

Racist education and feelings of inferiority in Latin American educational policies (19th-20th centuries)

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Abstract: The article problematizes the racial division of education in Latin America as racist education. Discusses the senses of inferiority made possible by the unequal provision of schooling, within the scope of Latin American educational policies aimed at black and indigenous populations. The time frame, mid-19th century and early 20th century, refers to the historical period of organization of independent nations, drafting of constitutions, abolition of enslavement of the Afro-Latin American population and suspension of payment of indigenous tribute. In this context, there was intense debate about which schooling should be directed to these populations, as well as the establishment of educational policies for the institutionalization of public schools, carried out by governments. The historical research is carried out in Latin American countries, with documentary sources, such as legislation, period books and printed materials, in dialogue with the conceptual field of decolonial history, developed mainly by Aníbal Quijano (2005, 2014), based on the concepts of racial division of labor and of coloniality of power. The elaboration of the understanding of meanings of inferiority is also analyzed, as discussed by Norbert Elias and John Scotson (2000), in the concept of figuration of established and outsiders. It is noteworthy that the longevity of racist education as a coloniality of power strongly contributed to the inferiorization of the black and indigenous population, with repercussions today.

Keywords: school inequality; race; decolonial history.

1 Introduction

Within the scope of the history of education, it has not been very common to investigate racist education as a government project. More specifically, it refers to the systematic processes of discrimination in educational provision for black and indigenous populations, but also to the dynamics of imposition of European values, beliefs and knowledge, as they have been configured since the 16th century. It should be noted that racist education was established both as a project of colonial governments and became more complex after the independence and organization of nation-states throughout America, since the end of the 18th century. From the perspective of decolonial history, it is understood that there is a close



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relationship, if not interdependence, between the racial division of work and the racial division of education.

Quijano (2005) develops the concept of racial division of work to refer to the main specificity of modern colonization. According to the author, the process of colonial formation of capitalism gave rise to unusual oppressive practices: on the one hand, the combination of various forms of employment exploitation – slavery, servitude, reciprocity, wage work – and, on the other, the invention of colonial identities of Indian, black and crossbreed. According to him (2014, p. 83, our translation), such identities imposed themselves “[...] as the basic categories of relations of domination and as the foundation of a culture of racism and ethnicism”. In this context, the idea of race, linked to phenotypic traits and skin color as a differentiator to define the colonizer and the colonized, presented itself as something unprecedented in history. Can the same be said about education?

This is the assumption that the racial division of work occurred interdependently with the racial division of education, over a long historical epoch. It is necessary to bear in mind that this is not just an unequal educational/school offer, but also a racist education. To better develop this issue, although the focus of this text is the Post-Independence epoch, it is necessary to briefly return to the colonial epoch. In other words, it is important to highlight that racist education was already practiced by Jesuits¹ in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies as an education policy of the colonial governments.

Jesuit catechetical education, aimed mainly at indigenous peoples, had the explicit purpose of colonizing, having inaugurated a new pedagogy that combined religious harassment through the word of the colonizer’s god and work as a civilizing principle. It was very different from the pedagogy intended for the children of colonists or European elites. Cabral (1925) describes Jesuit pedagogy as polymorphous, in order to guarantee the imposition of belief, not only for indigenous people, but also for black people. In addition to the different types of catechesis - parenetic, dialogued, missionary, written -, according to Cabral (1925, p. 96), there were also “[...] poetic, musical, dramatic and even choreographic catechesis, as the Jesuits used all these arts to instruct neophytes”.

In turn, the Jesuits introduced the understanding of learning arts and crafts and work as a civilizing principle. Father Serafim Leite (1953, p. 23) attests to the efforts of the Jesuits to impose this conception on the indigenous people, as well as their resistance to such an agreement. In any case, racist education is explicit, as can be seen in this report about the Portuguese colony:

¹ During the colonial government, the Jesuit order was the first missionary order with an explicit catechizing and educational intention, although other orders operated in the colonies (Franciscans, Carmelites, Benedictines, Capuchins). For further clarification, among others, see Anchieta (1933); Paiva (1982); Castro (1992) and Hansen (2000).

The trades of the Indian boys who learned under the protection of the Fathers and stayed in Baía and the coastal villages is, without a doubt, the first page of civilized work that, without being Portuguese from the Kingdom, differs from primitive indigenous work: that is, it is already Brazilian work. And so this context began in Brazil.

It is important to highlight that, in the wake of civilized work, free or enslaved indigenous children and young people and enslaved black children and young people were included, therefore introducing the racial division of child work. According to Leite (1953, p. 25), the enslavement of indigenous and black people served “[...] the hitherto legal and general regime of Slavery, they were at the service of the Company, which, in reality, everything was at the service of the common good given the institutional character of the Company at the service of catechesis and teaching”. In the specific case of the education of the enslaved black population, unlike in Portuguese America, in Spain, there was some legislation restricted to Catholic indoctrination, as appears in the General Law of 1789, which instructs on the education, treatment and occupations of slaves² (Salmoral, 2000).

Although it is possible to verify the racial division of education since colonial epoch, in this text, priority will be given to the continuity of the racial division of education in the Post-Independence epoch, when racist education was consolidated amid the proclamation of constitutional governments and the invention of Latin America. As will be seen, in the Post-Independence context, the same colonial pedagogical logic remained for indigenous and black populations – *religion and work*.

In this sense, it should be noted that the colonality of power integrates the dynamics of socio-racial hierarchy and inferiorizer processes, necessary for its maintenance. From the perspective of Elias and Scotson (2000), such processes take place in a sociodynamic of stigmatization, in order to guarantee an imbalance in the balance of power, in the case of this research, for example, with the imbalance of power between white and non-white people.

