



Solange Aparecida de Souza Monteiro  
(Organizadora)

# Cultura: Conceito Sempre em Desenvolvimento

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Solange Aparecida de Souza Monteiro  
(Organizadora)

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## APRESENTAÇÃO

O presente livro pretende introduzir o leitor ao conceito antropológico de cultura e seu constante desenvolvimento. Tema central das discussões antropológicas nos últimos 100 anos, o assunto tem se demonstrado inesgotável, motivo pelo qual aqueles que tiverem o desejo de se aprofundar recorrem à bibliografia apresentada no final do volume. Destinado essencialmente a um público que se inicia no tema. A nossa intenção foi a de elaborar um livro texto bem didático e, portanto, bastante claro e simples. Os autores procuraram, na medida do possível, utilizar exemplos referentes à nossa sociedade, à escola, instituições que compartilham conosco um mesmo território. Isto não impede, contudo, a utilização de exemplos torna dos emprestados de autores que trabalharam em outras partes do mundo. Tal procedimento é coerente, desde que o desenvolvimento do conceito de cultura é de extrema utilidade para a compreensão do paradoxo da enorme diversidade cultural da espécie humana. Para tornar a bibliografia citada mais acessível aos leitores, O livro se refere ao desenvolvimento do conceito de cultura a partir das manifestações iluministas até os autores modernos, procura demonstrar como a cultura influencia o comportamento social e diversifica enormemente a humanidade, apesar de sua com provada unida de biológica.

Esta reflexão trata da relação cultura, desenvolvimento local e políticas culturais enfatizando os instrumentos normativos de direcionamentos, constituição e orientação de políticas públicas relevantes a apresentação dos elementos culturais, materiais e imateriais, relacionados aos empreendimentos, associações, entidades e pessoas interessadas na melhoria da qualidade de vida por meio de processos populares de geração de renda.

A cultura traz um conjunto de possibilidades harmônicas ao desenvolvimento entre perspectiva do econômico, social e ambiental. Reverbera ressignificações simbólicas, não sem tensão, sobre identidade, valorização do lugar e das coisas do lugar, das concepções de tradicional e moderno, de futuro e passado, de avanço ou retrocesso, de progresso e atraso e de alteridades que aparecem na constituição do imaginário social.

Boa leitura!!!

Solange Aparecida de Souza Monteiro

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## POLITICS (AND POLICIES) OF HISTORICAL MEMORY AND VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS: GENDER AND ETHNICITY INTERSECTIONS

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**ABSTRACT:** This text aims to explore, from official data that point out the increase of violence against indigenous women in Brazil (2016), those meanings that categories such as gender and ethnicity imprint in politics of historical memory and therefore in the elaboration and apprehension of traumatic events that evolve our recent past (more than 20 years of dictatorship:1964-1985) and the reconstruction of social meanings for current political violence suffered by them. Taking the intersectionalities of social markers of difference into account, besides those narratives that express different levels of dispute, our attention is dragged to a new agenda and towards the redefinition of subject matters traditionally encompassed by the field of politics of transitional justice. It aims to analyze the limits and possibilities of political participation and the democratization of memory, truth and justice rights from victims of human rights violations referring to indigenous context and based on fundamentals of hierarchies of sex/gender system. This research is also supposed to reflect on processes that correspond to the

politics of identitarians representations and to memory narratives on different meanings of experienced violence. It's considered then to be able to make power relations explicit throughout the politics (and policies) of human rights from the results presented by the Truth National Commission on its Final Report (2014) and its repercussions in different sociopolitical ranges.

**KEYWORDS:** Politics of Historical Memory; Violations of Human Rights of Indigenous Women; State Crimes and Transitional Justice; Activism of Victims.

### 1 | INTRODUCTION

This work corresponds to a preliminary theoretical-methodological approach in the field of policies of indigenous historical memory in its gender and ethnics implications, in order to proceed and re-elaborate certain problematics that differently imprint the traditional approach of the objects informed by the field of “democratic transition justice policies” regarding violations of indigenous human rights during the last military dictatorship (1964-1985) to the present.

