack of interest of researchers in the history of education in the colonial period, a moment in which the indigenous people were the main historical actors. Second, due to a tendency in the field to treat education from the perspective of independent states from a national perspective and, in this way, deal with the topic under the homogenizing logic of schooling, which silences indigenous populations. Third, because scholars of indigenous education may prefer to publish their research in Anthropology and Social History journals rather than in Education publications, a field in which the RBHE and RMHE are primarily located.

Regarding the perspectives on how indigenous issues are addressed by magazines, there is a concern with *school processes*, *culture* in its non-school educational dimension and *theoretical-methodological* research treatments. In these, institutions such as universities, multi-grade schools, bilingual schools and the Central American Congress are discussed, as are institutionalizations such as integration, Christianization, civilization, work and bilingualism. Such findings are also present in the studies of Fernández Escalante (2019, p. 362), for whom the historiography of indigenous education has shown evident substantive growth, mainly in Mexico, Brazil, Argentina and Bolivia, and has dealt transversally with discussions on Castilianization, evangelization, citizenship, education, national states, among others.

From the set of debates, there is a recurrence of the legacy of stigmatizing representations of indigenous people that often affect school education policies. The struggles and resistance of indigenous people against exploitation, submission and expropriation, even if they do not occur as frequently as domination and prejudice, indicate that there is still a long way to go before the marks of colonization are overcome and indigenous populations, as a whole but with their differences and particularities, as indicated by the organizers of the work "[...] Campesinos y escolars, la construcción de la escuela en el campo latinoamericano, siglos XIX y XX [...]" (Civera, Ríos and Fernández Escalante, 2011), are able to have the necessary conditions available to choose the educational project they wish to follow. Perhaps, from then on, the discursive matrices of texts on indigenous people in the field of the history of education will show more promising perspectives.

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#### **MINI BIOGRAPHY**

#### Sônia Maria da Silva Araújo

PhD in Education from the University of São Paulo, with a postdoctoral degree from the University of Coimbra. Full Professor at the Federal University of Pará. Professor of the Graduate Program in Education at the Federal University of Pará and coordinator of the José Veríssimo Research Group and Latin American Educational Thought. E-mail: ecosufpa@gmail.com

#### Alicia Civera Cerecedo

PhD in Educational Research from the Department of Educational Research of the Centre for Research and Advanced Studies (DIE, Cinvestav). Researcher at the Department of Educational Research of the Centre for Research and Advanced Studies (DIE, Cinvestav).

E-mail: acivera@cinvestav.mx

Note: translation by Maria Annarry de Vasconcelos Neves Tavares