The text is organized into three items, namely: the racial division of work and the colonality of power; the Eurocentric construction of the idea of Latin America as a racist expression; and the racial division of education as it propagates feelings of inferiority.

2 Racial Division of Work and Colonality of Power

The concepts of racial division of work and colonality of power were developed by Quijano (2005, 2014) in the context of the Modernity/Colonality Group created by Latin American intellectuals in the 1990s (Ballestrin, 2013). Like other scholars of the post-co-

² The General Law of 05/31/1789, also known as the “Black Code”, was entitled *Instrucción para la educación, trato y ocupaciones de los esclavos*. It contained 14 chapters. The first chapter, *Educación*, instructed slave owners about the obligation to teach Christian doctrine, attend mass and pray the rosary daily after work (Salmoral, 2000).

lonial epoch, the group presents scathing criticisms of Eurocentrism, demonstrating that there are many other histories beyond the conception of a single history developed by the European historiographical tradition. However, the authors of this group have the specificity of carrying out a discussion based on the racialization of economic and political relations, constituted in modernity/coloniality since the 16th century, in a global historical context.

As a critique of this Eurocentric conception of modernity, they oppose the understanding that contact with America was a founding factor of the main intellectual references of modern philosophy – humanism, renaissance and enlightenment. The authors demonstrate that, although modernity is repeatedly described as constituted within the intra-European scope, this new time frame was only possible through the experience of contact with the native peoples of the colonies and the black people trafficked from Africa.

Dialoguing with Elias (1993), it should be noted that, since the 16th century, in the new era of modernity, the development of civilizing processes and colonizing processes took place in an interdependent way, as the empowerment of European courts and the emergence of the bourgeoisie would not be possible without the enslaved work of indigenous people and Africans.

According to Dussel (2005), Eurocentrism is an ideological construction that places other peoples and cultures on the periphery, giving rise to well-known structural dualities, such as the paradoxical dualities barbaric/civilized, rational/irrational etc., even though the colonizing Europeans radically surpassed the dominated peoples in all levels of barbarity and cruelty. According to Lander (2005), Eurocentrism, in Social Sciences, is found in the imposition of a certain imaginary of modernity based on the rules of European reason and the naturalization of the idea of progress, resulting in the hierarchization of the historical experiences of all peoples, which were classified into scales of inferior peoples and those that would be supreme. Quijano (2005) expands the discussion of Eurocentrism with the concept of coloniality of power. The author starts from a simple observation that, in the post-colonial context, ethnic-racial origin remains the main mode of domination and social hierarchization and that the coloniality of power is also the coloniality of knowledge and being by disqualifying other knowledge, beliefs and values. Coloniality is a constitutive part of Eurocentric modernity, an understanding shared by all group participants, justifying its dual denomination as the Modernity/Coloniality Group.

The originality of Quijano's (2005) argument lies in bringing, to the center of discussions about colonizer/colonized power relations, the idea of race as the foundation of the universal pattern of classification and social domination. In Quijano's argument (2005, p. 107), the colonizing experience of modernity established a pattern of power that radiated throughout the world, from the

[...] codification of the differences between conquerors and conquered in the idea of race, that is, a supposedly distinct biological structure that placed some in a natural situation of inferiority in relation to others. This idea was assumed by the conquerors as the main constitutive, foundational element of the relations of domination that the conquest required.

The racial division of work is a central factor in the global history of the founding of modernity, since, without the work of indigenous and enslaved Africans, the development of mercantilist and capitalist policies through mining, agricultural production and the slave trade would not have been possible. The enslavement of people in the Americas, with racial characteristics, enabled the naturalization of indigenous and African groups as originally poor and the legitimization of domination. In turn, it favored the elaboration of the superiority of “white color” populations, taking as a reference the financial success of the European courts and the bourgeoisie due to the enrichment provided by the slave economy.

Added to this is the fact that the enslavement of children favored the racial division of childhood, as, whether or not they were linked to their families, they were part of this global racial division of work when invented colonial identities such as “little Indians” and “little niggers” were also spread. Therefore, the civilizing/colonizing process ended up establishing, in an unprecedented way, on a global scale, since the 16th century, the racialization of child work.

It should be noted that the dissemination of the idea of race, to think about the differences between social groups, gave rise to the culture of racism and ethnicism. According to Quijano (2014), while the term ethnicity (ethnos) is usually used to define peoples/nations in their social and cultural differences, the idea of race is a new category that emerged with colonialism. Its origin was in discussions about whether indigenous peoples had a soul or not and whether or not they had human nature, or rather, whether they should be treated like beasts or like people. Decreed by the papacy their qualities as human beings, the new power dynamics demanded justifications for their enslavement and, therefore, for their subordination. In this context, there was an understanding that cultural differences had their origin in biological differences, with emphasis on skin colors.

Quijano (2014) highlights the context of colonialism in the combination of racism and ethnicity. In other words, the disqualification of cultural practices combined with biological characteristics, thus constituting the factors that legitimize the inequalities and privileges present in power relations between colonizers and colonized. In the Americas, the invention of the colonial identities of black, red-skinned Indian and crossbreed (dun, brown, crossbreed etc.) is proof of the historical elaboration of the subordination of people according to their natural biological differences, a mark of supposed cultural inferiority.