Transitional justice:

is a concrete response to systematic or widespread violations of human rights. Its objective is the recognition of victims and the promotion of possibilities for reconciliation and



democratic consolidation. Transitional justice is not a special form of justice, but a restorative justice in which societies transform themselves after a period of widespread violation of human rights. [...] Some initiatives: application of the justice system in the investigation of crimes committed in dictatorships, especially those considered as crimes against humanity; creation of Truth and Reparation Commissions, which are the main tools for research and information on key abuses of recent past periods; repair programs with state-sponsored initiatives that promote material and moral repair of damages caused by abuses from the past. In general, they involve not only economic reparations but also symbolic gestures to the victims as official apologies; reforms of security systems with efforts that seek to transform the armed forces, the police, the judiciary and those related to other state institutions of repression and corruption into public service instruments and integrity; memory policies linked to an educational intervention directed towards and from human rights, as well as institutional practices that implement memorials and other public spaces capable of re-signifying the history of the country and increasing moral awareness about past abuse in order to reconstruct and invoke the idea of “non-repetition.” (GENRO, ABRÃO, 2010, page 23, free translation).

Thus, as proposed by Judith Butler (2015) regarding the forms of objectification and the demands for the humanization of the subjects become abject, it is intended to problematize the framework given to historical memory and justice policies in Brazil in this period of (re)democratization. This term -”abjection”- refers to the Latin etymology *ab-jectio*, defined as the action of “discarding, throwing away, excluding (...). The dynamics of naturalization and essentialization of the Other, understood as brute – brutalized – denies the affirmation of his/her identity” (SANTOS, 2014, free translation). In this way, we seek to relate them to the productive effects of gender politics and racialization of the bodies there involved (the genderization and racialization of memory policies, as highlighted in the interesting construction of the struggle of the National Commission on the Truth of African Slavery in Brazil) and, therefore, to shift the perspective that has always privileged only some objects of theoretical and empirical consideration to the detriment of others.

In this sense, it is necessary to emphasize the process of subjectivation that is represented in the victimization of specific groups, that is, in the visibility and the claim of the quality of victims with regard to the evocation of categories associated with the violence represented in these contexts. It is important to observe how the strategies of social legitimation and struggle to guarantee access to rights through the vocalization (ROSS, 2001; 2006) of the impinged suffering operate, and how they relate as an expression of power relations, institutionalities, negotiation of identities and processes of signifying those traumatic events based on the production of moralities and the multiple senses of the violence suffered.

In parallel with this first point of view, it is possible to compare such questions with the publication of official data that point to the increase of violence against indigenous women in the present moment, in the context of more than a decade of the promulgation of the Maria da Penha Law (BRAZIL, 2006 - Law 11.340 / 2006) and the Law of Femicide (BRAZIL, 2015 - Law 13.104 / 2015). It seeks, therefore, to explore the senses that the categories gender and ethnicity imprint in this discussion

of legislative production and public policies aimed at specific groups of society, taking as object the vortex of historical continuities that help us to view such contemporary phenomena in a conjuncture of fragmentation and complexification of social relations.

The processes of institutional formation, as well as the inauguration of social processes marked by contradictory negotiations to recognize rights extended to the population as a whole, present the limits of transitional justice, clearly representing differences in the scope of citizenship rights. (In)adequations and even the consummation of reinforcing historical injustices are the result of a complex power play that hinders the social legitimacy of demands that extend over time. It is part of this historical continuum characterized by the precariousness of the conditions of life, the institutional humiliation and the devaluation imposed on those to whom life is not subject to mourning, to retake Butler's argument (2015).

## 2 | HISTORIES, MORALITIES AND SOCIOPOLITICAL AGENCIES

Starting from intersectionalities and dynamic connections (PUAR, 2013) between social markers of difference, it's important to rethink its links with the processes of institutionalization of practices, values and speeches calling for those needs of convening and investigating the recent past of the country, reformulating political agendas of historical compensation and reparation, problematizing the dynamics of historicization of truths produced and / or silenced in this period. There are discussions about the traumas experienced in past regimes and periods of past and present authoritarianism, leading to a debate about the adequacy of trauma as "a category of thought that reflects the transformation of a system of knowledge and values, a relationship with the truth, and points to the reconfiguration of contemporary moral economy" (VASALLO, 2017, 280).