In the 19th century, the fields of ethnology and ethnography had prominence, while studies on “racial inequalities” (Gobineau, 2021) and eugenics (Stepan, 2005)³ gained prominence. The use of the expressions “ethnicity” and “race” became increasingly present in the management of relations between Europeans and non-Europeans, such as the fact that neocolonialism, due to new power interests, began to study Africans in Africa as nations and tribes, but Afro-descendants and inhabitants of former colonies continued with the colonial identity of black. In the case of the indigenous population of the Americas, the use of the colonial identity of Indian or the name that identifies their ethnicity depended on the type of power management that they wanted to establish.

Almeida (2018) also corroborates the historical perspective of coloniality and criticisms of Eurocentrism. This author developed the concept of structural racism, as it is present in the “[...] economic and political organization of society” (Almeida, 2018, p. 16). In turn, it draws attention to the differences between racial prejudice, racism and racial discrimination. In this context, racial discrimination refers to “[...] the attribution of different treatment to members of racially identified groups” (Almeida, 2018, p. 25); Racial prejudice is “[...] the judgment based on stereotypes about individuals who belong to a certain racialized group, which may or may not result in discriminatory practices” (, 2018, p. 25). And yet according to Almeida (2018, p. 25),

[...] racism is a systematic form of discrimination that has race as its basis and that manifests itself through conscious or unconscious practices that culminate in disadvantages or privileges for individuals, depending on the racial group to which they belong.

For the purposes of this text, it is essential to highlight the impact of the colonial ideology of racial inferiority/inequality as the origin of discrimination, racial prejudice and racism in the organization of American nations. However, in the case of the former Spanish and Portuguese colonies, decolonizing social movements failed and formally independent nations did not free themselves from the colonial yoke. The “new” national elites were the heirs of colonial privileges and carried forward the Eurocentric model of nation and citizenship, with an exclusionary and racist characteristic. In the table (Table I) below, it is possible to observe that the elites of the Latin American countries investigated here brought discussions about the constitution, rights, citizenship etc., making the enslaved populations invisible, with the exception of Argentina, at least formally.

³ The first edition of Gobineau’s book is from 1853 and by 1884 it had already gone through ten editions. The term eugenics was developed by Francis Galton in the book “The Hereditary Genius”, by 1869 (Stepan, 2005).

Table – Important Dates In The Organization Of Some Latin American Countries.

Country	Independence	Law Of The Free Womb Year	Final Abolition Year	Constitution
Argentina	09/07/1816	1813	1853	01/05/1853
Bolívia	06/08/1825	1831	1861	19/11/1826
Brasil	07/09/1822	1871	1888	25/03/1824
Colômbia	20/07/1819	1821	1852	05/08/1886
Chile	12/02/1818	1811	1823	25/05/1833
Equador	24/05/1822	1821	1851	23/09/1830
Paraguai	15/05/1811	1842	1869	15/03/1844
Peru	28/06/1821	1821	1854	20/11/1823
Uruguai	25/08/1825	1825	1842	28/06/1830
Venezuela	05/07/1819	1821	1854	22/09/1830

Radix: Pomer (1981); Andrews (2014); Zanata (2017).

In other words, in general, there is a significant gap between the independence movements and the drafting of constitutions when legal equality and the abolition of slavery were established. It is no coincidence that the movement to scientificization racism and the advancement of eugenic ideas occurred at the same time as constitutional debates crossed by the issue of what to do with black and indigenous populations, in the context of industrial capitalism.

And what can we say about education in Latin America in this context of disseminating schooling to everyone? How could the invention of a Latin America be associated with the racial divide in education?

3 Latin America: A Racist Ideology

The West Indies, America, Latin America, Anglo-Saxon America, at different epochs, were the main denominations of lands taken over by Europeans since the end of the 15th century. With the arrival of Américo Vespúcio (1501-1503), hired by the Portuguese government for territorial exploration/recognition, the term “America” was coined to refer to the continent located west of Europe and Africa, used until the beginning of the 19th century. After the independence of the former Spanish and Portuguese colonies, the continent fractured and the name Latin America emerged in opposition to Anglo-Saxon America.

The name “America”, according to Lester (2012), appeared for the first time on a map by the German geographer Waldseemüller from 1507, as a tribute to Américo Vespúcio, having nothing in it, however, to do with what is today called America, that is, the United States, although it originally represented South America. How did this inversion occur? How did the idea of Latin America and the invention of the “Latin race” come about? What implications did they bring to its population?

As Mignolo (2007) analyses, the issue of the naming and division of continents, the elaboration of the notions of West and East, the categories of first, second, third and fourth worlds are themes of geopolitics, that is, it is an imperialist historical construction elaborated over the last 500 years. These geographical denominations were politically constituted in a hierarchical perspective of power with a clear racial appeal based on the Eurocentric conception of world history.

Still according to Mignolo (2007), it is possible to analyse the epistemic elaboration of America and Latin America from their perspectives. This is because, within the scope of Eurocentric modernity, mainly in the context of the 17th and 18th centuries, the imperialist paradigm established by the rhetoric of the discoveries emerged, explaining the fourth part of the world as a creation of Europeans or an extension/appendix of Europe, whose version is based on the understanding of the existence of “people without history”. In other words, the original peoples of the seized lands and the trafficked Africans had their stories plundered, silenced, made invisible and began to be retold by the pens of Kings, the Church and the whip of their Lords.

As asserted by Mignolo (2007, p. 17, our translation), from this perspective,

[...] history is a privilege of European modernity and, to have a history, one must allow oneself to be colonized, that is, allow oneself to be dominated, voluntarily or not, by a perspective of history - life, knowledge, economy, subjectivity, family or religion shaped by the history of modern Europe, which has been adopted as an official model, with slight modifications by the United States.

Corroborating with the author, one must contradict this Eurocentric historiographical logic, or rather, the universal history systematized by Hegel (1770-1831)⁴ about the paradigm of coloniality. This other historiographical perspective denounces, in colonialist exploitation, the racial division of work that gave rise, at a global level, to a new social hierarchy – the racial hierarchy. In this way, it makes it possible to question the erasure of the existence of other historical dynamics of society to give way to the imposition of the Euro-

⁴ Hegel, in a work from 1840, he postulates the existence of a single universal history, founded on European Cartesian reason, and justifies peoples without history (Hegel, 2001).

centric model, which, consequently, supported the production of arguments regarding the historicity of colonized peoples.

Thus, the question arises: Would the arguments for the fracture of America and the invention of a Latin America have been forged in the same rhetoric of colonial “discovery” elaborated by European historiography? In other words, in the context of the 19th century, would there have been a “rediscovery” of the former Spanish and Portuguese colonies throughout Europe and also by the United States as a new bastion of imperialism? Would this America, inhabited by populations endowed with empty histories, but filled by the words of the colonizers, have its identity updated as a “Latin race” in the new geopolitics?

The name Latin America is a racist ideology, characterizing an exemplary case of the racist political-intellectual movement unleashed in the 19th century. Appearing in the post-Independence epoch, the name expressed the racial clash between the then-named Anglo-Saxon America, populated predominantly by white and supposedly supreme people, and the other then called America. This occurred as a political strategy by the American elites to demarcate their place of power on the continent, taking into account the threats of recolonization by the Spanish and French.

The Anglo-Saxon origin of the colonizers and the large presence of European immigrants that formed the population of the United States defined the basis for the “inferiority” of the Latin American people: Portuguese and Spanish crossbred with blacks and indigenous people.

Still in the Post-Independence sphere, there were intense disputes for the recolonization of the new nations involving not only Spain and France, but also the United States, whose population coexisted with the local bourgeoisie. It is worth highlighting the elaboration of the Monroe Doctrine, in 1823, with the motto “America for Americans”, which was directed not only at Europeans but also at demarcating the interventionist intentions of Americans in Central and South America (Ardao, 1980), being.

It is in this scenario that the name “America” came to be located only in the United States, whose inhabitants soon called themselves Americans, while the idea of Latin American and Latin America reinforced the racial hierarchy in the global historical dynamics of coloniality.

The invention of a Latin race, in turn, came from the French and Spanish elites in order to demarcate the new imperialist interests, camouflaged by the idea of cultural, linguistic and religious approximation (Beired, 2014). Received very willingly by the Americans, in 1922, the first book on the General History of Latin America was published, the “The History of the Latin American Nations”, in it, the American William Spence Robertson announced the purpose of discussing the events of all the “[...] nations that emerged from the colonies of

Spain and Portugal” (Bethel, 2009), seeking to consolidate the existence of a Latin America and the identity of Americans for Americans.

Although it is not possible to develop this reasoning here, it is important to note that, for almost a century, the debate on the identity of Latin America took place in a way that involved politicians, intellectuals, journalists, universities, congresses, periodicals and books from Europe and Latin America (Veiga, 2022). This demonstrates the tensions of coloniality in power, as, in this clash, other colonial names emerged such as Hispanic American, Portuguese American, Iberian American, as well as decolonial names, such as *Nuestra America* proposed by José Martí in the 19th century, *Indoamerica* and *Mestizoamerica*, found in Mariátegui’s texts at the beginning of the 20th century (Quijano, 2014).

Therefore, in this news geopolitics, the difference in the identification of the Americas was once again based on the argument of racial hierarchy, with the purpose of strengthening Eurocentrism and, at the same time, the rise of the power of American Americanism in Latin America. In this way, the existence of a Latin America as opposed to an Anglo-Saxon America consolidated the stereotypes of its population, as the “*Latin race*” was associated with trickery, ignorance, lack of culture, among others, while the “Anglo-Saxon race” was understood as one that was then civilized, enterprising and intelligent. Note that the discussion of the existence of a supposed Latin race also intended to cover up black and indigenous populations in the search for “Latin whitening”. What is the place of education in this debate?

4 Racial division of education and meanings of inferiority

In the colonizing/civilizing process, identities were invented and histories plundered. And, after independence and the processes of abolition of slavery, the elites asked themselves how to educate the black population and the indigenous population to enter the newly created Latin nations and the world of free capitalist work.

For this discussion, it must be assumed that the call for school education in Latin America had a very different meaning from that which emerged in Europe, as it was racialized, even though a Eurocentric pedagogy predominated.

In the internal case of Europe, the question was: How to educate the poor population for insertion in the capitalist industrial world?

The European industrialization process also came at the expense of exploitation and subordination of broad sections of the population and the generalization of the condition of misery and poverty in different countries, however, it was a problem experienced, for the most part, by poor and white people.

The division of work in Europe, as in the Americas, was based on generational, gender and social class divisions, however, in the case of the Americas, the difference was the

racial division. This is because, since the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century, at a global level, there has been significant progress in the use of child and women's work, but in the case of former American colonies, since the 16th century, children and women, black or indigenous, have been enslaved. In the Americas, the racial aspect of the division of work was predominant and lasting, with effects up to the present day.

In this conjecture of the advancement of industrialism combined with the expansion of debates regarding constitutional governments and the processes of division of work, discussions about the expansion of schools also developed, so that they should serve the entire population. Throughout the 19th century, European nations and American nations developed and implemented their educational policies for the institutionalization of free public schools, with clear class differentiation in Europe⁵ and racial in the Americas⁶. This research highlights Latin America through specific examples due to space limitations.