David Lowenthal, from the reading of Vassallo (ditto),

points to the centrality of the process of victimization in the contemporary world, through which countless minorities begin to define themselves as historical victims. (...) These claims contain a strong moral dimension which condemns the atrocities committed and classifies those who suffered as victims.

Linking this movement with the Holocaust consequences and Nazi practices that culminated in the tragic outcomes of World War II, we have the emergence of the reorientation of human rights in modern times, being at its core one universalizing humanist paradigm that invests its efforts in the development of treaties, conventions, pacts, declarations and, therefore, centered a field of debates around the judicialization and politicization of crimes against humanity.

Reparation, compensation, recognition, memory, truth, among others, become, thus, part of a central lexicon in the repertoire of human rights consolidation in a global dimension, proliferating different strands of action: from international human rights law to humanitarian international law (each with its own specificities). Investments

for democratization, for the enforcement of justice in the face of historical debts and achievements through struggles for social, political, civil, economic, cultural, and environmental rights - from a formally state-sponsored citizenship - reinforce this tendency to broaden the liberal grammar of rights of the victims and of the senses hence produced. It is emphasized that, like any language, it does not dispense with antagonisms, authoritarian deviations and interests in dispute for the interpretation and application of these norms - in spite of the theoretically and legally adopted parameters.

Taking up the issue of inflicted trauma in these contexts of violence, ranging from seemingly consensual way in the figures of violations of human rights standards internalized in the nation-states' legal systems, Vassallo (ditto) rescues the contributions of Fassin and Rechtman, stating that "the trauma consecrates an emergent figure of the victim, legitimizes his/her condition and becomes a key to the interpretation of the contemporary world. Thus we have a restructuring of cognitive and moral foundations that transform the relationship to suffering, memory and subjectivity." That is, there is a certain transversality that operates the conditions of possibility of the systematization of these guidelines in relational and institutional spaces that amplify situations hardly previously thematized and that trigger legal-political responses by various actors - state or non-state actors.

### **3 | RETHINKING THE NARRATIVES OF HISTORICAL MEMORIES**

So, in what way do gender and racialization of bodies matter to memory? Or, putting the question in a different way, what do the categories of gender and race bring to the records of historical memory and the official models by which the "nation" is narrated? In what way can victims' actions be understood by these social markers, which are heterogeneously articulated and respond to a certain structuration whose history is paradoxically to be reconstructed? What are the possible relations of these contemporary dynamics of an alternative framework of violence with the social changes that are present in contexts of intensification of violence and its regulation by the State (legislation judicialization, politicization and militarization)?

This is a question that shifts, or requalifies, the approach that is given to the analysis of historical memory policies and to the whole institutional apparatus created around them (such as justice policies, legislative production and the elaboration, execution and management of public policy), just as it transcends a merely retroactive dimension, since it must be seen in the light of the trends linked to the treatment of sensitive issues at present. The different places of construction and subjects of enunciation of these constant updates of the registers in which are categorized and mobilized differentiations or specific cuts on memories in dispute inaugurate and attribute to the political reconstruction of a historical period - or rather, incorporates to this social formation, to recompose it - the dimension of racialization policies inaugurated by

colonial violence, as well as the mechanisms of gender regulation (and, at the same time, the patriarchal policies of sexualization of adjacent bodies). They are important cleavages for the understanding of the politics of forgetfulness, silencing and negation that operate in the institutional action of the State, in the historiographic production and in the structural sphere of social reproduction.

The existence of a specific chapter on violence against indigenous peoples in the 2014 National Commission on Truth (Comissão Nacional da Verdade - CNV ) Final Report, apart from another section specifically devoted to violations in that particular period against women, meant a qualitative leap forward in the state of art of the official political readings of human rights policies related to the rights to truth, memory and justice in Brazil (although with a delay of more than 25 years after the end of the military regime).

According to the agency's institutional electronic address:

The National Truth Commission was created by Law 12528/2011 and instituted on May 16, 2012. Its purpose is to investigate serious human rights violations that occurred between September 18, 1946 and October 5, of October 1988. In December 2013, the mandate of the CNV was extended until December 2014 by provisional measure No. 632 (free translation; available in: <http://cnv.memoriasreveladas.gov.br/institucional-acesso-informacao/a-cnv.html> . Access in: 03/09/17).