The geopolitics that characterize its history as endowed with an inferior and underdeveloped civilization, as a non-place, to the extent that only the United States was positioned as a Western country, is the same that makes it possible to think about racial inequality in schooling as geopolitics of education. In the post-slavery abolition scenario, post-suspension of tax payments for indigenous people and post-independence, Latin American political, intellectual and economic elites came together to think about a controlled way of including these populations in constitutional governments. At that time, the different Latin American governments, in the time frame investigated, developed and disseminated educational policies characterized by inequality in school provision with a racial focus.

In this way, controlled access to education, for indigenous and black populations, was organized with the provision of some instruction – reading, writing, counting – combined, however, with the civilizing pedagogy of work. It was precisely for this reason that, generally speaking, the proposition of this education offer was based on the objective that the population destined for it should be instructed to become active elements of national life, which meant that they were capable of capitalist work, characterized, in general, by jobs without prestige, with little qualification and low pay. In this aspect, it is important to reflect on the subordinate economic place occupied by Latin American countries with the advance of US imperialism.

When proposing to problematize the racial division of work and education as a structuring factor in Latin American societies, it is essential to clarify that, in the countries studied, the distribution of black and indigenous populations in their territories is very different, as well as the volume of European immigration. With the exception of Brazil, most of the coun-

⁵ Check out the classic book by Condorcet, published in 1791 (2008) and Carlota Boto (1996).

⁶ It is important to remember that in the United States, public schools operated with legal racial segregation until 1964.

tries studied denied the presence of black populations, although they were there, as can be identified in the recent historiography on Afrolatins (Andrews, 2014). This is mainly the case in Argentina and Chile, where there was intense European immigration. In other countries, however, the indigenous population was much larger than the black population, as, for example, in Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia and Uruguay. In others, there was a certain balance, such as Venezuela, Colombia and Paraguay; and, in the others, the black population is larger than the indigenous population, as is the case in Brazil.

A central and common issue in the Latin American nations studied is that the regulation of primary school or elementary instruction for all children, since the 19th century, has given visibility to the disparate conditions and social places in which white, black, cross-breed, indigenous, poor or wealthy children experience childhood. It was this contrast in clientele that organized the unequal offer: urban primary schools, rural primary schools, traveling schools and nursing home educational institutions, commonly combining elementary instruction with the teaching of some trade and/or work practice (Veiga; Gomes, 2023).

School inequality can be identified in the structuring of different teaching levels and curriculum, the justifications for which could be the location of its facilities, the number of inhabitants in the region or the type of child to be served. Investigating such school offers jointly and in different spheres makes it possible to better understand the issue of racial division in education.

Following this perspective, the hypothesis is the understanding that the majority of black and indigenous children, throughout the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, almost never had their schooling in regular primary schools, and those who, by chance, entered one of them, had very inconsistent attendance due to the poverty of their families and the so-called child work, as the documentation attests⁷. It was more likely that they received schooling in other types of institutions, the difference between which was the combination of little education and a lot of child work, as well as the companies of apprentices in the War and Navy arsenals, the arts and crafts high schools, the colonies, employers and agricultural institutes and the asylums. In the case of indigenous children, mission schools stood out, however, with the same profile that associated child work with their education.

⁷ Child work, due to family poverty, was widely used globally, with emphasis on the 19th and 20th centuries, as demonstrated by the extensive bibliography. In the case of Europe, the classic book by Engels (1985) should be highlighted, "The situation of the working class in England", published in 1845; I also highlight the debates that took place at the time of the International Work Conference, in Berlin, in 1890, whose Proceedings were published in the same year (Veiga, 2016). Particularly in Latin American countries, in addition to specific legislation on child work, it is also possible to find important publications on the subject (among others, Gómez, 2007; Canqui, 2011; Correa, 2011; Mases, 2013). In the case of Brazil, in the same way, it is possible to investigate municipal legislation from the beginning of the century, as the national work regulations date from 1942, and also a vast bibliography, among others, Marques (2003); Moura (2009); Veiga (2016).

Often, the legislation of the nations surveyed followed the conception of hierarchy of educational levels in France, postulated by Condorcet at the end of the 18th century and consolidated by Guizot on July 28, 1833, especially in the definition of elementary primary instruction – referring to reading, writing, counting - (Weiss, 2001), when there is clearly an unequal provision of schooling. However, if, in the case of France, this hierarchy obeyed the material conditions of the families of the victimized children, in Latin America this contributed to consolidating the hierarchy and racial inferiority. As the Chilean author Amunátegui rightly attested, it was necessary to guarantee elementary education for indigenous people without, obviously, removing them from the racial place they occupied. So he asserts:

Let us provide them with an education that suits them, that improves their intelligence without causing them to needlessly lose many years of their lives. Let us provide them with the means to become working citizens capable of earning their livelihood and, not, illiterate doctors or lawyers who will have no clientele, mediocre literati who will have no readers, unskilled chemists or surveyors who will have no occupation, semi-sages who will be useless or who will serve for worse than that, because they will do it wrong. These individuals are the fabric of society [...] (Amunátegui, 1854, p.133, our translation)

In another example, the Argentine Sarmiento (1856, p. 77, our translation) suggested that wealthy ladies found schools for “[...] servants and cooks who, with two hours of study a day, would later find themselves able to read and write”. This way, they could read the cooking recipes themselves, preventing the housewives from wasting their time doing so. There are several instructions in this direction in the sense that this line should be adopted for indigenous girls and black girls, so that they are instructed solely for the domestic work that they would perform in the future in “family homes”.

Although, in principle, all children should have had the effective right to attend public schools equally, this was not the case, with completely unequal provision being made for them. In the countries studied, explicit references were found regarding the schooling of the indigenous population in Educational Legislation. In the case of black children, it was found that, for the majority, educational options were minimal or even non-existent, given their condition of poverty, social marginality and invisibility, which does not mean that indigenous children were not also subject to the same conditions. Throughout Latin America, the end of slave work did not mean the emergence of opportunities for access to property and decent living and working conditions.

Here are some examples of racist educational policy, although restricted to the space currently available to narrate them, so that more details cannot be provided for all the countries studied. In Chile, in the region of *Araucanía*, the founding of the *Hermanas de la Divina*

Providencia boarding school was founded on 08/30/1900 with State funding, aimed at indigenous children (Anguita, 1912). According to studies by Sepúlveda *et al* (2016), in 1901, this institution had 244 indigenous people in the house, 82 boys aged 6 to 12 and 162 girls aged 6 to 15. In addition to taking classes in reading and writing in Castilian, Geography, the History of Chile and Catholic Doctrine, the children would also be forced to learn mechanical skills, manual work and work in the garden. Added to this is the fact that they were kidnapped from their families, and their parents did not accept their hospitalization, naturally, and after a while, tried to get them back.

Confirming the racial division of education, in the editorial of the *Revista de Instrucción Pública de Bolivia*, in 1896, in an extensive article, editor Julio Reyes recommended agricultural education for indigenous people associated with religious doctrine in parochial schools. According to this author, only the preaching carried out by the priest, supposedly through the divine word, could double the ignorance of the rude *Aymara* and the sweet *Quechua* (Reyes, 1896). During the liberal government of Jose Manuel Pando (1889-1904), the Law of February 6, 1900 was decreed, establishing compulsory schools in the towns of *Humala*, *Caquiaviri*, *Inquisivi*, *Achacachi* and *Huiacho*, in the department of *La Paz*. These schools would be in the format of a boarding school, with Spanish lessons, reading, writing and the four mathematical operations for boys aged 8 to 12 and were also teaching Arts and Crafts was implemented at Salesian Schools Don Bosco.

Misael Saracho, minister of education between 1904 and 1908, undertook a series of educational changes in Bolivia and, on a trip to the United States, became aware of the type of education practiced for indigenous people in that country, creating, with this, the so-called walking schools. Panozo (2014) explains that, in this type of school, the teacher should take turns between two communities usually 5 to 6 km apart, alternating his assistance every 15 days, teaching them how to read and write in Spanish, the four arithmetic operations and the Christian Doctrine. It should be noted that the American model of implementing schools and traveling teachers was adopted in all the countries studied here on the basis of population sparseness and the work in the field carried out by children, the majority of whom are indigenous, black or crossbreed.

In the case of Argentina, although there are records of speeches about the “problem of the Indians” and the need for their education, the projects were under the responsibility of the Congregation of Salesians, which had little direct interference from the State. As Duarte (2019) analyses, between 1860 and 1880, intense debates took place in the country to establish a national education proposal, culminating in the edition of Ley 1,420 on July 8, 1884, which began to provide for walking schools with a minimum of instruction (Article 12), in order to indicate some possibility for indigenous, crossbreed and even black children to have access to their right to education.

To specifically investigate indigenous education in Argentina, the author researched the *Patagonia* region due to its population contrasts, mainly due to the fact that it is inhabited by European and indigenous immigrants (*Mapuche*, *Ranqueles* and *Tehuelche*). In this research, he demonstrates the government priority of educating immigrants, while the Congregation of Salesians was responsible for the education of indigenous children along with orphaned children and those subjected to Criminal Process (Duarte, 2019).

As could not be otherwise, the racist education of this Congregation was carried out in boarding schools and was based on religious harassment, including baptism, to create good Argentine Christians, in addition to forced work, of course. In the Argentine government reports, the activities of the congregants were self-appointed as humanitarian and welfare. As asserted by Duarte (2019, p. 21, our translation):

The proposed education acquired absolutely instrumental forms: it was formed on the job and a temporal discipline was imposed that educated within the “civilized” margins (which already advanced the particular ways of the capitalist mode of organization of work), with the missions being self-sufficient (and even producing a minimum marketable surplus). This type of instruction broke with the previous logic of indigenous populations, regulated by other conceptions of time and linked to subsistence and simple exchanges.

In another example, in Venezuela, the *Decreto de Instrucción Pública Gratuita y Obligatoria* of June 27, 1870, among other matters, provided for two modes of school operation, as per the provisions of its Article 20, in the sense that “(...) primary schools for boys and girls will be fixed or mobile: the first will be established in cities, towns or villages and the second, in houses or in the fields” (VENEZUELA, 1879, title 2, art. 20, our translation). The Instruction Code promulgated on June 3, 1897, number 6862, in addition to stipulating the organization of education levels in the country, its Title IV, Article 55, discussed the Indigenous School to be created in the Capital also under the boarding school regime for 50 students, who would be taught the same subjects as primary education in the regular school. However, after finishing the course, students must complete the work assigned to them by the Executive Branch, as established in Article 63 of the same Title (Venezuela, 1897).

Another Venezuelan reform of public education prescribed the implementation of vocational courses, resulting in a clearly differentiated offer, for example, in the Schools of Practical Agriculture, providing that “[...] instruction is based on the exercise of students in field work and rural industries and a convenient course of theoretical and practical lessons that last four years” (Venezuela, 1904, Law VIII, Article 211, our translation). Apparently, these courses could also be aimed at black children, for whom, evidently, the exploitation of child work was routine.

In Peru, Manoel Pardo, in the 1874 reform, opened a trades school for indigenous people in the city of *Ayacucho*, providing training for carpenters, blacksmiths and bricklayers. During this same Reform, Pardo decreed policies to eradicate the languages and customs of the *Quechua* and *Aymara* communities (Larson, 2002).