It is important, however, to deepen the possible interfaces from the reflections provided by the data collected by the technical team that composed the brief term of the commission (2012-2014) during President Dilma Rousseff (2011-2016) first government. As the document itself suggests, once publicly known actions of state terrorism through historical research on those archives of the dictatorship that have been duly opened, that is, guaranteeing access to the information currently available, it is above all necessary to advance the understanding of the meanings of the gaps, fragmentations and discontinuities observable in the same historical - and ethnographic - facts in question, in this specific situation of doubly marked women: by the crossings of the sex-gender system (see Gayle Rubin, 2011) and by the crossings of the matrix of coloniality (Lander, 2005) of the ethnicity-raciality regimes underlying them.

The analogies with respect to terror practiced through systematic violations of human rights through torture, imprisonment, enforced disappearances and killings for the control, intimidation and segregation of subjects conceived as "internal enemies" - traditionally associated with the "subversive elements" of national movements of the left, "communists", in the usual category of political persecution - are reconverted, or rather extended, to other sectors of the population. In this sense, the policies of extermination, the implantation of the culture of fear and terror as a form of repression and political stabilization, associated with the expropriation, territorial usurpation and spoliation of the material resources necessary for sociocultural reproduction, are related to the strategies of submission of the bodies to sovereign power and to the sexual dimensions of the war with wholly inspiration in the militaristic doctrines of national security of the second half of the twentieth century. Thus, what has been theorized as

State terrorism (PADRÓS, 2005; SCHULTZ, 2015) is what we would call some of the expressions of the indigenous genocide and the black holocaust carried out in Brazil from the very beginning of its constitution as an inexorably racialized state, because of its complex (pluri)ethnicity.

If, during the period of redemocratization, after more than 20 years of civil-military dictatorship (1964-1985), the emergence of public debate on the agendas postulated by social movements - among them the indigenous movements - informed the process of institutionalization of transitional justice in Brazil with the guidelines on the rights to truth, memory and justice, generated a brief but intense research experience represented by the National Commission and States of the Federation Truth Commissions, it is crucial to return to some elements listed in this Final Report, as they give us clues within the framework of a historical anthropology (OLIVEIRA, 1999), its necessary scopes, possible approaches and initial inputs in this field.

The exercise of reconstruction of intentionally erased historical and cultural traces in order to deepen the recognition in the present of the asymmetric aspects eminently rooted in interethnic relations and in the systematic reproduction of the symbolic, material and institutional structures of human rights violations of the indigenous population expresses the social conditions of giving visibility to the violence suffered by indigenous women in particular. How does this dimension of the politics of otherness production articulate with the representations created for them in this moral and political economy of identities? What do these presuppositions imply in the specific senses of dealing with the violence they suffer and the very vulnerability of their intra-ethnic position?

Some of the aspects highlighted in the report draw attention, such as: spontaneous abortions suffered as a result of violence; systematic practice of rape by state officials (who a priori should protect indigenous interests) and those involved in building the infrastructure mega-projects typical of the dictatorship era of the early 1970s (such as the Transamazon Highway), causing transmission of venereal diseases, blindness and depopulation of indigenous people in the affected areas (BRASIL, 2014, p.230). Existing data on the phenomenon of sexual and gender violence in inter-ethnic contexts can be traced from the documents collected in the report, as well as investigating the reality of latent or explicit conflicts within the indigenous communities that culminate in these social problems. This is crucial to the realization of a more global framework of the phenomenon, without sacrificing particular characteristics that are in mutual relation and which also produce this larger scenario from different nuances.

As can be seen from the fifth text of the second volume of the Final Report, in the specific section devoted to the human rights violations of indigenous peoples specifically in the period 1945-1988 (BRASIL, 2014: 203-264):

These violations are not sporadic or accidental: they are systemic insofar as they result directly from the structural policies of the State, which respond to them both by their direct actions and by their omissions. Omission and direct violence of the State always lived in indigenist politics, but their respective weights suffered variations. (...) The role of the Union in the serious violations of the rights of the

Indians is evident, without any lethal omissions, particularly in the area of health and in the control of corruption, cease to exist. In the wake of the National Integration Plan, large private interests are favored directly by the Union (...). As a result of these State policies, it was possible to estimate at least 8,350 indigenous people killed during the investigation period of the CNV, as a result of the direct action of government agents or their omission. This figure includes only those cases studied here for which it was possible to draw an estimate. The actual number of indigenous people killed in the period should be exponentially greater, since only a very restricted portion of the affected indigenous peoples has been analyzed and there are cases where the death toll is high enough to discourage estimates. (BRASIL, 2014, pp. 204-205)

Due to the poor systematization of this type of violations against indigenous people in Brazil, it was up to the National Truth Commission to bring the matter to light and to point out to society that the Indians in Brazil were also hit by state violence: this investigation needs continuity for that these peoples participate and be benefited by the process of transitional justice in development in Brazil.

(...) Reports of violations committed against indigenous peoples and corruption in the indigenist official institution led to four Parliamentary Committees of Inquiry (Comissões Parlamentares de Inquérito – CPI) - in the Senate, the 1955 CPI, and in the Chamber in 1963, 1968 and 1977. In 1967, there was an CPI in the Legislative Assembly of the state of Rio Grande do Sul and, in the same year, a commission of investigation of the Ministry of the Interior produced the Figueiredo Report, reason for the extinction of Serviço de Proteção aos Índios (SPI) and creation of Funai (Fundação Nacional do Índio). Three international missions were held in Brazil between 1970 and 1971, one of them being from the International Red Cross. Reports of human rights violations against indigenous people were sent to the Russell II Court, 17 conducted between 1974-1976, and also to the fourth session of this international tribunal, held in Rotterdam in 1980. In that session, Waimiri Atroari, Yanomami, Nambikwara and Kaingang de Manguerinha cases were tried, and Brazil was convicted. (BRASIL, 2014, pp. 207-209, free translation)

**If we consider the social segment of indigenous women as “minorities” in the Brazilian social context, it is necessary to problematize the various testimonies about frontal violations of “group rights”, “cultural autonomy” and “equalization policies”. As stated in the CNV’s final report:**

In their testimonies given to the study delivered to the CNV, women and adults who were children at the time report how forced confinement resulted in all kinds of deprivation, widespread hunger and the psychological terror of not knowing the whereabouts of forcibly recruited adult men. Preterm births and deaths of newborns due to malnutrition or other related causes have been reported. We highlight part of the testimony of Teriweri, ex-wife of one of the Indians who were forced to guide the military in the woods:

*I do not know what happened? I do not know. But I think we got so scared there that we did, right? Because every hour there were shots being given !! All the time!! Wind in any bush couldn't shake a little that they would shot! Yeah ... And we could not go to the countryside any more ... because they [the military] forbade it! Because sometimes the “people of the forest” ... [the guerrillas] ... they [the military] said that the “people of the forest” could kill us there in the bush, right? We could not hunt too ... And then we said like this: How are we going to survive now? Because at that time Indian was not a big thing, right? There was little ... so it was only a small piece of land that they used to sow ...grazed and planted manioc. And then one could not go out! Because I think because of all this, what happened that I had like this ... almost abortion, right? The children did not live because they were so afraid of the shots,*

*right? So it happened to us, I do not like to remember, you know? I'm telling you here because people like this ... may be the people of Brazil, from all over the world, to know for certain that this horrible event happened. It's "war" right? In the time of the guerrillas, right? That's why I'm telling you here a little bit ...* (BRASIL, 2014, p. 246, free translation).

A possible inflexion, however, in the sense of looking at the reconfigurations of the relations between the different actors within this pattern of political organization, reflects the instability of established agencies and the heterogeneity of behaviors and social responses to situations in their different scales and places of elaboration. Although on the margins, it can provide us with valuable clues in the analysis of the process of composition of this scenario, those practices and the speeches in question. At a more global level, we observe in our context an increasing tension of the differentiated cultural rights constitutionally assured to the indigenous peoples (BRAZIL, 1988), provoking an exponential escalation in the rates of violence in the countryside, at first sight caused by territorial disputes.

#### **4 | BETWEEN THE MORAL ECONOMY OF SOCIAL PRACTICES AND THE POLITICS OF STATE MEDIATIONS**

As yet little explored, therefore, in their scope, effects and social meanings, the still insufficient, however, indispensable studies on the contemporary data regarding the critical situations of violation of the human rights of indigenous women and the possible relations with a "past" still precariously reconstructed (past-present?) would thus supplement the recentralization of the debate in these themes and in the political subjects whose denunciations of historical exclusion, subalternization and marginalization have recurrently incurred in naturalization by the State, legal operators, and society as a whole.