According to Moreno Tejada (2012), in Ecuador, the Jesuits were once again called upon to educate indigenous children, also creating boarding schools where they would only receive instruction, and in the case of boys, they would have to work for priests. So he asserts:

The children's curriculum included classes in Quechua and Castilian, Spanish grammar, arithmetic, religious history, and calligraphy. Furthermore, boys learned carpentry, while girls, in accordance with 19th century custom, were instructed in cutting and sewing. For female education, the Jesuits counted on the help of several "*Mothers of the Good Shepherd*", coming from Quito [...] (Moreno Tejada, 2012, p.182-183).

In yet another example, tensions can be noted with the teaching of Castilian to white populations due to contact with "*black wet nurses*". In the *Revista Ecuatoriana* of June 30, 1889, in his article *La pronunciación del castellano en el ecuador*, the author Salazar (1889) assert that, despite the progress made in the written language in Ecuador, this did not occur with the spoken language, as

Therefore, our speakers, since childhood, are accustomed to pronouncing Spanish as they heard it from their wet nurses, they are not always able to correct the errors in their pronunciation (...). This, together with the provincialisms and barbarisms, so abundant in our language, as well as the irregularities that the use of the vulgar introduced in the conjugation of verbs, will produce over time, in Ecuador, several dialects of Castilian that are more or less barbaric (...). To avoid such evil, primary education institutes should be dedicated to their important tasks by secondary education teachers, together with parents (...). In this way, it will be possible that, after a few years, the beautiful Castilian language regains its privileges among us, as required by good upbringing, good taste, the fair demands of society and even national decorum (Salazar, 1889, p. 209-210, our translation).

Continuing this article, Salazar (1889, p. 216) proposes that teachers, among other actions, should be persistent in educating students' speech, correcting "[...] carefully the barbarisms, solecisms, inappropriate accents and other language defects until they make their children feel disgusted to speak like the "uneducated" people with whom they have to deal".

Likewise in Brazil, concern about the "barbarisms of the language" caused by the daily contact of white families with the Afro-descendant population, especially with "wet nurses" and "maids", was present. For example, in the periodical "The mentor of Brazilian women",

dated October 22, 1830, number 47, the author, anonymously, in his article “Youth Education”, problematized the issue:

One of the great drawbacks of our primary education is slavery. In truth, children in Brazil are raised among black men and women, who can only inspire in them bad customs, bad language and indecent manners, typical of slaves and those idiots. From there comes the use of African words and phrases and a thousand other barbarisms, which are difficult to put down. Our first teacher is usually a very brutish black woman who feeds us, thinks about us and treats us. What can a woman like that teach a boy other than the harm of omens, werewolves, souls from another world and infinite nonsense?
(The Mentor, 1830, p. 374)

The inequality of school provision in Brazil followed the pattern of other nations and met the assumption of the racial division of schooling, confirming the great challenge of implementing cultural homogenization. In this aspect, it should be noted that, since the colonial epoch, the implementation of public classes began in Brazil and, in the 19th century, after Independence, the process of institutionalizing elementary public instruction as a government policy was widely disseminated (Faria Filho, 2000; Veiga, 2007; Gondra; Schneider, 2011).

Specifically in relation to the educational proposals for indigenous peoples, there was continuity of colonial pedagogical guidelines, namely, subjecting them to the work routine in order to encourage the disconnection of their habits. After the creation of the Directory of Indians in 1759, still in the colonial epoch, other regulations from the imperial and republican epochs established educational guidelines, as can be seen from the content of Decree nº 428, of July 24, 1845, and Decree nº 8072, of June 20, 1910, both implemented at the federal level.

The Decree of 1845, which was the “Regulation regarding the Missions of Catechesis and Civilization of the Indians”, standardized the already known colonial practice: hiring missionaries from religious orders to “[...] preach the Religion of Jesus Christ and the advantages of social life” (Brazil, 1845, art. 1, §7º), in order to promote Catechesis and Civilization. This Regulation also determined the teaching of reading and writing in Portuguese and learning trades, as set out in two paragraphs of Article 1st, otherwise, see:

§18. Propose to the Provincial Assembly the creation of First Literature Schools for places where the Missionary is not enough for this teaching.

§26. Promote the establishment of Mechanical Arts workshops, giving preference to those that serve the first needs of life and that Indians are admitted to them, according to the propensities they show.

The following article, in its §13, provided for enlistment and learning military service and even the creation of a specific Military Company. In addition to this federal prescription, Cunha (1992) highlights that, starting with the Additional Act of 1834, local provincial policies on catechesis and civilization emerged, for example, with the creation of boarding schools for indigenous children. In another sample, the author comments on the Legislation of the Province of Amazonas, from 1852, which established the “[...] restoration of free negotiation of Indians with chiefs of ‘savage nations’”. The Indians thus acquired would be ‘educated’ for ten years by their acquirers and then returned to their villages” (Cunha, 1992, p. 150). The implementation of primary schools in villages was an activity present in several Provinces (Silva, 2003).

In the republican context, Decree No. 8072, of June 20, 1910, relating to the Indian Protection Service, recommended that leaders promote the teaching of Arts and agricultural or industrial crafts, according to their skills (Brazil, 1910, chapter 1, Article 1st, obj. 11) and provide primary instruction on a non-obligatory basis (Brazil, 1910, chapter 1, Article 1st, obj. 16).