In this wake, acts reported by institutions of the Brazilian Judicial System (National Justice Council - Ministry of Justice) and by the Public Attorneys of Mato Grosso do Sul based on data from the State Secretariat of Public Security, an emblematic State in how violence in the countryside caused due to pressures from territorial interests, surreptitiously affects women, show that this significant increase in the number of reports of violence against indigenous women began to come to surface due to the sensitive reflexes of the implementation and popularization of information about the Maria da Penha Law (nº 11,340 / 2006), concerning gender violence prevention and criminalization. The entire hidden cipher of cases of assault, rape and other forms of violence would tend to be underreported, as is commonplace in studies of gender violence. Several measures to promote women's rights have been targeted at this social segment, such as official publications, booklets, campaigns conducted by public agencies, educational institutions and civil society organizations. Such actions have apparently had positive effects on raising awareness of the gravity of patriarchal structures in our society that naturalize aggressions against women and normalize

gender inequalities, consolidating recognition of women's rights to legal protection and combating all forms of violence based on gender differences.

The great challenge is precisely in adapting to the particularities of conceptions about what is socially configured as violence, and which are the most effective legal-political instruments - depending on the historical-cultural context - to deal with these structural and socio-individual problems. As Daniel Simião (2006) and Mariana Pulhez (2013) point out, there is a need to denaturalize and problematize certain transfers of legal mechanisms and public policies emerging from very specific and historically consolidated institutional contexts that end up being carried out without the necessary socio-cultural mediations. From these references, certain readings seem to stand out, reflecting and confirming once again privileged places of enunciation power, territorial management - remembering also that the body is also a biopolitical territory (Foucault, 1979) - and application of divergent normativities. This existing pluralism, based on the diversity of juridical systems that coexist but which become competing and necessarily asymmetric in their power to legitimize, validate and reinforce political inequalities that are also the result of cognitive differences (in their cosmogonic meanings), the framework of sensitivities and social moralities mobilized, the meanings of justice in dispute and the exercise of the power of jurisdiction ("to tell one's rights attributes" and, consequently, "to apply it"). To inquire, therefore, the relative autonomy of these systems, or the necessary (and problematic) relationship between them in an intercultural and inter-ethnic friction scenario (OLIVEIRA, 1960), is also a starting point for thinking about these phenomena that are reflected in the very sensitive intra-ethnic dimensions, such as the visible increase in reports of violence against women and the incipient thematization of gender relations in indigenous communities (including by indigenous women intellectuals who have been entering the academic *latifundia*).

Give visibility of the controversies present in these realities and the multiplicity of possible interpretations, especially from the point of view of the indigenous populations themselves and their women, is something that challenges the gaze and the readings still so conventional, because they are marked by problems ruled by the traditional feminist globally hegemonic agenda of the Western Hemisphere and, on the other, by the assumption of the disaffection of the State with respect to moral interference in social practices and socialities.

In this course of state actions to deal with an apparently new situation of gender violence, the Institutional Center for the Promotion and Defense of Women's Rights (Núcleo Institucional de Promoção e Defesa dos direitos da Mulher - NUDEM), of the Public Attorney's Office (Defensoria Pública) of Mato Grosso do Sul, that, together with a multidisciplinary team, "has a cooperative, consultative and operational character, (...) avoiding unnecessary referrals and the so-called 'critical route of violence', when the cycle of violence can be irreversibly aggravated. (free translation)" (DEFENSORIA PÚBLICA DE MATO GROSSO DO SUL, 2016, page 4). The term "unnecessary referrals" in this context is at least intriguing if we reflect on the criteria that distinguish



the sensitivities and moralities in question, beyond the social hierarchies represented by the different subaltern groups that make up the State and the historicity of the humiliation and institutional violence to which they are submitted.

The paradigmatic case of Mato Grosso do Sul is illustrative because it dramatizes the limits and possibilities of public policies to protect women in situations of violence, as well as the contradictions that characterize this conflicting process of the relationship between the limited scope of the State's protection expectations of the collective in a situation of high social vulnerability with respect to this same colonial state that for centuries has been its main tormentor.

In fact, the state government itself has been developing since last July a pilot project that aims to promote the fight against violence against indigenous women. The actions planned to be taken to the villages, through a mobile unit called "Lilac bus", provide reception services, receiving complaints, legal and psychosocial care, lectures, preventive campaigns and access to rights, etc. The idea that is integrated into this project is to establish a kind of community policing, since the bus, offered by the State Undersecretary of Women, will aim to function as a mobile police station, that is, there will be a joint work with the police in order to record occurrence bulletins, require protective measures and other procedures. According to the Delegate of the Woman of the Civil Police of Dourados, Paula Ribeiro dos Santos Oruê,

we know that the reality is much worse than what arrives at the police station. So, therefore, the importance of this project (...) so that women feel more comfortable (...) to make the denunciations. Because only by means of denunciation we will be able to punish the aggressors (free translation).

The spokespersons of the government of Mato Grosso do Sul highlight the drive made by the community itself claiming for measures to combat this reality. According to Luciana Azambuja, Undersecretary of Public Policies for Women,

(...) we went to (the village) Jaguapiru and the indigenous women asked us for help because of the high level of violence, and they are not aware of what the law can do for them. The initial idea was to hold lectures [about their rights], but did not stop there. (free translation).

In this same report of the portal of the government of Mato Grosso do Sul, it is emphasized that the request came from the president of the Council of the Jaguapiru Village, Nilza Meireles. For this indigenous from Terena group,

we don't reach much information for us in the villages. (...) Violence and prejudice against indigenous women is very great. I've been working in the village for eight years, and I know how difficult it is for women to chase after. The indigenous woman never had a voice, they are silent, but now we will have the opportunity to know our rights and defend ourselves (free translation).

With the alarming fact that at least 10% of the cases of violence against women registered in Dourados occur in the villages, the military police, which maintains a program focused on the protective measures known as "Safe Woman", was summoned to compose this itinerant project which aims to be expanded to other areas of the state.

According to Undersecretary Luciana:

We will consolidate the action in Dourados and expand. We already have requests from other indigenous communities. The purpose of all this is to empower, to inform women and girls about their rights and to tell men and boys that certain attitudes violate women's rights. We joined our team, the leaderships and got authorization from the village captain. We have heard from many women that for the first time the State Government gave a voice and heard what they had to say. And for their protagonist role, men are also getting involved in the project. This leaves us quite confident in our work, because it shows that society is mobilizing to confront violence.

## 5 | CONCLUSIONS

Thinking about how indigenous women have reflected on experiences related to violence, either their own or collective, identified as being against indigenous people, to the point of establishing interactions formally mediated by official institutions, presents itself as central to analyze the diffusion of human rights language in contemporary times. This dynamics, which is open to the privatization of conflicts dictated by the State when it closes itself in the “cycle of violence”, in the scale of interpersonal relations and domestic field, at the same time that it leaves aside a wider context of a socially structured historical conjuncture of institutional violence, postulates within a Western state logic the procedures for the referral of the problems suffered, to which the women did not have access or previous participation in the decision to elaborate. Making it increasingly present the logic of conflicts management that until then was not traditional, or rather, common, there is no doubt that social phenomena can be perceived by very different lenses, denoting very specific legal sensibilities. (GEERTZ apud SIMIAO, 2005, p.135)

To bring tangibility to the true reach of the indigenous politics of extermination and genocide oriented both by racism and sexism that have operated for centuries in Brazil, as the indigenous women's movements denounce, as well as to map the strategies launched by their victims to resist them and confront them, rebuilding common corporate projects, are the goals of this incipient project.

Emphasizing recurrences of state crimes and mapping the history of systematic practices of violence and (para)military state repression, thus contribute to unveil practices in the present rooted in authoritarian historical legacies of oppression, exclusion and violation of human rights through postures denunciation, visibility and radicalization of the collective demands generated by the different social actors and their respective movements. This transnational dynamic, exposed by the articulation and influence of international organizations and international technical cooperation agencies, can also provide us with important elements about the actions and reactions that are postulated as a response to the phenomenon of inequality, exclusion and gender and inter-ethnic violence, as well as institutional limits and constraints.

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