In relation to the schooling of black children, the more specific discussion occurred due to the moment of discussion of the Free Womb Law (1871). In this sense, it should be emphasized that such debates introduced another dimension to the education of black children, as it was about engaging them in the world of free work (Fonseca, 2002). Even though the majority of children remained with their mothers, institutions created for their education were, usually, asylum institutions with agricultural work. In turn, since the institutionalization of public schools, during the empire, black children attended public education courses, although, as verified in documents, attendance was irregular due to child work, in addition to the total precariousness of its operations (Veiga, 2007).

In general, from the mid-19th century onwards, with progression in the early decades of the 20th century, for black children, due to their peculiar outsider status in society, especially in urban centers, other types of schooling were instituted. In the case of Brazil, we mainly identify companies of apprentice sailors, asylums, employers and agricultural colonies, trade schools, reform schools and schools for perverts (Rizzini; Rizzini, 2005; Lima, 2005; Veiga; Gomes, 2023). In these institutions, public policies structured around the pedagogies of social isolation and agricultural work predominated, continuing the slave culture.

As an example, we can mention the foundation, throughout Brazil, of agricultural employers authorized through Decree No. 13,706, of July 23, 1919. As asserted by President Delfim Moreira, in his Article 2st,

[...] an institute of assistance, protection and moral guardianship for minors [...] resorting to agricultural work for this purpose with no other intention than to use its

educational and regenerative action in order to direct and guide them, until incorporating them into the rural environment (Brazil, 1919, chapter 1, Article 2st).

In the research carried out so far, only in Uruguay is there an explicit law for the education of black children. Among the various educational legislation projects, the one by Joaquín Requena stands out, entitled “*Proyecto de Reglamento General para Las Escuelas de Primeras Letras*”, dated April 3, 1838, the first in the systematization of public education in this country and truly peculiar, as it provided for racial segregation. Title I deals with the creation of uniform public schools throughout the country, however, Article 5st prescribed that, “Public Schools will also be established for free or liberated girls of color at points where there may be competition from 40 students” (Requena, 1838, p. 8, our translation). In Title II, in its Article 13, it dealt with the content of the aforementioned Public Schools for Girls (Castilian Grammar, Christian Doctrine, the first four rules of Arithmetic, cutting and sewing common clothes and brand) (Requena, 1838, p. 10, our translation), although its Article 14 made a distinction by specifying that, “in schools for free or liberated people, reading and writing, doctrine, sewing, gum production and all types of domestic agriculture”. (Requena, 1838, p.10, our translation). The racial division of the school is evident, and in this regard it was foreseen that, for “colored girls”, they would be offered a minimum of instruction and learning of trades for menial work with a clear inferiority intention.

5 Final considerations – Racist education and senses of inferiority

Government policies for the institutionalization of education in Latin America were guided by the racial division of work and education, a movement that began throughout the civilizing/colonizing process, and continued even after independence, the abolition of black slavery and the suspension of indigenous taxation. In dialogue with the perspective of decolonial history, this fact was investigated in Latin American countries, taking into account the concepts of coloniality of power and racial division of work developed by Aníbal Quijano.

The concept of coloniality problematizes the permanence of colonial logic in the organization of Latin American nations and in the treatment of black and indigenous populations. The notion of racial division of work is developed as a structural axis of modern colonization and coloniality, which gave rise to a new social hierarchy at a global level – the racial hierarchy -, in addition to the invention of the colonial identities of Indian, black and crossbreed. The enslaved work carried out by black people and indigenous peoples determined the racist culture characterized by the oppression and subordination of these populations and the emptying of their histories.

The premise was developed that the racial division of work and the racial division of education are interdependent processes since colonization, with deepening in the post-co-

lonial epoch. Despite the contrasts in the distribution of black and indigenous populations in Latin America, in the mid-19th and early 20th centuries, educational and political debates about the inclusion of this population in the new national logic and in the free capitalist work market defined inequality and differentiation in school provision, continuing racist education.

It is essential to highlight that the elaboration of educational policies for the implementation of schools and public institutions took place during the Imperialist Political era of invention of a Latin America as opposed to an Anglo-Saxon America through the creation of another race, the Latin. In addition to the artifice of the new geopolitics, it was intended, once again, to cover up the black and indigenous populations, however, to characterize the Latin American people, the same inferiority attributes were maintained.

The adoption of racist education explains the usual precarious operating conditions of most Latin American schools. This further contributed to stigmatizing and inferiority black and indigenous children due to their lack of success in the school models offered which they may have attended, as well as the precarious study conditions due to child work. Racial inequality in education was demonstrated both in specific legislation for indigenous people and in the creation of asylum educational institutions for abandoned, perverted and delinquent children, among others. Such appointments denounced the living conditions in which indigenous children found themselves, but, primarily, black children, usually in marginal conditions, especially in urban centers. It is essential to highlight that, despite the specified local laws, the school offer for these populations continued the colonizing logic, that is, with little education, religious doctrine, work, usually in the countryside and with social isolation, establishing the colonality of knowledge and being, that is, with few opportunities to leave the historically constructed social place of their color.

Although the situation of Independence, the drafting of Constitutions and the definition of Civil and Political Rights could have been a great opportunity for liberation, however, what happened was exactly the opposite, continuous exclusions, racism and the racial division of were deepening. Therefore, the governing elites reaffirmed racist education, even though they had the opportunity to radically alter it in terms of the inferior condition of indigenous and black populations and, mainly, to subvert their colonial identities. It is necessary to give visibility to the historical processes of structuring the racial division of education in the function of controlling social mobility, that is, to highlight, in the history of Latin American education, the dynamics of socio-racial oppression and subordination of people. In this way, we intend to contribute to the debates and struggles for anti-racist education.

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